BAGS WITH A MISSION FOR WOMEN ON A MISSION

The **Harriet Tote** provides **100 school meals** to children around the world.

FEED

FEEDPROJECTS.COM



JULY 22, 2019

TIME

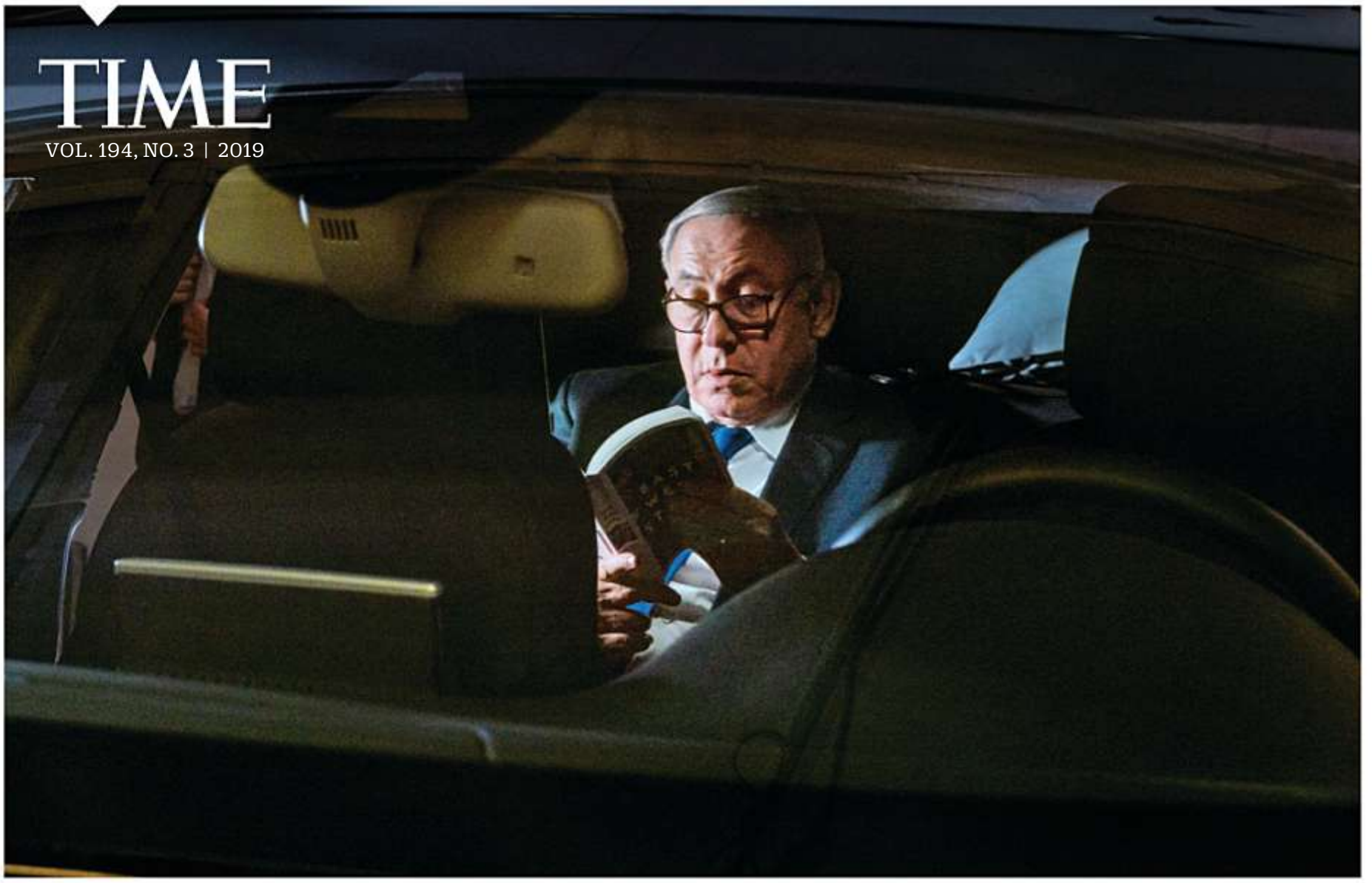


‘THE STRONG SURVIVE’

ON THE CUSP OF HISTORY, ISRAEL’S **BENJAMIN NETANYAHU** TESTS THE LIMITS OF POWER

BY BRIAN BENNETT

TIME
VOL. 194, NO. 3 | 2019



4 | Conversation
6 | For the Record

The Brief

News from the U.S. and around the world

7 | Jeffrey Epstein's delayed **reckoning**

9 | An Angela Merkel ally may be the **first female** E.U. leader

10 | The potential of **voters with disabilities**

12 | TIME with … **Foxconn** founder Terry Gou

14 | Parents of **dyslexic kids** unite

16 | California braces for **fire season**

The View

Ideas, opinion, innovations

21 | Paula Fass on the kids we **don't protect**

23 | Ian Bremmer on **Greece's return** to the mainstream

23 | What **Hong Kong** needs next

24 | The naughtiness of **state-fair food**

Features

The State of Netanyahu
Israel's Prime Minister has made the country powerful and prosperous. But at what price?
By Brian Bennett **26**

Plus: Excerpts from the TIME interview

Uncertain Justice
Inside Brett Kavanaugh's first term on the Supreme Court
By Tessa Berenson **36**

Instagram's Battle Plan
How the social-media giant aims to curtail rampant bullying
By Katy Steinmetz **42**

Time Off

What to watch, read, see and do

49 | Hollywood embraces **Asian Americans**

52 | Movies: ***Sword of Trust*** and ***The Art of Self-Defense***

53 | Books: ***Tell Me Everything*** and ***Raised in Captivity: Fictional Nonfiction***

54 | Music: Quick Talk with **Banks**

56 | 9 Questions for U.S. soccer star **Megan Rapinoe**

Israel's Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu reads inside his car in Jerusalem on June 25

ON THE COVER AND ABOVE: Photographs by Alex Majoli—Magnum Photos for TIME



WE ALL HAVE THE POWER



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

TO STAND UP TO CANCER



Lori, breast cancer survivor.



MARVEL STUDIOS'

AVENGERS: ENDGAME, MASTERCARD, AND STAND UP TO CANCER

ARE JOINING TOGETHER TODAY TO HELP TAKE DOWN

ONE OF THE BIGGEST VILLAINS OF ALL: CANCER.

JOIN US NOW AT STANDUPTOCANCER.ORG/MASTERCARD.

STAND UP TO CANCER FUNDS GROUNDBREAKING RESEARCH IN PURSUIT OF ITS MISSION TO MAKE EVERY PERSON DIAGNOSED WITH CANCER A LONG-TERM SURVIVOR.

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

STAND UP TO CANCER

mastercard.

AVENGERS ENDGAME ONLY IN THEATERS

STAND UP TO CANCER IS A DIVISION OF THE ENTERTAINMENT INDUSTRY FOUNDATION, A 501(C)(3) CHARITABLE ORGANIZATION.
MASTERCARD IS A REGISTERED TRADEMARK, AND THE CIRCLES DESIGN IS A TRADEMARK, OF MASTERCARD INTERNATIONAL INCORPORATED.
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED. AVENGERS: ENDGAME ONLY IN THEATERS APRIL © 2019 MARVEL

Conversation

FIGHTING TO BE HEARD

RE "HONG KONG IN REVOLT" [June 24]: Your report on the recent protests speaks to the core values of Hong Kong: freedom and human rights, which we are defending with all our might. Beijing's authoritarian regime is not the only challenge we face; people's apathy toward politics is weakening the protesters' will. Hong Kong's colonial history has deprived its citizens of political education and knowledge. Two decades after the handover, sociopolitical participation is still demonized as a disturbance of social order. Without experience in political movements, Hong Kong's protesters are going through a process of trial and error. We are in need of international support. This is no longer a battle of national identity but a battle of freedom vs. surveillance, democracy vs. autocracy and human rights vs. brutality.

Leo Chow,
HONG KONG

TAIWAN IS NO STRANGER TO oppression and threats from the Chinese government. That's why Hong Kongers' fear of the proposed extradition law resonates with many Taiwanese people. The Chinese government's new weapon of choice is money. People will be forced to choose between freedom and economics: if their governments don't do as Beijing wishes, they risk losing money and jobs. The countries doing business with China under the Belt and Road Initiative, however, would tell us that if we choose money over freedom, we will end up losing both.

Mickey Lin,
TAIPEI

BIGGER PROBLEMS

RE "THIS ISLAND IS SINKING" [June 24]: Your excellent article on our sinking planet just goes to show you what small countries can do to help alleviate climate change, but will it be enough? President Trump recently announced his re-election campaign, and while he might have 20-20 vision in regard to his re-election, he is as blind as a bat when it comes to climate change. How can we truly begin to address a problem that constitutes a clear and present danger to our world when one of the biggest polluters—the U.S.—has pulled out of the Paris climate agreement?

Cathal Mc Mahon,
NEWMARKET-ON-FERGUS, IRELAND

CHANGE FOR THE WORSE

RE "THE VACCINE BATTLEGROUNDS" [June 24]: Dr. Paul Offit was correct in saying that "vaccines are a victim of their own success." Back in



the 1960s, when the measles vaccine was not yet available, I heard stories of children dying from the disease in my village. In the '70s, my children were fortunate to be able to receive the measles vaccine. I remember feeling greatly blessed that my family no longer had to subject the children to measles and its dangers. Now, I am dismayed to learn that some parents are fighting for the right to choose which vaccines their children receive.

Loh Senghock,
JOHOR BAHRU, MALAYSIA

THE BRAVER COURSE

RE "WHAT A FATHER CAN DO" [June 24]: If the elevation of action above words leads to joining the military, then perhaps David French should keep talking. How is joining that righteous creature that is the American war machine setting a positive example to our boys? The most adventurous men I know are rejecting this militaristic mind-set with its patriarchal values and instead are teaching, helping raise children, working to save the environment and finding cures for deadly diseases. If the example begins at home, then fathers should be nurturing their sons' feminine sides. But perhaps this is a risk that David French doesn't have the courage to take.

Ingrid Banwell,
CAMMERAY, AUSTRALIA

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT ▸ In "Once More, With Feelings" (June 17), we misstated where the city of Moline is located. It is in Illinois. In "The Vaccine Battlegrounds" (June 24), we misidentified the capital of Washington State. It is Olympia. In "The Hatred Stalking Europe" (July 1), factual errors appeared as a result of a production problem. A link to the corrected version can be found at **time.com/hatredineurope**

TALK TO US

SEND AN EMAIL:
letters@timemagazine.com
Please do not send attachments

FOLLOW US:
facebook.com/time
@time (Twitter and Instagram)

Send a letter: Letters to the Editor must include writer's full name, address and home telephone, may be edited for purposes of clarity or space, and should be addressed to the nearest office:

HONG KONG - TIME Magazine Letters, 37/F, Oxford House, Taikoo Place, 979 King's Road, Quarry Bay, Hong Kong;
JAPAN - TIME Magazine Letters, 2-5-1-27F Atago, Tokyo 105-6227, Japan;
EUROPE - TIME Magazine Letters, PO Box 63444, London, SE1P 5FJ, UK;
AUSTRALIA - TIME Magazine Letters, GPO Box 3873, Sydney, NSW 2001, Australia;
NEW ZEALAND - TIME Magazine Letters, PO Box 198, Shortland St., Auckland, 1140, New Zealand

Please recycle this magazine and remove inserts and samples before recycling



© 1986 Panda symbol WWF ® "WWF" is a WWF Registered Trademark

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

WWF

Spitsbergen, Norway.

© Wild Wonders of Europe / Ole Joergen Liodden / WWF

‘People can misunderstand anger for strength.’

NAOMI OSAKA,
tennis player and 2018 U.S. Open winner, in a text message to Serena Williams, who was penalized for lashing out at a referee when they played each other in the tournament final; Williams shared the note in a July 9 personal essay in *Harper’s Bazaar*

1 in 4

Approximate ratio of Americans who say they don’t plan to ever retire, according to a poll published on July 7

‘People are really hungry for stories, hungry for stories of people who look and feel like them.’

MICHELLE OBAMA,
former First Lady, on what she learned on the book tour for her memoir *Becoming,* on July 6 at the Essence Festival in New Orleans

‘THE SUPREME COURT DECISION WAS WRONG.’

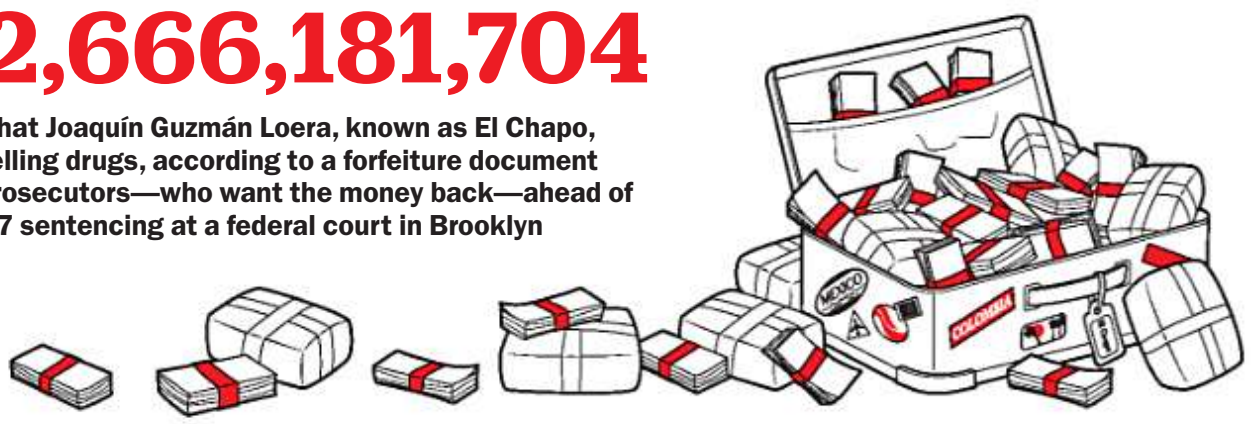
WILLIAM BARR,
U.S. Attorney General, saying July 8 that he believes there’s still a legal way to put a question about citizenship on the 2020 Census, even after the highest court rejected the Administration’s rationale for including it

‘For a man who has risen to the highest office on the planet, President Trump radiates insecurity.’

KIM DARROCH,
U.K. ambassador to the U.S., in a 2017 email—one of many critical emails the diplomat sent about Trump, which were leaked to the *Daily Mail* and published on July 7; Darroch resigned three days later

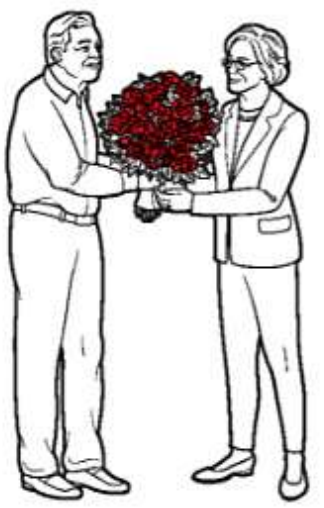
$12,666,181,704

Amount that Joaquín Guzmán Loera, known as El Chapo, earned selling drugs, according to a forfeiture document filed by prosecutors—who want the money back—ahead of his July 17 sentencing at a federal court in Brooklyn



‘I did what I had to do.’

FILIPPO MAGNINI,
Italian Olympic swimmer, on saving a man from drowning in Sardinia on July 7



73

Number of years the 39th President of the United States, Jimmy Carter, 94, has been married to his wife Rosalynn, 91, as of their July 7 anniversary

Weiner
Mad Men creator Matthew Weiner files for divorce from architect Linda Brettler



Wieners
Joey Chestnut ate 71 to win the 2019 Nathan’s Famous International Hot Dog Eating Contest

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

SOURCES: ASSOCIATED PRESS; NEW YORK POST; NEW YORK TIMES

The Brief



REVISITED
The door to Jeffrey Epstein's Manhattan home on July 8, the day charges against him were announced

INSIDE

THE WOMAN POISED TO LEAD THE EUROPEAN UNION

VOTERS WITH DISABILITIES ARE GETTING READY FOR 2020

LARRY KING ON MAKING HISTORY WITH ROSS PEROT

PHOTOGRAPH BY KEVIN HAGEN

COURTS

What revived the case against Jeffrey Epstein

By Katie Reilly

THE CHARGES FACING FINANCIER JEFFREY Epstein involve child sex trafficking. But when prosecutors presented the details, this one stood out: the girls he's accused of sexually abusing are no longer children.

"While the charged conduct is from a number of years ago, it is still profoundly important to the many alleged victims, now young women," Geoffrey Berman, U.S. Attorney for the Southern District of New York, said at a press conference on July 8. "They deserve their day in court, and we are proud to be standing up for them by bringing this indictment."

Epstein, 66, is accused of exploiting dozens of girls as young as 14 in his homes in Manhattan and Palm Beach, Fla., enticing them with cash and recruiting them to give him "massages" that turned sexual. The new charges against him (sex trafficking and sex-trafficking conspiracy, to which he pleaded not guilty) relate to incidents that allegedly took place from 2002 to 2005.

The intervening years don't mean it's too late for Epstein to face his day in court. No statute of limitations applies—the 2006 law that eliminated the federal statute of limitations for child sex trafficking applies to incidents that occurred as early as 2001—and prosecutors in New York say they aren't bound by a 2008 plea deal Epstein reached with federal prosecutors in Florida after he was accused there of abusing dozens of girls. Still, the new charges were quickly followed by questions about how prosecutors treated Epstein in the past and why it took so long to meaningfully pursue allegations that were an open secret.

