

# TIME

## THE MODERN ROYALS

by AFUA HIRSCH

*plus*  
**MEGHAN AND  
THE MONARCHY**  
by DAISY GOODWIN

**A PERFECT  
MATCH**  
by TINA BROWN

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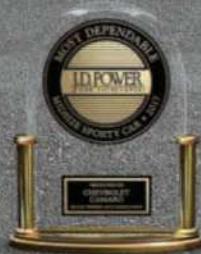
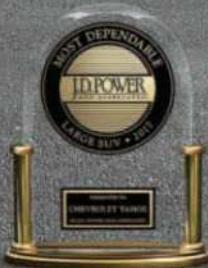
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**Spectators line the streets of Windsor following the wedding of Prince Harry and Meghan Markle on May 19**

*Photograph by Simon Roberts for TIME*

**ON THE COVER:** *Photograph by Gareth Fuller—PA Wire/PA Images*

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## WHAT YOU SAID ABOUT ...

### AMERICA'S TAILSPIN

Steven Brill's May 28 cover story on how America's problems were caused by baby boomers was "excellent," tweeted activist and former presidential candidate Ralph Nader. "So accurate it gave me chills," Jaimi Sorrell in Aiea, Hawaii, wrote on Facebook. But Stanford Law School professor Hank Greely called it "a bit overdone," saying that crediting everything going on, good or bad, to one generation was in fact "classic boomer ego." And Catherine Reinhard of Burke, Va., agreed that the blame was misplaced: "We have not 'broken America,'" she wrote, "though it has done its best to try to break us."

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## The Royal Wedding

# Back in TIME

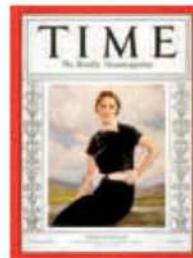
TIME's coverage of the British royal family spans every decade of the magazine's existence, so head to the archives for further reading on the family into which Meghan Markle married when she tied the knot with Prince Harry. Find more at [time.com/vault](http://time.com/vault)



**1929**  
The future Queen Elizabeth II—then Princess "Lilybet"—at her third birthday



**1930**  
King George V and Queen Mary, who made the cover amid a fight over tariffs



**1937**  
Wallis Simpson, for whom Edward VIII gave up the throne, as Person of the Year



**1949**  
Princess Margaret, dubbed "the most eligible partygoer in Britain"



**1953**  
Newly crowned Queen Elizabeth II, Person of the Year, a symbol of the future



**1957**  
Prince Philip in a feature about how he was faring as the Queen's consort



**1969**  
Charles is invested as the Prince of Wales, while critics dis the monarchy as passé



**1978**  
Prince Charles at his 30th birthday, as TIME wonders if he's fit to be King



**1985**  
Princess Diana charms the public on her first trip to the U.S. with Charles



**1996**  
Prince Charles and Diana divorce 15 years later, after he admits to infidelity



**2005**  
Prince Charles weds Camilla Parker Bowles, making the international cover



**2011**  
Prince Harry's older brother, Prince William, marries Kate Middleton

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# For the Record

**Commencement 2018** It's an American springtime rite: politicians, celebrities, business leaders and other notables offer their two cents to the nation's graduates. A glimpse at this year's wisest words so far:

**'Don't ever confuse what is legal with what is moral ... You're either principled or you're not.'**

**OPRAH WINFREY**, chair and CEO of the Oprah Winfrey Network, at USC's Annenberg School for Communication and Journalism in Los Angeles

**'EMBRACE THE MESS ... YOUR LIFE WON'T ALWAYS UNFOLD ACCORDING TO PLAN.'**

**BETSY DEVOS**, U.S. Secretary of Education, at Ave Maria University in Ave Maria, Fla.



**'THE QUESTION WE ASK OURSELVES IS NOT "WHAT CAN WE DO?" BUT "WHAT SHOULD WE DO?"'**

**TIM COOK**, Apple CEO, at Duke University in Durham, N.C., where he got his MBA



**'We're the ones who decide, "Do I hate, or am I filled with love?"'**

**JIMMY CARTER**, former U.S. President, at Liberty University in Lynchburg, Va.



**'Trust that inner voice?'**

**RONAN FARROW**, journalist, at Loyola Marymount University in Los Angeles

**'HOME SHAPES YOU. MAKE SURE YOU SHAPE IT BACK.'**

**QUEEN LATIFAH**, actor and Newark, N.J., native, at Rutgers University–Newark



**'A responsibility of every American citizen to each other is to preserve and protect our freedom by recognizing what truth is and is not.'**

**REX TILLERSON**, former U.S. Secretary of State, at the Virginia Military Institute in Lexington, Va.

**'I'm going to leave you with these two words: I'm Batman.'**

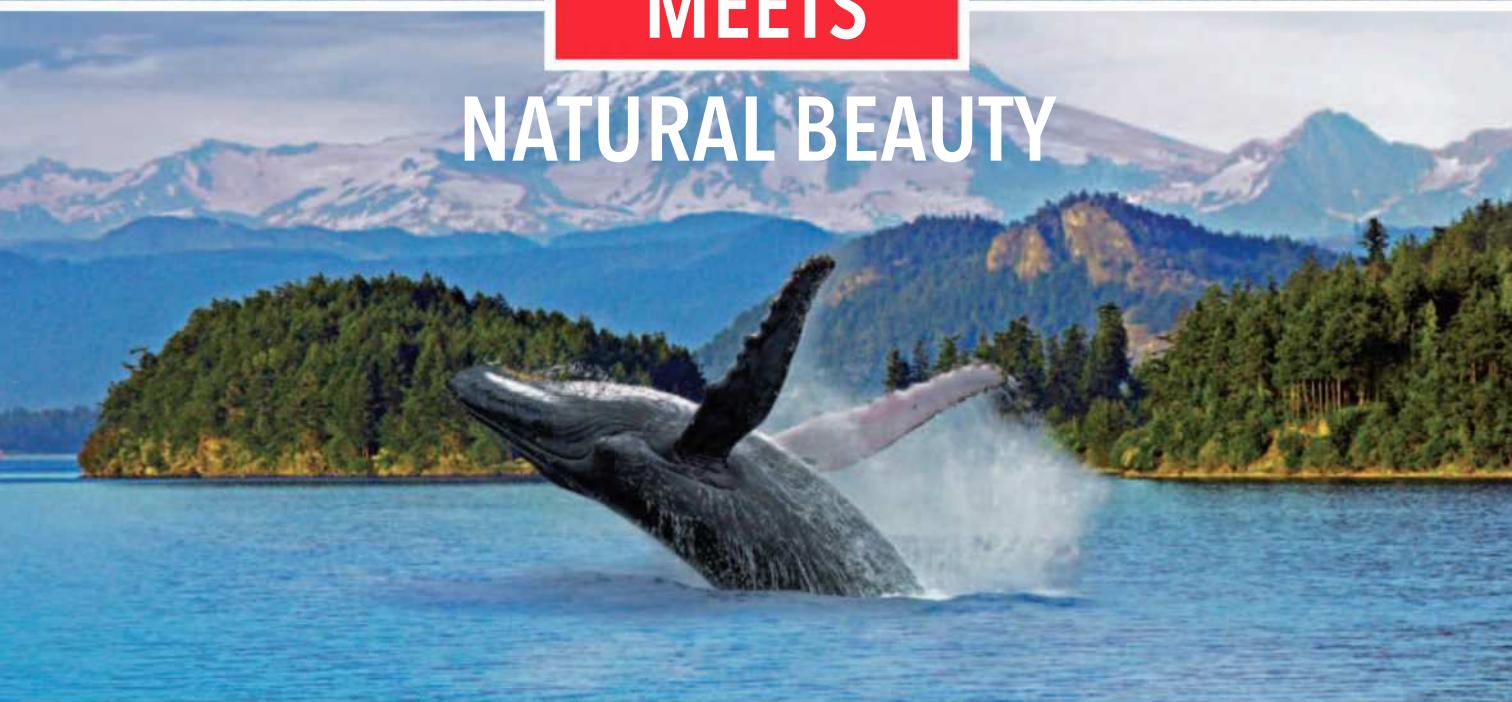
**MICHAEL KEATON**, actor and star of two *Batman* movies, at Kent State University in Ohio, which he attended



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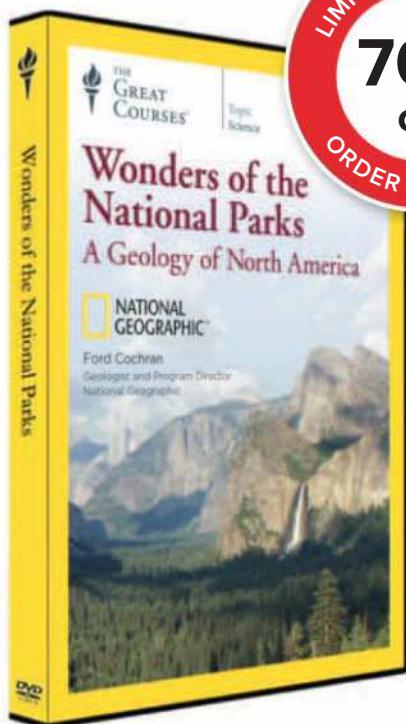


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3. Grand Teton and Jackson Hole
4. Hawaii Volcanoes: Earth's Largest Mountains
5. The Hawaiian Islands and Maui's Haleakala
6. Mount Saint Helens, Lassen Volcanic, Rainier
7. Crater Lake, Olympic, North Cascades
8. Volcanoes of Alaska: Katmai and Lake Clark
9. Alaska's Glacier Bay and Kenai Fjords
10. Yosemite: Nature's Cathedral
11. Redwoods, Sequoias, and the Sierra Nevada
12. Pinnacles to Joshua Tree: The San Andreas
13. Denali to Gates of the Arctic
14. Death Valley and Great Basin: The Rift Zone
15. Shenandoah: The Collision of Old Continents
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19. National Seashores and Lakeshores
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32. Big Bend on the Rio Grande and Saguaro
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34. The Everglades and the Congaree Bottomland
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# The Brief

**ANOTHER  
MOURNING**  
Students in  
Santa Fe, Texas,  
console each  
other after a  
classmate fatally  
shot 10 people,  
eight of them  
teenagers

## INSIDE

WHAT TO KNOW ABOUT  
THE NEW ONLINE PRIVACY LAW  
TAKING EFFECT IN THE E.U.

HOW TO INTERPRET A WOBBLY  
WEEK FOR THE NORTH KOREA  
NUCLEAR NEGOTIATIONS

WHY NEW EBOLA  
CASES HAVE PUBLIC-HEALTH  
OBSERVERS ON EDGE

NATION

## The horror that won't stop happening

By Haley Sweetland Edwards

**I**T HAS BECOME A WAKING NATIONAL NIGHTMARE, a recurring horror that we can't explain or defend but that we are condemned to repeat. We know it will happen again. We seem helpless to stop it.

The latest nightmare began on May 18 with the news: there had been another school shooting. This time, it unfolded at Santa Fe High School in Santa Fe, Texas, a town of about 12,000 people clustered around a sun-soaked highway southeast of Houston. As the reports came in from law enforcement and medical personnel, it became clear that this had been a deadly event. Ten people were killed, including eight students and two teachers: Jared Black, 17; Shana Fisher, 16; Christian Riley Garcia, 15; Aaron Kyle McLeod, 15; Angelique Ramirez, 15; Sabika Sheikh, 17; Christopher Jake Stone, 17; Kimberly Vaughan, 14; Glenda Ann Perkins, 64; and Cynthia Tisdale, 63.

The sense of inevitability was most powerful, and most disturbing, at the scene itself. Paige Curry, a student at the school, was interviewed by a local TV reporter. "Was there a part of you that was like, This isn't real. This would not happen at my school?" the reporter asked. Curry looked up and almost laughed. No, she said. It didn't feel unreal at all. "It's been happening everywhere," she said. "I've always kind of felt eventually it would happen here too."

By May 19, we had learned about the victims, read their bios and seen the photos they had posted on social media. In many pictures, the dead kids are smiling, posing with Snapchat filters or dressed up for a dance, beautiful and awkward in that teenage way. They didn't know they were about to die.

We also learned about the killer. This time, he was a 17-year-old student at the school. He'd gotten hold of his father's guns. On the day of the attack, he'd reportedly worn a T-shirt emblazoned with the words BORN TO KILL. One of the victim's mothers said her daughter had rebuffed his advances. But who knows why someone murders his peers.

The sense of entrapment truly sets in when our chosen leaders step onto the public stage. It's as if they are all reading off the same teleprompter. Tweeting from their iPhones, elected officials offer their deepest condolences. They send their thoughts and prayers. If their words feel familiar, it is perhaps because the same public figures spoke and tweeted nearly the same sentences in February, in the wake of the shooting at Marjory Stoneman Douglas

High School in Parkland, Fla. That time, 17 died: 14 students and three staff members.

After Parkland, President Trump offered a grab bag of solutions: strengthen background checks, ban bump stocks, arm teachers. Congress passed no new laws. The prospect of political changes that might end our ongoing nightmare looks no better this time. Texas Governor Greg Abbott, a Republican and staunch gun-rights advocate, prayed with the families who had lost loved ones and promised action. This will never happen again in Texas, he said. By Sunday, the focus was on designing schools with fewer entrances and exits.

**COMMUNITIES REACT DIFFERENTLY** to these tragedies. In suburban Parkland, students ignited a national conversation around gun violence, helping to push legislation in Florida and beyond. Oregon expanded a law banning those convicted of stalking or domestic violence from owning guns. Florida, Maryland and Vermont joined Rhode Island, Connecticut, California, Oregon, Washington and Indiana in establishing "red flag" policies, giving law enforcement the power to

confiscate guns from people who make threats of violence online or in person. In Santa Fe, the largely rural community's reaction was more muted. Students and their parents, on the whole, stopped short of demanding stricter gun-control laws. But in the nearest large city, Houston police chief Art Acevedo echoed the Parkland kids' calls for action.

National polls show that roughly two-thirds of Americans believe there should be tighter gun restrictions.

A Quinnipiac University poll from February broke down that support by proposal: 97% of Americans support universal background checks; 83% support mandatory waiting periods for firearm purchases; 67% support an assault-weapon ban. But the politics are tricky, and in the world of lobbying, there's plenty of money in intransigence. Two weeks before the shooting at Santa Fe High School, Trump

addressed the annual convention of the National Rifle Association. "Your Second Amendment rights are under siege," he told the crowd, "but they will never, ever be under siege as long as I'm your President."

Will we ever wake from this ongoing horror? The story of the Santa Fe shooting seemed to end the same way it always does, with the inevitable candlelit vigil and the images of tear-streaked teenagers burying their faces in their friends' necks. There was no dramatic climax, no indication that this time things will change. By May 21, most of the TV trucks had left the school parking lot. The teddy bears and drugstore bouquets piled on the school lawn had begun to wilt in the Texas sun. All that was left was the haunting certainty that we will live through this again soon. □



↑  
*Crosses outside Santa Fe High School bear the names of the 10 victims of the May 18 shooting*



**RAIN OF FIRE** Lava flows into the Pacific Ocean southeast of Pahoia on May 20 as the Kilauea volcano erupts in Hawaii. Officials say that when lava hits cool seawater, it generates clouds of acid, steam and glass known as “laze.” The plumes can cause lung damage and irritate eyes and skin.

#### THE BULLETIN

## Online privacy gets a boost in Europe— with potential benefits for users everywhere

IT'S NOT JUST YOU. OVER THE PAST several weeks, many people have been bombarded with emails about data privacy from major corporations such as Twitter and Facebook. There's a reason all these businesses are updating their privacy policies—and, though you may be tempted to trash those emails, they carry news of real change. The companies sending them have until May 25 to comply with a new privacy law enacted by the European Union, known as the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR).

**DATA RIGHTS** The E.U. guidelines limit how companies can use and process the personal data of consumers, giving ordinary people more control over their own information. Under the GDPR, corporations need to explicitly ask if they can collect your data, they're required to answer if you inquire what that data is used for, and they must give you the right to permanently delete that information. Companies will also be required to disclose now ubiquitous data breaches within 72 hours.

