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ARE UNITING TO DIVIDE
THE CONTINENT

by
VIVIENNE WALT

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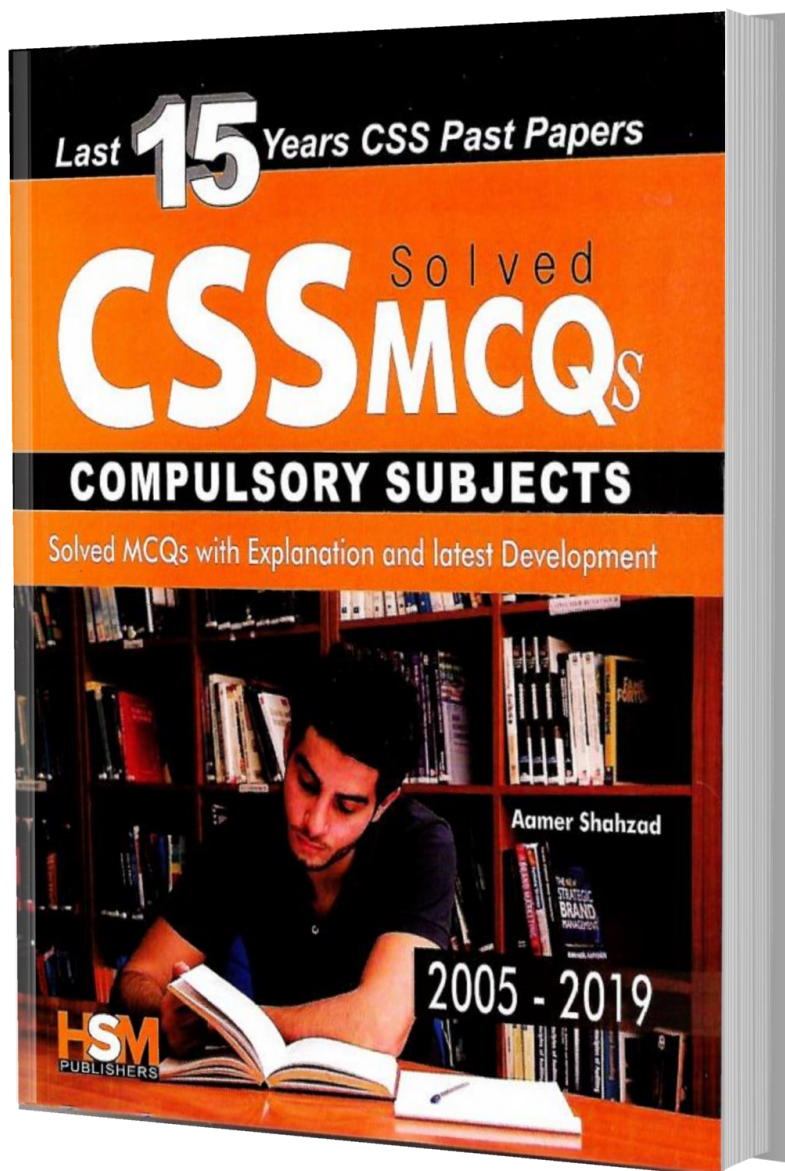
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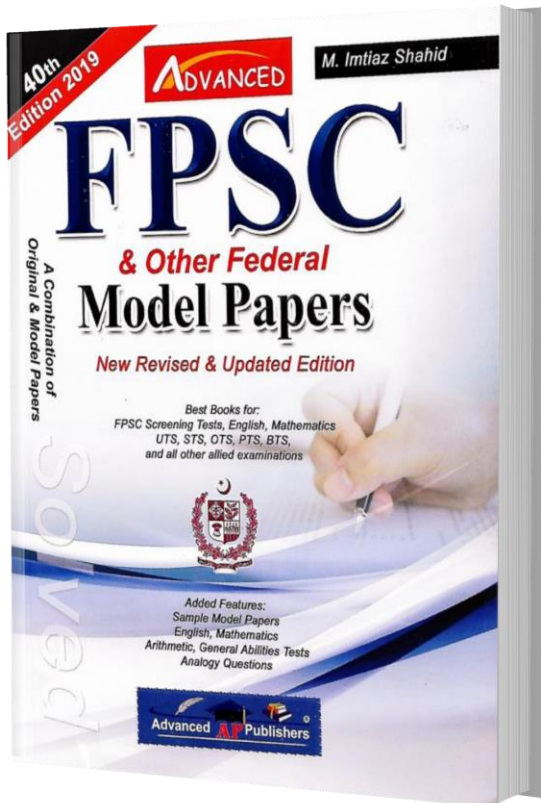
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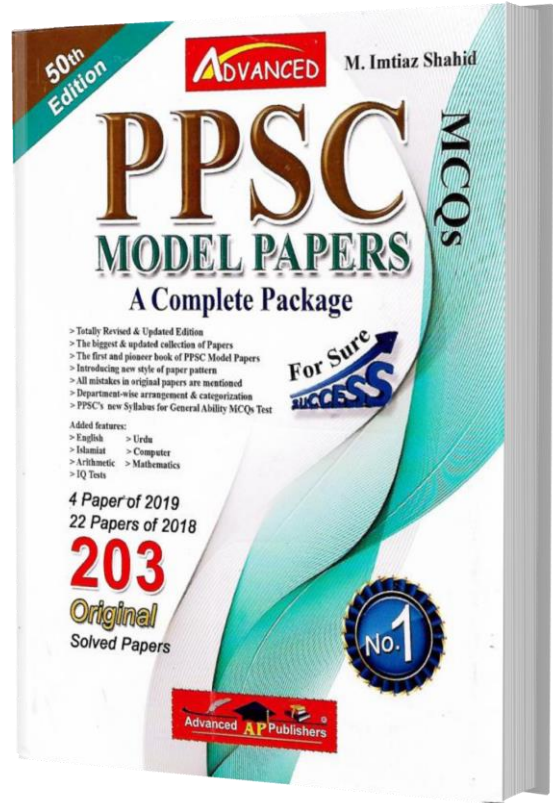


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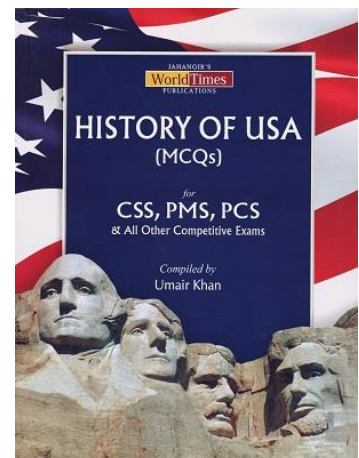
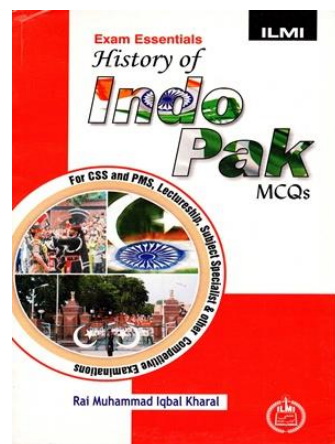
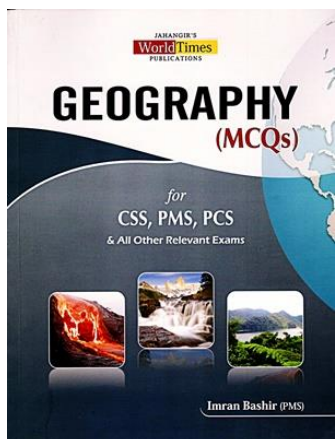
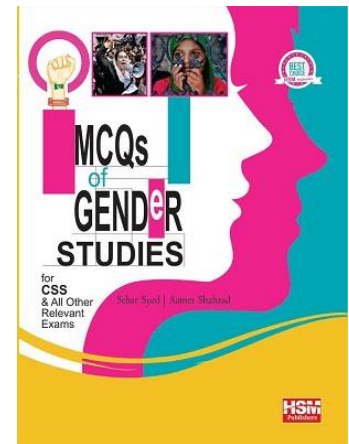
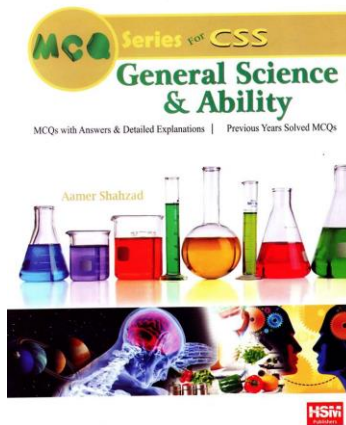
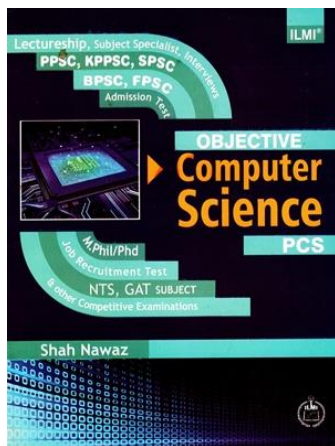
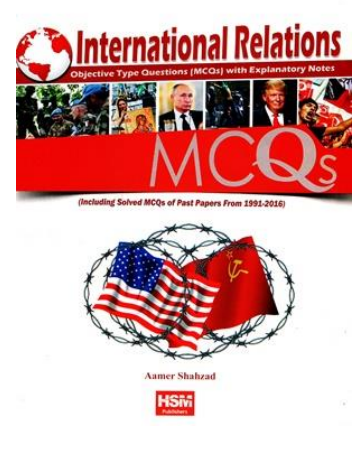
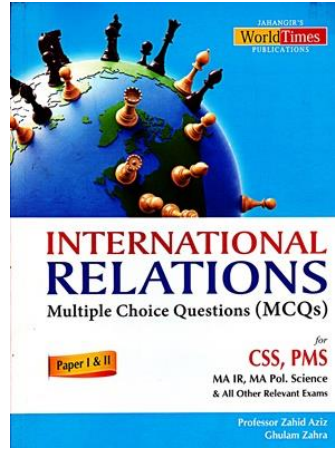
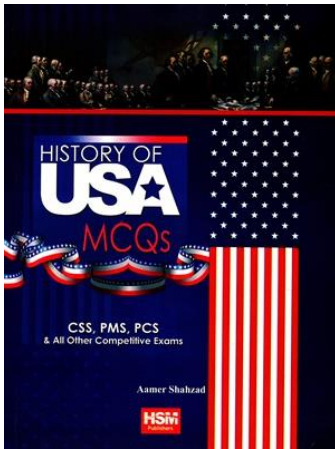
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FEED Founder, Lauren Bush Lauren, carrying the Leather FEED 1 Bag, which provides 185 school meals.