Berman declined to comment specifically on what led his office to act now but said prosecutors were "assisted by some excellent investigative journalism"—an apparent reference to a November 2018 Miami *Herald* series that found about 80 young women who said they were sexually abused by Epstein from 2001 to 2006. And the *Herald* series didn't emerge in a vacuum. Victims' advocates and legal experts say the #MeToo movement played a key role in changing the way such cases are handled.

The shift in perspective was not only in the courthouse. In December, Nebraska Senator Ben Sasse asked the Justice Department to investigate Epstein's plea deal, writing that the "secret, sweetheart deal for this child rapist should enrage moms and dads everywhere." And in the wake of the new charges, House Speaker Nancy Pelosi and other Democrats called for the resignation of Labor Secretary Alexander Acosta, who in 2008 was the U.S. Attorney in Miami who oversaw Epstein's plea deal. As Acosta defended the agreement at a July 10 press conference, he noted that "we live in a very different world" now.

"It's not that the girls didn't come forward years ago. The victims did come forward years ago," says Jane Manning, a former New York City sex-crimes prosecutor who is now an attorney for rape survivors. "What's making a difference now is the brave survivors who have spoken out as part of the #MeToo movement and the advocates and journalists who have stood with them."

CALLS TO BRING powerful men to justice for previous crimes have echoed across the past two years, and old sex-abuse claims have resulted in some of the #MeToo era's biggest cases.

In what was seen as the first major trial of a nascent movement, a jury last year found comedian Bill Cosby guilty of aggravated indecent assault on the basis of accusations dating from 2004. The conviction followed years of allegations from numerous women and a previous prosecutor's decision not to pursue charges. In February, after nearly two decades facing sexual-misconduct claims, singer R. Kelly was indicted on charges of aggravated criminal sexual abuse for events said to have taken place from 1998 to 2010. Producer Harvey Weinstein was indicted last year on rape and criminal sex act charges based on alleged incidents from 2004, 2006 and 2013. Cosby, who denies the accusations, has appealed. Both Kelly and Weinstein pleaded not guilty.

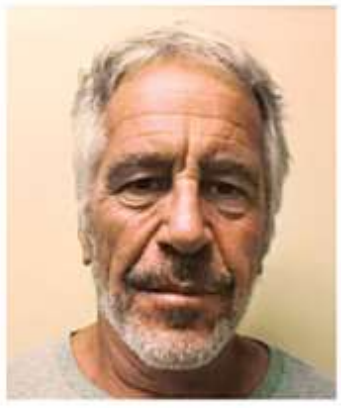
"This is probably a better time to bring a case than in 2007 or 2008, given that there are more men being held to accountability," says Margo Kaplan, who teaches courses on criminal law and sex crimes at Rutgers Law School.

"I think that now that we're turning our attention and investigating these cases in the appropriate way, we're uncovering evidence that is so shockingly consistent that we can't ignore it," echoes Colby Bruno, senior legal counsel at the Victim Rights Law Center. "And I think that's what the #MeToo movement did."

Already, the Epstein case has shown how that attention encourages speaking up. Two days after Berman asked anyone else who might have been a victim to come forward, a new accuser said on NBC's *Today* show that Epstein "forcefully raped" her in 2002, when she was 15. Epstein did not immediately respond to the new allegation.

But not every case gets that kind of attention, other observers point out. A few revisited cases, they say, isn't yet a sign of lasting progress—especially for the thousands of abuse victims who make allegations against perpetrators who are not famous.

"One or two high-profile cases," Kaplan says, "does not make a sea change." □



DOING JUSTICE
Epstein, seen above in a March 2017 mug shot provided by the New York State Sex Offender Registry, will remain behind bars until his bail hearing on July 15

PREVIOUS PAGE: GETTY IMAGES; EPSTEIN: NEW YORK STATE SEX OFFENDER REGISTRY/AP; PHILIPPINES: EZRA ACAYAN—GETTY IMAGES



A CHILD'S WAKE Mourners grieve 3-year-old Kateleen Myca Ulpina, who was killed in the Philippines in late June in the course of a sting operation led by police as part of President Rodrigo Duterte's bloody war on drugs. At least 6,600 people have been killed by law enforcement since the campaign began after Duterte's 2016 election. Amnesty International called the drug war "nothing but a large-scale murdering enterprise" on July 8 and urged the U.N. to investigate.

THE BULLETIN

A compromise candidate is set to become the first female chief of the E.U.

A LOYAL ALLY OF GERMAN CHANCELLOR Angela Merkel emerged on July 2 as the surprise candidate to become European Commission president, one of the most powerful positions in Europe. Ursula von der Leyen, Germany's Defense Minister, was nominated by France's Emmanuel Macron after negotiations among E.U. leaders reached an impasse. With a confirmation vote by the E.U. Parliament set for July 16, von der Leyen is set to shape the union's political agenda for the next five years.

SOCIAL REFORMER As the daughter of a former European Commissioner, von der Leyen embodies the European project: she was born and raised in Brussels and speaks fluent French and English. She entered politics in her 40s after a career as a gynecologist and has since become the longest-serving member of Merkel's Cabinet. A mother of seven, she has been vocal about gender parity in Germany and implemented parental leave for fathers as Labor and Social Affairs Minister.

FIRM FEDERALIST If von der Leyen is confirmed, she will become the first female leader of the European Union's executive branch, heading a group of 28 commissioners. The 60-year-old favors greater integration of the bloc; she has said she wants her grandchildren to grow up in a "United States of Europe" and has called for the establishment of a European army.

DIVISION SIGN Not everyone is happy with her nomination. Europe's socialist parties believed their candidate, Frans Timmermans, to be the favorite. The newly influential Green Party says von der Leyen is not progressive enough on climate change. She has also been criticized by opposition politicians in Germany; former European Parliament president Martin Schulz called her "the weakest minister in the government." At the helm of a fractious E.U.—increasingly divergent on migrant policies, economic reforms and more—she can expect more polarized opinions to come.

—JULIA WEBSTER

NEWS TICKER

ICE used facial recognition on licenses

U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement used facial-recognition tech to examine **millions of individuals' driver's licenses without their knowledge** or approval from Congress or state legislatures, the Washington *Post* revealed July 7. DMV databases in at least three states were accessed for scans.

Domestic violence draws Paris protest

Hundreds of demonstrators turned out in the streets of Paris on July 6 **to demand action against increasing domestic violence** in France. The country's Interior Ministry said 130 women there were killed by their partners in 2017, which was up from 123 in 2016.

Fourth of July parade saps D.C. budget

President Trump's Fourth of July celebration cost the Washington, D.C., government $1.7 million, **bankrupting a fund dedicated to providing security and protecting the capital from terrorist threats.** Democratic D.C. Mayor Muriel Bowser wrote to Trump July 9 requesting that the White House commit to reimbursing the fund for the costs.

NEWS TICKER

North Korea touts defection

North Korean state media reported on July 6 that the **son of the highest-profile South Korean defector had followed in his father's footsteps** and permanently resettled in the North. Choe In-guk reportedly decided to defect to fulfill his parents' wishes and work for the North's unification with the South.

Appeals court skeptical on Obamacare

Federal appeals judges questioned lawyers about whether the Affordable Care Act's individual mandate is constitutional—and whether the law can stand without it—during oral arguments on July 9 in a case that **could threaten health coverage for 20 million people** if it ends up overturning the law.

Congolese warlord convicted

A Congolese warlord known as the Terminator was convicted on July 8 of **war crimes and crimes against humanity** at the International Criminal Court. Bosco Ntaganda, 45, was the military chief of a rebel group from 2002 to 2003 and was responsible for recruiting child soldiers.

GOOD QUESTION

Could voters with disabilities sway elections in 2020?

AMERICAN POLITICIANS ARE USED TO catering their pitches to various demographics, focusing on African-American workers or suburban women. Yet they don't often talk about people with disabilities—even though those who ignore disabled Americans may be missing out on a growing group of voters.

One in 4 adults in the U.S. has a disability, but obstacles such as inaccessible polling places and a lack of engagement from politicians have kept their turnout numbers low. That started to change last year, according to a July 10 report. Researchers at Rutgers University found that voter turnout among people with disabilities surged by 8.5 percentage points in last year's midterms, reversing a trend of stagnant or decreasing rates. In 2018, which saw historic turnout across the board, more people with disabilities reported voting than Latinos, who saw their votes nearly double. There were almost as many disabled voters as black voters too, and their support could be up for grabs in 2020.

The American Association of People With Disabilities (AAPD) launched a campaign called REV UP in 2016 to promote political participation among members of the disability community. Now it has REV UP groups in 32 states and holds a National Disability Voter Registration drive each July. Other efforts, like the #CripTheVote hashtag, have helped organize people with disabilities to talk about politics and promote topics they care about.

This social engagement can be key to empowering people with disabilities, the Rutgers researchers said. It can also help politicians understand the community, according to Alice Wong, a disabled activist and co-creator of #CripTheVote. "A lot of people don't recognize the disability community as a community with a culture or a history," she says. "We're such a heterogeneous community, and [disabilities are] still seen as very individual health problems."

Still, a gap remains. If people with disabilities voted at the same rate as similar people without disabilities, there would have been 2.35 million more voters in 2018. Advocates see this as motivation. "Even though we are one of the largest marginalized groups in this country, we don't have the clout of other marginalized groups," says Helena Berger, president and CEO of the AAPD. "Our vote is being overlooked."

Being overlooked can lead people to question whether their vote matters. And even when people with disabilities want to vote, they often face barriers. A U.S. Government Accountability Office review of polling places during the 2016 election found such voters would face at least one impediment at 60% of the locations reviewed. Disability groups are aiming to address these issues ahead of 2020.

So far, the presidential candidates are off to a mixed start in outreach to the disability community, but activists hope there's still time to show this is one bloc worth wooing before the next election. —ABIGAIL ABRAMS



WILDLIFE

Animals in disguise

A mysterious orange bird recently rescued from the side of a U.K. highway surprised its caretakers at an animal hospital when it was revealed to be just **a gull covered in curry or turmeric.** Vets christened it Vinny, for vindaloo, and said it was ready to be released back into the wild after a warm bath. Here, other animal impostors. *—Billy Perrigo*

DENTED PRIDE
"I'd like to report a lion sighting," a panicked man told a Virginia 911 operator in 2013 after seeing the beast on the street. Officers soon realized the culprit was just a dog with a fierce-looking mane.

URSINE ERROR
Reports emerged in 2016 that a Chinese family got a surprise when they adopted what they thought was a cute puppy: the animal kept growing—and turned out to be an endangered Asiatic black bear.

DIFFERENT STRIPES
Reporters converged on Harlem on an April morning in 2018 seeking to confirm reports of a tiger on the loose. Frightened residents were soon reassured that the animal was, in fact, just a raccoon.

SPLASH NEWS

DIED
Eva Kor, survivor of experiments on twins at Auschwitz who later became a Holocaust educator, on July 4, at 85.

Rip Torn, the actor best known for his role on *The Larry Sanders Show,* on July 9, at 88.

BANNED
Niqabs—or full-face veils—by Tunisia's Prime Minister Youssef Chahed, on July 5, citing security concerns.

SIGNED
A bill that would allow certain congressional committees to **obtain President Donald Trump's state taxes,** by New York Governor Andrew Cuomo, on July 8.

ANNOUNCED
A run for the presidency, by billionaire liberal donor Tom Steyer, on July 9. The number of Democrats running held at 24, as Representative Eric Swalwell dropped out the day before.

APOLOGIZED
Starbucks, on July 7, after an employee asked police officers at an Arizona store to move or leave when another customer said the police made them feel unsafe.

REGISTERED
A **7.1-magnitude earthquake,** in California, on July 5, one day after a 6.4 quake; they were the area's biggest in 20 years.

ENDED
The **print edition of the Chicago *Defender,*** a 114-year-old black newspaper, on July 10. The publication will continue online.



Perot speaks to the press in June 1992; the Texas billionaire ran for President that year as well as in 1996

DIED

Ross Perot

The independent

By Larry King

I ONCE ASKED ROSS PEROT, WHO DIED JULY 9 AT 89, TO TELL ME the secret of his success. He said that he sells umbrellas when it's raining. He knew there was a right place and a right time to take advantage of an opportunity. And boy, did he ever!

I'll never forget the day he came on *Larry King Live* in 1992 to talk about President George H.W. Bush's economic policies. As he was a wildly successful businessman, a lot of people were pushing him to run for Bush's job himself. When he told me he wasn't suited for it, something in me didn't believe him. So I asked again later. Still no. Toward the end of the interview, I asked a third time. This time he looked at me and said, "If I can get on the ballot in all 50 states, I'll do it." We made history that night. His campaign began on cable television. So, though Perot lost the election, he changed politics. Here's this little man, who—let's face it—didn't have a typical presidential look, but he was able to speak to people directly. He brought an informality to TV politics, whether touting his economic plans via infomercial or coming on my show as a private citizen, after the election, to debate Vice President Al Gore about NAFTA. The audience had never been more informed.

When I spoke to him about six months ago, he was as curious as ever. I think he would have made an interesting President: he had a lot of deep-rooted American values, though he certainly went his own way.

King is the host of Hulu's *Larry King Now* and *Politicking With Larry King*

DIED

João Gilberto

Supernova

WHEN JOÃO GILBERTO WAS 14 years old, his grandfather gave him his first guitar. A year later, he dropped out of school and dedicated his life to music. That singular commitment led Gilberto, who died on July 6 at 88, to become one of Brazil's most iconic artists.

Early on, Gilberto forged a sound that replicated the syncopated percussion of samba music on his guitar and paired it with his dulcet vocals. When he began working with composer Antônio Carlos Jobim in 1957, that style became bossa nova, which they exported to the world on the album *Chega de Saudade*. In 1964, his collaboration with saxophonist Stan Getz on *Getz/Gilberto* and his track "The Girl From Ipanema"—featuring vocals by his then wife Astrud—earned him Grammys for album and record of the year, and his career in the half-century that followed influenced generations of musicians in Brazil and beyond.

At Gilberto's public funeral in Rio de Janeiro, an orchestra and choir performed the title track from *Chega de Saudade* to a crowd of mourners. *Saudade* is a Portuguese word that describes painful longing and nostalgia. *Chega de* means "no more."

—WILDER DAVIES



PEROT: CARLOS OSORIO—AP; GILBERTO: MICHAEL OCHS ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

Foxconn founder **Terry Gou** wants to be Taiwan's President—and a go-between for U.S. and China

By Charlie Campbell/Tainan, Taiwan

IF YOU WANT TO KNOW HOW FOCUSED TERRY Gou is on the campaign trail, look at his pants. When the billionaire Foxconn CEO gives televised interviews, senior aides crouch by his feet, just off camera. If he strays off message, they're primed to steer the presidential contender back on course by giving his pant legs a quick tug.

Gou's cuffs remained unruffled as he spoke to local news stations on June 15 at Kun Shan University in the southern Taiwan city of Tainan before greeting students with running high fives like a WWE wrestler. His platform in the 2020 presidential election in the island territory, he says, is how to profit from a trade war. As the U.S. and China have ramped up tit-for-tat tariffs on a range of imports over the past year, Taiwan is in a prime position to exploit the conflict, Gou tells TIME. "The trade war is also a technology war," he says. "Taiwan can become the supply-chain in between."

Although the two sides recently brokered a temporary trade cease-fire, the U.S. and China are locked into divergent paths long term. Gou, 68, sees it ending with two rival tech zones: China servicing developing nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America on one side, and the U.S., Europe and allies on the other. "People still talk about the G-20," he says, "but today there's really only the G-2." That represents an opportunity for Taiwan, which has historic links with both of these superpowers, to be a "gatekeeper," he says.

It's a theory he's hoping to put into practice as leader of this island of 23 million people, which has ruled itself since effectively splitting from the mainland following China's civil war in 1949. In June, Gou stepped down as chairman of the company he founded over 40 years ago to dedicate himself full time to the race for leader of the opposition Kuomintang party, from which he could challenge incumbent President Tsai Ing-wen next year. Gou says deteriorating cross-strait relations are what pushed him into the political fray. "Today's President doesn't have communication channels with Beijing," says Gou. "This is a very bad situation." But is Taiwan's wealthiest man the right person to fix it?

GOU'S PARENTS FLED mainland China in 1949, as the communist revolution came to fruition. He was born a year later on the outskirts of Taipei, where his family lived in a single room for the next 11 years. "We would eat dinner, clear away the table and sleep in the same spot," he recalls. They relied on handouts from U.S. missionaries, he says. "I would go to church, sing some hymns, and they would give us a carton of milk and bag of flour with the Stars and Stripes on it."

After a stint in naval college, Gou became a shipping clerk. In 1974, at 23, he started Foxconn, thanks to a $7,500 loan from his mother, which he used to buy plastic molding machines to make knobs for Western televisions. In the early '80s, Gou embarked on an 11-month tour of the U.S., making unsolicited sales calls to drum up more business from firms like IBM. "I learned a lot from the American system," he says. "It's so open—if you work smart and hard, you will be successful."

Foxconn Technology Group is now the world's biggest electronics manufacturer, and its founder is reportedly worth $6.8 billion. Most of its factories are on the mainland, and its impact on the average American's life is immense—while Steve Jobs may have invented the iPhone, it was Gou who figured out how to actually make one. The $41 billion company now produces many of the gadgets found in American homes, from Sony PlayStations to Amazon Kindles, Nintendo Wiis and Dell laptops. Success did not come without controversy. Foxconn's factories became synonymous for excessive overtime, low wages, child labor and unsafe conditions that, in turn, contributed to riots, strikes, workplace fatalities and more than a dozen suicides, critics say. (The company says labor conditions have since improved.)