**REMEMBER THIS** Even if a company chooses to change its policy for all users, only those covered by the GDPR—so, those in the E.U.—will have legal recourse. But experts say it's still an important reminder for everyone to think about these issues. Many people don't realize just how much businesses rely on data to make determinations about customers. “Your data is being used for significant decisions that are made about you,” says Chris Meserole, a fellow at the Brookings Institution. “If you are applying for a credit score, a loan, any number of things, an algorithm can just decide that you're not qualified.”

**NEXT STEPS** As of now, there are no laws in the pipeline to enact similar changes in the U.S., so Americans will have to be satisfied with these secondhand benefits. But the GDPR is already leading some corporations to make changes globally to simplify implementation. If it affects users' attitudes toward privacy the way some experts predict, such changes seem likely to spread.

—ALIX LANGONE

#### NEWS TICKER

### Rare cease-fire in Kashmir for Ramadan

India said it would suspend military operations against rebels in Jammu and Kashmir state for the month of Ramadan—the first such cease-fire in 18 years. Fighting in the predominantly Muslim Himalayan region, to which both India and Pakistan lay claim, had escalated in recent weeks.

### Ozone- destroying chemical returns

Emissions of the compound CFC-11 are up 25% since 2012, even though it was banned under the 1987 Montreal Protocol. Scientists warn that if they can't find the reason for the rise, the chemical could delay the ozone layer's healing by a decade.

### 16,000 born in Rohingya camps

An estimated 693,000 members of the persecuted Rohingya minority have fled Myanmar in the past year after military violence in Rakhine state, and now UNICEF calculates that 60 Rohingya babies are born each day in refugee camps in Bangladesh. UNICEF called conditions in the camps “appalling.”

## NEWS TICKER

### North Carolina teachers rally for funding

Thousands of teachers in North Carolina skipped school on May 16 and marched in Raleigh to **demand raises and more funding for education** in a state that has passed tax cuts in recent years. The demonstration was the latest in a string of protests as teachers across the country ask for more support.

### Maduro claims victory in Venezuela

Venezuelan President Nicolás Maduro **claimed a second six-year term after elections on May 20**, amid domestic and international allegations of fraud and vote-buying. The main opposition coalition called for a boycott of the ballot, from which the most formidable challengers were barred.

### White House: No funds for abortions or referrals

In a move seen as an attack on Planned Parenthood, the Trump Administration announced on May 18 that it will deny federal funding to **health clinics that provide abortions or abortion referrals**. Direct federal funding of abortions is already banned.

## GOOD QUESTION

### Have North Korea negotiations hit a dead end?

By Charlie Campbell/Beijing

IT TURNS OUT KIM JONG UN IS STILL playing hard to get. When South Korean President Moon Jae-in arrived in Washington, D.C., on May 21, only two days had passed since he spoke by phone with U.S. President Donald Trump, in what has been seen by observers as a sign of the alarm felt by both leaders regarding North Korea's threat to cancel the historic summit slated to take place in Singapore on June 12.

While Kim pledged a "new era of peace" at a meeting with Moon and returned three American detainees in a show of good faith, he is apparently infuriated by the tone White House officials are taking toward a negotiation he'd hoped would put the powers on a level field. His government nixed May 16 talks with Seoul—ostensibly over joint U.S.–South Korea military exercises—and hours later warned the U.S. "we are no longer interested in a negotiation that will be all about driving us into a corner."

National Security Adviser John Bolton had particularly enraged North Korean leadership by suggesting the regime should follow the "Libya model" of nuclear disarmament. It will not have escaped Kim that Libyan dictator Muammar Gaddafi was toppled with Western backing and executed less than eight years after agreeing to abandon his nuclear program. White House press secretary Sarah Huckabee Sanders tried to walk it back, saying there wasn't a "cookie-cutter" model for talks. But, asked about North Korea's threat to pull out, Trump simply said, "We'll see what happens."

Pyongyang's resumption of rancor means the Singapore summit risks turning into an embarrassment. The former reality-television star has trumpeted progress with North Korea as a counterpoint to his domestic travails. Chants of "Nobel! Nobel!"—suggesting Trump merits

the famed Peace Prize for bringing Kim to heel—have followed the President around recent rallies. Trump has separately said that "everyone thinks" he deserves the award.

This makes South Korean officials nervous that Trump may give away too much to clinch a deal. Compounding matters, Trump "doesn't think he needs to" prepare for the summit, a senior White House official told TIME. And another obstacle to success runs even deeper. The crux of the matter is what "denuclearization" means: for the U.S., it's North Korea giving up weapons in exchange for nonaggression assurances and economic aid. For North Korea, it has always been about dismantling the U.S.–East Asian alliance system, removing American troops from South Korea and Japan and dismantling the U.S. "nuclear umbrella." These are, and likely always will be, nonstarters for Washington.

**ONE FORMER** top North Korean official, who has defected to the South and spoke to TIME on condition of anonymity, says Pyongyang wants the hawkish Bolton thrown off the U.S. negotiation team. He added that regime officials who are "meticulously planning" for the summit are perturbed by Secretary of State Mike Pompeo's talk of "permanent, verifiable, irreversible" disarmament, which appears to go further than the U.N. definition. "If North Korea gives the U.S. an inch, it tries to take a mile," says the former official. "North Korea believes it had to take action to remind everyone that it is Kim Jong Un calling the shots."

Even if a deal is reached, the regime has reneged on previous commitments to denuclearize. That said, the fact that North Korea is fretting over the specific terms of negotiations offers a glimmer of hope that they intend, for the moment at least, to comply. And Kim's stated refocus on improving the lives of his 25 million compatriots provides room for the U.S. to dangle economic carrots. "We always talk about how North Koreans hedge and cheat, but they always talk about how we democracies throw out the deals made by the last guy," says John Delury, an East Asia expert at Yonsei University in Seoul. "I'm not sure their goal is just to manipulate Trump's haste. It doesn't solve the ultimate problem." □

Kim Jong Un, pictured in April



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# The Brief Milestones

## CONFIRMED

**Gina Haspel** to lead the CIA, by the Senate on May 17, despite concerns about her role in the controversial interrogation of suspected terrorists after 9/11. She will be the first woman to direct the agency.

## DROPPED

The **U.S. fertility rate**, to a record low for the second straight year, federal officials said on May 17. The number of births also fell in 2017, reaching the lowest level in 30 years.

## DENIED

A request from President Trump to halt the defamation lawsuit brought against him by former **Apprentice** contestant **Summer Zervos**, by a New York appeals court.

## FILED

**Cambridge Analytica**, the political consulting firm at the center of Facebook's privacy scandal, for bankruptcy on May 17. The firm and its parent company shut down earlier in May.

## RELEASED

Former Russian spy **Sergei Skripal** from a hospital following his poisoning in England in March. British officials have blamed Russia for the attack.

## SUED

A temple in Japan, by a Buddhist monk who **claims his nonstop work catering to tourists gave him depression**. A local labor office has supported his case, saying his long hours constituted overwork.



Health workers prepare to treat Ebola patients at Bikoro Hospital in the Democratic Republic of Congo on May 12

## CONFIRMED

### **Ebola in the Democratic Republic of Congo** *An outbreak escalates*

ALTHOUGH THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION (WHO) HAS said the ongoing Ebola outbreak in the Democratic Republic of Congo does not yet constitute a public-health emergency of international concern, on May 17 the group announced that the situation had reached a new and worrisome stage. Whereas the outbreak had previously been confined to small villages, officials confirmed a case in Mbandaka, a city of 1.2 million people. Since then, three more cases have been confirmed in the city. Mbandaka acts as a hub for regional traffic, thus presenting a new possibility that the virus could be easily transported. Already, there have been 26 deaths reported during this latest outbreak of Ebola, which came just 10 months after Congo's previous bout with the virus was officially declared finished.

The international response to Congo's outbreak has been significant and is expected to grow now that the virus has spread to Mbandaka. The world already knows what can happen when Ebola arrives in a city. When the virus spread through West Africa starting in 2014, it reached the capitals of Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone. That epidemic left more than 11,000 people dead, and this current outbreak is the worst instance since it ended in 2016. Still, Robert Steffen, chairman of the WHO's emergency committee, said the "situation can be brought under control"—if, that is, the international community maintains a "vigorous response." —ABIGAIL ABRAMS

## APPROVED

### **Migraine drug** *New hope for headache sufferers*

APPROXIMATELY 1 BILLION people across the globe suffer from migraines, making the condition the world's third most common illness, according to the Migraine Research Foundation. Not only that, many sufferers—a disproportionate number of whom are women—face doubt from doctors and peers who may downplay the pain. And yet the U.S. market has offered no drug expressly designed to prevent these debilitating headaches.

That changed on May 17, when the Food and Drug Administration approved **Aimovig**, a drug from Amgen and Novartis. Users take a monthly shot that targets a molecule thought to play a role in migraines and has been shown in clinical trials to measurably reduce headache frequency for chronic sufferers.

When the drug becomes widely available—which is scheduled to happen very soon—more sufferers will be able to put it to the test, but it has already become invaluable to some patients in those trials. Susan Giordano, 58, who was plagued by up to 12 migraines a month, now hasn't had one in a year. "The drug has really been life-transforming," Giordano says. "which I don't say lightly."

—JAMIE DUCHARME



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## Mild-mannered spy chief **Dan Coats** gives Trump the facts. Gently

By Massimo Calabresi

DAN COATS IS NOT EXACTLY CENTRAL CASTING'S version of a spymaster. Sitting down for an interview in his spacious office in suburban Virginia, the Director of National Intelligence is cheerful and earnest. His manner is the same brand of friendly Midwestern self-effacement for which he was known during 16 years as a Republican Senator from Indiana. "The technical capabilities of this [job] and the diversity of skills are high above my intellectual capacity," he says. One veteran Washington intelligence observer uses the word *guileless* to describe his demeanor.

Which is definitely not in the job description for America's top spy. As head of 17 intelligence agencies, including the CIA, NSA, FBI and multiple military intelligence arms, Coats, 75, oversees everything from domestic counterterrorism to foiling foreign espionage plots. Just as challenging: he controls the agencies' \$70 billion collective annual budget. Spies are no slouches when it comes to bureaucratic maneuvering; being the boss of all spy bosses requires not just authority but cunning. Even in normal times, the job is among the most thankless in government.

Yet Coats' bashful exterior has helped him survive in the tumultuous Trump Administration. The President has declared war on Washington bureaucracy and came into office particularly hostile to the intelligence services for supporting the investigation into Russia's 2016 election meddling, which he calls a "witch hunt." Coats nonetheless has managed to stay in President Trump's good graces and briefs him and Vice President Mike Pence most mornings in the Oval Office. "There's a tendency to underestimate him that he can turn to his advantage," says Steven Aftergood, an intelligence expert at the Federation of American Scientists.

At the same time, the hawkish Coats has established a reputation in Washington as a straight shooter focused on America's long-term national security, even among Democrats. That's no small achievement in a hyperpartisan environment that has damaged the reputations of other intelligence players. "He's a person of great personal integrity," says California Democrat Adam Schiff, the ranking member of the House Intelligence Committee. "He has been nonideological and nonpolitical."

In that sense, Coats embodies the efforts of many in the embattled U.S. intelligence community:

### COATS QUICK FACTS

#### Midwestern roots

The only child of a Michigan salesman and a Swedish immigrant, Coats served in the Army Corps of Engineers during the Vietnam era.

#### Washington insider

Coats was a House aide to Dan Quayle, replacing him in 1981. He became a Senator, then ambassador to Germany, then a lobbyist, and a Senator again from 2011 to 2017.

#### Iran hawk

He opposed the 2015 Iran deal and said if sanctions failed, military action should be considered.

hunkered down and determined to survive the current crisis. "My message to the entire intelligence community is, 'Let's keep our head down, stay here and be as objective a purveyor of collected intelligence as we can,'" he says.

But that alone doesn't equal success in a job that carries responsibility for the lives of countless service members and civilians. Trump is shaking up U.S. foreign policy, sometimes without counsel from those who are charged with providing him the information he needs to avoid costly mistakes. It's not clear Coats' gentle presentation of the facts is influencing the President. And with a high-stakes summit with North Korea's Kim Jong Un possibly on for June 12, Coats faces his biggest test yet.

**COATS CAME TO THE JOB** through Pence, a fellow Hoosier. As Trump's transition team looked for national-security experts who weren't "Never Trumpers," Pence pointed to Coats' time on the Senate Intelligence Committee and his service as ambassador to Germany in 2001–05, according to sources familiar with his selection. The Trump team also needed someone who would say yes to a tough job. Created after 9/11 to wrangle the hidebound agencies that had missed the al-Qaeda threat, the Director of National Intelligence is infamous for having much responsibility but little authority. Operational decisions are made below Coats' level—he's not charged with signing off on drone strikes or covert break-ins. His power comes from budget control, a seat at the table during National Security Council debates and his access to the President.

Coats' biggest victory has come on Capitol Hill. Early this year, the controversial eavesdropping program known as Section 702 of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA) required reauthorization to avoid sunset. The program collects and stores more than 250 million phone, email and other electronic communications annually, according to one 2011 analysis, giving U.S. spies a vast database to search without a court warrant. As the deadline for reauthorization approached, Trump let loose an anti-FISA tweet the morning of a crucial House vote. Coats joined other intelligence chiefs in drafting a second Trump tweet backing reauthorization and later won final support from several Senators on the floor as the bill was held open, according to several Administration and congressional sources familiar with the events.

Coats has had less influence on other matters. He and his fellow intelligence chiefs joined lawmakers to call for a unified U.S. response to the ongoing threat of Russian election meddling. But Trump has declined to issue any new authorities for the effort, and Coats was left to brief state election officials on the growing threat. In February, Coats testified that Iran was abiding by the 2015 nuclear deal, which



he said had constrained the program and increased international inspections. In regular briefings for Trump, Coats reported on Iran's compliance. But on May 8, Trump walked away from the deal.

Coats' most pressing challenge now is to provide intelligence on North Korea's nuclear program and a read on Kim's motives in the run-up to the planned summit in Singapore. "We are throwing every effort that we can into getting knowledge of what North Korea is doing and what their intentions are," Coats says. But, he says, "it's impossible to get a full picture of a country, particularly a country like North Korea, which is so dark and so isolated."

Even if Coats can give Trump an edge at the summit, it's not clear the President will listen. As Coats and other top advisers met with a South Korean delegation at the White House on March 8 to discuss Kim's summit offer, Trump surprised everyone by accepting it without consultation. Winging it with Kim in Singapore could risk damaging U.S. influence in the region or even set the U.S. on a course to war, experts say. Senior advisers say Trump doesn't

**'We are throwing every effort that we can into ... what North Korea is doing.'**

DAN COATS,  
director of  
National  
Intelligence

feel he needs to prepare for the meeting. Coats' defenders say he's earned Trump's trust. "Not only is the President receiving the best advice from Director Coats," says Republican Senate Intelligence Committee chair Richard Burr, but "he values that advice when making policy decisions."

Coats says he wants to build long-term credibility for the intelligence community and has ordered spy agencies to become more transparent, mandating faster declassification and disclosure of information about some classified programs, including the 702 eavesdropping program. But Trump has repeatedly attacked the integrity of the intelligence community over the Russia investigation. When asked whether Trump sought his counsel over how to end the probe, Coats demurs, but he has been questioned about the incident by federal investigators, sources familiar with the matter say. Coats says "a dark cloud [of partisanship] has settled over the process." Which is just one reason it will take more than mild manners and transparency to protect and advance the credibility of America's spies. □

# A New Investment Landscape

China's pledge to further open its economy is set to bring more opportunities to foreign investors By Yu Shujun

The door to the world will be opened ever wider, with broadened market access, an improved investment environment, better protection of intellectual property rights, lower tariffs and expanded imports. The message sent by President Xi Jinping at the Boao Forum for Asia Annual Conference 2018 held in south China's Hainan Province from April 8 to 11 has reaffirmed global investors' confidence in China.

Despite rising protectionism, "globalization won't stop in China," said Albert Ng, professional services provider EY's Regional Managing Partner for Greater China, during a panel discussion on investment at the Penn Wharton China Summit 2018 held in the U.S. state of Pennsylvania in mid-April. "China will continue to play a key role in globalization," Ng said.

What cannot be overlooked is that foreign direct investment (FDI) in China has

stayed at a high level although its growth rates in recent years have been outshined by those of China's outward investment, Ng said.

FDI inflows into China reached a record high of \$144 billion in 2017, making it the world's second largest recipient of FDI after the U.S., according to a report released by the UN Conference on Trade and Development in January.