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

Photograph by
Brittany Greeson
for TIME

ON THE COVER:
Illustration by
Craig Ward
for TIME

Conversation

TERROR IN NEW ZEALAND
RE “HATRED AND HEALING”
[April 1]: Here in New Zealand, the worst has happened; we have become victims of an act of terrorism. We have come of age, it seems. But in the losing of our innocence, we have been grown up enough to say “enough is enough.” Our Prime Minister has called for an end to hatred and wants to show the world that love and compassion work. Showing tolerance and acceptance takes guts, and we do have it in bucketsful if someone just takes the initiative.

Barbara Ingram-Monk,
KAITERITERI,
NEW ZEALAND

AFTER THE COWARDLY TERRORIST attack by a white supremacist immigrant who murdered 50 defenseless Muslims in Christchurch, President Trump phoned our Prime Minister, Jacinda Ardern, to express condolences. It seems that he failed to include his usual rant that had the victims been armed, they would have been better able to defend themselves and the atrocity may not have happened. Does the American President’s doctrine of gun ownership not apply when the victims of a massacre happen to be Muslim?

Bill Murray,
WELLINGTON,
NEW ZEALAND

I AM AN AUSTRALIAN MUSLIM woman of Bangladeshi heritage. I teach history, including of Australia, at a university in Bangladesh. I discuss with my students what a beautiful country Australia is, how it has endorsed diversity, and how immigrants have developed the country’s infrastructure. Now that a white Australian is accused of terrorism in Christchurch, Australia’s image has been tarnished worldwide. The government must work hard to restore Australia’s reputation for acceptance and tolerance.

Nahid Afrose Kabir,
DHAKA, BANGLADESH

THIS ARTICLE ON THE WIDENING violence of white supremacists says that 54% of “leave” voters called Islam a threat to the British way of life. Britain voted to leave the E.U. for many reasons, and one of the biggest was the losing of our sovereignty to Brussels. Please don’t link Islamophobia with Brexit.

Jeffrey J. Hancorn,
HEREFORD, ENGLAND

THE MISSING CANDIDATE
WHILE READING “A NEW Climate for Climate” [April 1], I thought, Where is Al Gore, and why has he not announced his intentions to run for President?

Robert M. Thomas,
CLATSKANIE, ORE.



OVERLOOKED? HARDLY
RE “A BOOKSTORE THAT’S Turning a Page for Women in Literature” [April 1]: The bookstore selling works solely by, and about, women because it claims their work is undervalued seems itself to devalue women as writers. At least half of all the best-loved books in our culture were written by women, and the writings of Harper Lee, Margaret Mitchell, Agatha Christie and J.K. Rowling represent publishing phenomena unsurpassed by men. The idea of “a historical imbalance that has allowed women’s literary achievements to be eclipsed” is pure fiction.

Martin Offer,
BOGNOR REGIS, ENGLAND

WHEN CLICKS RULE
RE “THE MAKING OF AOC” [April 1]: How does one become a political phenomenon

when you are a newcomer with few accomplishments? In a word, the Internet. Since Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez was elected, she has been a daily fixture on most news platforms. Why? Because she says things that inspire the left and infuriate the right. Either way, the one thing she certainly does is attract more clicks. The only click competitor she has is President Trump, leaving those of us of a moderate persuasion to wonder where we go from here. In the Kardashian world of influencers, substance takes a backseat to flash.

George Dwelle,
JACKSONVILLE, FLA.

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT ▶ In “Who Will Be the Next Leader of Ukraine?” (April 8), we misstated where a 2017 photo of Yulia Tymoshenko meeting President Trump was taken. It was at the National Prayer Breakfast.

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Adriatic Excellence: 5 Star Brands and Character

With its pink-hued beaches, crystal clear waters and breathtaking backdrop of pine-cloaked mountains, the resort of Aman Sveti Stefan is the crown jewel of Montenegro's Budva Riviera coastline.



Petros Stathis
GROUP CHAIRMAN

Once a haven for pirates and later a village fortified to fend off Turkish raiders, this small island is now linked to the mainland by a man-made causeway. The resort was reincarnated as a luxury hotel in the 1950s, during which time it attracted such members of the original jet set as Marilyn Monroe and Sophia Loren. Refurbished 10 years ago, the Aman Resort has now recaptured its former glory and in 2014 hosted the wedding of tennis superstar Novak Djokovic.

The spectacularly successful recreation of the Sveti Stefan resort is principally thanks to the vision and dynamism of Petros Stathis, the Greek-born entrepreneur who, since meeting his Montenegrin wife more than a decade ago, has made the economic regeneration of this small Balkan state his mission. The Sveti Stefan resort has been central to that goal. In 2008 when Stathis became its co-owner, the resort was already in the process of restoring and upgrading its 58 guest rooms, cottages and suites.

Under the ownership of the Russian billionaire Vladislav Doronin, who purchased Aman Resorts (now Aman Group) in 2014, the partnership has proved to be so successful that Stathis subsequently invested in two more projects, Aman Cavtat in Croatia and Aman Venice on the city's Grande Canal. Aman Venice opened in 2013 and has already become a benchmark for hoteliers worldwide thanks to its unique aesthetics and architecture.

Stathis has been steadily expanding his business interests and is now involved in banking, media, real estate, hospitality and the food industries. Quality remains his signature trait; there is a branch of the highly fashionable Nobu franchise at Sveti Stefan, and Stathis is currently developing a partnership with other premium brands.

The resort embodies almost everything that is special about tourism in the country. "Because Montenegro is not a big country, I believe that

it needs to concentrate on high-end tourism and avoid the pitfalls of mass tourism that have blighted parts of Greece," says Stathis. "Tourism is one of the main drivers of the country's economy and its future growth will depend on our success in attracting quality rather than quantity."

The number of tourists who visited Montenegro in 2017 increased by nearly 20%. Even more heartening are predictions by the World Travel & Tourism Council that the sector's contribution to GDP will grow from 20% in 2018 to 27.9% by 2028. Better yet, this growth will take place within the context of an ever-strengthening economy. In a report published last October, Euromoney declared that Montenegro is quickly climbing the magazine's global risk rankings, having enjoyed its sixth year of uninterrupted economic expansion with an annual average growth rate of 3.7%.

One reason to believe that this growth rate is sustainable is the Montenegrin authorities' recognition of the need to improve the country's infrastructure. Stathis was delighted by the government's decision last summer to put up for bid two 30-year contracts for the maintenance and management of the international airports at Tivat and Podgorica. Meanwhile, a 100-mile highway linking the Port of Bar to Serbia is being built through some of the most rugged and inhospitable terrain in Europe. "The infrastructure challenges that have adversely impacted the tourism industry are slowly being overcome," says Stathis.

Stathis's Universal Capital Bank (UCB) was responsible for extending one of the largest loans in Montenegrin history to the owners of the Porto Montenegro project, which has seen a former Yugoslav Army military base transformed into a superyacht marina to rival Monaco.