At its peak, Foxconn was China's biggest private employer, with a staff of some 1.2 million. But manufacturing has shifted overseas as Taiwan's economy has grown and overheads became more costly, echoing trends seen in more developed economies worldwide. The shifting fortunes of his company have inspired him to rethink how a new form of globalism might work. He sketches the plan on a crisp sheet of paper.

In exchange for a free trade agreement between the U.S. and Taiwan, he says he would bring 10,000 Taiwanese firms to invest in the U.S. Midwest. High-level components like semiconductors from Taiwan would be sent to U.S.-Taiwan joint ventures for added-value design, branding, engineering and final manufacturing, with low-cost components and labor-intensive assembly provided by nearby Mexico. "We want to be a very good partner for the Unites States, providing jobs for local people," he says. However, Foxconn's previous experience in this field should ring alarm bells; in 2017, Gou pledged to build a manufacturing plant in Wisconsin in return for $4 billion in state and local tax incentives, which Trump hailed

GOU QUICK FACTS

Heaven-sent
Gou says the Buddhist sea goddess Matsu appeared to him in a dream and urged him to run for President.

Taiwan's Trump
He also counts the U.S. President as a friend and an influence. In May, Trump reportedly warned him that being President is a "tough job."

Fitness fan
Gou hikes daily and travels everywhere with a dedicated trauma doctor. "I think I will live to 120," he says.



CEDRIC ARNOLD FOR TIME

as "one of the great deals ever." But the plant has so far failed to create the jobs originally touted.

IT'S ALSO NOT CLEAR how Gou as President could pull off a deal with China. President Xi Jinping has repeatedly threatened Taiwan with invasion in response to Tsai's China-skeptic policies. Gou believes his personal relationship with Xi can lower the temperature. He's met the strongman "several times" over the years, he says, proudly showing TIME notes from a conversation in 2014 at which he says they discussed "democracy." Many of China's top political cadres rose through the ranks from provinces where Gou has done business. "So we have relationships, they trust me. That's very important," he says.

But closeness to China may also be a vulnerability for Gou in a territory where war with the Communist Party never officially ended. The controversial extradition bill that provoked unrest in semiautonomous Hong Kong has been perceived by many Taiwanese as a warning against getting too close to the mainland, boosting Tsai in the polls. Gou has an uphill battle to convince voters that Taiwan can maintain its de facto independence while forging closer links with Beijing. Critics say Gou's undeniable record as a businessman does not equip him to stave off a Communist Party that many in Taiwan consider an existential threat. "Gou knows how to run Foxconn and make lots of money," says Professor Steve Tsang, director of the SOAS China Institute at the University of London. "I don't think he understands politics."

Gou does at least understand retail politics, on the evidence of a few days on the campaign trail. Ahead of the July primaries, he has traded board meetings for events and photo ops at universities, retirement homes and stalls hawking fish-head soup. At every stop, hundreds of fans snake around the block for a selfie. In superstitious East Asia, a mere touch from Taiwan's richest man can bestow business success. Scarfing down his lunch at a Tainan community center, Gou passes a juicy chicken leg to a wide-eyed youngster. "You're so lucky," comes a voice tinged with envy from the crowd. "Now you'll be as successful as him." ◻

'People still talk about the G-20, but today there's really only the G-2.'

TERRY GOU, Foxconn CEO, on the U.S. and China



PARENTING

How parents of dyslexic kids took to their statehouses and won

By Belinda Luscombe

A DECADE AGO, JUST FIVE STATES HAD ANY LAWS that mentioned dyslexia. Now if AB-110—a modest bill about developing a dyslexia guidebook—passes the Wisconsin senate and is signed by the governor, that state will become the 46th to have legislation specifically addressing the needs of children with that condition. This year alone, according to the website Dyslegia, more than 75 dyslexia-related bills are expected to be introduced in state legislatures.

Why the wave of laws around this learning disability? Legal experts, teachers and literacy advocates point to one organization in particular: Decoding Dyslexia, a decentralized group of parents who have used social media and online resources to mobilize, raise awareness, and lobby state and federal legislators. "They're well organized," says Jasmine E. Harris, a professor at University of California, Davis, School of Law who specializes in disability law. "They've got the time to do it. They've got the money and resources."

Decoding Dyslexia started in 2011, when some parents—mostly mothers—in New Jersey discovered they were having almost identical struggles with different schools and districts. Their children had a hereditary disability, which had a treatment—dyslexic kids have to be taught to read more painstakingly, with special attention to what's known as "phonemic awareness," or the sound each letter makes—but the schools were unwilling or unable to provide the services they needed. "I wanted to talk to other parents about it," says Kathy Stratton, an early member. "Having a child with dyslexia was kind of isolating in those days."

The parents began to meet together and decided to get involved in the state's reading disability task force. They brought kids and studies and stories of frustration and heartbreak. And they had some wins: in December 2012, six dyslexia bills were introduced into the New Jersey Assembly, three of which made it into law. After the group visited Washington, D.C., 10 of the state's 12 Representatives joined the bipartisan Congressional Dyslexia Caucus.

It wasn't long before parents across the U.S. began contacting them via social media and the New Jersey parents shared what they'd learned: they even produced a manual. By 2015, there were chapters in all 50 states and in Canada, agitating for laws that provide screening to detect the condition at a younger age, allow the kids access to assistive resources such as audiobooks and notetakers, mandate specialized teacher training, and offer more accommodations on tests and assignments. That same year President Obama signed the Research Excellence and Advancements for Dyslexia (READ) Act, which sets apart $2.5 million of National Science Foundation funding a year specifically for studying dyslexia.

'They're well organized. They've got the time to do it. They've got the money and resources.'

JASMINE E. HARRIS, University of California, Davis, School of Law

WHILE NOBODY IS AGAINST kids learning to read, the efforts of groups like Decoding Dyslexia have not been universally appreciated. Studies find that dyslexics—about 5% to 15% of the population—have a particular neurological condition, an idiosyncrasy in the brain that makes it hard for them to associate letter and letter groups with sounds, but some educators are opposed to any emphasis on phonics. "As yet," the International Literacy Association says in its statement on dyslexia, "there is no certifiably best method for teaching children who experience reading difficulty." In fact, the Wisconsin State Reading Association opposes AB-110.

Even some disability advocates are uneasy about the broader impact of Decoding Dyslexia's success. "Illiteracy is a huge problem nationally. But dyslexia does not equal illiteracy," says Harris, who points to such socioeconomic factors as hunger and health issues that affect children's learning. She worries about an equitable division of scant special-education resources. "I wouldn't begrudge any group a greater awareness of a disability," she notes. "But the pie is only so large."

The parents, however, are undeterred. To this day, New Jersey mother and Decoding Dyslexia cofounder Liz Barnes notes, people still email her with one question: How do I do this here? □

ILLUSTRATION BY CHRIS GASH FOR TIME

IT TAKES GUTS. AND HEART. AND HANDS. AND SUPPLIES. AND YOUR HELP.

After a disaster stops "trending" and the media leaves the scene, Concern stays behind to finish what we started. When a natural disaster, health epidemic or human conflict strikes, our response is not only to save lives, but to help the most vulnerable communities stand on their own again. Our work isn't just about showing up, it's about following through.

CONCERN worldwide

Show your Concern.
Support effective disaster relief.
***Donate now:* CONCERNUSA.ORG**

© 2017 CONCERN WORLDWIDE US INC.

California is bracing for fire season. But a big problem remains

By Katy Steinmetz/Ukiah, Calif.

IT'S A HOT DAY IN UKIAH IN MID-JUNE, WITH TEMPERAtures in the mid-'90s, and fire crews are chainsawing and bulldozing their way through thick trees and brush, racing to reduce the dangerous combustibles.

Crews in this rural area north of San Francisco have done this kind of fuel reduction in past years, yet not at this pace nor with this much support. The work they're doing—clearing and thinning 100-ft.-wide swaths of land to help hold back flames—is one of 35 projects fast-tracked by California Governor Gavin Newsom, who has made wildfires a high-profile focus since taking office in January. Locals are on board too: this project cuts through hundreds of parcels of privately owned land. Getting access to residents' property used to take convincing, says Ukiah battalion chief Michael Maynard. "Now it's like carte blanche," he says. "Do whatever you want."

This rare confluence of will comes in the wake of the most destructive fires in California's history. More than 145 people died during 2017 and 2018 as flames devoured tens of thousands of homes and businesses. In many parts of the state, it seems like everyone knows someone who lost everything. And all this tragedy has spawned a flurry of efforts to better prevent and suppress fires. As a result, experts say, California is more prepared for the dangers that summer's hotter, drier weather will bring. "I've never seen the state focus on fire in the way that it has lately," says Scott Stephens, a professor of fire science at the University of California, Berkeley, who has been in the field for 28 years.

Yet there is more to be done, and outsize risk remains. Millions of dead trees are waiting to be culled. Many Californians still live in wooded areas with few ways out. More than half of the state, some 25 million acres, is classified as under very high or extreme fire threat. And while there's hope that the wet weather portends a calmer fire season in 2019, there is also fear that it will lead to complacency. "Unfortunately," says Maynard, "a couple of slow fire seasons and it's not the hot topic."



Crews in Ukiah, Calif., clear brush in June as peak fire season looms

BRIAN L. FRANK FOR TIME

BY THIS TIME LAST YEAR, firefighters in California had already dealt with 2,615 fires. So far, 2019 has seen far fewer, but that did little to quell anxiety when a red-flag alert went out during a June heat wave, warning that conditions were ripe for conflagrations.

Millions of Californians who have choked on smoky air in recent years are quick to worry. Many never stopped. "We're still in fight-or-flight," says Patty Garrison, one of thousands who lost their homes when the Camp Fire ravaged the town of Paradise and killed 85 people last year. Some residents now have police scanners to ensure they're up-to-date on which way a fire might be headed. Others have added a dose of paranoia to their daily habits. "A spark is all it takes," says David Wright, a Ukiah resident who now packs his cigarette butts into his pants pocket after he puts them out.

There is some solace in the fact that powerful players are on high alert too.

The state's fire department, Cal Fire, is preparing for the worst. Aircraft have undergone maintenance. Engines are staffed, and seasonal firefighters are coming on board. Thanks to additional fire crews and National Guard troops who have been deployed to work on fuel reduction, their numbers are larger than last year's. And Cal Fire is anticipating yet more resources—including new helicopters, engines and firefighters—that the governor has budgeted for. The prospect has boosted morale among overworked responders. "Are we excited? Heavens yes," says Scott McClean, a spokesperson for Cal Fire.

PG&E, the embattled utility whose electrical transmission lines have been blamed by state officials for starting the Camp Fire, is being more proactive in cutting power during dangerous weather conditions. This year, the utility



has warned 5.4 million customers to be prepared for shutoffs, compared with thousands last year. The first occurred during the June heat wave, including in the county where Paradise is located.

There is also momentum emanating from Silicon Valley. Earlier this year, IBM hosted a hackathon where about 200 people brainstormed solutions for combatting fires. One of them was Roy Stahl, a programmer who lost his home to a wildfire in 2015. His team came up with a device firefighters could wear to monitor their exposure to dangerous emissions. "The fires, they're insane," Stahl says. "Technology isn't going to stand in the way of a wildfire, but … it can help."

ALL THIS ACTIVITY misses one of the most important factors that has left Californians vulnerable to flames: where and how people are building, particularly as they seek a more bucolic life in places that press up against wilderness. "We placed fire-prone houses in fire-prone areas," says Christopher Dicus, a fire ecologist at California Polytechnic State University. "And we all look around and act surprised when these devastating fires happen. It's just physics."

There is evidence this lesson is sinking in. A recent poll from the UC Berkeley Institute of Governmental Studies found that three-quarters of Californians believe the state should limit home building in high-risk areas. Some people living in such places are showing willingness to make sacrifices: Maynard points to a Ukiah resident who cut down her favorite tree this year because she realized the danger it posed to her home and an adjacent public road. And others who lost homes in such places are considering a move. Garrison and her husband are thinking about leaving the state even though they'd be leaving family behind. She used to see beauty in forested areas. "Now," she says, "it looks like a place you're going to be surrounded by fire with one way out."

But many can't bring themselves to go. Stahl, the programmer, and his wife rebuilt on the same rural spot north of San Francisco where the Valley Fire hit in 2015. They did take additional precautions: installing a metal roof instead of shingles and even buying sheep to keep flammable vegetation in check. Yet the idea of giving up the pastoral lure of their 5,000-person hamlet for the relative safety of the Bay Area was too much. "We didn't want to go back and live in suburbia," Stahl says. "We liked where we were."

Newsom, for all his gusto, appears no more willing than other politicians to touch the issue. When asked earlier this year if the government should ban home building in highly flammable areas, he rejected the idea, citing the "pioneering spirit" of California's people. And though it's clear that stricter regulations can mitigate the problem, wildfire-stricken cities have been loath to harden their local building rules. In Santa Rosa, where the Tubbs Fire wiped out whole neighborhoods in 2017, officials have put more effort into waiving regulations than coming up with new ones as people rebuild. "There is definitely a balancing act," says Gabe Osburn, deputy director of development services for the city. Officials have encouraged locals to be more thoughtful about defensible space—making sure that their homes aren't surrounded by flammable furniture and plants—but residents who are rebuilding are already suffering, emotionally and financially, and adding new rules to an already arduous process "would add another level of stress," Osburn says.

5.4 million

Number of customers that California utility company PG&E has warned could face power shutoffs during dangerous weather this year

25 million

Number of acres in California—more than half the state—that are classified as under very high or extreme fire threat

145

Number of people killed in California wildfires in 2017 and 2018; the Camp Fire was the deadliest in the state's history

Dicus, the fire ecologist, visited Santa Rosa recently. He said it was exciting to see people moving back into devastated neighborhoods like Coffey Park. "Simultaneously, I was pulling out my hair, because I was seeing things like redwood fences being attached right back to the same houses that had just burned down," he says. Redwood fences are pretty and cheap and common in California. In his eyes, compared to fences made of metal or rock, they're also "a wick that's leading right into the building."

State agencies like Cal Fire can't change zoning laws that govern where people live, but they have been ramping up educational efforts, trying to take advantage of people's attention while they have it. Maynard, like many of his colleagues, has been meeting with locals each week. The demand for information, he says, far exceeds past years. And he's happy to deliver his message: "Don't wait for us to come tell you what to do." When there's a fire, tune into the news, have a bag of possessions packed and leave early. ◻



18+

WHAT IS AVAXHOME?

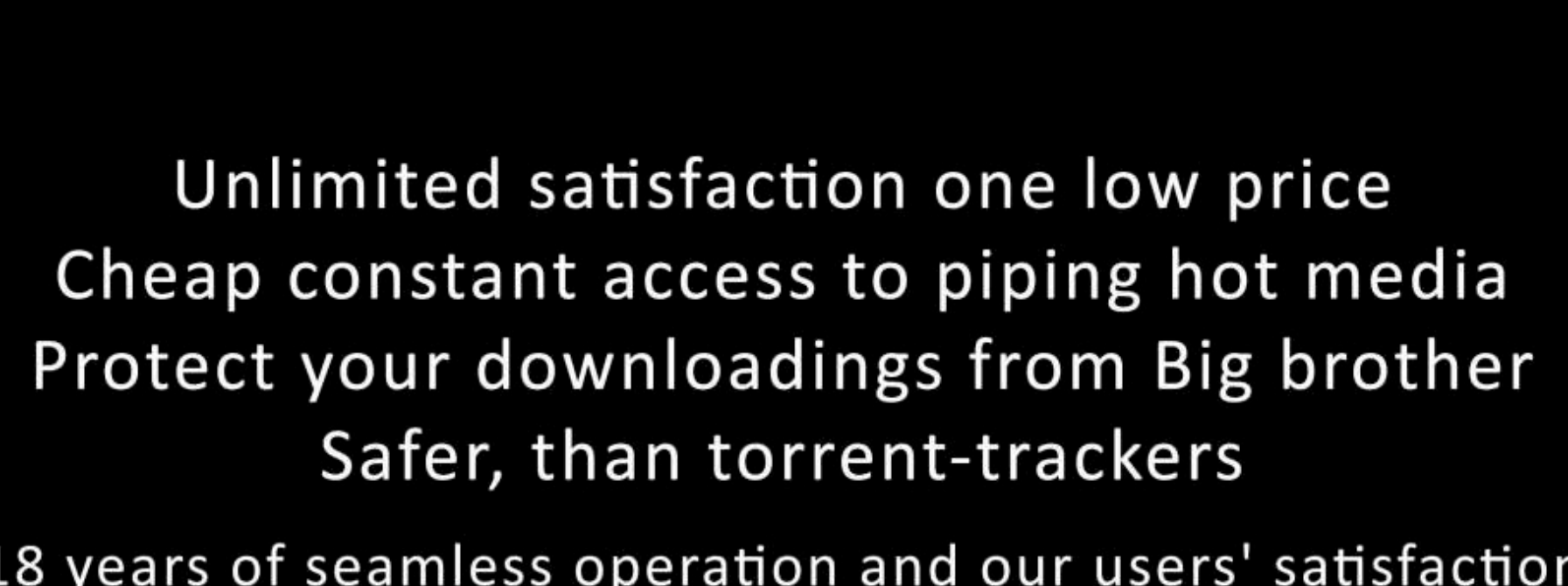
AVAXHOME-

the biggest Internet portal, providing you various content: brand new books, trending movies, fresh magazines, hot games, recent software, latest music releases.

Unlimited satisfaction one low price
Cheap constant access to piping hot media
Protect your downloadings from Big brother
Safer, than torrent-trackers

18 years of seamless operation and our users' satisfaction

All languages
Brand new content
One site



We have everything for all of your needs. Just open https://avxlive.icu

LightBox

Reduced to rubble

The aftermath of an early-morning airstrike, which killed at least 53 at a migrant detention center near Tripoli, is seen on July 3. The country detains thousands of migrants and refugees in government-run facilities in conditions human-rights groups say contravene international law. The strike at the Tajoura Detention Center, for which Libya blamed a rebel group, came two months after the U.N. warned that detainees there were at risk.