Meanwhile, the investment landscape in China is being reshaped while the primary engine of economic growth is shifting from exports and investment to consumption and innovation.

"China's global role has evolved from a low-cost manufacturer in 2000, to the world's growth engine in 2009 and now also an arguably global innovation engine," said Geoffrey Garrett, Dean of the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania, in his speech at the opening ceremony of the summit.

Innovation in China will leap forward and become the key driver over the coming years, said Ng. "The speed of innovation and of technological advancement in China will be something that might scare a lot of countries," he added. According to Ng, technological innovation is a key area for investment.

## Alluring market

China's previous focus was on agricultural industries before being known as the "world's factory," but according to Ng, in the future, everyone will have to look at China as being the "world's market," which means opportunities for both Chinese companies and foreign investors.

In the past, foreign companies manufactured in China and then exported all over the world. Today, it is different. Many foreign companies want to sell in China after manufacturing, Ng said. China has become "the world's largest market that nobody can omit."



Visitors interact with a robot at an exhibition in Hefei, Anhui Province, on October 24, 2017

In November, the China International Import Expo will be held in Shanghai with companies from all over the world invited to attend.

"Its first ever import expo is a key indication that the Chinese Government is confident that they will be able to attract a lot of foreign companies and that they really want to open up further to the outside world," Ng said.

China boasts the biggest market for electric vehicles, robotics, smartphones, mobile payments, outbound tourism, movie box office sales and online retail, as well as having the largest high-speed rail network, Yup S. Kim, Senior Portfolio Manager of Global Private Equity and Special Opportunities at the Alaska Permanent Fund Corp., said. "This is an incredibly important part of consumption around the world and is important as an investment destination."

Garrett described how China accounted for around 40 percent of worldwide investment in renewable energy in 2017. In the same year, more electric vehicles were sold in China than the rest of the world combined, and although having been in the high-speed rail business for only 10 years, there are more high-speed railways in the country than the rest of the world put together. Garrett predicted that artificial intelligence (AI) investment in China will be much higher than that in the U.S. over the next five years.

## Supportive government

Pete Walker, former Senior Partner at McKinsey, pointed out during a speech at the closing ceremony of the summit that the notion at the core of the Chinese model is a strong central government designed to serve the people. While talking about the government's role in the economy, Walker described the Chinese model as a classic example of the U.S. corporate structure: It has a chief executive and a board of directors, with highly talented people who rise through meritocratic processes, deploying five-year plans to get everybody onboard.

Ng said China is not looking at quantity but rather the quality and sustainability of its economic growth. Double digit growth figures will not be the target for many years to come. Stability and employment as well as the improvement of people's living standards are more important to the government.

Kim said in a world of increasing political division with volatility in Western and Latin American countries, among others, "having a unified party and a vision for the

next 10 to 20 years is a unique competitive advantage and means opportunities for private enterprises in China."

Kim believes that disruptive technologies such as AI, flying cars, autonomous vehicles, robotics and virtual reality require the government to have an innovative and supportive approach. "This is a critical factor to the attractiveness of the Chinese market today," Kim said.

China is now in a much better position to be able to cultivate and develop those innovative technologies, said Kim, explaining that in China, it takes around four years for a unicorn company—a private startup valued at \$1 billion or more—to emerge, compare to seven years in the U.S.

Ng also noted that entrepreneurship is being promoted by the Chinese Government, which will encourage more private investors. He said the local Chinese governments he has talked to at provincial and city-levels are all looking for ways to attract FDI, improve the investment environment and help foreign investors penetrate the Chinese market. "It is still the top agenda of many governments," Ng said.

## Manageable risks

Investing in China is not without its risks, said Kim. From a macroeconomic standpoint, existing over-leverage in the economic system, excess capacity in old industries and renminbi volatility in 2015 in the wake of an exchange rate regime revamp are among foreign investors' main concerns.

Moreover, increased competition from domestic Internet corporations such as the BAT (Baidu, Alibaba and Tencent), local renminbi funds, which represented over 90 percent of fundraising in the initial public offering (IPO) market last year, and foreign investors having a lot of funds have been driving the valuation of companies, which makes it difficult to make money at the point of entry.

The lack of a reliable exit path can also frustrate institutional investors. IPO is certainly one of the ways to exit, but there are currently large IPO backlogs.

Despite all these risks, as a long-term investor "we are still excited about investing in China in the next 10 to 30 years," Kim said. ■



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## Investment Opportunities in China

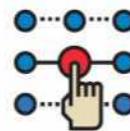
### Technological innovation

- Industrial robots
- Intelligent economy and AI industry
- Big data, cloud computing
- 5G



### Consumption upgrading

- Unstaffed retail
- Healthcare
- Education
- Leisure
- New energy



### Infrastructure

- Inter-city transportation
- High-speed railways
- Airports and communications hubs
- New economic zones



### Urbanization

- Infrastructure building
- Rural medical services and healthcare
- Financing and insurance
- Educational equality



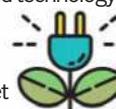
### Manufacturing upgrading

- Made in China 2025 plan
- Process transformation, automation and informatization
- Shaking off labels of "copycat, cheap and low-end"
- Improving labor productivity



### Environmental protection

- Environmental science and technology
- Air, water and soil protection
- Nationwide carbon market



(Source: EY China; designed by Pamela Tobey)

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# The View

WORLD

## PROTECTIONISM'S FALSE PROMISE

By Dambisa Moyo



Much of the criticism leveled against globalization today is related to the idea that it enriches the few, leaving the many behind. The people making this argument frequently advocate for the wholesale abandonment of globalization—which would put the very existence of an international agenda at risk. ▶

### INSIDE

ITALY'S PLAN TO FORM A GOVERNMENT IS A STRETCH, EVEN FOR ITALY

HOW PSYCHEDELICS COULD HELP PEOPLE WITH MENTAL ILLNESS

# TheView Opener

It is understandable that policymakers are responding to their electorates' grievances. While some people have benefited from globalization, large pockets of society have suffered—from farmers in the developing world to manufacturing and industrial workers in the West. But these frustrations have less to do with the ideal of globalization itself than the lite version that politicians have implemented over recent decades. Regrettably, governments across the globe are pivoting today toward lesser political and economic models. These will offer quick wins but over the long term will reduce growth, increase poverty and spur more political and social unrest. Rather than address its shortcomings, this will only entrench the inferior form of globalization.

If the world continues on this isolationist path, three major shifts will happen.

First, a more siloed world will force businesses to adopt increasingly local and decreasingly global models. In essence, they will be more likely to rely on local and regional capital—and less likely to be centrally run from leading financial centers such as New York City, Tokyo and London. This change will significantly alter how businesses fund themselves, how they structure costs and how they view the proposition of long-term growth. They will be less able to access the global capital that is necessary to fund investments and grow companies—reducing their opportunities to hire people and invest in communities.

Second, there will be short-term deflation and then long-term inflation. We've already begun to observe the former. Low energy costs, low wages and indeed the low price of money itself (reflected in low interest rates) indicate a prevailing deflationary world, though they all have notably risen recently. As for the latter, the persistence of low inflation has defied warnings of a sharp uptick that date as far back as 2009, right after the financial crisis. Beyond that, rising trade tariffs and protectionism will increase prices of imported products. This will undercut the actual value of wages' being forced higher by a relatively closed economy with reduced movement of labor.

According to the International Labour Organization, there are approximately 66 million people between the ages of 18 and 24 who are out of work around the

world. That labor imbalance is particularly pronounced when you consider that there is an aging population in the West and Japan, while across many developing nations as much as 70% of the population is under the age of 25. A global policy that targets an optimal migration level could help businesses tap the world's entire labor market for talent and workers—and help stave off steep inflation in the future.

The final shift is that governments will likely favor national champions—companies that enjoy regulatory protections, tax breaks and subsidies that offer an advantage in their home markets against foreign competitors. What results are corporate monopolies rather than competitive markets, where the government becomes a bigger arbiter of who wins and who loses. Ultimately, these companies gain outsize pricing power, which promotes larger and less efficient companies while disadvantaging consumers.

**Public policy has not allowed full globalization a genuine chance to 'lift all boats'**

**PUBLIC POLICY** has not allowed full globalization a genuine chance to “lift all boats.” For example, U.S. politicians should have backed a big investment agenda in infrastructure, schools and skills to usher in a new economic era on the back of the wealth earned from globalization. Instead, it

continued to provide low-interest loans to middle America, especially to support homeownership; these debt programs gave people the illusion that their livelihoods were improving even as their wages were falling and debt obligations were rising. And politicians around the world should have ceded real power and authority to global institutions, like the World Trade Organization, which are still superseded by the policy agendas of national governments and thus struggle to implement an agenda that benefits everyone across the earth.

While the current proposed protectionist policies are understandably appealing in the short term, they stand to limit growth for companies and countries. Left unchecked, the result will be more destruction of the global economy and greater despair as well as unrest, conflict, corruption and a sense of utter hopelessness worldwide.

*Moyo is the author, most recently, of Edge of Chaos: Why Democracy Is Failing to Deliver Economic Growth—and How to Fix It, from which this essay is adapted*

## READING LIST

► Highlights from stories on [time.com/ideas](http://time.com/ideas)

### How social media distorts the vox populi

Former Senator Joseph Lieberman shows that sites like **Twitter and Facebook exaggerate the popularity of extreme views held by the public to elected officials and candidates**, instead of accurately representing the opinions held by the majority of people, who are perhaps too busy to post about politics.

### The quiet pains of mental illness

For Mental Health Awareness Month, **actor Alyssa Milano shares her story of coming to terms with having generalized anxiety disorder.**

“Here’s the thing about mental illnesses,” writes Milano. “You don’t always look sick, and the answers are not always clear or black and white.”

### Defending women in Egypt

Activist Azza Soliman—who writes that her fellow Egyptians have worked to defame and arrest her—describes the **fight to make it safe for women to share their experiences of sexual misconduct** in a new movement named Ana Kaman, or Me Too.

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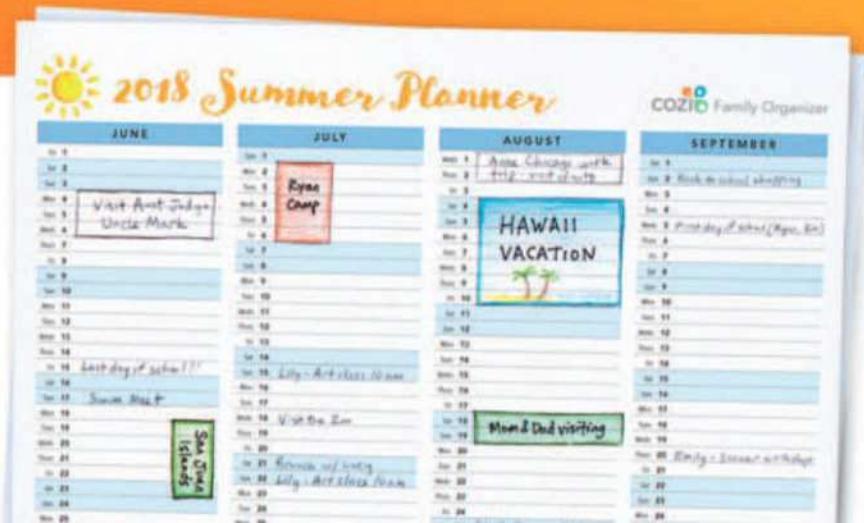
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Luigi Di Maio, left, leader of the Five Star Movement in Italy, and Matteo Salvini, leader of Lega

#### THE RISK REPORT

## Italy's new odd couple

By Ian Bremmer



ITALY HAS HAD 65 governments over the past 73 years. Even at that torrid pace, the country has never had a coalition quite like the one currently

negotiating to take power together. On one end sits the Five Star Movement (5SM), a protest group turned political force. On the other sits Lega, a hard-right party that has made anti-immigration its calling card. It's an unlikely pairing at first glance.

Launched in the wake of the euro zone's economic crisis in 2009, 5SM courted the young and disenfranchised with overt anti-Europe policies and rhetoric—much of which it has dropped as it has moved into the mainstream. But it never lost its anti-elitist, anti-austerity core. It was rewarded in the March elections with the most seats of any party in Parliament. Lega was the surprise of the season, coming in second—though it also did not receive enough votes to form a government on its own. Like 5SM, the prospect of electoral victory made Lega more inclusive, but only toward Italians. Lega's pledge to expel 600,000

undocumented immigrants resonated, as did its general "Italy first" orientation.

Both groups swore to help Italy's downtrodden, albeit in different ways. Lega's headline campaign promise was a flat 15% tax, which it argues will provide a much-needed boost to the working class and small businesses. 5SM's flagship pledge was a scheme guaranteeing a basic income for everyone. 5SM regards Lega's proposal as a tax break for the rich; Lega sees 5SM's pledge as a handout. Both proposals (and any eventual compromise) would explode Italy's already precarious public finances.

Fortunately for them, they agree on who the real enemy is: Brussels. Both frame European bureaucracy, fiscal rules and the euro as the enemies of any Italian economic recovery. That may be enough for the two to come together and form a successful government. But neither has much executive experience, and while they may be able to paper over policy differences for now, neither group has ever needed to compromise its relatively extreme positions for any extended period.

No one does political drama quite like the Italians. □

#### QUICK TALK

## Michael Pollan

For his latest book, *How to Change Your Mind*, the author researched—and experimented with—psychedelic drugs.

### What do scientists believe psychedelics can offer people, especially those with certain types of mental illness?

These chemicals allow us to essentially reboot the brain. If the brain is stuck in these grooves of thought—whether it's an obsession or a fear or the story you tell yourself—all those deep grooves [can be] dissolved and temporarily suspended in a way that allows us to break those patterns.

### Has your personality changed after taking the drugs?

I think my wife would say that I'm more open and more patient, that I deal with emotional situations with a little more availability. Spending this much time observing my mind does have an effect—the same as 10 years of psychoanalysis probably would, although it didn't take me nearly that long.

### Did psychedelics change your mind about death?

On a psilocybin trip, I saw the faces of people close to me who had died over the last few years. You understand why traditional cultures would take plant medicines to reconnect with the dead. You can see them and talk to them, and they can talk to you. It's a psychological phenomenon that made people who were gone more present in my life, and I'm happy for that.

—Mandy Oaklander



The Royal Wedding

# A New Day

*The bride began her walk down the aisle accompanied by 10 page boys and bridesmaids. Her new father-in-law, Prince Charles, met her halfway and escorted her to Prince Harry at the altar*

PHOTOGRAPH BY DANNY  
LAWSON—PA WIRE



## A fairy tale for the 21st century

By Kate Samuelson/  
Windsor

IT WAS A ROYAL WEDDING WITH A 21st century twist. Some 150,000 well-wishers descended upon the riverside town of Windsor for the big day, hoping to spot Hollywood celebrities walking into the church or catch a glimpse of Meghan Markle's dress before she made her way down the aisle to meet her prince. Millions around the world cheered along as they watched the new Duke and Duchess of Sussex share a tender kiss on the steps of St. George's Chapel.

Spots on the castle grounds were reserved for 2,640 royal staffers, Windsor locals and members of the public who had served their communities; other spectators crammed along the leafy three-mile avenue leading up to Windsor Castle. Waving mini Union Jack flags in one hand and clutching plastic cups of prosecco in the other, they roared at the arrival of Queen Elizabeth II, 92, and Prince Philip, 96, as well as celebrity guests including Oprah Winfrey, Serena Williams, Priyanka Chopra, Elton John, and George and Amal Clooney.

For many Brits, the sight of Prince Harry arriving at the chapel with his brother and best man, Prince William, was an especially poignant moment. It brought back the solemn memory of the two young boys walking behind the coffin of their mother, Princess Diana, at her funeral 21 years ago. The raucous crowd fell silent when the late Diana's sister, Lady Jane Fellowes, gave a reading, and many shed a tear along with Harry when the choir sang "Guide Me, O Thou Great Redeemer," a hymn played at his mother's funeral.

"Today really showed the world that anyone can be a princess," said Raven Debose, an African-American woman who had traveled from Texas to Windsor. "When you're in love, you're in love."