The loan is a clear signal that UCB is becoming the bank of choice for investors looking to invest in Montenegro and the wider region.

"UCB tripled its profits last year, and we are looking forward to attracting a lot more foreign investors as the number of opportunities for them increases," Stathis says. "The banking system as a whole is becoming increasingly advanced as more and more international regulations are introduced. We are in a strong position and prepared for further growth."



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

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

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

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

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

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

'We exist in a state of permanent commemoration.'

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

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

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



\$989,500

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

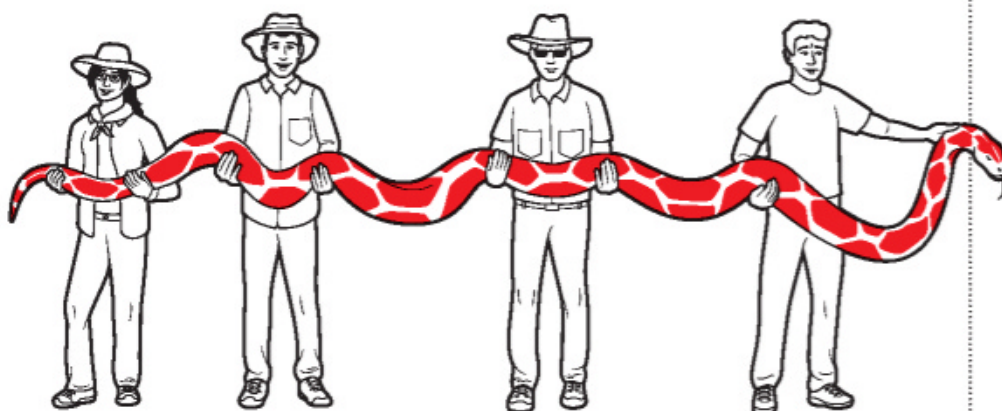
Beehives
Scientists report 14 wild bee species are in decline in the Northeast



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

17

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



The Brief

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



INSIDE

A REBEL LEADER PUTS LIBYA ON THE BRINK OF CIVIL WAR

THE PALACE HAS A PLAN FOR ROYAL BABY GIFTS

A PICTURE OF A BLACK HOLE SHEDS LIGHT ON DARKNESS

PHOTOGRAPH BY LOREN ELLIOTT

IMMIGRATION

Trump's border battle is only beginning

By Brian Bennett

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

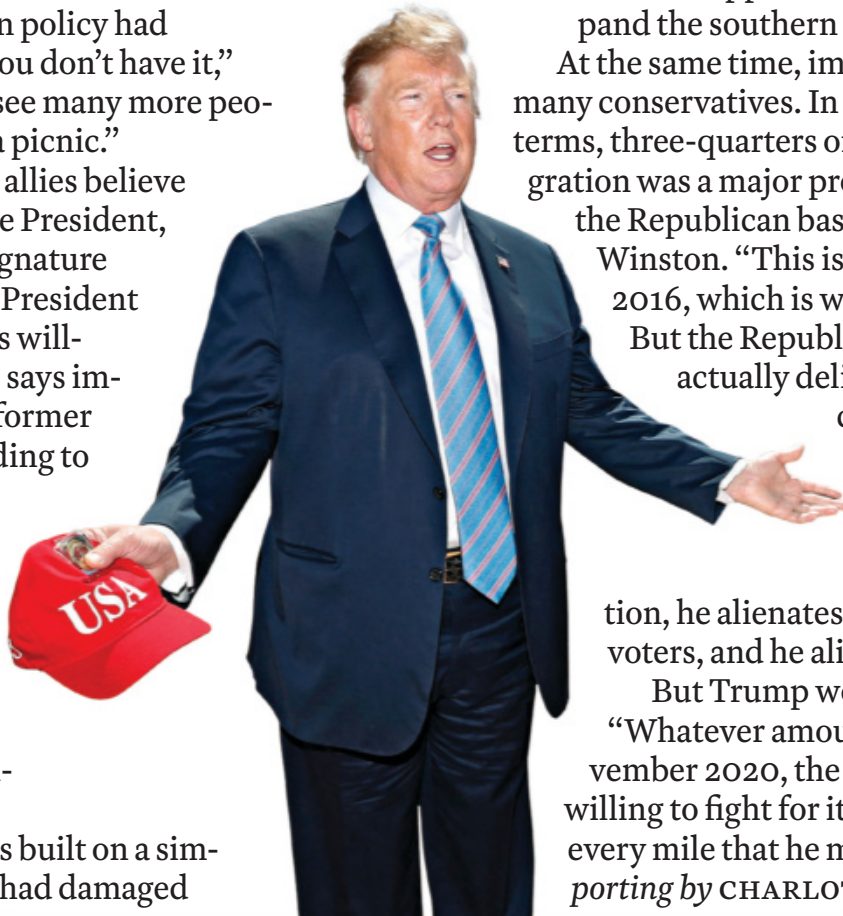
At the same time, immigration is a core concern for many conservatives. In a Pew poll before the 2018 midterms, three-quarters of GOP voters said illegal immigration was a major problem. "This is a good issue for the Republican base," says GOP strategist David Winston. "This is a promise he made to them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

But the Republican base is not large enough to actually deliver a majority coalition." Democratic pollster Joel Benenson adds that Trump has "proven over and over that every time he tries to enact one of his more egregious policies on immigration, he alienates Democrats, middle-of-the-road voters, and he alienates Republicans."

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

'They're coming like it's a picnic.'

DONALD TRUMP, on immigrants crossing the U.S.-Mexico border





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

THE BULLETIN

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

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

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

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

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

NEWS TICKER

14 agree to plead guilty in college scandal

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

Hong Kong protesters found guilty

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

Record time lost by exonerees

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



The Netanyahu era continues, with Israel moving still further right

By Joseph Hincks

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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NEWS TICKER

Sudanese troops protect demonstrators

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

Woman caught at Mar-a-Lago stays in jail

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

Iran military force labeled terrorist group

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

GOOD QUESTION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

—RAISA BRUNER

MONEY

Hell toupee

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

DUCKING THE BILL

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

DOWNTON AND OUT

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

BAG OF TRICKS

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



Milestones

REVOKED

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

REPLACED

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

DECLARED

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

KILLED

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

PLEADED

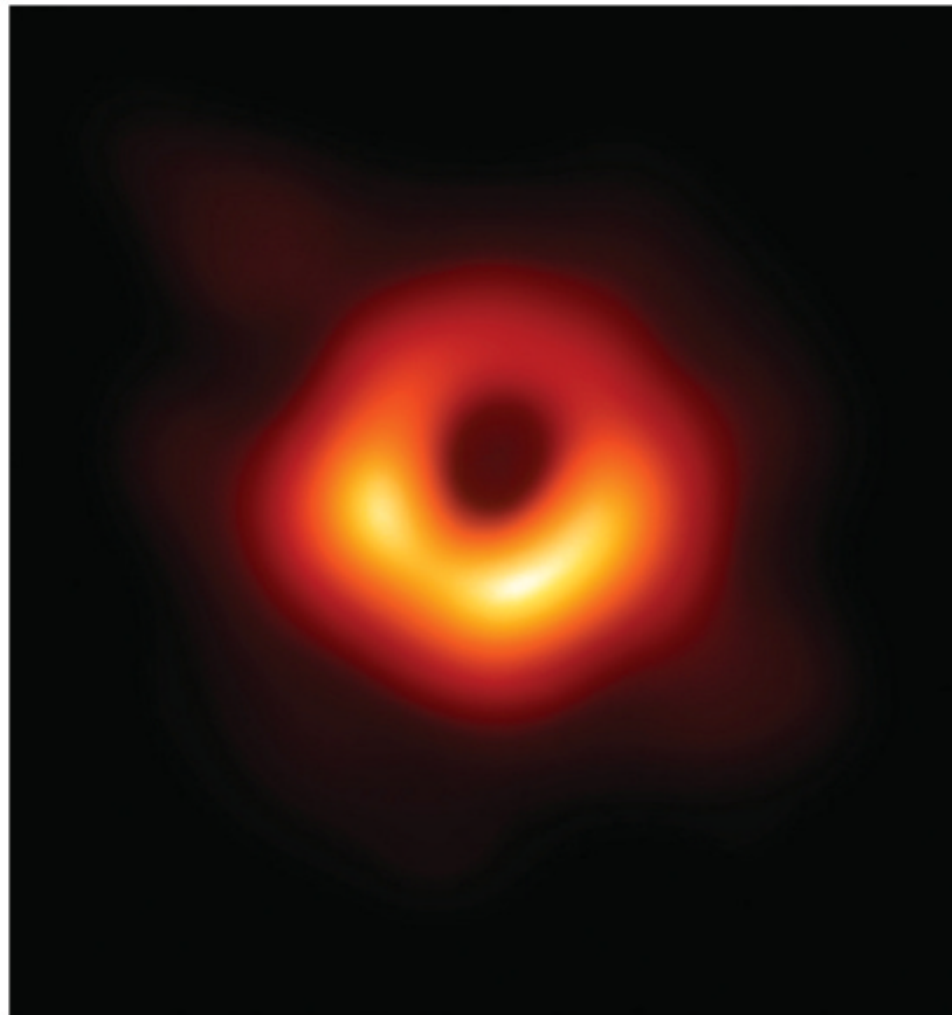
Guilty, to racketeering charges, by former *Smallville* actor **Allison Mack** on April 8, for her role in the cultlike group Nxivm.