Photograph by Emanuele Satolli

For more of our best photography, visit time.com/lightbox

Tanning's fifteen minutes are over.
Let your inner health, beauty,
and vitality shine through.





Protect your skin. Go with the beauty you were born with. It looks great on you.

SKIN CANCER FOUNDATION

Go with your own glow™

SkinCancer.org

Follow us on

©2008-2018 The Skin Cancer Foundation Campaign created in cooperation with Laughlin Constable, laughlin.com

The View

IMMIGRATION

THE KIDS WE DON'T PROTECT

By Paula S. Fass

Americans love their children, agonizing about offering them a hopeful path to the future. But since the nation's beginnings, we have been at once sympathetic to images of childhood and unkind in our treatment of "other" people's children. For migrants at the southern border, this seeming paradox is playing out once again.

INSIDE

THE NEED FOR PEACE WITH NORTH KOREA

NEW LEADERSHIP AND OPTIMISM IN GREECE

A PATH FORWARD FOR HONG KONG

In late June, about a year after the Trump Administration officially ended its family-separation policy, a group of lawyers who visited a Texas detention center housing migrant youth were so appalled by what they saw—toddlers without diapers, older children taking care of younger ones, flu outbreaks—that they alerted the media. Since then, we've heard from others who have observed the situation at the border. A pediatrician told the *Atlantic* of kids with signs of trauma. The New York *Times* reported on children sleeping on the floor in overcrowded cells. A memo from the Department of Homeland Security's inspector general described kids without access to showers or hot meals, though Administration officials have disputed such details. The U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights said on July 8 she was "deeply shocked" by the conditions facing the children. If she looked to American history, she might be less surprised.

Children in America have long represented our humane beliefs in the promise of good treatment and careful nurture. We've paid homage to children as a symbol of our commitment to the possibilities of American life, and used our anger when children are wronged to satisfy our sense of doing right. At the same time, we have not viewed all children so charitably. We have historically been troubled by the disruptive potential of those deemed "other"—whether born elsewhere or not meeting some subjective ideal—and treated them as less worthy of protection, their access to unpatrolled family life as less sacred.



The Border Patrol station in Clint, Texas, is being used to house migrant children

THIS STORY STRETCHES BACK through the 1930s—when Jewish refugee children from Europe were blocked from the U.S.—to the early 19th century, a time when the children of the poor, the displaced and those from broken homes were pitied but consigned to lives of servitude. These were often the children of immigrants. Many were bound out as child laborers. Even people who were sympathetic to the poor and the outcast believed that children should be removed from the conditions that caused their poverty and placed in the households of others. Charity workers, though devoted to ideals of childhood innocence, usually took little note of *why* these families were not raising their children according to middle-class norms of leisure, play and schooling.

And, of course, throughout the first six decades of that century, it was in the very definition of slavery that children belonged not to their parents but to their masters, who could mistreat them and separate them from their kin. These American children made up over 10% of the child population of the U.S. in 1860. It was the genius of Harriet Beecher Stowe to seize on childhood innocence as a public value when she wrote the influential abolitionist novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

By the early 20th century, the sanctity of childhood had become even more elevated as an American ideal. The children of the poor and immigrants benefited from the shift: schooling was required of all, and newly professionalized social workers, as well as nurses with the U.S. Children's Bureau and other reformers, paid attention to their health and housing conditions. Even so, immigrant children with tuberculosis or eye diseases, and those suspected of having intellectual disabilities, could be and were separated from parents at ports of entry like Ellis Island. Nor were those already here spared: Native American children were routinely separated from their communities to be sent to boarding schools where they were supposed to learn to become "Americans."

Today, as many show outraged virtue over the treatment of children, it would be an error to look to history in the belief that we are and have been better than this. But if we look instead to our ethical or religious foundations, that past can still serve a purpose: it can show us just how much there is to rise above.

Fass is the Margaret Byrne Professor of History Emerita at the University of California, Berkeley, and the author of The End of American Childhood

SHORT READS

Highlights from stories on **time.com/ideas**

Give peace a chance

Trump's all-or-nothing approach to talks with North Korea has been **"totally unreasonable and unrealistic, and it's not the path forward,"** write Christine Ahn, Abigail Disney, Suzy Kim, Gloria Steinem and Jody Williams, all of whom have been to the DMZ. But, they argue, his meetings with Kim Jong Un should not be dismissed altogether.

Fighting for family

When Don Zarda was fired after revealing he was gay, he sued for discrimination. Though he died before the Supreme Court agreed to hear his case, his sister, Melissa, is continuing his fight. **"No one should live in fear that their careers and passions could be stripped away simply because of who they are,"** she writes.

Cooperation on currency

In 1944, a meeting in Bretton Woods, N.H., reshaped the global financial system when delegates created the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. It was a "triumphant success," writes Richard Hurowitz, publisher of the Octavian Report, but now **"that achievement is under threat."**

CLINT: MARK LAMBIE—EL PASO TIMES/USA TODAY NETWORK/SIPA USA; HONG KONG: PHILIP FONG—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

THE RISK REPORT

Greek election brings hope for a country in need

By Ian Bremmer



IN GREECE, THE mainstream has returned to power and the populists are in retreat. Prime Minister Kyriakos Mitsotakis promised that the country would "proudly raise its head again," and Greek voters have given him a robust election victory.

The new Prime Minister has his work cut out for him. The country's outlook has improved following an agonizingly prolonged economic depression that destroyed a quarter of Greece's economy, but more than 30% of its citizens remain trapped in poverty and unemployment remains at 18%. It's worse for young people. Nearly 40% lack jobs, and the best and brightest continue to leave the country.

Lenders have cheered Mitsotakis' victory and the return of his business-friendly New Democracy party—and the exit of the leftist Syriza government it replaces. Mitsotakis says he will renegotiate Greece's commitment to keep an annual budget surplus and to speed privatization of many public services in order to lower taxes and "jump-start" economic growth.

The election outcome also surely pleases European leaders. New Democracy is much less likely than Syriza to provoke another economic crisis, an emergency the Europeans probably would not handle well now that an immigration crisis has undermined the E.U.'s political consensus and German Chancellor Angela Merkel no longer has the political capital to broker a credible deal.

Mitsotakis' victory gives him a strong political mandate. New Democracy won about 40% of the vote, but Greek election law provides a 50-seat bonus in Parliament for the political party that finishes in first place. That gives the new Prime Minister the outright majority he will need to move his agenda forward. In addition, Mitsotakis, the son of former Prime Minister Konstantinos Mitsotakis, is a capable technocrat, a person whose formative experience is as a consultant for McKinsey rather than as a maker of unkeepable promises like his predecessor, outgoing PM Alexis Tsipras.

Yet Mitsotakis will have to deliver fairly quickly if he's to maintain the momentum his victory has given him. Voter turnout was just 57%, one of the lowest rates in decades. It will be many years before Greece can restore genuine normality by fully repaying the $330 billion it has borrowed from the E.U. and the International Monetary Fund.

Greece may face a return of the protests that plagued the last government led by New Democracy

Meanwhile, Syriza, which won more than 30% of the vote, has returned to opposition. Free of responsibility for avoiding economic catastrophe, it can again level unfair criticism on those who've now taken up these burdens. Greece may also face a return of the protests that plagued the last New Democracy–led government and inflicted millions of dollars of property damage in Athens.

Future governments will probably be more fractious than this one. In 2016, the Syriza government abolished the 50-seat bonus that has given Mitsotakis his current parliamentary majority. (The new law did not apply to this election but will to those that follow.) That adds an element of urgency to Mitsotakis' bid to bring change. If he fails, even if he wins the next election, he's more likely to need a coalition partner to form a government, a partner that will make demands that may make it harder to pursue his agenda.

For now, Greeks are justly optimistic that things will get better. But they are far from out of the woods, and the Prime Minister will surely find that winning was the easy part. ◻

QUICK TALK

New dialogue for Hong Kong

Hong Kong has a long-standing, admirable protest culture that is peaceful, but recent acts of vandalism have jolted the city. Its people can peacefully protest in enormous numbers because they are pragmatic and gentle souls. Hong Kong people may be frustrated, but there has never been much appetite for instability and disruption. Hong Kong people want a more democratic system, but they can also see it is not a full solution to their problems.

They are disappointed with the establishment and opposition political elites, who have not been able to provide inspiring leadership. The territory needs to have a deep dialogue of reconciliation in order to move forward within the policy of "one country, two systems."

Beijing needs to allow it because it needs to hear the concerns of Hong Kong people, including the desire for greater democracy and respect for personal freedoms. The people of Hong Kong have always been reasonable and pragmatic.

—Christine Loh, former Hong Kong legislator



Protesters take Hong Kong's parliament building on July 1



The illicit appeal of state-fair grub

By Karl Vick

HOW LONG HAS IT BEEN SINCE FAIRS FELT A LITTLE DANGEROUS? Since carnies lounged beside the greased sprockets of rickety rides, speaking their secret language so the rest of us—the "marks"—would not understand? Midways trafficked not only in plush toys but also in dark impulses that seemed even darker against the glare of bright lights.

State fairs always seemed a little safer than the county kind, and way more than those carnivals that just showed up on the edge of town. From the start, which was in 1841 in Syracuse, N.Y., the state fair convened to showcase the glories of the jurisdiction's livestock and agriculture. Today shiny new tractors and combines still stand atop Machinery Hill in St. Paul. Teenagers still sack out on sleeping bags in livestock barns from Des Moines to Dallas. And yet, on every midway in the land, a hint of the forbidden lurks as diabolical chefs proffer strange new temptations.

State-fair food, once defined by pie contests in the exhibition hall and elephant ears by the rides, has evolved into something elemental—the carnival freak show reincarnated, rolled in batter, dipped in oil and served on a stick. To say it beggars description is to tell a lie. The names alone can do that work.

Chicken-fried bacon. Hot-beef sundae. Cookie fries. Deep-fried butter balls. Python kebabs. Deep-fried mashed potatoes on a stick. Fried beer.

Fair enough: fried beer requires elaboration. Crowned "most creative" food for the state fair of Texas in 2010, fried beer sloshes inside a "pocket" that resembles a ravioli. Its inventor said it was like biting into a pretzel chased by a sip of suds. The innovation prevailed in a field that included fried frozen margarita, fried lemonade and fried club salad.

Texas also happened to be the setting for the 1962 film *State Fair,* a musical that took as its protagonists a farm family called the Frakes. The folks are keen on the livestock and cooking competitions. The youngsters—Pat Boone and Pamela Tiffin—were more interested in romance. Sound right? Even state fairs had a bawdy side: "Women place their heads on risqué drawings" runs the caption on a LIFE magazine photo from the 1955 Iowa State Fair, smack in the middle of the first Eisenhower Administration. The photo has beaming gals standing behind a board painted to present them topless. Today it's difficult to find a use for the word *risqué* in almost any setting. But at 1,756 calories, a serving of deep-fried mac and cheese is universally recognized as the definition of sinful.

1,756
Number of calories in a serving of deep-fried macaroni and cheese, with bacon bits and sour cream, served at the Iowa State Fair

200K
Average daily attendance at the Minnesota State Fair, the largest in the U.S.; officials call the tradition of new foods a major draw

14
Number of years the State Fair of Texas has held its Big Tex Choice Awards, with winners like fried Jell-O and funnel-cake bacon queso burger

SO THE FAIR is still about loosening inhibitions. But that now means loosening your belt. The exuberant excess implied in a foot-long hot dog has grown in all directions, not all of them appealing. The maggot melts at the Colorado State Fair and the mealworm-covered caramel apples at Arizona's may have attracted more headlines than diners. Thinly sliced pig's ears are no longer at the Great Minnesota Get-Together, as the fair there is called.

It's the one I grew up attending, and not only is the Minnesota State Fair the nation's most popular, as measured by average daily attendance, its history also tracks the migration of fair fare from biological necessity to whatever it is that's going on now. For decades, hungry fairgoers found sustenance inside dining halls operated by churches. There were dozens on the fairgrounds before the Great Depression. One of the two that survives today, the Hamline Methodist Church Dining Hall, is famous for its ham loaf and still innovating: its snowcap mini waffle sundae made the list of "new foods" available at the 2019 fair.

The list, the release of which always makes news, includes only three "on a stick" foods this year, possibly marking a transition, though likely not a healthy one. The loneliest stand at my last state fair offered "fruit on a stick." A passerby read the sign aloud to his companion, paused and, in a deadpan that was itself delicious, asked: "Do you remember fruit?" ◻

DANNY WILCOX FRAZIER—VII/REDUX

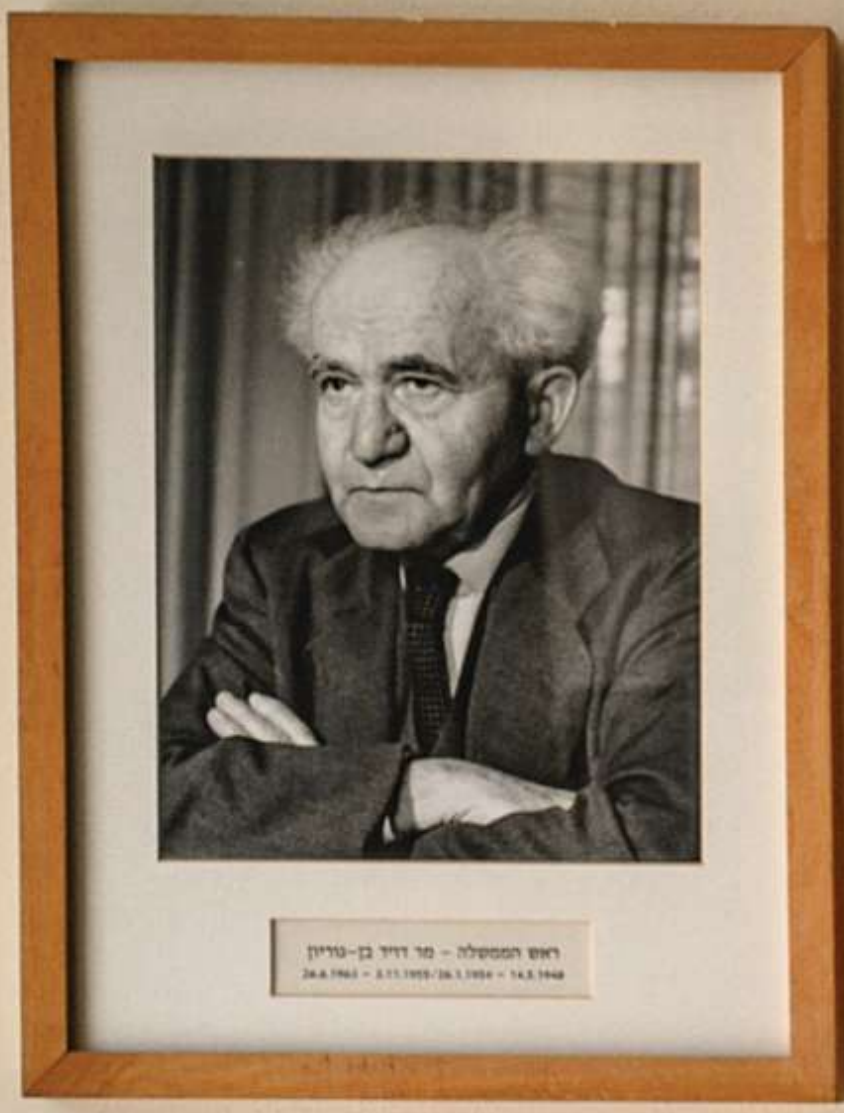


Eleven-year-old Meti in Ethiopia lives in extreme poverty that keeps her from becoming all she can be. But it doesn't have to be that way.

ChildFund works in 25 countries to ensure that millions of children like her grow up healthy, educated, self-sufficient and safe. Fueled by support from generous sponsors, our programs help children fulfill their potential no matter where they were born. The right thing to do for Meti? Help her prove the world wrong.

Learn more at **ChildFund.org**

ChildFund. International | 80 Years


ראש הממשלה – מר דויד בן-גוריון


ראש הממשלה – מר משה שרת





World

BIBI'S ISRAEL

After 13 years in power, Benjamin Netanyahu can claim to have remade Israel in his image. Is that a good thing?

BY BRIAN BENNETT / JERUSALEM

Netanyahu in his Jerusalem office, with portraits of Israel's early Prime Ministers, starting with David Ben-Gurion, top left

PHOTOGRAPHS BY YURI KOZYREV FOR TIME

PRIME MINISTER BENJAMIN NETANYAHU IS PACING THE STAGE AT A CYBER-CONFERENCE IN TEL AVIV,

and he is not happy. For the past seven minutes, he's been making the case that his policies have launched a booming tech industry in Israel and enabled the tiny country that once fought for its existence to become a security force around the globe. He's holding his shoulders up and back, a stage tip he got from Sean Connery. His red tie, white shirt and dark suit mirror a certain American President who has emerged as a massive Netanyahu ally.

But there's a problem. Graphics on the giant screen behind him keep popping up at the wrong time. "Who's dealing with the slides? Get that person out of there," Netanyahu says, with the sweep of an arm. He makes his next point, then orders: "Now show a slide." Pause. Nothing. "God, I've never had this happen before. This will require debriefing."

In mid-July, Netanyahu will surpass David Ben-Gurion, the closest thing Israel has to a founding father, to become the longest-serving Prime Minister in the country's history. Bibi, as he is universally known here, has won five elections and cultivated a U.S. President who appears intent on fulfilling Netanyahu's every desire. So why isn't he in a better mood?