*Markle's bouquet included forget-me-nots—a tribute to Princess Diana—picked by Prince Harry from the Kensington Palace grounds*







*The couple started  
their married life  
with a ride in an  
Ascot Landau open-  
topped carriage  
down the Long Walk,  
thronged by thousands  
of well-wishers*

PHOTOGRAPH BY SIMON  
ROBERTS FOR TIME



# An American in Windsor

Why Meghan Markle is a revolutionary kind of royal  
By Daisy Goodwin

THE LAST TIME A MEMBER OF THE BRITISH royal family announced his intention to marry an American divorcée, there was a constitutional crisis, and the future of the monarchy seemed to be in doubt; indeed, King Edward VIII had to give up the throne in order to wed the woman he loved, Wallis Simpson, a native of Baltimore. When she began her affair with then Prince Edward, Simpson was married to her second husband, Ernest Simpson, whom she would divorce two years later. Both her nationality and marital history made her unacceptable as a royal bride to almost every section of society. The diarist Harold Nicolson remarked at the time, “The upper classes mind her being an American more than they mind her being divorced. The lower classes do not mind her being an American but loathe the idea that she has had two husbands already.”

Perhaps the British might have accepted a commoner, and in a pinch an American. But a woman who had been married twice before marrying the man who was also su-

preme governor of the Church of England was beyond the pale. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the most senior cleric in the Anglican church, said in 1935 that no Christian could remarry while their former wife or husband were still alive. Couples who had been divorced could not be received at court.

How times have changed. In the vast coverage of the relationship between the American divorcée Meghan Markle and Prince Harry, there has hardly been a ripple of disquiet over the fact that Markle has been married before. Divorce is no longer considered a stigma in Britain, either for remarriage or being received into the royal family. Three of the Queen’s four children have broken marriages. When Prince Charles married Camilla Parker Bowles in 2005, they had a civil ceremony followed by a blessing in St. George’s Chapel at Windsor Castle because they had both been divorced. Thirteen years later, Markle, a convert to Anglicanism, was given dispensation to have a full church wedding in the same

*The couple met after they were set up on a blind date in July 2016. After a few more dates, Harry invited Markle to join him on a trip to Botswana*



chapel. Perhaps Charles' wedding was more sensitive because so many of his subjects remembered his first wedding, to Lady Diana Spencer, and the couple did not want to draw comparisons in the public's mind. But the ceremony on May 19 finally proved that divorce is no longer an obstacle to the nation's desire for a full-on fairy-tale royal wedding.

**ONE OF THE MOST** striking things about Markle is that, at 36, she is the same age as Harry's mother when she was killed in a car crash. Diana married when she was only 20. Then, it was considered essential that a royal bride should be a virginal youth, and not much thought was given to the age gap of 13 years between bride and groom. Markle is not only three years older than her new husband but also a fully formed adult who had a successful career.

The British royal family has long been fond of actors; Charles II made Nell Gwyn his mistress, and Edward VII once had an affair with Lillie Langtry. But in each case, there was no question of marriage. Until relatively recently, acting was not considered a respectable profession. Now it seems to be the ideal training ground for prospective royal brides. One of the reasons Markle has settled so quickly into royal life is that she already knows what it's like to look down the barrel of a dozen telephoto lenses and smile as if she hasn't a care in the world. Anyone who has worked the red carpet for years will be inoculated against the spiteful tabloid comments about a glimpse of cellulite or a stray gray hair. Not many civilians can adjust seamlessly into the rigors of working for the Firm, as the royal family is sometimes nicknamed. But as a successful television actor, Markle knows what it is like to be in the public eye, and how to say the same thing over and over again as if she means it. Kate Middleton had nearly 10 years to learn how to smile and wave before she became the Duchess of Cambridge. Markle has had just a few months, but she is already the queen of the walkabout. If she breaks royal protocol by posing for a selfie, that only endears her more to the public.

The real challenge for Markle comes after the wedding. In the days when she had a social-media presence, she described herself as a "strong, confident



mixed-race woman" and a "feminist." But as a member of a family that carefully eschews anything that looks like a political statement, Markle will have to walk a tightrope between her personal beliefs and royal persona. As Harry's bride, she has become one of the most famous women in the world, but as a royal her celebrity is more conditional. The enduring popularity of Queen Elizabeth is based not on her zealously guarded personal opinions, but on her extraordinary durability. She is a symbol

of continuity in an increasingly restless world, a royal poker face in a deck of hyperactive tweeters. The Queen knows the power of being both visible and yet unknown; perhaps the only thing we can be certain of is that she likes animals. She is a constant presence in the lives of the British people, but her absolute self-control means the public is always left wanting more. Markle will have to balance her laudable desire to use her royal status to make the world a better place with the discretion—or neutrality, almost—that is



an inescapable part of the job. There is no room, currently, for a hashtag princess.

But the power Markle has is in the optics. At a time when Britain's social contract has been shaken by Brexit and scandals like the Grenfell Tower fire, there is enormous value in having a member of the royal family who is not white, or especially privileged. The fact that a woman of Markle's background can become a royal duchess makes the House of Windsor a lottery rather than a cabal. Every little girl can now

*Back row, from left: Jasper Dyer; Camilla, the Duchess of Cornwall; Prince Charles; the Duke and Duchess of Sussex; Markle's mother, Doria Ragland; and Prince William. Middle row: Brian Mulrone; Prince Philip; Queen Elizabeth II; Catherine, the Duchess of Cambridge; Princess Charlotte; Prince George; Rylan Litt; and John Mulrone. Front row: Ivy Mulrone; Florence van Cutsem; Zalie Warren; and Remi Litt*

legitimately dream of marrying Prince George, whatever her color, nationality or marital history.

**IT WOULD BE FASCINATING** to know what Queen Victoria would make of the direction in which her great-great-great-great-grandson Harry is taking the royal family. She was extremely interested in the marriages of her children and grandchildren, and wherever possible she used them to create her own unofficial European Union. Every royal marriage in Victoria's time was part of a project to consolidate a constitutional monarch's diplomatic power. If Victoria were alive today, I'm sure she would quickly grasp that in a time when there are no more royal dynastic alliances to be made, it is astute to choose a bride whose experience and traditions enrich the royal landscape. The current Queen understands this too. If the royal family is to survive, it has to continue to be a global brand. The real threat to the monarchy is not unconventional new members but public indifference. Harry has always had star power, but by marrying Markle he has given himself and his family a ratings boost. There can be no doubt that their marriage is a love match, but in his choice of bride Harry has shown that he has his mother's flair for riding the zeitgeist.

It is the ultimate paradox that the qualities that made Wallis Simpson so toxic to the British public eight decades ago are, in Markle, evidence of a new dawn for the royals. Simpson was seen as a vulgar American adventuress, while Markle is perceived as a career woman who isn't afraid to admit her mistakes and move on. The American nationality seen as an affliction in Wallis gives Markle a glorious advantage in that it removes her from the English stratification of class. While Kate Middleton was described as a commoner, Meghan Markle is simply an American. The Italian writer Giuseppe di Lampedusa once said that "for things to stay the same, everything must change." As sixth in line to the throne, Harry will never be king. But by choosing Meghan, he has made sure of his place in royal history.

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*Goodwin is a best-selling author and the creator and screenwriter of Masterpiece's Victoria*

**FAMILY**

# Meet the in-laws

By Kate Samuelson

THE ROYAL FAMILY CAN TRACE ITS ANCESTRY AT least as far back to the Anglo-Saxon King Alfred the Great, who reigned from A.D. 871 to 899. The May 19 wedding marked the intertwining of the House of Windsor and the Markles, as well as the first time a prominent royal has married an American since 1937.

The House of Windsor



MARRIED  
70 YEARS

Queen Elizabeth II  
Grandmother

Prince Philip  
Grandfather



Camilla,  
Duchess of  
Cornwall  
Stepmother

MARRIED  
13 YEARS



Prince Charles  
Father



Princess Diana  
Mother

MARRIED  
15 YEARS

The Markles



Thomas Markle  
Father



Doria Ragland  
Mother

MARRIED  
8 YEARS



Samantha  
Markle  
Half sister



Thomas  
Markle Jr.  
Half brother



Catherine, Duchess  
of Cambridge  
Sister-in-law

MARRIED  
7 YEARS



Prince  
William  
Brother



Prince  
George  
Nephew



Princess  
Charlotte  
Niece



Prince  
Louis  
Nephew

**DURING THE CEREMONY**  
DIANA'S SISTER  
LADY JANE  
FELLOWS GAVE  
A READING AT  
THE WEDDING TO  
COMMEMORATE  
HARRY'S  
MOTHER, THE  
LATE PRINCESS



Meghan Markle



Prince Harry

MARRIED  
ON MAY 19, 2018

**BEFORE THE CEREMONY**  
ON MAY 17, MARKLE  
CONFIRMED HER  
FATHER WOULD  
NOT ATTEND THE  
WEDDING, SAYING  
HE NEEDED TO  
"FOCUS ON HIS  
HEALTH"



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# The Meaning of Meghan

The monarchy finally catches up with multicultural Britain **By Afua Hirsch**

WHEN THE BRITISH PRESS TAKES notice of a budding royal romance, there is usually a familiar theme. They spot the couple “getting flirty” at a polo match, for example, or leaving a nightclub in the early hours. But when it came to Prince Harry’s relationship with Meghan Markle, the first clue that there was something different was the tabloids’ unfamiliar, almost cryptic reaction. His new girlfriend was described as a “glamorous brunette” who was “something of a departure from Prince Harry’s usual type.” Markle, the public was told, was “not in the society blonde style of previous girlfriends.” This language was code for something the press was simultaneously obsessed with and uncomfortable addressing directly: Markle is a woman of color.

Some references were less covert than others. A few were blatantly racist. Markle, who grew up in Hollywood and went to private schools, was referred to as “(almost) straight outta Compton” by one publication. Her family didn’t escape

notice either. “Miss Markle’s mother is a dreadlocked African-American lady from the wrong side of the tracks,” wrote another. Her mother is a social worker and yoga instructor.

Markle had embraced her identity as a “strong, confident mixed-race woman” long before her engagement was announced, but her arrival in the British public’s consciousness was accompanied by a complex—and at times subtle—mix of romantic fairy tale, change of tradition and racial slur. Her heritage continues to attract immense attention from the public and press, partly because it is such a visible departure for a British royal. At the same time, there has been an aggressive tendency to pretend that nobody notices her race. Instead, the only reason for any hesitation about Markle stems, some in the commentariat claim, from the fact that she is American, an actor, or divorced, or that she went to Catholic school.

It all made for an uncertain prelude to a wedding that turned out to be an

*In 2017, Markle closed down her lifestyle blog the Tig, commenting, “It’s time to say goodbye.” In January, she also deactivated her Facebook, Twitter and Instagram accounts*



extraordinary celebration of inclusion, a sun-splashed day that lifted the millions watching into what felt like a new realm. The Reverend Michael Curry, the first African American to serve as presiding bishop of the Episcopal church, quoted Martin Luther King—“Love is the only way”—in a rousing 14-minute sermon firmly rooted in the tradition of the African-American church. A gospel choir performed Ben E. King’s “Stand by Me” under the direction of a black British woman, Karen Gibson, and 19-year-old Sheku Kanneh-Mason played a cello solo in a ceremony did that double duty as both a showcase of black culture and an announcement of generational change. It felt like a powerful statement—in full view of the world—that both celebrated Markle’s heritage and placed it unapologetically at the heart of Britain’s most elite institution.

**EVEN BEFORE** they exchanged vows, Harry and Meghan were a metaphor for the state of multicultural Britain. For some black Brits, there was a sense of pride that a woman of color has joined the royal family. For others, the union is yet another reminder of deeply entrenched class prejudice and tradition.

Markle was not born into poverty, but neither has she lived with aristocratic privilege. Her career and relationships both appear to have stumbled and then succeeded through a combination of merit and luck. She built an acting career and embraced her interests, using her platform to champion causes like feminism and the environment. She also happens to be marrying Prince Harry, the fun-loving and somewhat renegade royal who has landed in trouble in the past. But his recent charity work and openness about his struggle with mental-health issues has endeared him to a public hungry for authenticity.

Wrapped up in all this is the question of the British Dream—whether such a thing exists and, if it does, what it means for a class system that is anti-meritocratic and socially immobile at its roots. And wrapped up in all that is the changing racial and cultural makeup of Britain. The latest census data revealed that people who are—like Markle—of mixed heritage are the fastest-growing demographic group, with the number al-



most doubling between 2001 and 2011. Which brings us to the wedding. The historian Eric Hobsbawm, analyzing the “secular magic of monarchy,” suggested that while it’s tempting to ask what role a royal wedding plays in a time of social change, it is often because of that change that the weddings have such significance.

It is the perfect stage for a drama that brings together Britain’s love affair with its tradition, in the figure of Prince Harry, and the symbol of its future, in the character of a brown woman.

Rather than reject the monarchy, the couple have participated in its greatest contemporary act of renewal, by marrying with a huge amount of pomp and circumstance in a ritual seen by millions.

To be biracial—or mixed race, as it is more commonly known in the U.K.—was not always a talked-about phenomenon. Growing up in Britain in the 1980s and ’90s with, like Markle, a mother of African

heritage, I was acutely aware of my visible otherness, especially in a society that is highly racialized but also deeply uncomfortable talking about race.

Britain is a cluster of islands populated by immigration. But the diaspora stretches back so many thousands of years that few Brits imagine it this way. Most are unaware that groups now considered indigenous, like the Angles and Saxons, were themselves migrants in the first millennium A.D. Their presence is predated by people of color, including Africans who have lived in Britain since at least the Roman times.

Many contemporary black British people trace their family history to the British Empire, and especially the period of mass immigration shortly after World War II. The changing face of Britain’s communities during the 20th century was an integral part of its postwar renewal, and yet it created a hostile backlash that



Since their engagement was announced in November 2017, Markle has appeared at several royal events



still reverberates today. It's a hostility that many British people of color perceive instinctively in the political debate that has weaponized immigration and one that is rooted in the idea that Britishness is at its core a white identity.

The royal family has not traditionally been an agent of change in this respect. During my childhood, the spectacle of an exclusively white monarchy and aristocracy helped reinforce the notion that Britishness was white. It was taken for granted that the royals appeared to make up a deliberately, permanently white institution. Their main role in my life was to make me feel excluded from the country.

I was not alone in feeling this way. "The royal family don't stand for us. They never have," says Candice Carty-Williams, author of a forthcoming novel, *Queenie*, that has already been referred to as the "black Bridget Jones." "Black people would have been slaves to them. They are not friends with any of us. When we watch *The Crown* or *Downton Abbey*, there are never any black people. There is a history of them not having any interest in us."

There is discernible weariness among some black British people that the idea of a biracial woman's joining the royal family would make any discernible difference to race in Britain, where the odds remain stacked against people of color. Forty percent of families from black African and Caribbean backgrounds live in low-income households in Britain, compared with 19% of white families. Twenty-three percent of young black people and 25% of young Bangladeshi and Pakistani youth are unemployed, more than double the number of white job seekers of the same age. And there is some evidence that these figures are getting worse.

But others regard the royal family as a symbolic institution, where the visibility of a woman of color in a position of such status sends a powerful message. "Black excellence in the royal family is a cool idea from a contemporary point of view," says Lola Adesioye, a British writer and journalist who is based in the U.S. "How did this girl—who is not only of color, but didn't go to the same schools or universities as the royals, who wasn't even raised in the U.K., and so has all these points of difference and otherness—get to this place? It says a lot about diversification."

**EITHER WAY**, this royal wedding has triggered a debate about black British people. TV networks, newspapers and magazines traveled to Brixton, Coventry and Nottingham—parts of Britain with a historic black community—to ask how different generations of black British people, with their own very different experiences of empire and identity, feel about the state of the nation.

There is recognition too, in some cases for the first time, that black Britain is a complex society with no single story or voice. Even those who are skeptical about the institution of monarchy expressed an interest in this wedding; on social media, thousands expressed their changing view of the tradition-bound royal family. "Making my beautiful mixed heritage family's shoulders stand a little taller," tweeted British lawmaker David Lammy. "Against the odds a great new symbol of all that is still possible and hopeful in modern Britain."

This is not the first time there have been black people involved in or closely associated with the royals. The Queen's equerry major, one of the most senior members of the royal household staff, is now for the first time a black man, Nana Kofi Twumasi-Ankrah. Other people of color have married into the aristocracy, including the Viscountess of Weymouth, Emma Thynn, whose father is Nigerian. And there are credible theories that at least one and possibly two previous English queens may have had African heritage.