BARRED

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

NAMED

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



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

CAPTURED

The first picture of a black hole A supermassive achievement

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

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

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

DIED

Richard E. Cole Doolittle raider

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

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

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



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

By Philip Elliott/West Des Moines, Iowa

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

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

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

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

RYAN QUICK FACTS

Backbench uprising

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

Zen caucus

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

Family man

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

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

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

RYAN GREW UP in Niles, Ohio, a small city on the outskirts of the once mighty industrial hub of Youngstown. He and his brothers were altar boys at Our Lady of Mount Carmel Catholic Church, where his priest celebrated a private mass for Ryan's family and close friends just hours before Ryan delivered his announcement speech on April 6. The priest played to the choir with his sermon, telling the clan to hold out hope for Ryan's candidacy. After all, the priest said, the Pharisees doubted that someone from Galilee could be a prophet, let alone found Christianity. "It was the best homily," Ryan chuckles. "A President from Niles? Come on." (Ryan is in on the joke; President William McKinley was born there, and the Congressman launched his original House campaign from the McKinley presidential museum.) In a party marked by rising secularism, Ryan remains devout. "To me, my faith is about love and compassion," he says.

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

Ryan has long mused about running for higher



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

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

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

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

TIM RYAN,
Democratic
presidential
candidate

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

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

VIRGINIA

THE ROAD ENDS HERE





LightBox

SPORTS

For college basketball, a pair of unforgettable championships

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

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

—SEAN GREGORY

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

PHOTOGRAPH BY MIKE EHRMANN—GETTY IMAGES

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LightBox





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

PHOTOGRAPH BY STREETER LECKA—GETTY IMAGES

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The View

BUSINESS

CEOS ARE NOT OVERPAID

By Tyler Cowen

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

INSIDE

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

WHY AFGHAN WOMEN NEED TO
BE A PRESENCE IN PEACE TALKS

THE SOOTHING UNFAMILIARITY
OF VISITING JAPAN

TheView Opener

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SHORT READS

► Highlights from stories on time.com/ideas

What our words say about violence

Rabbi Jeffrey Myers of the Tree of Life Synagogue, who survived the 2018 shooting there, **says to stop using the word hate:** "When we tone down our rhetoric ... we lessen the emotional impact of our words, and perhaps steer ourselves and others away from the wrong path."

The limits of new labels

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

We are not just who we socialize with

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

3 REASONS WHY MAJOR CEOS ARE WORTH THEIR WAGES

1

Value

As the pay of CEOs has increased, so has their companies' stocks

2

Expertise

The modern CEO needs to know everything from the financial markets to social-media PR pitfalls

3

Opportunity

A transcendent CEO gives a firm the potential to innovate and expand to astronomical levels

THE RISK REPORT

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

By Ian Bremmer



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

For good and for ill, there are significant similarities between this agreement and the 2015 nuclear deal the Obama Administration struck with Iran. Both involve lengthy, complex negotiations among teams of both technical experts and seasoned diplomats. As with the Iran deal, the U.S.-China agreement will be greeted with extraordinary fanfare. And, perhaps most important, these are both deals agreed to by the representatives of governments that deeply distrust each other.

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

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

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

Xi’s managing a long-term slowdown of China’s economy and needs to avoid criticism at home

Donald Trump wants a deal. He needs a major political win to open his campaign for re-election, and there are few other foreign policy achievements he can credibly claim. Chinese President Xi Jinping wants a deal too. He’s managing a long-term slowdown of China’s economy and needs to avoid criticism at home that the “new era” of Chinese power he has proclaimed has forced his country and its economy into an unwelcome international spotlight. The negotiators representing the two governments want an agreement that will satisfy the political needs of their Presidents while resolving enough problems in U.S.-China trade relations to give the deal a chance to stand the test of time.

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

QUICK TALK

Alaa al Aswany

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

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

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

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



Aswany, who currently stays in Brooklyn

Let the women of Afghanistan make peace

By Angelina Jolie

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

Japan still inhabits its own ancestral universe

By Pico Iyer

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

OMAN

A Safe Haven



Its mountains may not be permanently snow-capped and there are more goat herder huts than ski lifts on its slopes, but for economic and political reasons Oman has earned itself the reputation as the Switzerland of the Middle East. Thanks mostly to the diplomatic efforts and vision of its long-term ruler Sultan Qaboos bin Said, this old sea-trading empire has become a haven in a frequently turbulent part of the world.

Oman is also reaping the rewards of its strategically significant location on the maritime route of China's Belt and Road initiative, President Xi Jinping's dream of resurrecting the ancient Silk Road trade routes between Asia and Europe.

The importance of Oman to that vision is already becoming evident at Duqm, a previously unremarkable fishing village on the country's remote southern coast. Today, its tranquility is

routinely disturbed by an army of heavy construction vehicles as they level a vast expanse of desert, part of an investment of billions of dollars to transform Duqm into an industrial center that will help Sultan Qaboos realize his own dream – the diversification of the Omani economy away from its dependence on oil and gas.

Duqm is part of a much larger initiative that will see the berths at all of Oman's eight ports substantially deepened as the authorities in Muscat bid to position the sultanate as a regional logistic leader in an increasingly globalized world economy. The international investment community is buying into the Sultan's dream, and not just at Duqm, as foreign direct investment has been growing by as much as 30% year-on-year in some recent months.

Oman's diversification is definitely on course.

AL MADINA – PERFECT PARTNERS

At its peak in the 19th century, the maritime empire of Oman held sway throughout the Persian Gulf and along the coast of Africa to Tanzania's border with Mozambique.

Although those glory days are in the past, Oman has retained an international perspective and a strong sense of duty to the prosperity and security of its citizens and non-indigenous inhabitants alike. And thanks to the judicious 49-year rule of its Sultan Qaboos bin Said al Said, Oman is one of the most desirable locations on the Arabian Peninsula to live and work.

Sheila Hopper Jamal would agree. Having arrived in Muscat, Oman's capital, 20 years ago with her family, she was so impressed by the quality of life and the opportunities available to women that she elected to stay and raise her children

and grow her business. It is a testament to both the Sultan and Omani society that she has been able to build her Al Madina Group into a successful company that contributes to Oman's stability and security by helping develop the country's IT infrastructure. Additionally, Al Madina's Security Printing Press subsidiary has established itself as an international security printer of ePassports, fiduciary documents and ID cards, and customized checkbooks.

Sheila is currently concerned with the digitalization of Oman's government systems. "The main challenge is e-government and getting everything online," Sheila explains.

"WHEN EVERYTHING IS ELECTRONIC THERE IS ALWAYS A SET OF REPORTS, DASHBOARDS AND ANALYTICS THAT LET PEOPLE SEARCH AND ANALYZE THINGS AT THE CLICK OF A BUTTON. IN THE FUTURE, EVERYTHING IS GOING TO BE MORE DEPENDENT ON MOBILE DEVICES AND APPS RATHER THAN PAPER."



Sheila Hopper Jamal
CEO Al Madina Group

While being a proud Omani company, Al Madina has international aspirations that have already seen the company secure contracts across the Middle East and Africa where, Sheila believes, there is considerable potential for expansion with the right partners.



NATIONAL BANK OF OMAN – PREPARING FOR THE FUTURE BY BUILDING ON THE PAST

Each year on July 23, the citizens of Oman celebrate Renaissance Day, the anniversary of the date in 1970 when His Majesty Sultan Qaboos bin Said acceded to the country's throne. In the 45 years since, this so-called sleepy state on the southern coast of the Arabian Peninsula -- which in 1970 possessed only six miles of paved roads and three primary schools (boys only) -- has been transformed into a haven of financial stability and opportunity for both its male and female citizens, a transformation that has made it the envy of the region.

A keystone supporting the structure of modern-day Oman is its banking sector. Under the watchful eye of its central bank and thanks to the introduction of stringent loan-loss impairment requirements, the regulatory capital of its top eight banks rose last year by over 12% to \$11.2 billion. Meanwhile, the average capital adequacy ratio (CAR) now stands at 16.9%, well above the required threshold of 13.25%. Developments in technology, artificial intelligence, regulation, and the new value-added tax legislation will have a significant impact on the future of the banking sector and will increase competition as players jockey for position.