The unpleasant reality is that Netanyahu approaches the career summit with his personal power arguably at its greatest risk. Prosecutors have threatened indictments on corruption charges. And he has failed to form a government following his most recent election victory, in April. Instead of spending the summer handing out ministries to allies, Bibi is preparing for yet another campaign, a September do-over election that will test yet again whether the Israel that has grown to resemble its Prime Minister—prosperous, powerful and resilient, yet insecure—still wants him.

The centerpiece slide pops up without a hitch. It's a black-and-white photograph showing Israeli commandos in white coveralls standing on the wing of Sabena Flight 571, a jetliner taken over by four Palestinian terrorists in 1972. "That's me up there,





Netanyahu opens an exhibit on the Israel Defense Forces, a driver behind the nation's booming tech sector

I think," Netanyahu says, pointing to the commandos storming the plane disguised as technicians. "That's 50% me, because I don't remember if I was on the left wing or the right wing of this Sabena airline. Anyway it was hijacked, and the way we stopped the hijacking then was to burst through the doors and do whatever we did." The team of 16 Israeli commandos, led that day by Netanyahu's eventual political rival Ehud Barak, rushed the cabin, killing two of the four hijackers and rescuing some 100 passengers and crew. Of the three passengers wounded in the cross fire, one later died.

Netanyahu, who took a bullet in his biceps, tells the audience that Israel today has a more effective way of stopping attacks against planes: hacking into the communications of terrorist cells before an attack is launched. He flips to a photo of an Etihad Airways plane similar to one he says the Islamic State planned to blow up in midair between Sydney and Abu Dhabi in 2017. "We used our cybertools to discover that ISIS was going to do this. So we alerted Australian police, and they stopped this before it happened," Netanyahu says. "Multiply that 50 times, that will give you an idea of the contribution that Israel has made to prevent major terrorist operations," he says. "This affects every country in the world, it affects every person in the world."

It's an intentionally dramatic claim, directed not only to Israeli voters but also to the U.S., Europe and even some Arab states that were once enemies. And it is an argument that has animated his entire political career. By advancing Israel's military prowess, Netanyahu believes, a country about the size of New Jersey with a population roughly the size of New York City has secured a unique place in history. A strong and innovative military, he argues, combined with an embrace of capitalism, has translated into globe-spanning success in technology, business and diplomacy. It's a major achievement, in Netanyahu's telling, worth the considerable costs. "I don't look at my survival," he tells TIME. "I look at the survival of the country, its durability, its future."

That future, however, remains mortgaged to Netanyahu's approach to power.

He has built Israel's strength in part at the expense of nearly 3 million Palestinians living in the West Bank and the effective blockade of an additional 2 million Palestinians in the Gaza Strip, which is controlled by the militant group Hamas. The human cost of that approach is well documented. Last spring, for example, when Palestinians in Gaza repeatedly and at times violently neared the border wall with Israel, only one Israeli was killed, but its forces killed 189 and wounded 9,204, according to the United Nations Human Rights Council.

In the run-up to Israel's April elections, Netanyahu turned up tensions between Jews and Palestinians living inside Israel, sometimes called Israeli Arabs, by saying that Israel is "not a state of all its citizens" and that "Israel is the nation-state of the Jewish people—and them alone."

In an Israeli electorate shifting steadily to the right, the rhetoric did Netanyahu no great harm, and he won the election. But his tolerance for extremes—he brokered an electoral agreement involving a party associated with anti-Arab militant Meir Kahane into his last electoral coalition—further reduced common ground with Israel's supporters abroad, including the roughly 40% of the world's Jewish population that resides in the U.S. The tensions with American Jews, 52% of whom are Democrats, according to a recent Gallup poll, had already been aggravated by Netanyahu's strategy of conspicuously aligning Israel with the Republican Party, straining a long tradition of making U.S. support for Israel a nonpartisan issue. A Pew poll in April found only 26% of Democrats and those who lean toward Democrats have a favorable view of the Israeli government—less than half the number expressing support for Israel's people.

'I DON'T LOOK AT MY SURVIVAL,' NETANYAHU SAYS. 'I LOOK AT THE SURVIVAL OF THE COUNTRY, ITS DURABILITY, ITS FUTURE.'

Inside the country, many Israelis have been alarmed by Netanyahu's efforts to remain in power. Israel's Attorney General has said he plans to indict Netanyahu after a hearing in October. The fraud, bribery and breach-of-trust allegations assert the Prime Minister made deals with newspaper publishers and a telecom company for better press coverage and illegally took expensive gifts from a Hollywood producer.

Netanyahu rejects the charges, but since the last election, his allies have floated plans for legislation that would provide him immunity from prosecution and bar Israel's Supreme Court from revoking it.

The moves compound the impression, already articulated by critics, that Israel's Prime Minister has embraced the same populist authoritarianism rising elsewhere around the world. "Netanyahu has opened the door for fascist elements within the Israeli society and undermined democratic principles," says Avner Gvaryahu, a former head of an Israeli sniper team who is the executive director of Breaking the Silence, a veterans' organization devoted to directing the attention of the Israeli public to "normalization" of its occupation of Palestinian territories.

On the same day that Netanyahu spoke at the cyberconference, Barak, his longtime political rival, announced he would also be running in September. He criticized what he says are Netanyahu's "repeated attempts to disrupt democratic processes," saying the Prime Minister has allied himself with extreme elements that want to undermine the judicial system, curb the freedom

NOOR

of the press and erode the military's ethical code.

"These are dark days the likes of which we have not known before," Barak said. "The Netanyahu regime must be toppled."

BEN-GURION'S ISRAEL had a utopian quality. It built communes (the kibbutz), a socialist economy and a "new Jew"—strapping, self-reliant, nobody's victim. Ben-Gurion was an atheist. His party, eventually known as Labor, dominated the first three decades of Israel as Netanyahu's right-wing Likud has largely dominated the next four.

Netanyahu's Israel is more of a going concern. It is reliant on the Israel Defense Forces, or IDF, which defines Israel's society: Netanyahu's coalition talks fell apart over the question of whether ultra-Orthodox Jews would be required to serve in uniform; few do. But the IDF also propels much of Israel's economy, as former cyberwarriors create startups that loom large in the world of digital security, health and R&D.

On the day TIME spent with Netanyahu, one of his stops was to cut the ribbon on a history exhibit about the Israeli military. The exhibit dwelled on the country's David vs. Goliath past, including a 1976 commando raid to rescue more than 100 hostages from a hijacked plane at Entebbe Airport in Uganda, partly led by Netanyahu's older brother Yonaton "Yoni" Netanyahu, the only Israeli commando killed in the operation. As tends to happen in a very small country, history is personal. "It changed my life completely, and it directed it to its current course because Yoni died in the battle against terrorism," Netanyahu says.

But it is history. Forty-three years later, Israel is the regional Goliath. The U.S. gives Israel more military aid than any other country, with a promise, mandated by U.S. legislation, that it will be assured a "qualitative military edge" over any other country in the Middle East. Netanyahu celebrates that advantage at every turn in his busy day. Before cutting the ribbon at the IDF exhibit, he was a few blocks away in Jerusalem hosting U.S. National Security Adviser John Bolton and Bolton's Russian counterpart, Nikolai Patrushev. The subject of the meeting was Iran, and the troops it has in Syria, which Israel borders.

After Israel's economy, the Islamic Republic of Iran may be Netanyahu's favorite topic. There are many reasons Tehran is the major preoccupation of the Middle East, including its destabilizing role in postwar Iraq, the sectarian tensions that flowed from the Arab Spring uprisings and the mullahs' appetite for nuclear arms. And the more attention paid to Iran, the less attention paid to Israel's conflict with the Palestinians. "For so many years, people first of all believed that the cause of all the conflicts in the Middle East was the Palestinian-Israeli conflict," Netanyahu says. "Well, that's gone."

'ONCE YOU ELIMINATE THE IDEA OF ELIMINATING ISRAEL, YOU CAN SOLVE THE PROBLEM' OF ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN CONFLICT, SAYS NETANYAHU

Israel has made common cause with Sunni Arab royals, notably in Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, who regard Iran as an implacable foe. Israel has been sharing intelligence and made what Netanyahu described to TIME as "informal peace" with Arab states. That has helped move some in those kingdoms past their historic antipathy to Israel's existence. "Once you eliminate the idea of eliminating Israel, you can solve the problem" of peace with Israel's neighbors, Netanyahu says. "In many ways, the Arab governments around us have already moved."

The election of Donald Trump greatly helped Netanyahu's effort to highlight Iran and downplay Israeli conflict with the Palestinians. Trump campaigned against the Iran nuclear deal that had been negotiated under President Obama, and last year Trump withdrew from it. "Obviously I agree with him completely, and I appreciate the fact that he acted on this," Netanyahu says. Some members of Israeli security services, along with every other major world power that signed the deal, see things differently, pointing out that the agreement prevented Iran from doing what it has resumed doing in the past two months: enriching uranium at rates that bring a nuclear weapon back onto the horizon. The U.S. has also accused Iran of attacking shipping near the Strait of Hormuz. And Iran acknowledged shooting down a U.S. drone.

The Palestinians are off the agenda. After campaigning on the idea of negotiating a lasting peace between them and Israel—"the ultimate deal is that deal"—Trump abandoned the traditional U.S. role as honest broker that had produced the Camp David agreement and helped seal the Oslo Accords. He moved the U.S. embassy to Jerusalem and recognized Israeli sovereignty over the Golan Heights. Negotiations were delegated to Jason Greenblatt, an advocate for Israeli settlement on the West Bank, and to Trump's son-in-law, Jared Kushner, at whose family home Netanyahu had been an overnight guest. Kushner has grown close to Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman, who according to reports (denied by bin Salman) summoned Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas to Riyadh in 2017 and ordered him to accept a Kushner proposal. It turned out to be similar to a plan first put forward by Netanyahu, not for a Palestinian state but for investment in the West Bank and Gaza, dubbed "economic peace."

Abbas is having none of it. But having forsworn violence in favor of negotiations—his security apparatus cooperates with Israel's in suppressing any uprisings on the West Bank—he has no evident options. In



Netanyahu meets with U.S., Russian and Israeli national-security officials

Gaza, militants still hold sway, but the missiles they launch toward Israel are often shot out of the sky by the antimissile system known as Iron Dome, which the U.S. helped fund. "The Kushner and Trump team has no plan," says Husam Zomlot, the Head of the Palestinian Mission to the U.K. "They only have a policy: to kill time for Israel to finish off the swallowing and annexing of the Palestinian occupied territories."

The result is an Israeli security outlook that borders on triumphalist. This has reduced pressure on Netanyahu to change the status quo or make accommodations to the Palestinians. At the IDF exhibit, Netanyahu was shown a video-game version of the Iron Dome system, toggling the joystick as he stood before a wall-size screen with rockets barreling toward an Israeli city. Players are invited to shoot them down before they hit the buildings.

For the Palestinians, the result is precarious. Netanyahu's critics say his accommodation of settlers and sidelining of the peace process has left the West Bank unstable. "We shall face violence," says Ami Ayalon, a former director of Israel's internal security agency, Shin Bet, and co-founder of Blue White Future, which advocates for a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. "I see it written on the walls in Arabic, in Hebrew and in English. We just have to read it."

EVEN THOUGH HE HAS DEEPENED a divide between U.S. and Israeli Jews, Netanyahu, born 69 years ago in Tel Aviv, spent his childhood moving back and forth between the two countries. His father Benzion was a forceful academic voice for an independent Jewish state who taught first at a college in Philadelphia, then at Cornell. Netanyahu recalls his mother Tzila—a U.S. citizen who was born in 1912 in the town of Petah Tikva east of modern-day Tel Aviv, and whose family settled in Minnesota by way of Lithuania—insisting that Netanyahu learn to speak with an American accent. She drilled him to press his tongue to his teeth when he said *the*.

If his locution came from his mother, some biographers find Netanyahu's ideological roots in his father, a scholar of anti-Semitism who died in 2012 at 102. "Jewish history is a history of holocausts," the elder Netanyahu once said, and his son has consistently projected a sense of looming menace facing Israel. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, Netanyahu became an articulate and identifiable spokesman for a strong Israel on the ABC News program *Nightline,* where he appeared often in the years following the Iran hostage crisis. During the first Gulf War, he gave an interview to CNN while wearing a gas mask. "He seeds and spreads fears all over the place and



Sara Netanyahu looks on as the Prime Minister stands for a portrait in their residence in Jerusalem

then pops up around the corner and says, 'Hey, if you are afraid, I have a solution for you,'" says Avraham Burg, a leftist former speaker of the Knesset, Israel's parliament.

That said, the menace is not imaginary, and over time, some elements of the threat to Israel have only grown. Iran still speaks of eliminating "the Zionist entity." The Iranian proxy force, Hizballah, has tens of thousands of rockets trained on Israel across its northern border with Lebanon. Anti-Semitism rises around the world. Israelis believe they cannot depend on outsiders for their security. And the country has established itself as a regional powerhouse with global ambitions. That is partly thanks to Netanyahu's response to the threats, which has not been limited to building up Israel's military advantage in the region. He also cultivates the world's only remaining superpower. In hopes of bending American political rhetoric to support Israel, Netanyahu has pursued an alignment between Likud and the Republican Party, especially with its evangelical loyalists, who are often more enthused than American Jews about Israel's expansion into the West Bank. He has also embraced Trump as a vital ally. Netanyahu recalls first meeting Trump on the "New York scene" in the 1980s. The two have "an easy rapport," Netanyahu says. The relationship is already paying dividends. On March 25, two weeks before the Israeli election, Trump announced that the U.S. recognized the Golan Heights as part of Israel.

The downside, if there is one, might emerge with the election of a Democrat as President, though U.S. aid to Israel hit new heights under Obama.

To some, Netanyahu is his own worst enemy. The September contest will pit the Prime Minister's self-declared role as Israel's protector, "indispensable Netanyahu," against "Bibi fatigue," says Daniel Shapiro, a former U.S. ambassador to Israel. Driving the "fatigue" are the three separate corruption investigations Netanyahu faces. One contends that he took gifts like cigars and bottles of sparkling wine from an Israeli Hollywood film producer and an Australian billionaire in exchange for political influence. The two other matters involve allegations that he tried to push through favorable government policies for companies in exchange for positive press coverage.

Netanyahu calls the allegations a "concoction." "People by and large, my supporters, have been, if anything, energized by it," he says.

Israel has an impressive track record of policing elected leaders. One Prime Minister, Ehud Olmert, resigned and went to prison for bribery. A former President did time for rape. "There's a perfectly good

immunity law in Israel," Netanyahu tells TIME, of his options. "Whether I'll need it or not, first let's see what happens in the hearing."

Yet a growing chorus of critics condemn Netanyahu not for any personal indulgences but for undermining Israeli democracy itself. The Anti-Defamation League called his embrace of the Kahane party "troubling." Abroad, Netanyahu has embraced Viktor Orban, the Hungarian Prime Minister who vilifies immigrants and has so compromised the governing apparatus of the E.U. member state that leading analysts say the country no longer qualifies as a democracy.

Yascha Mounk, an associate professor at Johns Hopkins University who studies populist leaders, says Netanyahu follows a familiar playbook—suppressing dissenting views, attempting to take political control of public broadcasters and creating a loyal propaganda outlet for himself, led by *Israel Hayom,* a free tabloid established by American billionaire Sheldon Adelson in 2007, which has consistently supported Netanyahu. "He does not seem to acknowledge the legitimacy of opposition," Mounk says, "but rather claims that his opponents are paid by outside agents or motivated by a lack of patriotism."

THE MOST FAMOUS PHOTOGRAPH of Ben-Gurion shows him standing on his head in a swimsuit, seeking relief from a backache on a Tel Aviv beach. Netanyahu is rarely out in the open during the course of his day, spending most of his time inside a security bubble that grew far more restrictive after the 1995 assassination of Yitzhak Rabin. Netanyahu's world is armored vehicles, conference rooms, his office, his official residence, a beach home in Caesarea. He has few hobbies. People close to him say he fills his time reading biographies and histories and likes to smoke a cigar at the end of the day.

This day, during quiet moments in the backseat of his armored car, he's reading a history of legal concepts that emerged in response to the German Third Reich's atrocities, by University College London law professor Philippe Sands. It's titled *East West Street: On the Origins of "Genocide" and "Crimes Against Humanity."*

As we talk, he recommends Will Durant, the American philosopher who wrote *The Lessons of History* with his wife Ariel Durant. Netanyahu summarized his takeaways from the book: "Lesson No. 1, history does not favor Christ over Genghis Khan. O.K. Lesson No. 2, in general I would say, big numbers have an advantage over small numbers. That's bad news for us. Then he says, at a certain point, sometimes the power of culture and leadership overcome limitations of geography. And perhaps the new country, the young country of Israel, is an example of that, how we overcome the odds of history.

"The strong survive. Strong and smart." —*With reporting by* JOSEPH HINCKS/JERUSALEM

The Interview: Benjamin Netanyahu

The Prime Minister spoke to TIME's **Brian Bennett** and **Joseph Hincks** on June 25 in Jerusalem. The following excerpts from the conversation have been condensed and edited.

TIME: You are on track to surpass David Ben-Gurion as Israel's longest-serving Prime Minister. How does Netanyahu's Israel look different from Ben-Gurion's?

NETANYAHU: Where I've tried to contribute to the country—and I think it's changed dramatically—is in the development of Israel as a global technological power.

TIME: What are the factors that contributed to that shift?

NETANYAHU: Turning Israel into a free-market economy, I think, was the second critical factor that made Israel the rising power that it is among the countries. The first was the high-intensity use of our most gifted men and women in our military for intelligence purposes.