But this is the first royal wedding in Britain where racial difference has played a visible role, with a bride who has owned—rather than sought to downplay—her black heritage. In his sermon, Curry directly referenced slavery, addressing the fact that throughout history, love has transcended social boundaries. "We must discover love, the redemptive power of love," Curry said, returning once more to the words of Martin Luther King Jr. "When we do that, we will make of this old world a new world." And at the seat of the British establishment on May 19, Markle seemed more than ready to bring the monarchy into a new era.

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*Hirsch is a journalist and the author of Brit(ish): On Race, Identity and Belonging*

### TIARA

Markle borrowed Queen Mary's diamond bandeau tiara from Queen Elizabeth II for the occasion. Made in 1932, the headpiece contains a band of diamonds and platinum, with a removable center brooch studded with 10 diamonds.

### DRESS

There are only six seams in the entire garment, helping create its simple, streamlined silhouette. Other key elements include a wide boatneck, slim three-quarter-length sleeves and a train filled with a voluminous underskirt made of triple silk organza.

### VEIL

Clocking in at 16 ft., the silk tulle veil featured hand-embroidered flowers from each of the 53 countries of the Commonwealth as well as wintersweet from Nottingham Cottage (where she lives with Harry) and the California poppy, for her home state.

## The Dress

By Cady Lang

NO ROYAL WEDDING GOWN IS just a pretty dress. In choosing a sculptural Givenchy gown designed by the Brit Clare Waight Keller, Meghan Markle continued the tradition of using taste to telegraph intent. Modest in form and filled with elegant symbolic touches, the gown was set off with modern twists like a wide boatneck and three-quarter-length sleeves that underscored Markle's position as a change agent in the royal family.

The choice of Givenchy—a French fashion house more closely associated with Audrey Hepburn than Kensington Palace—might have surprised some, but the selection matched the moment. The flowing silk befit her new formal title as the Duchess of Sussex, while also calling to mind the Hollywood glamour she's supposedly leaving behind.

Perhaps even more significant is the choice of the designer. Waight Keller is the first female artistic director of the esteemed French house. She's a fresh talent emerging in an arena that has long prized tradition above all else. Markle can no doubt relate.

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## BIOGRAPHY

## A royal résumé for the age of Instagram

By Tina Brown

MEGHAN MARKLE, THE SUBJECT OF ANDREW MORTON'S latest biography, is a tame assignment compared with the explosive ingredients served up in the book that made his reputation. *Diana: Her True Story*, Morton's 1992 biography of the Princess of Wales, was a journalistic scoop de grâce that shook the House of Windsor for the next 20 years. Its impact can be summarized in the *Sunday Times* headline that affronted Prince Charles when he descended to breakfast at Highgrove and unfurled his freshly ironed newspaper: DIANA DRIVEN TO FIVE SUICIDE BIDS BY "UNCARING" CHARLES.

Morton's *Meghan: A Hollywood Princess* toils to make the most of Markle's mixed-family background as she was growing up in Southern California. Her mother Doria Ragland was a trainee makeup artist at ABC Studios in 1979 when she met Meghan's father Tom Markle, a hunky cameraman competent enough to win a couple Daytime Emmys on the soap opera *General Hospital*. They were married six months later by the Indian yogi Brother Bhaktananda (born Michael Krull in Pennsylvania) at the Self-Realization Fellowship temple on Sunset Boulevard.

Like Diana's parents, the Markles divorced when Meghan was a young child; but unlike Diana, who rattled around Park House in Norfolk largely unparented after her mother absconded, Meghan was raised by Doria and her grandmother in a cocoon of practicality and warmth. Meghan emerges from Morton's account as a good egg. She wrestled with racism when her mother was mistaken for a nanny by wealthy neighbors in suburban Woodland Hills. While at the elite Little Red Schoolhouse, she volunteered at a Skid Row food bank. By the time she graduated from Immaculate Heart High School and Northwestern University, she was a star of campus productions

*The couple drove a vintage Jaguar to their evening wedding reception*



Morton's book shows that "activist actor" may be the best possible job description for a modern royal

with a degree in theater studies and international relations—a perfect combination for the royal stage.

**WHAT'S REMARKABLE** about this otherwise unremarkable story is Meghan's tenacity. She slogged for seven dismal years on Hollywood's flesh-flashing B list. It wasn't until 2011 that she landed the breakout role of paralegal Rachel Zane, on the USA Network hit *Suits*.

The first glimpse of serious success turbocharged Meghan. After *Suits*, it all came together flawlessly. She dumped her starter husband and upped her brand visibility with a lifestyle blog. She ascended to the roster of cool activists who score speaking gigs and themed ambassadorships with the U.N.

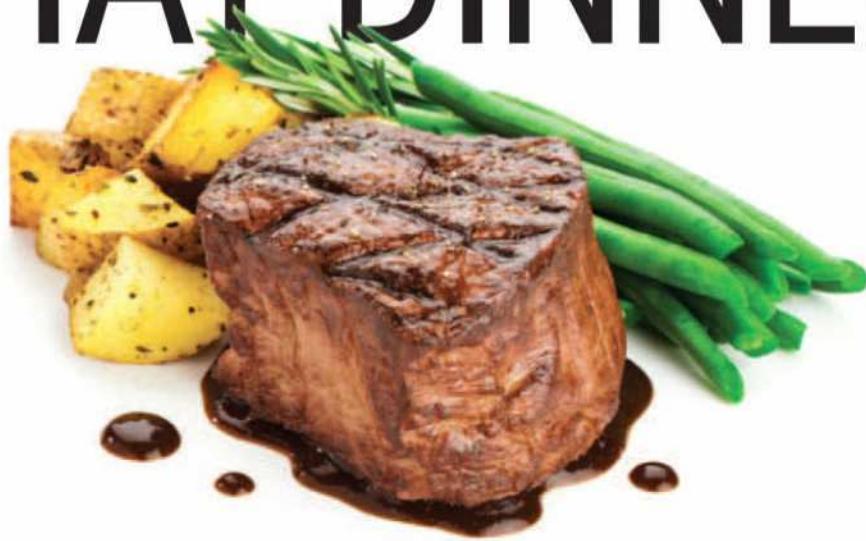
What could be a better résumé for the life of an impending royal in the Instagram age? Especially for Prince Harry. When Diana's younger son met Meghan, he'd finally emerged from a troubled decade as a tearaway toff with a drinking problem. It's never easy being the "spare" to the heir, in this case his serious elder brother William. Harry was deployed to Afghanistan twice. Gratifying work founding an AIDS charity in Africa and a wounded-warriors initiative, the Invictus Games, whipped him into enough shape to take on royal gigs as a proud proxy of the Queen. Timing is everything. Just as Meghan was completing her own meticulous self-grooming as a glamorous humanitarian, Harry had started to hanker for a self-confident partner in a life of tabloid-scrutinized do-gooding.

There are some who write that Meghan will miss her buzzing life in entertainment, but who are they kidding? Yes, in a gesture that's a modern-day equivalent of taking the veil, she has been compelled to shut down all her social-media accounts. But now her flourishing social conscience will have one of the biggest bully pulpits of all. An activist actor, not an aristocratic royal amateur, is probably the best possible job description for a 21st century HRH.

Harry, one feels, will never have to descend to breakfast to read an unwelcome headline about his marriage.

*Brown is the author, most recently, of The Vanity Fair Diaries*

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## VIEWPOINT

## Who needs the royals?

By Graham Smith

TO HEAR PUNDITS TALK ABOUT THE ROYALS THIS SPRING, you'd be excused for thinking "The Royal Family" is a prime-time soap opera, with viewers obsessing over new characters, story lines and how it's doing in the ratings. Bets were placed on what Prince William and Kate Middleton's new baby would be named, while commentators eagerly discussed whether the new character of Meghan Markle would manage to "save" the royal family by marrying Prince Harry. The answer to all this for most people around the world is simply: Who cares?

The way Britain celebrated Harry and Meghan's wedding was a curious reminder that the monarchy is rarely evaluated in terms of its actual purpose, which is to provide Britain with an effective head of state. Few pundits seem sure of what that role entails or even why it's needed, because in Britain, unlike the U.S., the head of state's role is ceremonial rather than political. And so when a royal wedding happens—Will and Kate's reportedly cost \$34 million, paid for by British taxpayers—the debate usually hinges on two questions: popularity and cost.

On the first, we've seen a sea change in public perception. Twenty years ago, the monarchy was seen as rich, expensive and out of touch—particularly during the post-Diana crisis of public confidence, when Queen Elizabeth's apparently cold reaction to her death was met with widespread anger. In response, the royal family invested enormous amounts of time and taxpayers' money to rewrite the script. They put on glitzy campaigns around the 2011 royal wedding and the 2012 Golden Jubilee, and stage-managed announcements around the birth of Kate and William's children—while at the same time playing hardball with the media and demanding official secrecy and control over their public image.

**THIS REBRANDING EFFORT** has allowed royalists to justify the cost to the public purse on the grounds of "value to the economy." But the story of the royal family's value to the British economy was simply dreamed up by smart PR professionals to save an institution in crisis. In reality, according to our research, British taxpayers lose about \$468 million a year just to have a head of state—a lot more than the official figure

released by Buckingham Palace, which was \$58 million last year. In fact, our monarch is one of the most expensive nonpolitical heads of state in Europe, at least 12 times as expensive as Ireland's elected equivalent.

Even if it were true that the royals represent an investment by the British people, why should the royals spend taxpayers' money with no checks and balances? That, after all, is why the monarchy costs so much—not because it's expensive to run the office of head of state but because the royals spend tens of millions of pounds on their palatial apartments, security and luxury vacations. Brits increasingly resent this—a recent poll we commissioned shows that 57% believe the royal family should pay not only for the wedding but also for police costs.

Any claim about how the royals boost British tourism, trade and retail sales needs to be set against the high costs. Pundits claim events like Harry and Meghan's wedding will trigger huge spending sprees—but in 2012 Pew Research showed most Americans said they did not follow news of the British royals, while a November YouGov poll showed more than half of Brits were indifferent to the news of Harry and Meghan's engagement. Any imagined or real spike from royal weddings is so brief and infrequent as to make no difference to British prosperity.

The discussion about the value of the monarchy misses the most important point of all: the damage it does to our democracy. The Crown is the centerpiece of Britain's rotten constitution, giving us a head of state who lacks independence or purpose, who can do only what she's told by our Prime Minister. The costs of the monarchy are considerable, the gains fleeting, mythical or the stuff of PR fantasies. While Britain may not be a nation of republicans yet, it's certainly no longer a nation of royalists.

*Smith is the CEO of Republic, a group that advocates for the abolition of the British monarchy*



Nation

**BETO**  
**O'ROURKE**  
**IS ON**  
**A LONG**  
**HARD**  
**ROAD**





## At the wheel with the Democrat who's trying to turn Texas blue

BY NASH JENKINS/EL PASO

ON A DUSTY ROAD IN SOUTHWESTERN Texas, Beto O'Rourke leans out the window of the Ford Expedition he's driving and mutters, "You gonna let me pass you, state police?" He speeds ahead of the cruiser while chewing an empanada. In the past seven days, the 45-year-old Democratic Congressman has clocked nearly a thousand miles across the state. Tonight, after a town hall in Uvalde, an hour away, he gets to go home.

Small towns have been O'Rourke's favored terrain since he launched a bid to unseat Republican Ted Cruz as the Lone Star State's junior Senator nearly 14 months ago. History says O'Rourke is an underdog in November: Texas chose President Trump by nearly 10 percentage points in 2016 and hasn't sent a Democrat to statewide office since Ann Richards was elected governor in 1990. But O'Rourke, a former punk-rock bassist who has spent three terms in the U.S. House, talks more about the future.

"The country had come to this crossroads," he says. "We were going to be either a country of walls and Muslim bans and the press as the enemy of the people—all this mean sh-t, all this pettiness and paranoia trying to make us afraid of one another—or we were going to be something better."

Cruz is a dogmatic conservative who once battled the party establishment, then embraced the President after finishing second to him in the 2016 GOP primary. O'Rourke is an Irish American with a

*The Congressman on a bluff overlooking the Mexican border, near his home in El Paso, on May 4*

PHOTOGRAPHS BY  
BENJAMIN RASMUSSEN FOR TIME

Hispanic nickname (Beto, a diminutive for his first name, Robert, is a childhood sobriquet that stuck) who spends several hours a week practicing his Spanish. He calls for a single-payer health care system and legalized marijuana.

He has certainly galvanized the grassroots left. In the first quarter of 2018, O'Rourke raked in \$6.7 million, more than twice the haul of the Cruz campaign and his allied super PACs, which is a fundraising force in its own right. (Cruz pulled in \$143 million to his campaign and allied super PACs in 2016, and the two candidates have roughly the same amount of cash on hand.) A mid-April Quinnipiac University poll found the race to be a near dead heat, though independent analysts call the Democrat a long shot.

"O'Rourke without a doubt is running a stronger top-of-the-ticket campaign in Texas than we've seen since the turn of the century, at least," says Jim Henson, director of the Texas Politics Project at the University of Texas. "Yet it seems unlikely that he can overcome the deep structural disadvantage any Democrat has in the state. For all the increase in Democratic intensity that is evident in Texas as it is elsewhere, we still saw about a half-million more Republicans than Democrats vote in the March primary."

More is at stake than a seat in the Senate. For years, Democrats have hoped that a growing Hispanic population would ultimately turn Texas blue. An O'Rourke victory would not only be one of the biggest upsets of the Trump era. It would signify that demographic change had in fact arrived, pointing the way for other Democrats running in red states. "It's not us," O'Rourke says. "It's the moment."

It may be. But after Barack Obama was elected for the second time, Democrats argued that a multicultural population was a permanent advantage: demography as destiny. Then Trump won.

**THE SAN ANTONIO AIRPORT** was quiet when O'Rourke arrived for his 10 p.m. flight home. It had been a long day. Dozens of people had turned out in Uvalde, the seat of a county that went for Trump by 11 points. In Carrizo Springs, he was serenaded by an accordion player who had written him a corrido, a form of Mexican romantic ballad, about defeating Cruz. As he has on many legs of his

campaign journey, O'Rourke streamed the drive to the airport on Facebook Live.

The Congressman is lanky, handsome and charismatic. Elderly voters sometimes tell him that he reminds them of John F. Kennedy. He lives with his wife Amy and their three children in a mission-style house on a hill overlooking downtown El Paso, a city his family has called home for five generations but one O'Rourke was eager to escape. "I wanted to get out of El Paso faster than I knew how," he says. "I was certain I was never going to come back."

He went to boarding school in Virginia, then to Columbia University. Homesick and sensing opportunity in a city "kind of finding itself again," he returned to El Paso in his mid-20s. The city, a former low-wage industrial center, had been devastated by the loss of jobs under NAFTA. O'Rourke launched an online alternative newspaper, which in turn fueled his interest in local politics. In 2005, he decided to run for city council.

He served for six years, spearheading plans to attract investment downtown and improve the city's creaky public-transit system. Still, politicians were skeptical in 2012 when he challenged Silvestre Reyes, the eight-term Democratic incumbent representing El Paso in Congress. "No one thought he could win," says Michael Pleters, a local immigration judge who

is friends with O'Rourke. "But he'll outwork anyone."

O'Rourke's six years in Washington have not been splashy. He votes with his party slightly less often than the average Democrat. Nearly half the 27 bills he has sponsored relate to veterans; there are nearly 50,000 of them in El Paso, home to one of the country's largest military complexes, Fort Bliss. He successfully fought for provisions in the most recent government spending package that expanded mental-health care to veterans with a less-than-honorable discharge, which he describes as his proudest accomplishment.

O'Rourke first mulled a Senate run after Trump's election, traveling across Texas to sound out voters on the idea. "We never took a poll," he says. "Nobody from the state party ever asked me to consider it." The skepticism about his chances is rooted in recent history. In 2014, Democratic state senator Wendy Davis, propelled to national celebrity by her filibuster of an abortion-limiting bill, launched a well-funded, widely hyped campaign for governor. She lost by 20 points.

**WHETHER O'ROURKE** can break through will, indeed, depend partly on the changing face of the Lone Star State. From 2010 to 2016, its Hispanic population grew by nearly 1.5 million. Two in five Texans today are Hispanic; by 2020, the state expects Hispanics to outnumber non-Hispanic whites. "I don't think it's an empty myth. It's a demographic reality that will come to pass," Ace Smith, a Democratic consultant who ran Hillary Clinton's primary campaign in Texas in 2008, says of the party's prospects of winning in the state. "The only question is when."