One of the leading lights of the sector is the National Bank of Oman (NBO). Founded in 1973, NBO was the country's first local bank and has been instrumental in helping the sultanate realize its social and economic potential from the very start. NBO has grown into one of Oman's largest banks and has paid-up capital of \$422 million and regulatory capital of \$1.44 billion.

NBO has established itself as a solid business and financial partner driven by innovation. It was the first bank to have branches outside of Muscat, to offer customers credit and debit cards, access to ATMs, the first to introduce internet banking and, most recently, contactless cards.

"Innovation is deeply rooted into the culture and operational capabilities of the bank, which helps us create and deliver superior customer experiences," says acting CEO Al Sayyid Wasfi Jamshid Al Said.

In 2013, NBO launched its Muzn Islamic Banking window, which now provides a range of Shariah-compliant financial products to a customer base of more than 6,000 clients. The bank is proud of its history and remains committed to contributing to Oman's long-term economic diversity. It seeks to facilitate trade and investment flows as well as support cross-border banking to capitalize on Oman's long-term ascendancy as a regional logistics and trading hub.

"OVER THE LAST FIVE YEARS COMBINED, WE HAVE PROVIDED THE HIGHEST RETURNS FOR OUR INVESTORS IN THE LOCAL MARKET," SAYS AL SAID. "THE BANK'S STRATEGY AND BUSINESS MODELS ARE DESIGNED TO GIVE THE HIGHEST RETURN ON EQUITY. WE HAVE BEEN THE LEADING BANK IN CREATING HIGHER VALUE FOR SHAREHOLDERS."

When we talk about disruption, we mean radically finding new ways of doing something that already exists -- a new answer to an old problem."

NBO's CEO goes on to explain that, "this impacts all industries, but banking is lagging behind. Our industry has a choice of either being part of this journey of disruption,



Al Sayyid Wasfi Jamshid Al Said
Acting CEO Oman National Bank

or the industry will be disrupted. We prefer to be part of the journey."

As a result, NBO has made sure that its online services merit comparison with the best in terms of technology and fluidity. "Everything is changing everywhere all the time," notes Al Said. "If you take a narrow view of things, you will end up being blindsided. Some of our favorite brands disappeared because they simply did not innovate."

Management has also ensured that the bank's B2B operations have moved with the times, particularly in regard to the changing needs of the country's small and medium-sized enterprise (SME) sector. Though the bank takes great pride in its pioneering work in the field of SME financing, NBO goes beyond providing financial support and technical assistance. Specifically, the bank has taken on a strong advisory role with its Tijariti SME Speakers Series, through which it conducts mentoring programs and provides accessibility to dedicated SME hubs across the country. Launched last year, the Tijariti initiative is the first of its kind. It hosts a quarterly panel discussion with successful entrepreneurs and leaders within the SME community, giving them an opportunity to share their stories and know-how in developing their businesses within Oman's SME ecosystem.

When it comes to local talent, Al Said says, "the success or failure of a company comes down to its people and how their energy is harnessed and directed. Our people are the foundation of our growth. We have built a market-leading workforce, a team that consistently goes above and beyond. We are a bank that provides opportunities for people with the right attitude, and we are invested in creating a pipeline of world-class bankers to take this nation forward."



MOHSIN HAIDER DARWISH LLC – OMANI MARKET MAKERS

When His Majesty Sultan Qaboos bin Said came to power in 1970, the GDP per capita of the average Omani citizen was just \$354.

His Majesty Sultan Qaboos bin Said has made Oman into the country it is today. Under his wise and visionary leadership, the developments in every sector of the economy – including, health, society, education, and tourism -- have been spectacular. In 2016, GDP per capita peaked at over \$24,000 and, despite the economy experiencing a temporary dip since then, GDP is now back on track and is forecast to grow by between 2.5% and 5% over the course of 2019.

This exponential growth is largely attributable to the re-evaluation of oil prices triggered by the 1973 OPEC crisis. But Oman’s reserves of hydrocarbon have always been relatively small. The country’s economic success is due as much to the Sultan’s diversification and industrialization policies, along with the indigenous business community’s support for and success in implementing them.

One of the Omani businessmen who was instrumental in this process was the late Mohsin Haider Darwish who, during the three decades before he passed away in 2018, tracked and helped drive Oman’s economic transformation through his eponymously named company, MHD LLC. Since its incorporation in 1974, MHD LLC has evolved into a highly successful business group involved in trading, contracting, project management and manufacturing, which has helped enrich Oman by sourcing some of the most reputable and desirable brands from across the world, making them available to the country’s consumers.

With a population of just over 4.6 million, Oman is a relatively small country. So one of the keys to Mr.

Darwish’s success in growing MHD LLC into a company with more than 1,000 employees was to make both the B2C and B2B arenas his own. The range and diverse nature of the brands that MHD brought to the Omani people bear this out. They include the likes of Land Rover, Jaguar, Dell, Huawei, Michelin and KDK, to name a few on the consumer side. Its commercial clients rely on MHD to bring it the latest technology, products and materials from well-known companies that make the world go round, such as Winget, Terex Finlay, Sakai, Mitsubishi

other companies and recently entered the logistics space through a JV partner, with special focus on Duqm. The company is also a stakeholder in Salam Air, which is expanding to new destinations steadily. Education is another focus area where it has a stake -- in Muscat University. MHD LLC is also involved in the oil & gas sector through SOS (Special Oilfield Services), which is a JV between MHD LLC and a company from Abu Dhabi. SOS supplies oil products and provides consultancy services to oilfield companies.



Areej Darwish Chairperson MHD

Forklift, Ford Trucks, Ashok Leyland, MK, Came and Yale.

MHD’s activities are organized into eight divisions that reflect the breadth and depth of its operations: automotive, ICT, electrical and electronics, engineering products, gases, chemicals and medical equipment, tires and batteries, project management and building materials.

MHD LLC has also collaborated with

Mr. Darwish may have been the mastermind behind MHD’s achievements for the first 30 years of its existence, but his shoes are now being amply filled by his second daughter, Areej, who took over as chairperson at the beginning of 2018. Areej is now one of six Omani women to feature on Forbes Magazine’s list of the 100 most powerful Arab businesswomen. While Areej is quick to pay tribute to her father’s “relentless dedication and

attention to detail,” which she believes were keys to his success, she has a few ideas of her own when it comes to the direction and development of the company she has inherited.

“My role is to make sure that the company continues to be successful. We are always looking to identify and explore opportunities and new business ventures,” says Areej.

One of her immediate priorities is cross-marketing. Her instincts tell her that there is untapped potential to sell the products and services on offer in one division to customers in another.

Areej is also aiming to elevate the company’s profile and to increase the visibility of MHD brands among the general public and visitors arriving at Muscat International Airport. With the surge in passenger traffic, Muscat International Airport is becoming one of the fastest growing airports in the Middle East. Areej has taken the opportunity to showcase MHD brands to travelers at departure and arrival lounges. “If tourists are aware of us, they might buy some of our products,” she says. “And brand visibility also creates an awareness among the local and expatriate population of the products and services that we have to offer.”

Areej also plans to continue her father’s diversification policy. “We need to look at the sectors we aren’t covering as yet, as there exists potential for growth. Diversification not only helps MHD LLC but also contributes to the overall growth of the economy.” In a B2B capacity, logistics is high on Areej’s agenda, while the booming hospitality sector looks alluring as it has a huge potential from a B2C point of view.

Areej believes that tough times and challenges are part of any business, but with focus, determination and consistent efforts, one can definitely achieve one’s goals.



AL RAFFD FUND – GENERATING GROWTH SINCE 2014

As befits a nation with a long and proud sea-faring tradition, the bedrock of Oman's economy has always been its legion of small and medium-sized trading companies. It is a tradition that continues to this day, with its SME sector currently accounting for around 90% of private-sector activity—but only a relatively modest 14% of GDP.

All that is changing thanks to Al Raffd Fund, the state-run organization that coordinates several financing programs set up at the initiative of His Majesty Sultan Qaboos bin Said. The aim of Al Raffd Fund is to offer financing for young Omani men and women who want to engage in businesses that will diversify the economy. According to government projections, the growth of sectors such as tourism, fisheries, and logistics should result in a decline in the contribution of oil to Oman's GDP from 44% in 2011-2015 to 30% by 2020.

The team responsible for achieving Al Raffd Fund's vision works under the supervision of CEO Tariq Al Farsi, who joined the fund in 2013, after 15 years of managerial experience in the banking sector in UAE and Oman. "SMEs are the backbone of almost all successful economies," Al Farsi explains, "but because banks are not allowed to extend loans to would-be entrepreneurs unless they either have collateral or a job, His Majesty's vision was to set up a fund that could give them the financial support that they needed."