TIME: What can be done to help the millions of people who live in the occupied territories who haven't benefited from that rise?

NETANYAHU: Well, I'd separate Gaza from the West Bank, from Judea and Samaria, because there the Palestinian economy is on much better footing. Gaza is basically controlled by Hamas, which is a militant Islamic organization that really doesn't allow any kind of real development to take place because they take all the money that comes in from international support—and there's quite a bit of it—and they put it into terror tunnels, into a terror machine. Because, militarily, we are in charge of the West Bank. There's no siphoning off of money for that purpose. I'd like to see more and more and more investments, in the private sector, go to the Palestinian areas for joint Israeli-Palestinian efforts. I think what Jared Kushner and Jason Greenblatt have embarked in Bahrain could be tremendously beneficial to the Palestinians.



TIME: But the Palestinian officials wouldn't even show up in Bahrain for that.

NETANYAHU: Let the markets do their thing. Because if we can get this ball rolling, then I think it would enhance Palestinian lives, and I think it will also enhance peace. It's not a substitute for political solutions, but it sure makes it a lot easier.

TIME: Is the Trump plan going to propose annexation of settlements?

NETANYAHU: Well, I think we have to leave it to the plan as it comes out.

TIME: Is there something you are looking for in that plan?

NETANYAHU: I think everybody recognizes that under any realistic peace proposal, there are areas in Judea and Samaria that have already become basically part of Israel already. It's a fact. Half of Jerusalem is beyond the proverbial green line, the '67 separation. Does anyone believe that we'll tear up half of Jerusalem?

TIME: Many say taking more and more steps off the table has driven the Palestinians away from the peace process.

NETANYAHU: We should be able to get in the room and begin to discuss it. They refuse to enter the room.

TIME: Former Prime Minister [Ehud] Olmert still insists that [Mahmoud] Abbas is the man to make peace. Is that not the case?

NETANYAHU: Let's see. You know? Let's see.

TIME: First-year members of Congress have been critical of Israel. Representative Ilhan Omar said that Israel was an apartheid regime. What is your response?

NETANYAHU: I think it's nonsense.

TIME: When you look at the economic data, Israeli Arabs have not benefited as much as other citizens of Israel from the economic boom.

NETANYAHU: Well, I've been working hard to change that. If you actually go beyond all these stereotypes and you look at what we're doing, what my government has done is to take 15 billion shekels [$4.2 billion]—that's a lot of money in Israel—and put it into a multiyear plan that has already had a measurable effect for improving the lives, and especially the infrastructure, in the Arab sector.

TIME: You've been a polarizing figure among American Jews. Do you feel like you've played a role in increasing the divide between U.S. and Israeli Jews?

NETANYAHU: I don't think I've been a polarizing figure at all. I am often described in some circles the way you describe, but it's not true. It doesn't reflect my basic tendency. I want every Jew to feel at home in Israel.

TIME: Has the Trump Administration's policy on Iran made Israel more unsafe?

NETANYAHU: The answer categorically is no. What has challenged Israel's security is Iran's goal—one, to have nuclear weapons, which they intend to use to annihilate Israel. And second, their attempts to bring their army or pieces of their army into Syria, right in Israel's backyard.

TIME: If Iran starts stockpiling nuclear material beyond agreed limits, what kind of action are you willing to take?

NETANYAHU: We'll take whatever action is necessary to prevent Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons.

TIME: Does that include an open strike on Iranian nuclear facilities?

NETANYAHU: Whatever action is necessary will be taken.

TIME: Are those facilities too far underground to be impacted by strikes?

NETANYAHU: Let's consider what an intelligent journalist like you would consider an intelligent response to that—if I say yes, or if I say no. I think neither one is satisfactory, so I'm just going to say, We'll take whatever action is needed.

TIME: Have the corruption investigations weakened you politically?

NETANYAHU: I don't think so. I think it actually works the other way around because people just don't buy it. They think it's a concoction and I know it's a concoction because there's nothing there But people by and large, my supporters, have been, if anything, energized by it.

TIME: What has been the key to your political survival?

NETANYAHU: I don't look at my survival. I look at the survival of the country, its durability, its future.

AZERBAIJAN TAKES CENTER STAGE



CASPIAN DRILLING COMPANY – Regional Power Players

On March 17, 2015, Azerbaijan's President Ilham Aliyev joined his Turkish and Georgian counterparts in the ancient city of Kars to launch a project that is expected to have a game-changing impact on the future of Eurasia's energy sector and alter the region's balance of power.

That project is the 1,850km Trans-Anatolian Natural Gas Pipeline, which upon completion next year is due to deliver gas from Azerbaijan's vast offshore Shah Deniz field in the Caspian Sea to the industrial economies of Western Europe. If everything goes according to plan, the pipeline will initially carry 16 billion cubic meters of gas, a figure that is set to rise to 23 billion by 2023, and to 31 billion by 2026, equivalent to around 10% of Western Europe's entire gas consumption.

Ever since the world's first oil well was drilled at Bibi-Heybat in the 1840s, hydrocarbons have played a key role in Azerbaijan's development -- and that is even truer today. With the European Union looking to Azerbaijan to help reduce its dependence on Russian gas, the State Oil Company of Azerbaijan Republic (SOCAR) is at the heart of the engine room driving the country's economy forward. The Caspian basin area is estimated to hold 48 billion barrels of oil and 292 trillion cubic feet of natural gas, in verified and probable reserves, so it is likely to retain its pivotal position for some time to come.

The same is true for the Caspian Drilling Company (CDC), the operation that SOCAR established in 1996 as a joint venture with the U.S.-based Santa Fe oil company. Since CDC's formation, the company has been involved in more than 16 "production sharing agreements" within Azerbaijan's sector of the Caspian Sea. CDC counts among its clients BP Shakh Deniz and both Agip's and Chevron's Azerbaijan operations, as well as many other internationally renowned energy giants. Over the past 23 years, it has participated in the drilling of 114 wells on 14 of the Caspian's various geological structures, including the Ashrafi, Dan Ulduzu, Azeri, Chirag, Gunashli fields, as well as the major hydrocarbon discovery at Karabakh and at Shah Deniz.

CDC's history dates back much earlier than 1996, to the USSR Offshore Exploration Drilling Company, the state-run monolith that was partially dismantled after the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991.

"CDC was created from the offshore technology developed by the Soviet Union and was its largest provider of offshore services in the whole of the Caspian Sea," says Farid Akhundov, CDC's general director. "After a while, we also started applying our technology and our expertise to drilling operations elsewhere, especially in the Black and Northern Seas. All our staff were well-trained, and Moscow did what it could to acquire technological expertise from the West."

All that began slowing as the USSR started to disintegrate -- and halted entirely soon after the Berlin Wall came down. In the years after Azerbaijan declared independence from Moscow, the government decided to turn to the West for the investment it needed to kick-start the country's independence. Almost immediately, a consortium of Western oil companies signed an agreement with Azerbaijan to invest almost $8 billion in the development of Azerbaijan's sector of the Caspian Sea. Two years later CDC was formed.

Since then, CDC has gone from strength to strength. It registered as an Azerbaijani company, and its multinational staff now operates in line with international standards. In 2011, CDC was granted the ISO 9001 Quality Management Certification. For over two decades now, it has been verifying forecasts of seismic operations as well as drilling exploration and producing wells from subsea templates.

Akhundov would be the first to acknowledge the debt CDC owes to the man whom many consider to be the founding father of modern-day Azerbaijan. That man was Heydar Aliyev, who presided over the country's transition from satellite Soviet state to independent nation. "He knew what was coming," Akhundov says. "He recognized that while we had the right people with the right experience of working in the Caspian offshore fields, we didn't have the technology. It was also Aliyev who saw that entering into a joint venture with a U.S. company would help persuade the major international oil companies to accept us as a serious business." Along with technology and equipment, Santa Fe brought with it an understanding of the international standards and safety regulations that are now firmly embedded in CDC's culture.

The next significant change in the history of CDC began at end of 2005, when the then head of the Baku Oil Refinery, Rovnag Abdullayev, took over as president of SOCAR. Within two years, he and his new management team determined that the company should become the master of its own destiny, and with good reason. The Caspian Sea is, as Akhundov puts it, "a lake" and one to which there is extremely restricted access. The only major route into its basin is the Volga-Don Canal that connects the Caspian Sea to the world's major maritime route via the Sea of Azov and then the Black Sea. And due to the canal's limited height and depth, it cannot accommodate ready-built oil rigs.

Anybody who already has rigs and other drilling equipment in place in the Caspian Sea is therefore in a strong commercial position, as Akhundov is happy to point out. "You either have to build the rigs here or bring in the parts and re-assemble them, which takes a lot of time and costs a lot of money," he notes. "Since we own most of the assets in our sector of the Caspian, we are number one in our own particular market."

The long-standing value and attraction of its Dada Gorgud floating semi-submersible drilling rig is a case in point. Originally built in 1980, the rig is still in use and is capable of operating at a water depth of 500 meters and to drill as deep as 6,100 meters. It was recently used under contract by BP at its operation in the Azeri-Chirag-Gunashli block of oil fields, about 120 kilometers off the coast of Azerbaijan. The rig has helped facilitate the $6 billion contract that the British multinational signed with SOCAR for the development of the Azeri Central East platform being built above the block. The Dada Gorgud is also scheduled to be deployed in the drilling of one of two wells in the Karabakh field that Equinor has commissioned from CDC and which will form a core element in the joint venture that the Norwegian company entered into with SOCAR earlier this year.

Meanwhile, the company continues to innovate and in 2017 finished work on its sixth generation of semi-submersible drilling rigs. Named after Heydar Aliyev, the latest rig is unique in being able to withstand pressures of up to 15,000 pounds per square inch (psi) and is ready to accommodate 20,000 psi well control equipment when needed. In April of this year, the rig set a record for the Caspian Sea by drilling down to 7411 meters of total measured depth (TMD) during exploration work on the Absheron gas field, a joint-venture contract between SOCAR and yet another of the world's oil majors, this time France's TOTAL.



Farid Akhundov, General Director, Caspian Drilling Company

There is also much more to CDC's offering than the reliability and cutting-edge quality of its rigs. "Because we are a relatively young company in the context of the oil and gas industry, we are still hungry and prepared to take risks, to go places where more established players might think twice," says Akhundov. "And we aren't just drilling specialists. We are in the process of obtaining port status for our marine base, which will open up a whole new range of opportunities for us by allowing us to offer clients supply logistics and engineering services. Having our own port will bring down the costs of repair and maintenance as well."

At the end of 2017, Turkish Petroleum (TPAO) invited CDC to take management of the drill ship DSM 2 that TPAO acquired for its offshore exploration program in the Mediterranean and Black Seas. CDC managed the ship (renamed Fatih) and the reactivation activities -- and drilled TPAO's 6,200m deep Alanya-1 well, the first well drilled in Turkey at the water depth of 2,540m.

In April 2018, after two decades of sometimes tortuous negotiations, the five littoral states of the Caspian Sea -- Russia, Kazakhstan, Iran, Turkmenistan and Azerbaijan -- signed a landmark agreement that has gone a long way toward settling the vexed issue of the territorial sovereignty of Caspian's oil-rich waters. This is good news for CDC, which now finds itself in a position to more easily export its technology, services and expertise to its neighbors, particularly Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan. Both countries are sitting on huge reserves of their own, and may well need CDC's help.

This early cooperation with Kazakhstan is already paying dividends. This past February, CDC and KMG D&S, a subsidiary of KazMunaiGas, signed a Trust Management Agreement on modernization and management of the Jack-up Satti rig for further utilization on various oil and gas drilling projects in the Caspian Sea.

"It doesn't matter if we come from a small country," Akhundov says. "We have a good, effective team and we intend to keep on growing."

Caspian Drilling Company Ltd

AZVIRT LLC – Innovative Technologies, Advanced Experience, Rich Personnel Potential


Kamil Aliyev Executive Director AzVirt

In recent years the implementation of Azerbaijan's "State Program on the Socio-Economic Development of Regions" has played a major role in ensuring balanced development across the country and in raising the population's living standard. Having addressed the challenges resulting from the global economic crisis and successfully managed the associated risks, the economy of Azerbaijan has continued to improve.

Thanks to the reforms carried out in Azerbaijan and the country's effective economic policy, sustainable growth and improvement of all sectors, including in transport and road construction, have been achieved. The President of Azerbaijan, Ilham Aliyev, has attached great importance to the improvement and further development of the transport system of the republic -- in particular the city of Baku.

The implementation of global transport projects has played a big role both for interstate transport connection and for regional cooperation. A major role in improving the country's transport infrastructure was assigned to leading local companies with experience in implementing similar projects. One of those companies is the Azerbaijan-German joint venture AzVirt.

Since its founding AzVirt has grown into a high-tech manufacturing enterprise involved in every aspect of road construction, including design, production of materials, repair and reconstruction of roads and airfields, and construction and repair of bridges, overpasses and tunnels. The highly qualified personnel at AzVirt have in their arsenal first-hand experience in performing road construction works of any degree of complexity.

The projects implemented by the company are characterized by the introduction of cutting-edge technologies adapted to the field of road construction. Due to its high level of experience and competence, AzVirt has been entrusted with the country's most important road construction projects. Through its success, the company has gained a reputation for its ability to build, repair, put into operation and maintain everything from roads and bridges to airport terminals and even the racetrack of the European Grand Prix competition Formula 1 in Baku.

"Basically, we are an infrastructure company and a general contractor," says executive director Kamil Aliyev. "And as a general contractor, we have a lot of subcontractors to whom we refer for assistance in a wide range of work performed. We always try to be flexible, but our golden rule is that we must be professional. We consider that quality is important, not quantity."

Due to the increased activity of AzVirt in the countries of Eastern Europe, such as Romania, Serbia, and Montenegro, as well as in the Ukraine and Kyrgyzstan, the company opened branches in these countries in preparation for the construction of roads and bridges.

Currently, AzVirt is completing preliminary work in the Ukraine for the construction of the $130 million 81 km long Kiev-Novi Yarylovichi highway. Meanwhile, AzVirt is a member of a consortium in Bosnia and Herzegovina to build a part of the European transport corridor, partly financed by OPEC.

In addition, on the basis of a credit agreement signed in 2012 between the governments of Azerbaijan and Serbia, AzVirt launched a project for the construction of the 40 km long Lig-Preližna highway. AzVirt was assigned the role of main general contractor for the project, in addition to being responsible for the construction of the highway itself, which included building 66 bridges and four tunnels.

AzVirt considers the construction of roads as its primary business. A significant part of the company's success can be traced to its strict compliance with the regulations adopted in the construction industry. Up-to-date and efficient organization of work, compliance with the construction schedule, and compliance with the quality standards in America and in Europe and the CIS countries have together won for the company credibility among customers.

Among the ongoing projects of AzVirt, the building of the Baku-Guba-Russian border highway with the Russian Federation should be mentioned. This new alternative road, which will be paralleled by the old, will meet all modern standards. After start-up it will be a toll road.

Azerbaijan has reason to be proud of such companies as AzVirt, which can compete with the best in the world. Its road construction projects have done much to improve the transport infrastructure of the republic, while adding to the aesthetic appeal of Baku, the capital and commercial hub. Finally, it's worth remembering that roads connect not only cities and countries, but also strengthen the ties between people.

AzVirt
"AZVİRT" Məhdud Məsuliyyətli Cəmiyyət
"AZVIRT" Limited Liability Company

WE WILL NOT TAKE THIS SITTING DOWN.

UNLESS IT'S FOR TREATS.



It's time to take a stand for homeless pets. It's time to adopt change. Every day, more than 4,100 dogs and cats are killed in shelters across the country — but **with Best Friends Animal Society leading the way, and your support, we can help our nation's shelters and Save Them All**.

save-them-all.org

Best Friends | SAVE THEM ALL

In his first term, Kavanaugh (second row, far right) has been less predictable than his allies hoped or his critics feared

PHOTOGRAPH BY KEVIN DIETSCH

Nation

Uncertain Justice

BRETT KAVANAUGH AND THE FATE OF THE NEW SUPREME COURT

By Tessa Berenson

Who is Brett Kavanaugh?

That may seem like an odd question. For a few weeks last September, the world learned almost everything about Kavanaugh: his tenure as a judge on the D.C. Court of Appeals and as a White House lawyer for President George W. Bush; his privileged education in Maryland and New Haven, Conn.; and most of all, the allegation that he sexually assaulted Christine Blasey Ford when they were in high school. Kavanaugh's Supreme Court confirmation hearings left few Americans without an opinion about him.

But now that Kavanaugh is on the court, who he is matters more than ever. The 54-year-old lifetime appointee replaced Justice Anthony Kennedy, who for decades occupied the swing seat on the bench, casting the decisive vote on legalizing same-sex marriage, protecting corporations' political spending and affirming an individual right to own guns. Those issues and more may hang on what kind of Justice that Kavanaugh becomes and how he votes.

The process is less predictable than anyone who watched the confirmation battle might suspect. Kavanaugh could veer hard to the right, as Justice Clarence Thomas did after Anita Hill accused him of sexual harassment during his confirmation hearings in 1991. He could settle toward the center, as Kennedy did after the contentious nomination battles over Robert Bork in 1987. Or he could become something more complicated than the most fervent agonists on either side expect.

As his first term ends, everyone—from Kavanaugh's oldest friends to his fiercest detractors, from clerks to court watchers to his eight new colleagues—is scrutinizing the new Justice for signs of where he will take the court. A close look at Kavanaugh's voting this term reveals that he is more reliably conservative than Kennedy, helping to push the court right since his confirmation. He has formed an influential alliance with Chief Justice John Roberts and, to a lesser extent, Justice Samuel Alito, both George W. Bush–era nominees.