But demographics alone won't be enough. After all, Cruz, whose father is Cuban American, won nearly 40% of the Hispanic vote in his 2012 Senate victory. "Yes, there is a large Hispanic vote in Texas," Chris Wilson, the Cruz campaign's pollster, tells TIME. "But those voters are much more Republican than are Hispanics in, say, California." Cruz attacks O'Rourke as a liberal Democrat, citing his support for the Iran nuclear deal and sanctuary cities. "Congressman O'Rourke's values may bode well in California," says Catherine



▲  
Campaign volunteer  
Judy Ackerman, 64, outside an  
O'Rourke town hall on May 4



Frazier, a Cruz spokeswoman, “but they are the opposite of what Texans want in their leaders.”

Victoria DeFrancesco Soto, a lecturer at the University of Texas at Austin, says the election odds strongly favor Cruz. “For the challenger,” she says, “there’s a path, but a narrow one.”

O’Rourke is betting that it runs through the hinterlands. He has spent more time than any other Democrat in recent memory visiting towns across Texas, including all 254 counties. He says he sees two currents of disaffection that work in his favor: Democrats are eager for new leadership. And some Republicans don’t like the GOP’s direction under Trump. “I mostly vote Republican in national elections, but I’m so disgusted with what’s taking place,” a 72-year-old cattle rancher and self-identified conservative named Bill Martin said after O’Rourke’s town hall in Carrizo Springs. “The body politic is kind of like the human body. The liberal faction repre-

▲  
*O’Rourke meets members  
of a mariachi band at a  
music festival in El Paso*

sents the heart, the conservative faction represents the mind, and the body needs both to stay alive.” Martin said he was leaning toward voting for the Democrat.

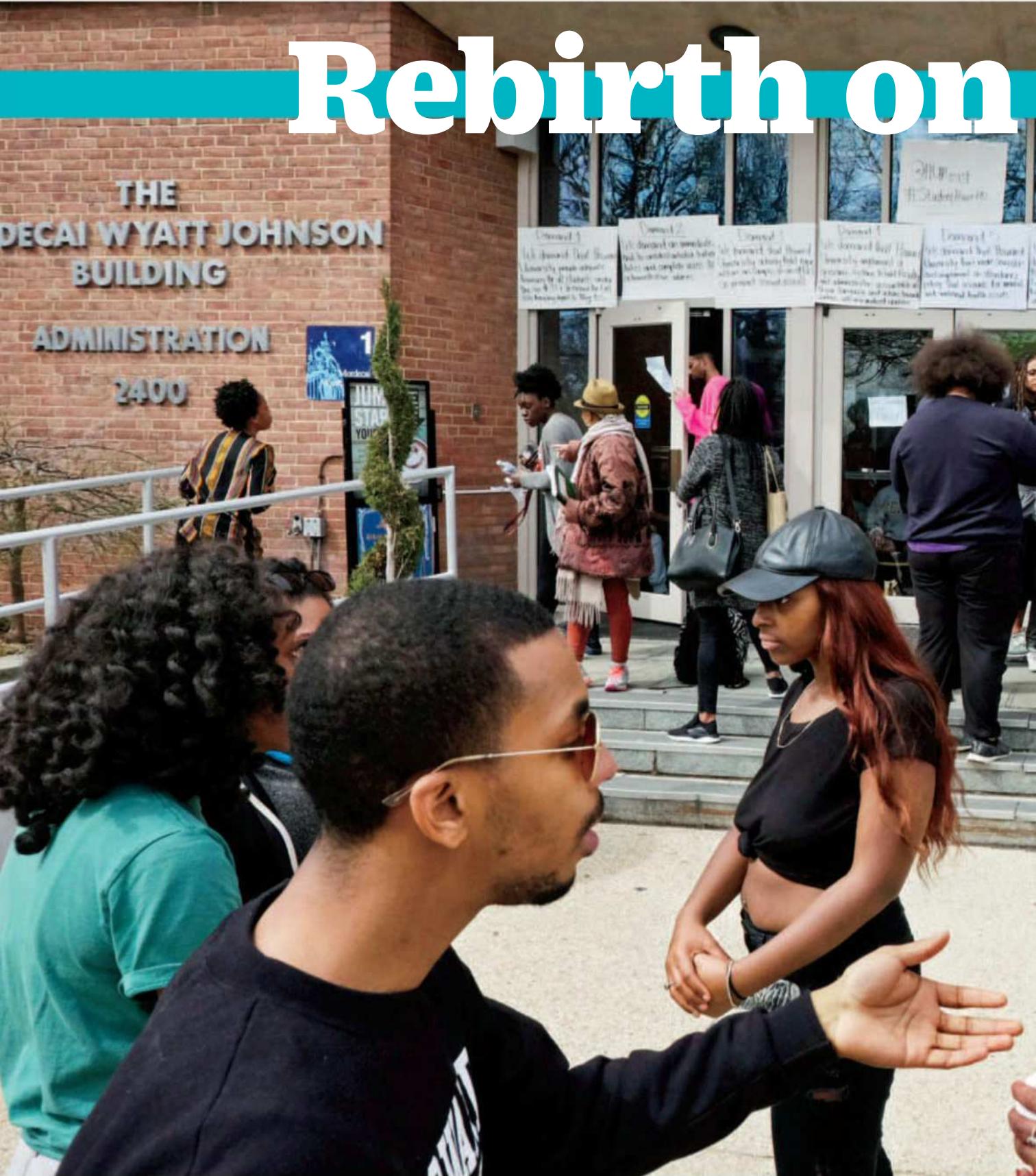
He’s not the only one left cold by Cruz. “Beto’s greatest strength is Ted’s greatest weakness: likability,” one House Republican says, speaking privately to avoid publicly criticizing a colleague. O’Rourke has drawn in young voters in particular. “I feel like he’s a guy who actually listens to us,” Alondra Iglesias, a 19-year-old college student, says at a campaign town hall at a beer garden in Laredo.

On a Friday evening in early May, O’Rourke makes an appearance at a mariachi festival in El Paso. Amy O’Rourke had given her husband a 7 p.m. curfew, but before heading home he climbs into

his pickup and heads into the hills, pulling into the empty parking lot of Sun Bowl Stadium. Below are the train tracks that run along the border, and beyond the endless sprawl of Juárez, orange and purple in the creeping dusk. It’s a city of about 1.4 million people that’s separated from El Paso by a tall, rust-colored fence. A message has been painted in Spanish onto the face of a mountain, legible from miles away: LA BIBLIA ES LA VERDAD; LEELA. (The Bible is the truth; read it.)

It’s a version of the border—and of comity—that stands in almost perfect contrast with the one that Trump rode into office two years ago. And O’Rourke is physically at home with it. He is well aware of how Wendy Davis’ campaign fizzled and knows it’s a challenge to sustain early momentum until Election Day. “We’ve been smart enough to be honest with the people,” he says. “I just want to be as raw and direct and real as I can—and it seems to be working.” He’ll make history if it does. □

# Rebirth on



# Campus



## A NEW ERA OF PROTEST IS ENERGIZING HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

By Maya Rhodan/Atlanta

IT WAS A CHILLY FRIDAY AFTERNOON IN early February, and a group of young activists huddled around a table inside a modern, earthy café in Atlanta's West End neighborhood, planning their next moves. Already, the group had worked to combat school privatization in the city. They had also plotted “school-to-activism pipelines” for local kids. The cause at hand now was a new stadium, and how to mitigate its financial impact on the longtime residents of a black community in its shadow.

None of it could be called schoolwork, yet it was exactly what Eva Dickerson aspired to three years ago when she chose to attend nearby Spelman College. The four-year women's school is one of the country's highest-ranked historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs), a community of 101 schools that, as a group, have re-emerged as centers of youth activism in the U.S. As with Dickerson herself, the transition has come in stages.

The college junior was 16 years old when Trayvon Martin was killed in 2012. Her senior year in high school, she attended her first protests, in Baltimore, in the wake of Freddie Gray's death. “I was just like, Yo, I'm black, I've got to do something,” Dickerson says. “And then I got to Spelman, and there were black people doing things consistently and making changes.” She wanted to be a part of the movement.

The campuses that served as incubators for the civil rights movement in the mid-

*Community members talk outside a student-led sit-in at Howard University on March 30*

# Education

20th century are experiencing something of a renaissance. Freshman enrollment is up at 40% of HBCU schools, says Marybeth Gasman, director of the Penn Center for Minority Serving Institutions. Cascading national episodes of racial tension account for much of the surge, but the new energy also draws on tension—never new—between students and administrators. As in past generations, students fired by a desire for change are less inclined to hew to the line of often institutionally minded leaders, and protests have rocked institutions from Atlanta to Washington, D.C., where students at Howard University occupied the administration building for nine days this spring.

But in this community, the election of Donald Trump also factors—and not only as a target of student protests. The President, who exit polls showed carried only 8% of the African-American vote in 2016, famously hosted a Oval Office photo op with the leaders of HBCUs, which rely on federal funding for a significant portion of their budgets. And with both houses of Congress being controlled by Republicans, administrators and supporters have been obliged to balance the energy of resurgent student activism with the continuing practical needs of an educational institution. “It is a dual-edged sword,” says Crystal deGregory, director of Kentucky State University’s Atwood Institute for Race, Education and the Democratic Ideal.

**STARTED AFTER THE** Civil War in the basements of churches, old schoolhouses and cabins, HBCUs were the first institutions dedicated to the education of former slaves and free black people. From their modest beginnings, they have produced alumni who transformed America, from W.E.B. Du Bois to Thurgood Marshall.

In the early 1960s, HBCU students played a pivotal role in the civil rights movement. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, which fought segregation, was formed after a conference of 300 students at North Carolina’s Shaw University. Four students at North Carolina A&T State University in Greensboro launched the sit-in movement at a nearby lunch counter. Congressman John Lewis, then a student at Fisk University in Tennessee, was one of the original 1961 Free-

dom Riders, who galvanized civil rights protests across the nation.

But as major universities desegregated, competition for students grew, leading to declining enrollment at HBCUs. This posed a challenge for the schools, which rely disproportionately on tuition for their operations. Small endowments, drops in philanthropy and low investment also exacerbated financial woes. Because HBCUs are reliant on federal funding, small changes in Washington can hurt on campus. In 2011, the Obama Administration altered the credit underwriting requirements for Parent PLUS college loans, making it harder for many families to qualify. Black institutions were hit particularly hard—overall, HBCUs lost an estimated \$150 million by 2013, before the policy was reversed.

Those challenges have not stopped students from seeking out black college experiences. In the wake of highly publicized antidiscrimination protests at the University of Missouri in 2015, applications spiked at many HBCUs, according to Dillard University president Walter Kimbrough. North Carolina A&T State University enrolled its largest freshman class ever in 2017, boosting total enrollment to a record 11,877 students. At Spelman, applications jumped from 5,000 in 2015 to 8,600 last year, and another 16% for 2018. But the resurgence has not been universal. Many schools still struggle financially. Three HBCUs have closed over the past three years.

If some of that enrollment bump came from the rise of Donald Trump, he also helped fuel the renewed activism on campus. Spelman Student Government Association president Jill Cartwright recalls that the mood at a 2016 election-night watch party at Martin Luther King Jr. International Chapel on the Morehouse

campus shifted from celebration to gloom as the results came in. When Trump won Ohio, Cartwright recalls, the room fell silent. “I’ve been to church services in King Chapel, [and] it has never been that quiet,” she says.

The shock of the election at first produced mourning at the Atlanta University Center (AUC), which comprises Spelman, Morehouse and two other institutions. Professors, administrators and student groups held open sessions where the community could express their emotions. But activists and administrators soon turned to organizing. “We know that we don’t have a whole lot of power when it comes to the President,” says Cartwright. “But we do have power at our institutions, and that’s where it begins.”

The result has been activism on a number of fronts. In 2017, as the #MeToo movement roiled the nation, a group of students broadcast the names of alleged rapists and rape apologists on the campuses of Morehouse and Spelman. This controversial action led to the creation of a task force to establish anti-assault and healthy-relationship training in the curriculum. After the then Atlanta mayor closed one of the city’s most utilized homeless shelters last spring, 300 AUC students slept outside for 24 hours and raised more than \$11,000 to address the issue. Last fall, Mary-Pat Hector, a junior at Spelman, ran for city council in a newly incorporated city in Georgia, losing by just 22 votes.

Dickerson, the Maryland native, says HBCUs spur the renewed level of student engagement. “HBCUs hold a critical role in the resistance,” she says, “And not just to Trump’s presidency, because that’s an incomplete resistance.” The question for HBCU leaders has been how to manage and respond to that resistance when it targets administrators themselves.

**SPELMAN IS A SMALL INSTITUTION;** the student body is made up of about 2,100 students. The community is so close-knit, students call their peers “sisters.” Mary Schmidt Campbell, the school’s 10th president, lives in a house in the middle of campus, which means she interacts with students every day. Increasingly, those conversations include challenges and questions. “If you can’t speak up here, where can you speak up?” she says.

**‘IF YOU CAN’T  
SPEAK UP HERE,  
WHERE CAN YOU  
SPEAK UP?’**

—Mary Schmidt Campbell,  
president of Spelman College



Spelman student-activist Hector says: “HBCUs are a safe space, but they’re not a brave space. We’re being taught to speak everywhere but here.” Last winter, Hector led two dozen of her peers on a six-day hunger strike that ended after Morehouse and Spelman agreed to offer free meals to students who live off campus.

Elsewhere, students at Tennessee State University have staged demonstrations over the condition of the school’s dorms and their limited capacity. At Hampton University, students have been in an uproar about campus safety, facilities and dining options. No campus has seen more disruption than Howard, where a stunning building occupation forced the university to meet 11 of the students’ 12 demands, including changes to its sexual-assault policy and the establishment of an on-campus food bank.

The campus cross-pressures have a particular quality under Trump. A month after his Inauguration, he hosted more than 80 HBCU presidents at the White House. But during their stay in Washington, Education Secretary Betsy DeVos clumsily called black schools pioneers of “school choice,” which offended college leaders, given the schools’ history with segregation and Jim Crow. HBCU activists dismissed the meeting as little more than a photo op;

▲  
*Spelman College Student Government  
 Association president Jill Cartwright  
 attends a class on April 9*

they greeted with mockery online the images of Trump adviser Kellyanne Conway kneeling on an Oval Office couch to snap a group photo.

A month later, Trump released a budget proposal that included massive cuts to Pell Grants, on which many black college students rely, and the White House suggested that a federal program for HBCUs might be unconstitutional, because it allocates funds on the basis of race—an idea it walked back amid public outrage. At Howard and Bethune-Cookman universities, high-profile guests with ties to the Trump Administration were met with protests.

All the while, college administrators have remained engaged with lawmakers in Washington, and as a result they have seen some gains. The Department of Education restored year-round Pell Grants in the summer of 2017. The omnibus spending bill passed in March included a 14% boost in federal funding for HBCUs, additional money for Pell Grants and a \$10 million increase to the HBCU Capital Financing Program, the same program Trump appeared to

criticize last May.

DeGregory of Kentucky State University says the campus activism, whether it targets big national issues or local administrative ones, shows that HBCUs are carrying forward their key missions of education and activism in a new era. Race relations are volatile, and the Trump Administration has played a role in stoking the flames, she says, but HBCUs have survived much throughout their 150-year history. And right now, she says, “we’re doing what we’ve always done.”

At Spelman, Campbell says she tries to balance renewed student activism with the institution’s long-term goals, convinced that the 137-year-old college is at its best when it tends to both: it was partly because of student pressure, from Cartwright and others, that last fall Spelman became the first single-sex HBCU to allow transgender students to enroll.