The impetus for the fund came from an SME symposium in 2013 in Sayh-Asamikhat. Three days of brainstorming led to a framework for the sector's development and resulted in the ratification of several key decisions.

Perhaps two of the most important were those to allocate 10% of state bids for SMEs and, secondly, allocating plots of land for industrial and tourism use.

Al Raffd Fund launched its first four financial programs at the beginning of 2014: Mawred, for applicants in receipt of a social security segment; Tasees, for job seekers looking to start their own businesses; Riyadh, for entrepreneurs, rural women, craftsmen, and business incubator beneficiaries; and Tazeez, as a top-up for those who had already benefited from Al Raffd.

Last year, the fund focused on industrial activities, tourism and logistics, sectors that will add value to the national economy. Al Raffd Fund unveiled three funding programs created to meet urgent funding needs within these various types of businesses. Specifically, the fund created new financial programs for developing industrial projects, with loan amounts up to about \$520,000. And another two special programs offer funding of about \$260,000 to \$385,000 for establishing franchising businesses and developing the tourism business in Oman.

The Al Raffd Fund is now ISO 9001 certified. Moreover, the fund has third-party institutions training young Omani entrepreneurs and developing their projects. Al Raffd Fund also provides marketing support to SMEs, with regular



Tariq Al Farsi, CEO, Al Raffd Fund

advertisements on Oman TV and outdoor billboard signs and on the back of buses in Oman.

THE FUND HAS A MANDATE TO EXTEND LOANS OF UP TO \$520,000 FOR CERTAIN SEGMENTS, WHILE THE MAXIMUM ADMINISTRATION CHARGE IMPOSED ON ANY OF THE PROGRAMS IS CAPPED AT 2%.

As defined by royal decree, it is 2% in other sectors, apart from job seekers where it is 1.5%, 0.5% for rural women, and 0% for the social security segment.

The money on offer and the terms of the loans may be generous, but the application process is rigorous. "We don't give out money to anyone, of course," Al Farsi says. "First there is an assessment of every applicant's business plan. It is picked over by a team of analysts. Once they have given their approval, the beneficiary interviews with the main committee, half of whose members are bankers. They make absolutely sure that the money goes to the right people and beneficiaries."

The financial discipline that this approach brings to the process is balanced by a genuine desire to help startup businesses put down their roots and grow. One job seeker who applied now employs more than 20 engineers, while some street sellers now run their own fully equipped shops and are opening second branches. Al Farsi estimates that he and his team have already helped more than 2,200 such cases over the past four years.

Under Al Farsi's continued guidance, the fund is maintaining a growing focus on its own internal marketing, skills and media to reach the point where it will become a virtually paperless organization.

"Al Raffd's success and achievement is a consequence of the strategic directives, with the guidance of the fund's board's reflecting the directions of His Majesty and the concerted collaborative efforts of our working team" Al Farsi declares.



DUQM SEZ – AN IDEAL HOME

Last November, a group of four leading French investors and technology providers announced that they were planning to develop a state-of-the-art industrial complex in the Special Economic Zone (SEZ) at Duqm, the brand new city rising out of the desert 300 miles south of the Omani capital of Muscat.



The syndicate includes energy giant EDF's Renewables subsidiary and the multinational container transportation and shipping company CMA CGM Group. They are the latest in a long line of blue-chip businesses seeking to capitalize on the potential of this enormous SEZ which, since 2011, has been transforming what was once a sleepy fishing village into a bustling, industrial metropolis. On completion, the seaport that is at the heart of the new city's master plan is expected to attract several industrial

zones, a large refinery, a new airport and a tourist district, as well as the schools and housing that its growing population is going to need.

With His Majesty Sultan Qaboos Al Said on a mission to diversify Oman's economy away from its dependency on oil, Duqm is not the only new city to be currently emerging from Omani's sands and coastal strips, but its progress to date is certainly among the most impressive. An airport, a dry dock, and a handful of hotels have either already been built or are under construction, while the ink is

just beginning to dry on a contract for the development of the refinery.

Yahya Al Jabri, chairman of the Special Economic Zone Authority of Duqm (SEZAD), believes this is largely thanks to a combination of two factors: Duqm's strategic location as a regional gateway to the GCC states, which makes Duqm a maritime hub on major shipping lines traversing the Indian Ocean, and the exceptionally friendly investment environment it has to offer.

"We are ideally placed for anybody wanting to trade with Asia," says Al Jabri, "and they can also set up their manufacturing facilities here. Land isn't expensive, and we are offering

investors 50-year leases with the option of extending them for another 50." Many companies setting up businesses in Duqm are also eligible for up to a 30-year tax holiday, pay no tariffs if they need to import their raw materials and are under no obligation to take on a local partner.

Duqm's potential is immense. "SEZ at Duqm covers 2,000 square kilometers," Al Jabri says. "That's bigger than some countries."

Explore more through www.duqm.gov.om



ITHRAA – FROM OMAN TO THE WORLD

Oman is undoubtedly one of the Middle East's most impressive success stories. Not only has it remained an oasis of peace in a turbulent region, but the monarch's success in diversifying the economy away from hydrocarbons has been outstanding, as has the regeneration of Oman's export sector.



One organization playing a significant role in an export boom that in January 2018 saw non-oil exports surge more than 34.8% year-on-year to reach a total of \$8 billion is Ithraa, Oman's award-winning investment and export development agency. Established in 1996, Ithraa has helped attract almost \$20 billion in FDI since 2014. It has also persuaded a whole range of multinationals to establish a presence in the country, including Huawei, Carrefour and Lulu, along with oil and mining giants BP and Rio Tinto. Ithraa has

also made a concerted effort to raise the international profile of Oman's indigenous industries and provide them with the expertise and tools they need to compete on the global stage.

In the second half of 2018, Ithraa hosted trade delegations from countries as diverse as Iran, Japan and China. It organized trade missions to the United Kingdom, Canada, Tanzania and Qatar, and ran workshops aimed at informing local businesses about the opportunities in a number of sectors, including healthcare and agriculture. The agency's aim is to raise the awareness

of these entities to the opportunities in Oman arising from the country's changing demographics and technological innovation.

Thanks to these efforts, Oman's re-emergence as a regional economic power is very much a two-way street, with ongoing investment in a network of ports and of Special Economic Zones encouraging FDI and driving exports.

The diversification process is also well under way, with the mineral, chemical, metals and livestock sectors all putting in strong performances. Oman's geographical reach is also spreading. While GCC

countries remain the largest recipients of Omani goods and raw materials, the United States, Yemen, India and China are also now emerging as increasingly important customers.

Oman's presence on the global stage is only just beginning. Get in touch and find out what Oman can do for your business by emailing: info@ithraa.om



OMAN DRYDOCK COMPANY – HARBORING HUGE AMBITION

Since 2013, when Chinese President Xi Jinping announced his intention to revive the New Silk Road between Asia and Europe, investment in the ports along its southern maritime trade routes has been gathering pace. The race is on to accommodate the growing number of container ships expected to make the journey between the two continents.

As the volume of traffic increases, so too does demand for dry dock facilities where vessels can be repaired and refitted. Among the largest and most modern is the one run by the Oman Drydock Company (ODC) at Duqm on the Arabian Peninsula's southeast corner. Initially operated and developed with the help of South Korea's Daewoo Shipbuilding & Marine Engineering Co. (DSME), its dry dock is among the biggest ship repair yards in the world, with the capacity to handle some of the largest vessels in service today.

To date, ODC has already dry-docked a number of ultra low-cost carriers (ULCC) and ore-bulk-oil (OBO) carriers and series of other large tankers. It has also serviced a wide array of vessel types, including container ships, chemical tankers, dredgers and general cargo vessels. In December 2017, the giant ore carrier Saham Max became the 500th vessel to be pulled out of the dock by ODC's tugs.

The official alliance with DSME came to an end in 2016 and, while the two organizations continue to collaborate, ODC is now under the sole stewardship of its new CEO Said Al Mawali. With 21 years of experience earned at some of Oman's most successful oil and aluminum companies, Al Malawi has been tasked with developing and diversifying the ODC portfolio.

It is a challenge he is tackling with relish and confidence. Like many other

seasoned observers, he believes that international trade would be on an upward curve with or without China's Belt and Road initiative thanks to the growing affluence of the world's population—and ODC's market share will follow suit thanks to the company's ability to win over new clients.

“WE HAVE SEEN A HUGE IMPROVEMENT IN CUSTOMER FLOWS FROM INDIA AND THE MIDDLE EAST,” HE SAYS, “AND NEXT YEAR WE WILL ALSO BE TARGETING HONG KONG AND SINGAPORE. ORDERS IN THE PIPELINE FROM OUR TRADITIONAL EUROPEAN MARKETS ARE ALSO PICKING UP.”