But Kavanaugh has also voted with some of the liberal Justices as often as he did with the far-right flank during his first term. He sided with Justices Stephen Breyer and Elena Kagan, for example, the same percentage of the time that he did with President Donald Trump's other appointee, Justice Neil Gorsuch, according to data collected by Adam Feldman, a lawyer who writes the Empirical SCOTUS blog.

Kavanaugh has already provided the decisive vote in eight 5-4 rulings with a traditional ideological split, including cases related to immigrant detention, the death penalty and sovereign immunity. In one of the most hotly anticipated cases of the term, he and the other conservatives ruled that partisan gerrymandering of legislative districts is constitutional. And over the coming years, Kavanaugh will wield enormous power as the new, more conservative court takes up pivotal subjects like environmental regulations, guns and religious liberty.

The wild card in Kavanaugh's effect on the court, and America, is his own effort to move past the confirmation hearings. Unlike others who have been accused of past sexual abuse in the #MeToo era, he has a lifetime appointment to a position of power from which to try, and already he is using his spot on the court to do so. Rather than always sign on anonymously to his colleagues' rulings, for example, he has issued multiple concurring opinions, laying out his thinking in ways first-term Justices don't often do.

For many, nothing he does on or off the court will change the judgment they have already rendered. The confirmation hearings were a torment for Ford. She says that she never wanted to testify, and that her life has been upended by the public airing of the suffering she carried for years. "Having Brett Kavanaugh on the Supreme Court, with allegations of sexual misconduct still very fresh in the public's mind, strikes millions of Americans as a dagger through the heart," says Nan Aron, founder of liberal judicial-advocacy group Alliance for Justice.

Outside the court, Kavanaugh's friends and colleagues are speaking, on the record and on background, in hopes of shaping perception on his behalf. "I don't know if he'll ever fully get over the confirmation process," says one friend. Not even those closest to him know how his work as a Justice will be affected. Kavanaugh, who has vociferously denied Ford's allegations, hasn't given an on-the-record interview since the hearings, and declined to do so for this story.

Sometime soon, the most charged moral, legal and political issue will land on Kavanaugh's desk: abortion. And at that point, another reckoning with history will come for him, even if he doesn't yet know how he will rule.

KAVANAUGH'S CHAMBERS at the Supreme Court are a work in progress. His bookshelves are a jumble of freshly unpacked volumes and trinkets. Seven months after he was sworn in, Kavanaugh still had unframed reproductions of the paintings he planned to borrow from the Smithsonian taped up on his walls: portraits of Abraham Lincoln, Ulysses S. Grant and former Chief Justice John Marshall. The most prominent decoration, behind Kavanaugh's desk, is a framed reproduction of a Tom Lea landscape over a quote from the artist about living on "the sunrise side" of the mountain. The original hung in Bush's Oval Office when Kavanaugh served as staff secretary.

The office reflects Kavanaugh's unsettled place on the court. During his 12 years as a judge on the D.C. Circuit, Kavanaugh developed a reputation for being a conservative judge, but not an entirely dogmatic one. His writings and opinions displayed a broad reading of the Second Amendment, skepticism about the power of federal regulatory agencies and a robust view of Executive power. This last attribute may have piqued Trump's interest when he decided to nominate Kavanaugh in the summer of 2018, in the heat of special counsel Robert Mueller's investigation.

Kavanaugh's first term on the court presents a more complicated picture of the kind of Justice that he may become.



Kavanaugh greets Trump at the U.S. Capitol on Feb. 5, four months after his contentious confirmation battle

From one perspective, he is developing a new center on the court with the Chief Justice. Kavanaugh voted with Roberts more often than any other Justice, sticking with the chief 94% of the time, according to Feldman. These two Justices voted with the majority the highest percentage of the time this term, cementing the court's new conservative middle.

Those who know both Kavanaugh and Roberts aren't surprised by this emerging judicial partnership. Kavanaugh regularly sent law clerks to Roberts, and the two judges are temperamentally, philosophically and stylistically similar, friends and former clerks say. Kavanaugh may be more academic in his jurisprudential approach, while Roberts tends to be more practical—Kavanaugh has said he's an originalist, while Roberts doesn't identify as one. But neither is doctrinaire like the late Justice Antonin Scalia was, philosophically adrift like Kennedy or incrementalist like former Justice Sandra Day O'Connor.

Some on the right see a second possibility, that Kavanaugh's alignment with Roberts could be a passing phase. Citing Kavanaugh's testimony following Ford's, they hope the confirmation hearings will help drive him further to the right. "Brett Kavanaugh has seen how unforgiving the left can be," says Leonard Leo, executive vice president of the Federalist Society and a friend of Kavanaugh's who advises Trump on judicial nominations. "[He] has experienced, in a way the Chief Justice never really has, that no matter what you try to do to placate or reason with the potential opposition, they will never be satisfied. So Justice Kavanaugh has every incentive to basically do what he wants to do and ignore the left."

Leo and his allies predict that Kavanaugh will evolve to be more like Alito, who is ideologically to the right of Roberts, less willing to compromise or inclined toward consensus. There is some data to support this conclusion. According to Feldman, Kavanaugh sided with Alito 91% of the time in his first term. In a fractured decision on the court's most political case of the term, about whether the Trump Administration can add a citizenship question to the Census, Kavanaugh, Alito and the other conservatives split from Roberts and the liberal wing.

Kavanaugh also joined conservatives in some key 5-4 cases in his first term. He found that drawing electoral districts to favor certain political parties is constitutional. He adopted an expansive interpretation of a mandatory immigration detention statute that will allow the Trump Administration to arrest and detain immigrants without bond hearings years after they have completed criminal sentences. He also voted with the conservative bloc in ruling that Alabama could execute a Muslim prisoner without the man's imam present as requested, and to clear the way for the execution of a Missouri man who claimed lethal injection would cause him terrible pain due to a medical condition. Previously, five Justices had delayed this same man's execution, with Kennedy joining the four liberals. Kavanaugh's vote suggests his presence may strengthen the court's conservative bent on capital punishment.

But in his first term, Kavanaugh was not simply a strident conservative crusader. He voted with a majority over Thomas' and Gorsuch's dissents to stay the execution of a Buddhist man in Texas who requested his spiritual adviser be present. Squabbling over the decision among the conservative Justices burst

OPENING PAGES: POOL/CNP/PICTURE-ALLIANCE/DPA/AP; THIS PAGE: MARTIN H. SIMON—POOL/REDUX

into public view. Kavanaugh, joined by Roberts, took the rather unusual step of issuing an explanation of his decision. The other three conservatives responded with another statement, written by Alito, accusing Kavanaugh, Roberts and the liberal Justices of being "seriously wrong."

Kavanaugh also granted other wins to liberals, including in a 5-4 case where he ruled that consumers could pursue an antitrust lawsuit against Apple for monopolizing the iPhone app market. He even wrote the majority opinion in that case, an assignment handed down by the senior liberal Justice, Ruth Bader Ginsburg. "People made all sorts of wild predictions about him," says Travis Lenkner, who clerked for Kavanaugh on the D.C. Circuit. "So far, those have not come to pass."

Few suspect that Kavanaugh will take a third route, to the left of Roberts. But his occasional alliance with Breyer and Kagan suggests that he may be more moderate than many expect. What is clear is that the court is still adjusting to its new configuration, with some surprising results. There have been eight traditional 5-4 splits this term, with the five conservatives voting as a bloc. But there were as many 5-4 decisions with all the liberals plus one conservative in the majority this term as there were cases with all the conservatives voting over the liberal wing. "They're trying to discover a new identity," says Feldman.

JUST AS OBSERVERS are scrutinizing the court's rulings for signs of Kavanaugh's impact, they are also watching Kavanaugh himself. The inspection began with his arrival at the Supreme Court in October. His eight new colleagues had just watched as his crass jokes from his high school yearbook were dissected and his drinking history analyzed. The normally staid judge had unleashed an angry, emotional attack on his Democratic critics. The other Justices were hardly strangers: Kavanaugh knew them from Washington legal circles, academia and even those high school years, in the case of Gorsuch, who was a couple of grades behind him at the same school.

Whatever they thought of Kavanaugh or his performance at the hearings, the Justices knew what his arrival meant for the balance of power on the court. Justice Sonia Sotomayor was the first to come by his chambers. By her own account, she wanted to welcome him. "The nine of us are now a family, and we're a family with each of us our own burdens and our own obligations to others, but this is our work family, and it's just as important as our personal family," Sotomayor told CNN last November. "She clearly made a point" of being the first to reach out, says one of Kavanaugh's former clerks.

Kagan, whom Kavanaugh knew from his time teaching at Harvard Law School while she was its dean, had him over for dinner. Day to day, Kavanaugh has the most interaction with Kagan, Gorsuch and Roberts, the three other youngest Justices, with whom he had the most established relationships before he joined the court.

In his chambers, Kavanaugh has maintained the spartan approach to judging for which he was known on the lower court. He writes fast, chugging six to eight Diet Cokes a day. Clerks know he prefers short bench memos, 10 pages maximum. "He's an excruciatingly careful writer," says Sarah Pitlyk, who clerked for Kavanaugh on the D.C. Circuit. Pitlyk recalls hanging in her office her 100th draft of an opinion, as a kind of trophy. "Everything had to be technically perfect before it was circulated," she says.

Friends are looking for signs of the hearings' effect on Kavanaugh now that he's settling in. "He just doesn't talk about it," says Maura Kane, a friend who attended a February luncheon he hosted at the Supreme Court for more than 35 of his female friends who had organized themselves to defend him during the hearings. He has been stepping out in public, sometimes going unrecognized in a baseball cap. A Bible on the mantel in his office is tabbed to Matthew 25, which includes the verse "I was naked and you clothed

IN HIS FIRST TERM, KAVANAUGH WAS NOT SIMPLY A STRIDENT CONSERVATIVE CRUSADER



me, I was sick and you visited me, I was in prison and you came to me."

But Kavanaugh seems to hope that his emerging record on the court will be his legacy. If any issue is central to that mission, it may be the question of a woman's right to an abortion, and it is coming to the Supreme Court, perhaps sooner than the Justices would like. A flurry of states passed antiabortion laws in 2019. At least nine have passed bills that would ban abortions early in pregnancy. In May, Alabama passed the most restrictive abortion law in the country, which would criminalize abortion with no exceptions for rape or incest and punish doctors who provide abortions with lengthy prison sentences. Louisiana passed laws requiring abortion-performing doctors to have admitting privileges at local hospitals, which in practice would drastically decrease the number of providers in the state.

The Supreme Court temporarily stayed the Louisiana laws this term, with Roberts joining the four liberal Justices; the court may hear the case next term. Kavanaugh dissented, arguing he wouldn't have



Abortion-rights advocates began protesting outside the court after Kavanaugh's nomination in July 2018

GABRIELLA DEMCZUK FOR TIME

blocked the law preemptively in order to see how it affected women's ability to obtain abortions, and allowing plaintiffs to challenge the law later.

Kavanaugh's thin record on the subject leaves observers reaching for inferences: he is a Catholic conservative, and Trump said he would nominate only "pro-life" judges. During his confirmation hearing Kavanaugh suggested he would approach the issue in a pragmatic way. "I don't live in a bubble," he said under questioning. "I live in the real world. I understand the importance of the issue."

Kavanaugh ruled on abortion only once during his 12 years on the federal bench. In 2017, his court allowed a pregnant immigrant teen in federal custody to obtain an abortion. The teen argued that a federal policy that required approval for the procedure was an unconstitutional burden, and a majority of the court agreed. Kavanaugh dissented—in a way that worried people on both the left and the right.

The judge wrote that he was attempting to find a compromise between Supreme Court precedent that prohibits the government from placing an "undue burden" on a woman seeking an abortion and maintaining the government's interest in protecting "fetal life." That instinct to find middle ground alarmed conservatives, who thought it suggested Kavanaugh might shy away from a sweeping constitutional ruling on abortion.

At the same time, liberals seized on Kavanaugh's language as coded antiabortion rhetoric. Kavanaugh wrote that his colleagues were creating "a new right for unlawful immigrant minors in U.S. government detention to obtain immediate abortion on demand," and promoting "a radical extension of the Supreme Court's abortion jurisprudence." Says liberal judicial advocate Aron: "He came across with many platitudes about *Roe v. Wade,* but then sought to undermine her case."

Even if the Supreme Court ultimately chooses not to overturn *Roe,* it could chip away at abortion rights in more incremental ways. Kavanaugh's colleagues even seem to be playing for that possibility, firing warning shots on abortion from both sides of the bench. Kavanaugh and Roberts sided with three liberal Justices this term in declining to take up a case about Medicaid funding for Planned Parenthood. In his dissent, Thomas accused the majority of avoiding a polarizing issue—an echo of the conservative criticism of Kavanaugh's dissent in the immigrant case.

In another abortion case this term, the Justices tried to have it both ways, upholding an Indiana law requiring fetal remains to be buried or cremated, but blocking another part of the law that would have prohibited women from obtaining an abortion after a diagnosis of Down syndrome or another disability, or because of the fetus' gender or race. Thomas once again accused his colleagues of cowardice in his dissent. "Although the court declines to wade into these issues today, we cannot avoid them forever," he wrote. "Having created the constitutional right to an abortion, this Court is duty bound to address its scope."

Breyer offered the opposite warning in another dissent this term, suggesting conservatives on the court are charging toward the issue. "It is far more dangerous to overrule a decision only because five Members of a later Court come to agree with earlier dissenters on a difficult legal question," Breyer wrote in a case unrelated to abortion but in which the conservative majority overturned precedent. "Today's decision can only cause one to wonder which cases the Court will overrule next."

Kavanaugh is in the middle of that fight and will play a key role in resolving it when it arrives in full at the court. His first term suggests he is still uncertain how he will come down on that and the other issues over which he now holds influence. On the coffee table in his chambers is a book he points out to guests that captures what defenders say is his capacity for empathy but that those who believed Ford will surely view with bitter irony: his faded sixth-grade copy of Harper Lee's *To Kill a Mockingbird.* Written in the back of the book is Kavanaugh's essay assignment from that year: "Give examples of standing in someone else's shoes." ◻

Technology

INSTAGRA

The social-media giant is plagued by bullying. Inside the new plan to fight it

BY KATY STEINMETZ

ETHAN COHEN TRIED TO LAUGH OFF HIS FIRST EXPERIENCE WITH bullying on Instagram. Like many kids his age, the Raleigh, N.C., teen eagerly joined the platform in middle school, and one day he discovered fellow students snickering at an account. Someone—he still does not know who—had started taking surreptitious photos of him and posting them under the username ethan_cohens_neck_vein. The feed was dedicated to jeers about what appeared to be a prominent muscle in his neck. One post compared it to the Great Wall of China. To friends, he dismissed it as a dumb prank, but privately he was distressed. Someone was tailing him and posting mocking pictures for all to see. "The anonymity of it was freaky," says Cohen, now 18. He reported the account multiple times to Instagram. Nothing happened, even though guidelines that govern user behavior forbid mocking someone's physical appearance.

Today, Instagram says, the outcome would be different. More sophisticated reporting tools and moderators would quickly shut the account down. And, in the near future, the company aspires to something far more ambitious: sparing users like Cohen from having to report bullying in the first place by using artificial intelligence to root out behavior like insults, shaming and disrespect. At a time when social-media platforms

CHALLENG

PHOTO-ILLUSTRATION BY DELCAN & COMPANY FOR TIME

M'S



GE

are being blamed for a great many problems, and are under pressure to demonstrate they can police themselves, Instagram has declared war on bullying. "We are in a pivotal moment," says its head, Adam Mosseri. "We want to lead the industry in this fight."

It's a logical step. As young people have become glued to the app, bullying has become to Instagram what "fake news" is to Facebook and trolling is to Twitter: a seemingly unstoppable ill that users endure in order to be where everyone else is. By one estimate, nearly 80% of teens are on Instagram and about half of those users have been bullied on the platform. And it gets far worse than neck taunts. In high school, Cohen came out as gay on Instagram and was pummeled by direct messages from a popular student calling him a "faggot" and "failed abortion." Users suffer haunting humiliations and threats of violence. More broadly, bullying on sites like Instagram has been linked to self-destructive behavior.

Sheri Bauman, a counseling professor at the University of Arizona who has spent years studying bullying's causes and effects, calls Instagram a "one-stop shop for the bully" because everything they need is there: an audience, anonymity, an emphasis on appearances and channels that range from public feeds to behind-the-back group chats. Instagram executives acknowledge that as they try to attract more users and attention to the platform, each new feature brings with it a fresh opportunity for abuse. "Teens are exceptionally creative," says Instagram head of public policy Karina Newton.

Mosseri is new to the top job. After Instagram's founders abruptly departed late last year—reportedly amid tensions with parent company Facebook—the longtime Facebook employee took over, having honed his crisis-management skills by overseeing Facebook's News Feed. The 36-year-old aims to define a new era for Instagram, calling the well-being of users his top priority. Tackling bullying gives shape to that agenda. Mosseri is dedicating engineers and designers to the cause. His team is doing extensive research, rolling out new features and changing company protocol, all with bullying in mind. But it's a fight with tangled front lines and plenty of possibilities for collateral damage. Go after bullying too aggressively, and risk alienating users at a time when the company is a bright spot of growth for Facebook. Don't do enough, and risk accusations of placing profits over the protection of kids.

Then there's the technical Everest to climb. Creating artificial intelligence to combat bullying means teaching machines to master an evolving problem with complex nuances. Instagram must also be wary of free-speech issues as engineers create tools optimized to find things they should, without suppressing things they shouldn't. "I do worry that if we're not careful, we might overstep," Mosseri says. But he insists nothing trumps the need to keep the platform civil. "We will make decisions that mean people use Instagram less," he tells TIME, "if it keeps people more safe."