“Activism is an extremely important part of what your life here at Spelman should be,” Campbell says. “I think of protest as a way of shining a light on things that perhaps need to be enlightened that we wouldn’t know about.” On that, Dickerson and other activists at the West End café find no reason to dissent. Says Dickerson: “I feel like my ancestors placed me here—placed all of us here—for a reason.” □



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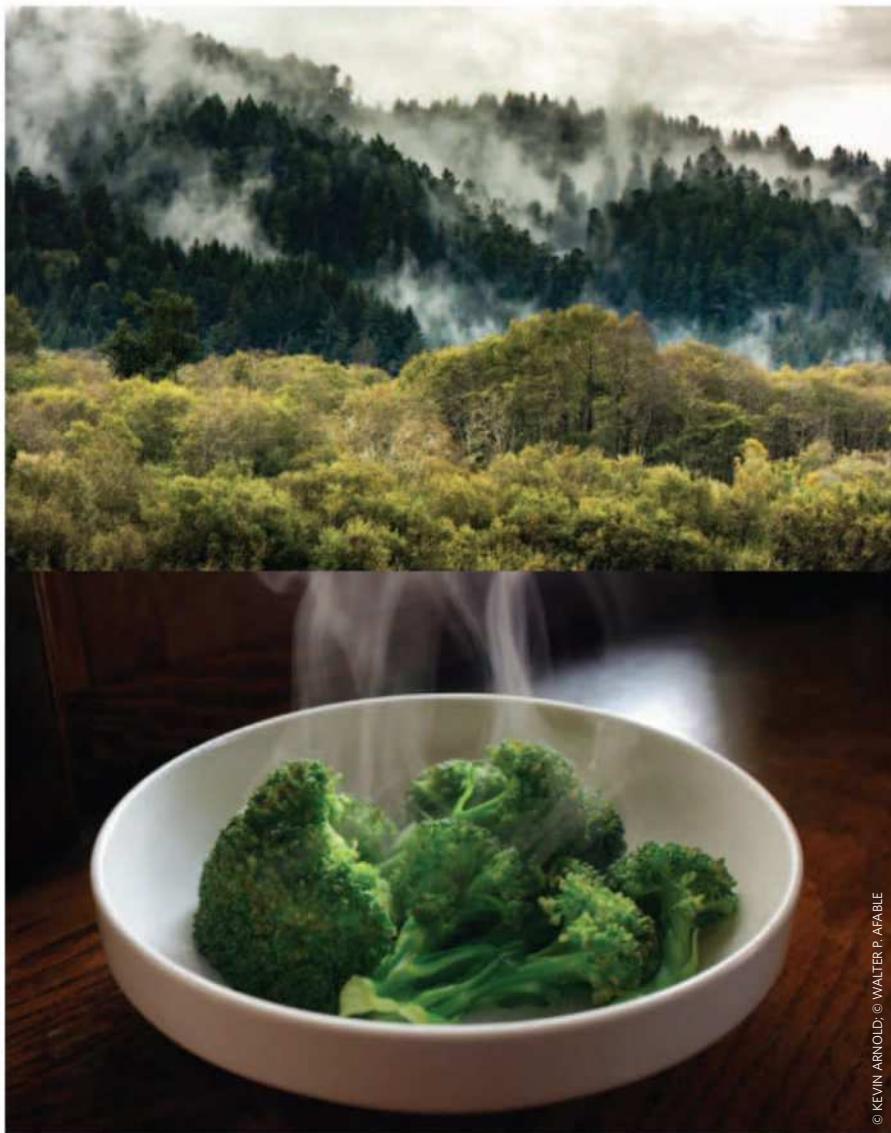
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# Time Off



## Summer Reading



25 page-turners  
to savor this season,  
from riveting novels to  
timely nonfiction

### INSIDE

CHARISMATIC LEADS CAN'T SAVE  
A WOBBLY STAR WARS SPIN-OFF

MICHELLE WOLF TAKES HER  
INSULT COMEDY TO NETFLIX

FOUR EASY WAYS TO MAKE YOUR  
GRILLING HABITS HEALTHIER



## INTERVIEW

## RACHEL GETS REMARRIED

By Eliana Dockterman

RACHEL CUSK IS NOT A RADICAL—AT LEAST NOT anymore. Critics lambasted her as a “bad mom” when she asserted that marriage and motherhood deprive women of any sense of self in her memoirs *A Life’s Work* (2002) and *Aftermath* (2012). Years later, she’s still writing about the anguish of divorce and parenting, but those ideas have been better received as a trilogy of acclaimed novels: *Outline* (2015), *Transit* (2017) and, now, *Kudos* (June).

“It took me a while to figure out why the memoir was malfunctioning,” Cusk says. “I realized if you use yourself as an example, people turn you into the exception.” She believes women will go to great lengths to disguise their own ambivalence about motherhood, and that by exposing their suffering with her own story she gave readers someone to admonish. “That made me angry. Their response sent the message to any woman struggling with motherhood that she would be attacked.”

So she turned to writing fiction that draws directly from her own life. The series centers on Faye, a divorced author living with two children in Britain—just like Cusk. The novels don’t really have a plot. Faye travels to Greece in *Outline*, gut-renovates her home in *Transit* and attends a German literary festival in *Kudos*. Cusk has made Faye a silent cipher. She says little as friends and strangers monologize about their failed marriages.

Delving into one of Cusk’s novels has the voyeuristic appeal of eavesdropping on a stranger’s therapy session. The literary world has embraced the style, a mashup of fiction and autobiography, as a brilliant innovation. “I was eager to find a new form that was less confrontational,” says Cusk. “There’s not that much difference for me as a writer. It’s just adjusting the frame.”

**IN *KUDOS***, the trilogy’s final installment, Faye (like Cusk) has remarried, although she shares no details about her new partner. When a friend asks Faye why she chose to resubmit herself to the repressive laws of marriage, Faye replies, “I hoped to get the better of those laws by living within them.”

Cusk has never been one to work within the system. But in *Kudos*, she asserts that freedom—from marriage, from obligation, from the patriarchy—has its drawbacks. A man tells Faye that for decades he tallied his income on a spreadsheet labeled **FREEDOM** in anticipation of early retirement. But when he finally quit his job, he found domestic life unsatisfying. Another character remarks that people who leave their toxic families become lonely. “You



With *Kudos*, Cusk ends a multiyear literary experiment

pursue ‘freedom’ or ‘love’ or some principle, but they’re like mountains in the distance that never seem to get any closer,” says Cusk. “You realize at a certain age that refrigerator magnet idea: ‘It’s the journey, not the destination.’”

The costs of freedom also take on a political import: the U.K.’s divorce from the European Union haunts the novel, set shortly before the Brexit vote. Faye’s seatmate on a plane interprets signs lobbying voters to “leave” or “remain” as a personal comment on his own marriage. “The private consciousness was enacted on the public stage,” says Cusk of Brexit, “including the trauma.” Cusk hints that society should rebuild its structures rather than seek liberation from them. That process may begin with righteous anger, as when Faye’s friends share stories about abusive exes and question gender roles. “With #MeToo, we’re witnessing an unraveling of an old morality,” Cusk says. “Now what replaces it?”

Faye and her friends are still trapped in archetypes: the angry feminist who fights against marriage, or the martyr who sacrifices herself to the institution. But Cusk wonders in *Kudos* whether they—like Medea, Antigone and other women of Greek tragedy—can achieve honor through that suffering. Cusk remains hopeful that being honest about pain can lead to salvation. “I have found freedom is in fact truth,” she says—although she is still determining how to communicate that truth. She’s done with the style of *Kudos*. “I’m always on the move artistically,” she says, “to find what the language of our world will be.” □

LOVE LETTER

BY FRANCINE PROSE

# An ode to summer reading

I LOVE THE IDEA OF SUMMER READING AND ALL THAT IT suggests: leisure, relaxation, the opportunity to lose one’s self in a good book. Maybe it’s a holdover from our school days. Winter reading was what our teachers assigned to us, summer reading—our choice! Maybe “summer reading” brings us back to those endless-seeming childhood months when school was out and (at least in my Brooklyn public library) we were allowed to borrow as many books as we could carry home.

Or maybe summer reading is about vacation: reading is what we do when we’re temporarily set free from our jobs and their demands on our time, when we have the liberty to leave our familiar surroundings and enter the worlds created for us

by books. I relish everything that “summer reading” conjures: the hammock; the beach blanket; the long, engrossing novel. The glass of lemonade or iced tea. The buzzing of the bees providing appropriate background music for any book we might choose.

To be really honest, I love everything that associates the act of reading with the idea of pure pleasure and enjoyment. Reading not out of necessity or obligation but for the joy of it.

*Prose, the author of What to Read and Why (July), is a novelist, essayist and critic who has published more than 20 works of fiction*

FICTION

BY LUCY FELDMAN

Established writers and first-time novelists tackle everything from chaotic kitchens to civil war in the best summer novels to fuel your book-club discussions



**The Incendiaries**  
By R.O. Kwon

Phoebe, reeling from the loss of her mother, arrives at college and finds herself enticed by a religious cult with ties to North Korea. When the group commits an act of terror, she vanishes—and her boyfriend becomes obsessed with uncovering the truth about her involvement. (July)



**Small Country**  
By Gaël Faye

Faye, the son of a French father and a Rwandan mother, draws from personal experience with conflict and exile for his debut novel, already a best seller in France. In the book, 10-year-old Gaby’s idyllic childhood slips away when war and genocide erupt in his home of Burundi. (June)



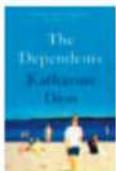
**Ohio**  
By Stephen Markley

All the sweaty angst of high school and teenage relationships surges back when four former classmates return to their hometown. A decade after graduation, they reckon with the realities of having come of age during the conflict and recession of the early aughts. (August)



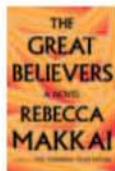
**Number One Chinese Restaurant**  
By Lillian Li

Behind the kitchen doors of the top Chinese restaurant in Rockville, Md., is a dysfunctional makeshift family of owners, cooks and servers. Its future lies in limbo as the sons of the late proprietor clash and some staffers get dangerously friendly. (June)



**The Dependents**  
By Katharine Dion

How well do you really know your partner? After 50 years of marriage, Gene suddenly loses his wife Maida. When his distant daughter, now grown, returns home, old memories resurface and Gene’s long-held narrative of his own family’s life begins to unravel. (June)



**The Great Believers**  
By Rebecca Makkai

The tentacles of an epidemic reach across decades in two intertwining narratives. In one, set in 1985, a gallery director witnesses the ravages of AIDS all around him. In the other, 30 years later, the sister of his friend who died of the illness grapples with the aftershocks of loss. (June)



**The Distance Home**  
By Paula Saunders

The story begins in 1960s South Dakota, where siblings Leon and René both love to dance—but only she enjoys the support of their father. Saunders, raised a ballerina in the Midwest, examines how chances received or denied in childhood can shape the course of a life. (August)



**Still Lives**  
By Maria Hummel

In this mysterious page-turner, a feminist artist is poised to make a splash with a show featuring portraits in which she styles herself as famed murder victims—art designed to interrogate a culture of violence against women. But on the night of her opening gala, she disappears. (June)



## SHORT STORIES



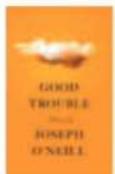
### FLORIDA By Lauren Groff

A dangerous energy, buoyed by rich and unsettling details, runs through the *Fates and Furies* author's new collection as her characters face down snakes, hurricanes and their own self-destructive behavior. (June)



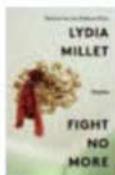
### DAYS OF AWE By A.M. Homes

With dark humor and sharp dialogue, Homes plumbs the depths of everyday American anxieties through stories about unexpected situations—take, for example, an affair that unfolds at a conference on genocide. (June)



### GOOD TROUBLE By Joseph O'Neill

The angst of modern life pervades the daily lives of the characters in these stories from the author of *Netherland*, whose subversive humor finds new angles on everything from facial hair to circumcision. (June)



### FIGHT NO MORE By Lydia Millet

A real estate broker named Nina anchors these loosely linked tales about people buying and selling homes in L.A. The cast includes a teen sex worker, a suicidal musician and a young mistress turned wife. (June)



*Memoir, meet novel; writers Mailhot and Orange talk shop*

## Q&A

# NATIVE VOICES RISING

*Two years after earning their MFAs from the Institute of American Indian Arts, Tommy Orange and Terese Marie Mailhot have become significant emerging voices in American literature. Orange made a splash with a story in the New Yorker, excerpted from There There (June), his novel centered on 12 characters at an annual Oakland powwow. His book is one of the season's buzziest. Mailhot, who interviewed her friend for TIME, published her best-selling memoir, Heart Berries, in February.*

**Terese Marie Mailhot:** How did you form your aesthetic?  
**Tommy Orange:** I wanted to create a fast-moving vehicle to drive somebody to some brutal truth. There's so much information everyone could access about the realities of Native communities,

and they don't. So if you can convince people by giving them a good reading experience to actually think about these things, you sort of trick them into changing.

**T.M.M.:** You illustrate the loneliness of trying to find one's identity through stories.  
**T.O.:** How we see ourselves reflected or not reflected in literature, TV and movies, it's pretty lonely as a Native person. For urban Native people, it's a double invisibility. Being half white and half Native, I've never felt fully a part of either community.

**T.M.M.:** I grew up around Natives and experienced the same loneliness. There's something profound about bringing these characters together for a powwow—that space is unique in its ability to gather a conglomeration of identities, cultures and families. What inspired you?  
**T.O.:** I thought it was a really amazing coming together of traditional aspects as well as contemporary ones. It's a

place where you see people in the parking lot changing from their street clothes to looking very Indian. The first thing I thought of before I started was that I was going to have a whole bunch of characters and their lives converge at an Oakland powwow at the Coliseum.

**T.M.M.:** I've heard you describe the work as a polyphonic novel.  
**T.O.:** We fight against a monolithic version of ourselves as historical, traditional and "back to the land." So to have modern voices struggling with different things was a powerful way to be thought of as human in the present tense and as complex as anybody else.

**T.M.M.:** Louise Erdrich has said about you, "Welcome to a brilliant and generous artist." How did you feel hearing that from one of the best-known authors within our literary circle?  
**T.O.:** I was traveling when I found this out. I'd gone up in the air, and when I landed I found out my story was out and five minutes later that Erdrich had blurbed for the book. I was just crying in the airport out of gratitude.

**T.M.M.:** So many people cry in the airport. But yours were tears of joy.  
**T.O.:** That moment will always stay with me. I'm sure you have things that will always stay with you.

**T.M.M.:** I'm still waiting on a call from Oprah. After I hit the best-seller list, people were like, "Let's keep you there." People not expecting that of us and us working in the dark helped us. Nobody saw us coming. □

MAILHOT AND ORANGE: MARK WOODWARD; BALDWIN: ARTY POMERANTZ—NEW YORK POST ARCHIVES/GETTY IMAGES

NONFICTION

## Spark a great debate

GUN REFORM

**#NEVERAGAIN**

By David and Lauren Hogg  
Parkland survivors David and Lauren Hogg crystallize their generation's call for gun reform in this manifesto for a growing youth movement. (June)

CYBER-WARFARE

**THE PERFECT WEAPON**

By David Sanger  
Sanger, a national-security reporter, charts the global rise of cyberwarfare and examines how digital weapons are rapidly changing geopolitics. (June)

FAKE NEWS

**THE DEATH OF TRUTH**

By Michiko Kakutani  
The Pulitzer Prize-winning critic traces the creeping forces that have allowed opinion to be treated with as much credibility as fact. (July)

ECONOMY

**SQUEEZED**

By Alissa Quart  
This look at the financial burdens on the middle class argues that the costs of raising kids in the U.S. are too high for all but the wealthiest Americans. (June)

HISTORY

BY LILY ROTHMAN

## Summer travels back in time

Summer gets a bad rap as the time when knowledge takes a backseat to fun, with school out of session and leisure taking priority. But thanks to this season's wealth of offerings, it's also a chance to bone up on history. Although some of these releases don't exactly make for relaxing poolside reading, each provides an opportunity to soak up a chapter of the past, whether 17th century Asia or the American civil rights movement.