The company's financial performance bears this confidence out, with 2018 revenues up 25% and profits up 40%, year on year.

In addition to favorable macroeconomic conditions and the new impetus that Al Mawali has injected into the company's sales and marketing operations, there is another very important reason that ODC is enjoying this run of success, namely,

the sheer quality and range of the services that the company has to offer. Along with its considerable size (its yard stretches over 1.277 million square meters of land and 1.139 million square meters of water surface, not to mention 2.8 million of quayside berthage for alongside repairs), ODC guarantees its customers some of the best IT and technical support to be found anywhere in the world, specifically designed around their needs, either as a fully managed service or as back-up to third-party service providers.

Another reason for the CEO's optimism for the future is the company's affiliation since 2016 with the Oman Global Logistics Group ASYAD. This state-owned entity is an end-to-end comprehensive logistics solutions provider in the Middle East that connects Oman to the world and the world to Oman, covering ports, free zones and multimodal transportation. Set up at the same time that ODC parted company with its South Korean partner DSME, ASYAD aims to maximize the economic and financial returns from the Omani Government investments in ports, free zones, land and sea transport, and logistic services.

Being affiliated to ASYAD makes ODC a key player, not just in Oman's diversification plans, but also in the parallel initiative to maximize profits



Said Al Mawali
CEO Oman Drydock Company

from its existing oil industry. With a new oil refinery about to be built in the Special Economic Zone at Duqm, Al Mawali is looking to diversify the company's own operations to offer its services to oil and gas companies both domestically and globally.

“WE HAVE THE RIGHT SKILLS AND ASSETS,” HE POINTS OUT.

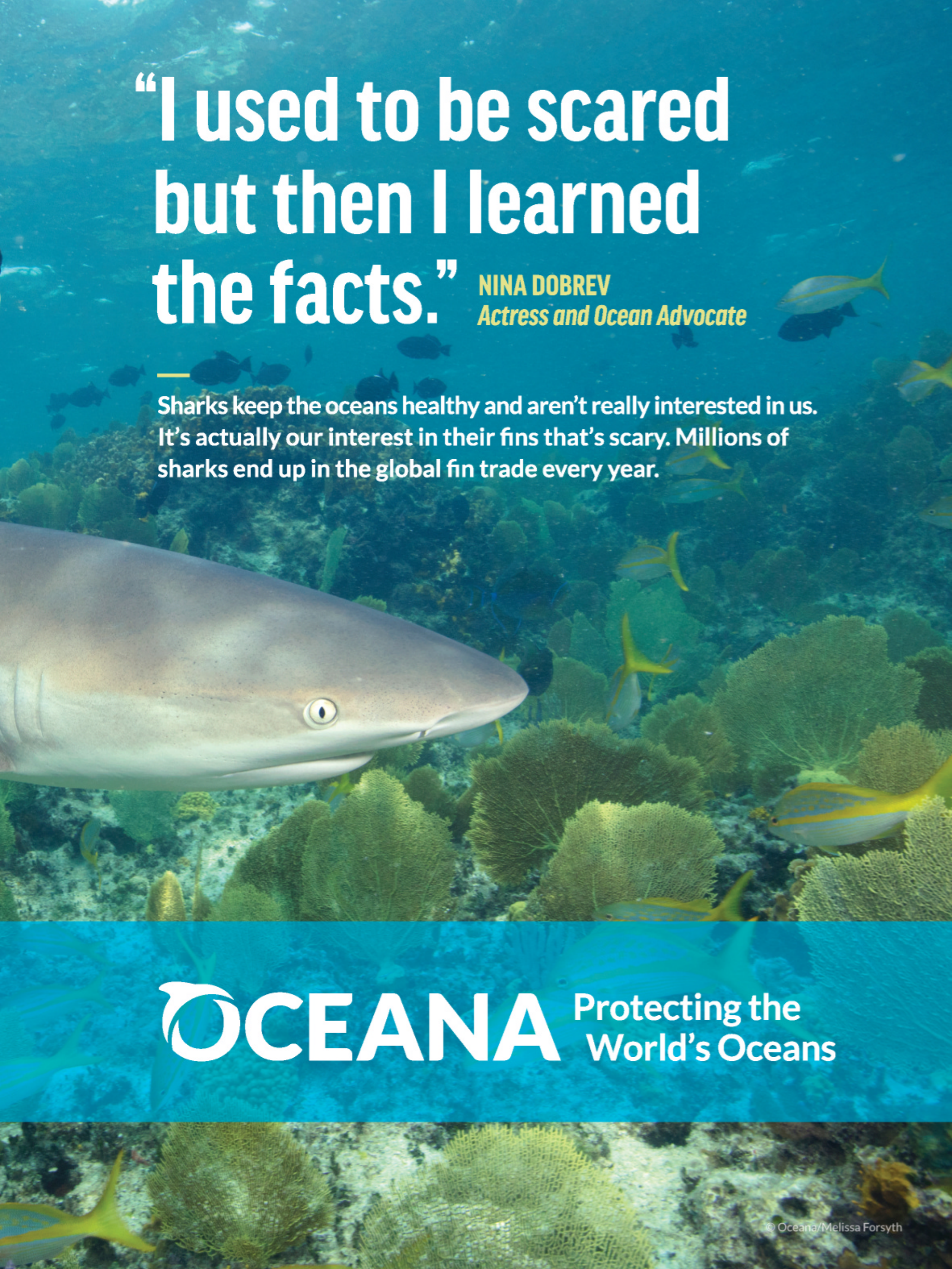
ODC mirrors Oman's wider diversification drive in other ways too. Al Mawali is looking for partners to help the company branch out into, among other things, the construction of super-yachts and other specialized vessels on the one hand and the conversion of the waste from the tankers anchored off nearby Fujairah into oil on the other. “In 10 years' time, I predict that we will be six or seven times bigger than we are today.”

Watch this space.





Visit oceana.org/savesharks to see more from Nina and learn how you can help protect these vital ocean animals.

An underwater photograph of a shark swimming over a vibrant coral reef. The water is clear and blue, with various colorful fish and coral structures visible. The shark is in the foreground, swimming towards the right. The coral reef is in the background, with many different types of coral and fish.

**“I used to be scared
but then I learned
the facts.”**

NINA DOBREV
Actress and Ocean Advocate

Sharks keep the oceans healthy and aren't really interested in us. It's actually our interest in their fins that's scary. Millions of sharks end up in the global fin trade every year.

OCEANA Protecting the
World's Oceans



★ THE PLOT
AGAINST
EUROPEST

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

ILLUSTRATION BY LINCOLN AGNEW FOR TIME

THE DECISION CAME AS A SURPRISE.

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

—Frans Timmermans, first vice president of the European Commission

World

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

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

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

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

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



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



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

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

ORBAN AND SALVINI: MARCO BERTORELLO—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Britain was always a hesitant E.U. member, refusing to abandon the British pound for the euro, or to join the Schengen system that eliminates internal border controls between 26 countries. But in several interviews with TIME, top European officials describe Brexit as a seismic, even existential, shock. The first defection by a member state in 62 years has cracked open questions that sputtered to the surface periodically for years, including how to drastically overhaul the E.U., either by limiting its mammoth scope and regulatory oversight or by tightly binding the 27 countries still in it.

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

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

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

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

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

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

—Political strategist Fabrice Pothier



LE PEN: ANTONIO MASIELLO—GETTY IMAGES

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

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

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

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

But outside of Budapest, among the farmland and small villages, the E.U.'s role looms large. About 22 miles west of the capital lies the picturesque town of Bicske, home to 12,000 people. In March, alongside the anti-E.U. campaign posters featuring Soros and Juncker, were dozens of posters from the E.U. itself. Outside schools, health centers and official buildings there are signposts with blue E.U. flags, emblazoned with its circle of gold stars, listing the amounts European taxpayers have spent on each public project—as they have across Hungary.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

—Peter Szijjarto, Hungary's Foreign Minister





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

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

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

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

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

More hard-line activists are fighting against an entire system they believe is rigged against them. VICTORY THROUGH CHAOS, reads graffiti on a wall in Paris. Demonstrators have asked for a rise in the minimum wage and better services in rural areas, as well as the resignation of Macron and his government. To them, 41-year-old Macron—who made his fortune as a Rothschild banker and, as President, has scrapped France’s “wealth tax,” a levy on its richest citizens—epitomizes a cocooned elite that trumpets globalization but cannot grasp the struggles of those left behind. The French President, who has ambitions to succeed Merkel as the unofficial leader of the European project, has been forced to compromise at home. After conducting a three-month listening tour, Macron has promised to introduce sweeping changes. But it has made little difference:

the protests have shown no signs of ending.


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

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

Nation



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

A young child with dark skin and short hair is looking upwards with a curious expression. In the foreground, a person's arm is visible, wearing a red wristband. The background shows a cluttered kitchen counter with various items like a bottle of dish soap and a water bottle.