James Baldwin speaks to a crowd gathered in New York City to mourn the victims of violence in Birmingham, Ala., in 1963

**What Truth Sounds Like: Robert F. Kennedy, James Baldwin, and Our Unfinished Conversation About Race in America**

By Michael Eric Dyson

The prolific thinker and sociology professor turns his focus to a frustrating 1963 meeting, organized by Baldwin at RFK's request, about the nation's racial divide. (June)

**Empress: The Astonishing Reign of Nur Jahan**

By Ruby Lal

Fans of biographies might keep an eye out for this tale about the multitalented woman who, after her 1611 marriage to the man who ruled the Mughal Empire—making her his 20th wife—rose to a surprising and complex position of power. (July)

**A Bite-Sized History of France: Gastronomic Tales of Revolution, War, and Enlightenment**

By Stéphane Hénaut and Jeni Mitchell

Pack this one if you're going abroad—or if you're simply hungry. The authors use food and wine as a way to trace French history from ancient times through today. (July)

**The Prison Letters of Nelson Mandela**  
Edited by Sahn Venter

For history buffs who prefer primary sources, this collection of writings from the South African leader promises a window into history as it was lived, with more than 250 letters—including previously unpublished ones—from Mandela's 27 years as a prisoner. (July)

**Indianapolis: The True Story of the Worst Sea Disaster in U.S. Naval History and the Fifty-Year Fight to Exonerate an Innocent Man**

By Lynn Vincent and Sara Vladic

This account of the U.S.S. *Indianapolis* promises to show that the ship's story is about much more than the torpedoes that ended it. (July)

**Fly Girls: How Five Daring Women Defied All Odds and Made Aviation History**

By Keith O'Brien

Let's call it the *Hidden Figures* rule: If there's a part of the past you thought was exclusively male, you're probably wrong. Case in point are these stories of Amelia Earhart and other female pilots who fought to fly. (August)

## MOVIES

### A watered-down origin story buoyed by bold performances

By Stephanie Zacharek

WITH HIS SLOW-BURNING, HONEST-MA-IT-WASN'T-ME grin, Alden Ehrenreich, as the junior version of Han Solo in *Solo: A Star Wars Story*, looks more like a young Dennis Quaid than a sapling Harrison Ford. But no matter: he's appealing anyway, and that's key to any pleasure you might draw from Ron Howard's wobbly foray into the *Star Wars* universe. The picture starts out slow, even though Howard and father-son writers Lawrence Kasdan and Jonathan Kasdan try to goose it with a few aircraft battles. But it's all too generic to mean much. Worse yet, the first half of the picture looks dim and murky, as if the thing had been shot through a scrim of dust motes. (The cinematographer is Bradford Young, who has shot some gorgeous movies, like *Arrival*.)

And to the degree that it matters, the plot is throwaway. Young Solo starts out on the squalid planet Corellia, home to a bunch of runaways and ne'er-do-wells. He's got a girlfriend, Qi'ra (Emilia Clarke); he dreams of being a pilot. Desperate to escape this unexciting planet, he enlists with the Empire and goes to war, where he meets another grifter, Beckett (Woody Harrelson). The story involves the theft of a cache of coaxium, or starship fuel. Like oil, it's the sort of thing people fight over, and the villainous

mogul Dryden Vos (Paul Bettany, with pinky-red tiger stripes on his face) wants the juice for himself.

*Solo* brightens up a little in the second half, both visually and in terms of momentum, though the hard truth about this just-O.K. *Star Wars* universe plug-in is that Howard may not be the best director of special-effects-heavy space operas. But that's a dubious distinction anyway. He has better luck with actors, and everyone does good work here: Clarke is vibrant and subtle, even in a cartoony role. And Donald Glover is a blast as Solo's friendly nemesis—frenemis?—Lando Calrissian. *Star Wars* lore is woefully lacking in sex appeal—even Han Solo is more of a guy's guy—but Glover has an unruly, charismatic elegance.

He also gets some of the best costumes, including a selection of capes à la Screamin' Jay Hawkins.

If nothing else, *Solo: A Star Wars Story* features some fabulous clothes, courtesy of costume designers David Crossman and Glyn Dillon. At one point Clarke's Qi'ra shimmers into a room wearing a slinky, black Halston-style number with a metal disco-choker attached, like something Bianca Jagger would have worn to Studio 54. It could never be as iconic as Princess Leia's snow-angel robe, but it's a lot hipper, and it's one of the things that saves this *Star Wars* story from total squaresville. □



Pals for life: Ehrenreich's Solo with Joonas Suotamo's Chewbacca



## FESTIVALS

### Hits and a miss at Cannes

The 71st Cannes Film Festival wrapped up on May 19. Now that the tuxes and sequins have been put away, here's what to know about this year's showing.

With *Cold War*, Polish director Pawel Pawlikowski (*Ida*) introduces a superb East-bloc love story about a young singer (the stunning Joanna Kulig) and a pianist (Tomasz Kot, looking like a Polish Clive Owen) who tumble into a world of romantic torture. So tragic for them—but heaven for us.

Spike Lee's terrific *BlacKkKlansman* is loosely based on the life of Ron Stallworth (played by John David Washington, above), a black undercover cop who infiltrated the Ku Klux Klan in the 1970s. Lee approaches the story with a sense of humor, but his motive is serious: racism isn't just black people's fight; it's everyone's fight.

The king of feel-bad cinema, Lars von Trier, returns with *The House That Jack Built*, featuring Matt Dillon as a serial killer. The graphic violence is beyond gratuitous—it's audience abuse with an art-house pedigree. Proceed at your own risk. —S.Z.

## What to stream now

By Daniel D'Addario

### The Break



Few comedians have made as much of the White House Correspondents' Association dinner as did Michelle Wolf. Her incendiary performance turned a usually chummy affair into a roast.

For the newly infamous Wolf, it was a perfect launching pad for her new Netflix series, a weekly talk show called

TELEVISION

## A true story of trauma, brought to life in fiction

By Daniel D'Addario

IN THE MONTHS SINCE THE revelations about the behavior of Harvey Weinstein kicked off an international reckoning around sexual harassment and assault, much has been written about the misdeeds of men. Less has been said about the lives of the women who were violated. Maybe a crime, a discrete event, makes for an easier narrative than its wending aftermath; maybe thinking about the unhappy unspooling of years in the life of a survivor is more than Hollywood really wishes to deal with at length.

HBO's new film *The Tale*, premiering on May 26 after playing at the Sundance Film Festival earlier this year, forces viewers to face the consequences of sexual violence. It does the same for its protagonist. When the film begins, Jennifer Fox (Laura Dern) is living a placid life as a documentarian. One day, her mother (Ellen Burstyn) contacts her about the discovery of a story Jennifer wrote as a child that suggests she was raped at 13. Jennifer is confused, vaguely remembering her time working with a track coach as a pleasant period of self-discovery. She undertakes a period of detective work in order to suss out exactly what happened to her, what memories were once vivid enough to fuel her writing but now have fallen into silent lacunae.

Jennifer Fox is a real person, the filmmaker who wrote and directed *The Tale* on the basis of her own



Jennifer Fox (Laura Dern) re-evaluates her own story

experience. We see a documentarian's rigor as Jennifer, the character, gradually amasses evidence. That someone so devoted to facts can have so misunderstood or misremembered her own life story inspires terror in Jennifer, who begins to spiral. Dern's mastery is so complete that it makes conversation about the actor's skill or the awards she'll likely win seem unworthy; her performance ignites the screen with increasing tension, stuffing a lifetime's worth of repressed trauma into a moment. Jennifer has been reflexively mistrustful, living life at arm's length. Without knowing it, she's been shaped by assault.

What Jennifer suffered, we eventually learn, was horrific. And not merely for the physical abuse but for the psychological grooming by both

her coach (Jason Ritter) and his lover (Elizabeth Debicki, tragically complicit). The pair, with creepy solicitousness that looks like amiability to a child, are seen in flashback, gradually winning Jennifer's trust. And we see Jennifer as a child too (played with grit and moving naiveté by Isabelle Nélisse), believing them.

The shape of Jennifer's life only becomes clear once she digs up what had been repressed. Part of that process means forgiving the child she had been—one who assumed all adults had good intentions and approached the world with an open heart. The film suggests Jennifer finds her way back there—sadder, wiser but open to life once again. It approaches her past with eyes wide open and doesn't blink. And it shows that the only way Jennifer's trauma could be resolved was by, finally, talking about it. □

*The Break*. It will preserve Wolf's acid-cloaked-in-sweetness sensibility while veering away from the material for which she's now best known. As a writer for Seth Meyers' *Late Night* and as a stand-up, Wolf was sharp and precise on issues beyond electoral politics. She has called her new show "a break



**HOW TO WATCH**  
*The Break* premieres on Netflix on May 27

from the seriousness of late-night comedy," and although promos feature Wolf behind a desk, *The Break* promises to have more variety than a standard fake newscast, with sketches and live comedy.

In recent years, late night has been in large part defined by hosts' opposition to President Trump—from the

scholarly approach of John Oliver to the more visceral Samantha Bee. That Wolf is putting her razor wit to work on other topics suggests a show that might end up even more of a departure from the norm than her Washington dinner set in its willingness to seek out new subjects of withering, hilarious scorn.

## Four healthier ways to grill

By Jamie Ducharme

COOKOUTS ARE A SUMMER staple. And while they do provide some health perks—fresh air, home cooking and time with friends and family—they can also come with risks. Follow these guidelines to make your grilled meals better for you.

### 1. Grill like a pescatarian

Cooking most meat at temperatures above 300°F can produce potentially cancer-causing chemicals called heterocyclic amines (HCAs), according to the National Cancer Institute. But fruits and vegetables like corn, peaches, peppers, eggplant, pineapple, squash and watermelon hold up well on the barbecue and don't form HCAs when they're cooked. And though most types of fish produce HCAs when prepared at high temperatures, certain seafoods—including shrimp, scallops, oysters, crayfish and lobsters—don't seem to form the compounds, says J. Scott Smith, a professor of food chemistry at Kansas State University.

### 2. Don't overcook your entrée

In addition to being carcinogenic, some of the toxins produced by grilling meat may also increase your risk of developing Type 2 diabetes. They do so by interfering with processes that regulate inflammation and insulin sensitivity, says Gang Liu, a postdoctoral nutrition researcher at the Harvard

T.H. Chan School of Public Health, whose research has linked high-heat cooking to an increased risk of the disease. To limit your exposure, “avoid cooking the meats until charred or very well done,” Liu says, and eat grilled foods in moderation.

### 3. Think beyond red meat

Studies have found that eating red meat may increase the risk of heart disease, cancer, diabetes and early death. Processed meats—like sausage, bacon and hot dogs—seem to be even worse, increasing your risk of colorectal cancer and packing in salt and

preservatives. When cooked at high temperatures, nitrite and nitrate preservatives may react with compounds naturally found in meat to trigger the formation of toxins called nitrosamines. Like HCAs, these are considered carcinogens. For these reasons, poultry, fish or plant-based proteins are smarter choices than red meat. But if you must, pick something minimally processed, like steak. Unprocessed red meat has plenty of iron, protein and B vitamins, so for most people, it's fine to eat occasionally. Just think of a burger as a treat, rather than your go-to grillable.

### 4. Make a protective marinade

Slicking meat with a marinade made of oil, water, vinegar and antioxidant-rich spices—like rosemary, oregano and thyme—for about 30 minutes prior to cooking can at least partially block HCA formation, Smith's research has found. (Wrapping meat in aluminum foil before grilling may also cut down on HCAs.) Ground pepper appears to be effective too. In one study, Smith found that mixing a gram of it with 100 g of ground beef blocked the formation of HCAs. If that mixture tastes too strong, add in some herbs and garlic.





Family Greatly



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# 7 Questions

**Jeremy Irons** The Oscar-winning actor on the power of his voice, his best villain and the hardest part he's ever played

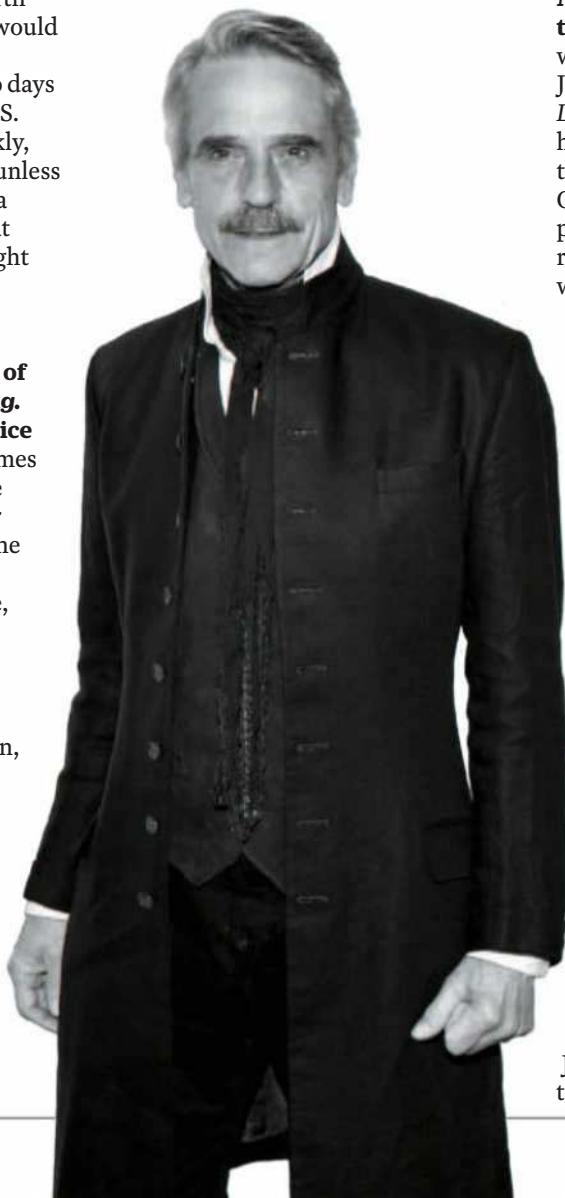
**Y**ou just released an audiobook, *The Poems of T.S. Eliot*. Your 2005 recording of Vladimir Nabokov's *Lolita* is considered by many to be the gold standard for audiobooks. Any recollections from the recording session? After I had been approached to record it, I discovered the company intended an abridged version. I felt, had Nabokov wanted it abridged, he would have written it shorter, and I suggested to his son Dmitri that he might insist we record it as written. When I arrived at the studio in North London, my producer told me we would need an extra day to record it in its entirety. I explained I only had two days before I was to fly to work in the U.S. I told her I would read it very quickly, and asked her not to interrupt me unless absolutely necessary. The read, as a result, has a briskness and flow that without those time constraints might not have surfaced.

**You also give voice to one of the most evil animals in the history of animation, Scar, in *The Lion King*. How do you portray evil with voice alone?** The word *unctuousness* comes to mind, but I wonder if it isn't the contrast between what a character says and how he says it, and what he actually does that projects his evil nature. "One may smile, and smile, and be a villain," as Hamlet said.

**You've played some nasty characters. Who has been your favorite villain to portray?** Simon, in *Die Hard with a Vengeance*, is a man with whom I would enjoy spending the evening.

**A 2008 study found that, based on the combination of tone, speed, frequency, words per minute and intonation, you have very close to the ideal voice. What is your first memory of someone bending to your will, strictly based on your**

**MY FIRST DOG, INDEED ALL MY DOGS, HAVE BEEN DELIGHTFULLY SUSCEPTIBLE TO MY VOICE**



**verbal power?** My first dog, indeed all my dogs, have been delightfully susceptible to it. Sadly, I do not find such success amongst humans. I remember Glenn Close telling me that when Robert Duvall heard she was doing *The Real Thing* with me, he asked, "How can you trust a f-cker who talks like that?"

**You're performing in New York City in a demanding and critically acclaimed production of Eugene O'Neill's *Long Day's Journey Into Night*. Where does this role rank in terms of difficulty?** Laurence Olivier, who played nearly everything, said that James Tyrone [the role Irons plays in *Long Day's Journey*] was the hardest part he had ever attempted. I would agree—the hardest, and yet the most rewarding. O'Neill did not write this play to be performed, so performing it as written requires the actors to discover from what is on the page much that is not. It is not possible to play without being emotionally present at each moment.

**Do you ever space out onstage?** To "dry" is every actor's nightmare. I managed to do it on our press night [for the British production of *Long Day's Journey*]. In the Act IV scene with my son, my mind went blank. Eventually, I scoured from my brain a line which got me back on track as I felt the growing realization that I had cut four pages, which included my son's major arias. Fortunately, he cut back to where we should have been, leaving me with the unenviable task of repeating a page word-for-word. I tried to inflect my lines completely differently to convince the audience this was an example of the circular nature of O'Neill's writing rather than my blunder. I'm not sure I succeeded.

**Do you have a favorite line in *Long Day's Journey*?** I fell in love with James Tyrone, and was so happy for a time. —EBEN SHAPIRO

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