Toxic ————— Legacy

**In Flint, residents still
won't trust their taps**

By Josh Sanburn

**Photographs by
Brittany Greeson
for TIME**

Nation

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



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



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

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





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



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

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



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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Where credit is due

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

Now there's a movement to tell their stories

By **Katy Steinmetz**

1.

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

2.

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

3.

Lederberg made strides in the lab throughout the 1950s



1.

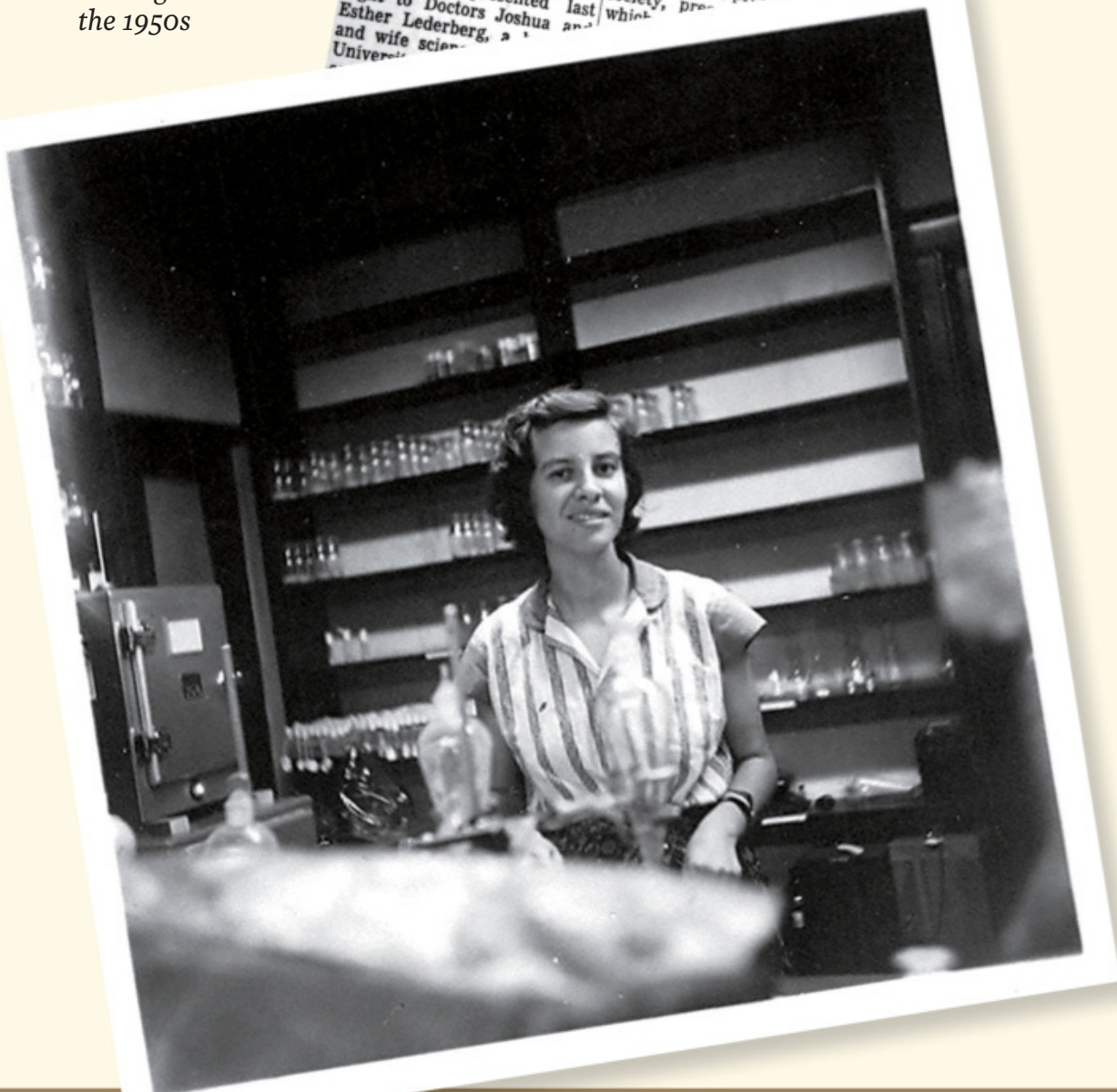
Pasteur Award Winners for 1956



2.

Dr. I. C. Gunsalus (left) presenting 1956 Pasteur award to Doctors Joshua and Esther Lederberg, husband and wife science team. (TRIBUNE Photo)

The 1956 Pasteur award of the Society of Illinois Bacteriologists was presented last night to Doctors Joshua and Esther Lederberg, a husband and wife science team. (TRIBUNE Photo)



3.



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

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

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

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

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

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

Society

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

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

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

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

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

1.



2.



3.



4.





PHOTOGRAPHS COURTESY OF THE ESTHER M. ZIMMER LEDERBERG MEMORIAL WEBSITE

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

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

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

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

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

5.

1.
—
Lederberg poses with colleagues at Stanford University in 1962. She worked at the school until retiring in 1985

2.

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

3.

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

4.

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

5.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

I am **#HeForShe**
Are you?



Men like you and I are not just part of the gender equality conversation, we can be part of the solution. I am one of billions who believe that everyone is born free and equal.



Join me at **HeForShe.org**



HeForShe

I didn't talk for a very long time

Jacob Sanchez
Diagnosed with autism



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



AUTISM SPEAKS®

Time Out

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



INSIDE

ELISABETH MOSS PAYS HOMAGE
TO ROCK'S GREATS

THE FIRST WORTHWHILE
NETWORK SITCOM OF 2019

MUSIC

Lizzo fulfills her own self-love prophecy

By Raisa Bruner

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MORE RISING STARS

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



LEIKELI47
The playful Brooklyn rapper rhymes about black womanhood



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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

LIZZO,
on being in control of her own image

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

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

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

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

CUPCAKKE
Sex-positive CupcakKe paints bold lyrical metaphors





Pretty in pink: Martin walks the talk in *Little*

MOVIES

Oh, to be a kid again—not!

By Stephanie Zacharek

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

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

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

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

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

MOVIES

Prisoners of love

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

Budreau, whose last movie was the deeply affecting 2015 Chet Baker biopic *Born to Be*

Blue (featuring a stellar

performance from Hawke), keeps careful control of *Stockholm*'s shifting tones.

And Hawke, one of our most dependably terrific actors, tracks those gradations of mood nimbly. Lars isn't always a nice guy. Early in the siege, he holds a knife to Bianca's throat. But Hawke lets you see Lars's doubts running in the background. He's not an easy character, but he's still a sympathetic one.

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



MOVIES

Her Smell revives the riot-grrrl vibe

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

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

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

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

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



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



Fanning, with Rebecca Hall: a star in the making

MOVIES

Sing out, sister

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

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

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



Desus and Mero bring their idiosyncratic comic stylings to Showtime

PROFILE

Two Bronx firebrands shake up late night

By Andrew R. Chow

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

DESUS NICE,
on *Desus & Mero* on
Showtime



Javert (Oyelowo) vs. Valjean (West)

REVIEW

Les Miz, minus the music

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

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

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

REVIEW

Bless the first worthwhile network sitcom of 2019

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

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

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

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

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



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

10 Questions

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

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

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

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

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

“WHEN COMEDY REALLY SINGS AND MOVES AND CLICKS AND RINGS, IT MAKES MY HEART POUND”



In the movie, meeting Ralph Waldo Emerson is underwhelming. Have you had that experience in real life? I met a very, very successful person in business, and this person's house seemed really empty. It was very fancy, and there was everything you could ever want. But I remember thinking it wasn't what I would have imagined. My dad always said you can be just as happy having a cup of pea soup at a coffee shop with one friend who understands you. That's joy.

On your Comedy Central show, *The Other Two*, you play a showbiz mom. Is their reputation unfair? The showbiz mom that I play has a very optimistic attitude. She has good family values, and she's experiencing a new chapter. I don't think all showbiz moms are bad. I've certainly worked with really nice ones.

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

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

Do they put on old episodes of *SNL*? No, no, never. I don't do that at all. No. Never. I don't really show them my stuff.

In the show, you have to tell your son that his dad died because he was an alcoholic and fell asleep in the cold. Did your dad's history with alcoholism make that scene easier or harder? Absolutely easier. Because I understand that. And I loved performing it. It was funny, it was real, you could understand the wife's compassion. My dad found AA when I was a teen. He would let me tell funny stories about him because he was like, Maybe that will help someone!, which I'm so grateful for. —BELINDA LUSCOMBE



WE ALL HAVE

THE POWER



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

TO STAND UP



TO CANCER



Lori, breast cancer survivor.



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



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