80%

By one estimate, nearly 80% of teenagers are on Instagram, and half of those users have been bullied

10 YEARS

Adam Mosseri became Instagram head after nearly a decade at parent company Facebook

1 BILLION

In 2018, Instagram celebrated the milestone of reaching more than 1 billion users



Facebook stands to profit from every hour people spend on Instagram. If those who associate additional safety measures with constriction go elsewhere, potential revenue leaves with them. When asked if it's in the company's financial interest to take on bullying, Mosseri responds that if Instagram fails to curb it, he will not only be failing users but also failing the business. "It could hurt our reputation and our brand over time. It could make our partnership relationships more difficult. There are all sorts of ways it could strain us," he says. "If you're not addressing issues on your platform, I have to believe it's going to come around and have a real cost."

INSTAGRAM WAS LAUNCHED in 2010 by Kevin Systrom and Mike Krieger, two 20-somethings who hoped users would download a photo-sharing app that made their lives look beautiful. Users did. Within a year, more than 500,000 were signing up each week. But it quickly became clear that the masses were going to use the app for ugly reasons too, and the duo spent time in the early days personally deleting nasty comments and banning trolls. By the time they left, the platform had more than 1 billion users, far too many for humans to monitor. So, like other



JUSTIN SULLIVAN—GETTY IMAGES

social-media platforms trying to ferret out material from terrorist propaganda to child pornography, Instagram turned to machines.

In a quest to make Instagram a kinder, gentler place, the founders had borrowed from Facebook an AI tool known as DeepText, which was designed to understand and interpret the language people were using on the platform. Instagram engineers first used the tool in 2016 to seek out spam. The next year, they trained it to find and block offensive comments, including racial slurs. By mid-2018, they were using it to find bullying in comments too. A week after Mosseri took over in October, Instagram announced it wouldn't use AI just to search for bullying in remarks tacked below posts; it would also start using machines to spot bullying in the posts themselves.

This is easier said than done.

When engineers want to teach a machine to perform a task, they start by building a training set—in lay terms, a collection of material to help the machine understand the rules of its new job. In this case, it starts with human moderators sorting through hundreds of thousands of pieces of content and deciding whether they contain bullying. They label them and feed the examples into what is known as a classifier, which absorbs them like a preternatural police dog that is then set loose to sniff out that material. Of course, these initial examples can't cover everything a classifier encounters in the wild. But as it flags content, and as human moderators assess whether that was the correct call, it learns from the additional examples. Ideally, with the help of engineers tweaking its study habits, it gets better over time.

Mosseri at Facebook's F8 developer conference in April

'WE ARE IN A PIVOTAL MOMENT. WE WANT TO LEAD THE INDUSTRY IN THIS FIGHT.'

—ADAM MOSSERI

Today, there are three bullying classifiers scanning content on Instagram: one trained to analyze text, one photos and one videos. They're live, and they're flagging content by the hour. Yet they are also in "pretty early days," as lead engineer Yoav Shapira puts it. In other words, they're missing a lot of bullying. The mission of his team is to change that.

One reason this is so challenging—compared with training a machine to seek out content like nudity—is that it's much easier to recognize when someone in a photo is not wearing pants than it is to recognize the broad array of behavior that might be considered bullying. Studies of cyberbullying vary wildly in their conclusions on how many people have experienced it, from as low as 5% to as high as 72%, in part because no one agrees on precisely what it is. "What makes bullying so hard to tackle is that the definition is so different to individuals," says Newton. And engineers need a clear sense of what qualifies and what doesn't in order to build a solid training set.

Bullying on Instagram has changed over time. There is plenty of what one might call old-fashioned bullying: according to Instagram's own research, mean comments, insults and threats are most common. Some of this is easy to catch. Instagram's text classifier, for example, has been well trained to look for strings of words like "You ugly ass gapped tooth ass bitch" and "Your daughter is a slag." But slang changes over time and across cultures. And catching aggressive behavior requires comprehending full sentences, not just keywords. Consider the difference between "I'm coming over later" and "I'm coming over later no matter what you say."

Users also find themselves victimized by bullies who go beyond words. On Instagram, there are so-called hate pages, anonymous accounts dedicated to impersonating or mocking people. A boyfriend might tag an ex in posts that show him with other girls; a girl might tag some friends in a post and pointedly exclude someone. Others will take a screenshot of someone's photo, alter it and reshare it, or just mock it in a group chat. There's repeated contact that mimics stalking, like putting the same emoji on each photo someone posts. Many teens have embarrassing photos or videos of themselves shared without their consent, or find themselves the subject of "hot or not" votes (much like the rankings Mark Zuckerberg set up as a Harvard undergraduate on a pre-Facebook website called Facemash). "There's nothing in bullying," Shapira says, "that is super easy."

As it works to develop effective AI, Instagram has been surveying thousands of users in the hope

of better understanding all the forms that bullying can take. The company's broad working definition of bullying is content intended to "harass or shame" others, but Shapira's team has broken this down into seven subcategories: insults, shaming, threats, identity attacks, disrespect, unwanted contact and betrayals. The grand plan is to build artificial intelligence that can understand each concept. "It's much more costly from an engineering perspective," Shapira says, "but it's much better at solving the problem."

Because bullying can be contextual—hinging on an inside joke or how well two people know each other—Instagram's engineers are also researching ways to use account behavior to separate the bad from the benign. The word *ho,* for example, might be classified as bullying when a man says it to a woman but not when a woman uses it to refer to a friend. Similarly, if someone says "Awesome picture" once, that might be a compliment. If they say it on every photo a person posts, that looks suspicious. Engineers are capitalizing on signals that help reveal relationships: Do two accounts tag each other a lot? Has one ever blocked the other? Does there seem to be a coordinated pile-on, like "Go to [someone's handle] and spam this picture on their dms"?

When it comes to photos and videos, the classifiers have had less practice and are less advanced. But some guideposts have emerged. For example, a split screen is often a sign of bullying, especially if a machine detects that one side shows a human and the other an animal. So is a photo of three people with a big red *X* across someone's face. Filters can help signal a benign post: people don't tend to pretty up their victimizing. The team is also learning to understand factors like posture. It's likely a photo was taken without consent if it appears to be an "upskirt" shot. If one person is standing and another is in the posture of a victim, that's a red flag.

Every week, researchers write up a report of their findings, and almost every week there's a new form of bullying that engineers hadn't thought to look for, Shapira says. But with the help of teams and resources from Facebook, employees who work on well-being believe they can not only master challenges that have long eluded experts—like building algorithms that understand sarcasm—but also figure out how to use AI to find newfangled phenomena like "intentional FOMO" and even accounts that torment middle schoolers about their necks.

There are a lot of numbers Instagram won't share, including how many of its roughly 1,200 employees, or Facebook's 37,700, are working on bullying. It also won't share the error rate of the classifiers that are currently live or the amount of content they're flagging for moderators. These days, the aspirations surrounding AI are often unmatched by the reality. But faith in the technology is high. "It's going to get much better," Shapira says, "over the next year or two."

'TECHNOLOGY ISN'T INHERENTLY GOOD OR BAD IN THE FIRST PLACE. IT JUST IS.'

—ADAM MOSSERI

MOSSERI INHERITED one of the most powerful perches in social media at a tough time for the industry. We sit down to talk about bullying in mid-May, in an airy room at Instagram's San Francisco office. It's his first on-the-record interview in the U.S., and it's coming shortly after the White House launched a tool inviting people who feel they've been censored by social-media companies to share their stories with the President. A few days before that, one of Facebook's co-founders had called for the breakup of the company.

Minefields are everywhere, but Mosseri is used to tricky terrain. After joining Facebook as a designer in 2008, he went on to help establish the team that oversees News Feed, the scroll of posts on everyone's home page that has been an epicenter of controversy for the company. When Facebook was manipulated by trolls and foreign meddlers during the 2016 election, News Feed is where it happened. In the wake of that, Mosseri established what he named the Integrity team and spent his time overseeing development of AI tools meant to root out complex ills like misinformation. In the process, he became close to Zuckerberg, and in early 2018 he was tapped to become Instagram's head of product, a post he soon leveraged into the top job.

As Instagram improves its definition of bullying, Mosseri believes the company will set new standards for using AI to squash it, developing practices that other platforms may even adopt. In the meantime, he's focused on finding ways to get Instagram's vast army of users to help combat this problem themselves, with the assistance of machines. "People often frame technology and people in opposition," he says. "My take is that people and technology can and should work in tandem."

Two new features Instagram is soon rolling out embody this approach. One is a comment warning. When someone decides to comment on a post, if Instagram's bullying classifier detects even "borderline" content, it will give that user a prompt, encouraging them to rethink their words. "The idea is to give you a little nudge and say, 'Hey, this might be offensive,' without blocking you from posting," says Francesco Fogu, a designer who works on well-being. The second feature is Restrict, a clandestine version of blocking. While users can tell when they've been blocked, they won't know if they've been restricted. Bullying victims will have the power to review comments from such accounts before anyone else sees them. They can approve, delete or forever leave them in a pending state: invisible to all but the bully. They'll have similar power over direct messages. And if the bully tries to tag that user in a public post, Instagram won't help by auto-completing the handle. The bully will have to know the username and type it exactly. All this, Fogu says, will "make it harder for bullies to bully others."

Instagram has also added a step to product development. Before anything is launched, it is now vetted for all the ways it could be "weaponized," including for bullying. If a feature is being abused frequently, Newton, the head of public policy, says the company will consider taking it away, even if it's popular.

This all might add up to Instagram doing more than any other company to fight this battle, but there are potential solutions it hasn't embraced. In interviews for this article, no issue came up more than user anonymity. It's what allows teenagers to run so-called confession or roast accounts dedicated to spreading gossip and skewering peers. It makes it easier for people to impersonate others. It encourages bad behavior. When asked if Instagram would consider requiring people to use their real names, as Facebook does, Mosseri doesn't rule it out, but he pushes back on the idea—one that would surely cut into Instagram's user base.

"People do tend to behave better when there's accountability, and part of accountability is that people know who you are, but a lot of good also comes from anonymity," he says. "People's identities are complicated." He, for one, has two children who are far too young to use Instagram (though people disobey the rule, kids under 13 aren't allowed), so he runs accounts for them that family members follow. And young people who are exploring their gender or sexual identities can do so without feeling exposed, he says. "The trick here is how do we make sure we address the incentives, address the problems," Mosseri says, "but also don't undo all the good."

THE PRESSURE to take bullying seriously has increased as scrutiny of tech companies has amped up, but also as research has shown it's not just some inconsequential rite of passage. For many teenagers, Instagram will be their first contact with social media, and they're arriving more lonely and depressed than previous generations were at their age. Sure, sometimes bullying is just annoying. But it has also been linked to self-harm, suicide and suicidal thoughts, as well as anxiety that can trail people into adulthood.

While things like name-calling are representative of bullying on the platform, there are isolated cases that are far more serious. In 2015, 12-year-old Kennis Cady died after falling into a coma while trying to hang herself in her East Rochester, N.Y., bedroom. In the investigation that followed, several students said they had seen or heard about an account on Instagram that two classmates had set up, one that allegedly pretended to be Kennis' and posted mocking "facts" about her. Investigators suspected Kennis was trying to delete the account before she died, though they never found it. Michaela Cady, her mother, says she "wholeheartedly believes" that bullying on social media contributed to her daughter's mental state. "She was withdrawn," Cady says. "She just seemed sad."

3

There are three classifiers currently seeking bullying on Instagram, one scanning text, one photos and one videos

7

Instagram is working to build AI to recognize seven subcategories of bullying, including shaming, disrespect and betrayal

13

Though some young people flout the rule, Instagram limits users to ages 13 and older

Before Mosseri sat down with TIME, the only other on-the-record interviews he had done came amid uproar earlier this year over a teenage girl in the United Kingdom who, according to her father, viewed material on topics like suicide and depression on Instagram before killing herself. Not by coincidence, the platform banned graphic images of self-harm in February.

Echoing other social-media power brokers, like Twitter CEO Jack Dorsey, Mosseri says the company is reassessing the "core incentives" that lead to angst on the platform. People do awful things—like tearing others down—in a quest for likes, so Instagram is experimenting with hiding that count entirely.

Calls to break up Big Tech have abounded on cable news and the campaign trail, including demands that Facebook spin off Instagram. Mosseri's response is that "the biggest downside" would be losing access his team has to AI and expertise they're able to use to address issues like bullying. He believes Instagram's massive scale is an asset too. Yes, if the platform were 10,000 times smaller and moderators reviewed each post and message, it might be easier to eradicate bullying, but that would present privacy problems. And at this size, the company is primed to better understand it and find technical means of countering it, he argues.

What it comes down to, Mosseri says, is whether one thinks connecting people—and even the Internet itself—is a net benefit for humanity. "Technology isn't inherently good or bad in the first place. It just is," he says. "And social media, as a type of technology, is often an amplifier. It's on us to make sure we're amplifying the good and not amplifying the bad."

Instagram didn't invent bullying. It's a problem essentially anywhere that people congregate online. Adults, from the President on down, are normalizing online abuse. Experts say that as a society, we are failing to teach kids how the Internet works before setting them loose on it. And they say that the fight against bullying can't be waged by tech companies alone: there needs to be buy-in from parents, schools and kids themselves.

Speaking from Texas, where her family moved after Kennis died, Michaela Cady says she does not blame Instagram for what happened. Kennis, like most kids who are bullied online, was also bullied in real life. But she does think that social media is too prevalent in society, that the solution isn't better technology but less of it. At this point, social media is so central to life that it's not realistic to tell kids who are bullied to just turn off their phones or delete their accounts. Yet, Cady says, there needs to be more space between the online and offline worlds. "With social media," she says, "there's just no escape." ◻


Ad Council
I didn't talk
for a very long time
Jacob Sanchez
Diagnosed with autism
Lack of speech is a sign of autism. Learn the others at autismspeaks.org/signs.
AUTISM SPEAKS®

Tim ff

NEW WAVE
Writer-director Lulu Wang's film *The Farewell* furthers an overdue boom of Asian-led projects



INSIDE

IN THE ART OF SELF-DEFENSE, *A FRESH TAKE ON MASCULINITY*

CHUCK KLOSTERMAN PROVES BREVITY IS THE SOUL OF WIT

INSIDE THE MALIBU STUDIO OF PRODUCER RICK RUBIN

PHOTOGRAPH BY AARON RICHTER

MOVIES

Asian Americans in Hollywood move to center stage

By Andrew R. Chow

AWKWAFINA LOOKS AT HER LIFE AS PRE- AND post–*Crazy Rich Asians*. "So much has changed," the actor, born Nora Lum, says. "It impacts everything, every day." When she was cast in the multicultural romantic comedy two years ago, she was a modestly known rapper and YouTube star accustomed to auditioning for parts that required her to use an accent. She, like many Asian Americans in film and TV, found that the roles available to them rarely reflected their actual experiences; instead, they serviced white stories or leaned on stereotypes.

Awkwafina's career looks very different now. *Crazy Rich Asians,* released in 2018, was a global phenomenon that raked in $238 million at the box office and reinforced the idea that diversity could also mean good business. She joined several blockbuster movie franchises (*Angry Birds* and *Jumanji*); will star in a Comedy Central sitcom based on her life; and has earned rave reviews and Oscar buzz for her first dramatic lead role, in Lulu Wang's *The Farewell,* out on July 12. As Awkwafina's opportunities have increased, so have those of many other Asian Americans in film and TV. "Asian-American actors come to me and say, 'I couldn't get one audition before *Crazy Rich Asians*—now I'm auditioning every day,'" she says.

This shift isn't just a matter of gatekeepers finally saying yes—it's a change in the gatekeepers themselves. Over the past decade, Asian Americans have become showrunners, studio executives, lead agents and producers; they have formed tight-knit groups to champion one another and their stories. As a new wave of stories arrives—from *The Farewell* to the Netflix rom-com *Always Be My Maybe* to the Japanese-American internment-camp horror series *The Terror*—Hollywood is shifting away from what Awkwafina calls "the mirage of diversity" toward more specific and lasting forms of representation. Increasingly, it's up to the Asian-American power players working behind the scenes to ensure that their community, so long ignored or tokenized, isn't treated as a fad—and that they become integral to the worlds of film and TV.



Awkwafina, third from left, stars in Lulu Wang's The Farewell

THE HISTORY OF ASIAN AMERICANS in cinema is bleak. Offensive caricatures have persisted through the past century, from Fu Manchu to *Breakfast at Tiffany's* to *Sixteen Candles*. Even as Hollywood began reckoning in recent years with its racist past, the dialogue focused on the divide between black and white representation. Asian actors were still pigeonholed into narrow and reductive parts: Randall Park, for example, played doctors over and over again early in his career, including on *Curb Your Enthusiasm* and *The Bold and the Beautiful*. "The roles weren't super offensive," says Park, who co-wrote and co-starred in *Always Be My Maybe*. "But when you look back and realize how many doctors you play, you think, O.K., that's how they see us."

'You don't understand how important representation is until you see it and realize you've been missing it your whole life.'

AWKWAFINA

A report showed that while Asian Americans made up 5.4% of the U.S. population, they represented just 1.4% of lead characters in studio films in 2014. The issue also extended behind the camera: in 2018, another study found only 12% of showrunner positions to be held by people of color.

But a gradual shift is taking place, thanks to a mix of factors. Social-media campaigns, from #OscarsSoWhite to #StarringJohnCho, which reimagined blockbusters as if they featured the Korean-American actor, called attention to inequality and erasure. Movies starring and directed by African Americans, including *Creed, Get Out* and *Black Panther,* were all critically acclaimed blockbusters, altering the idea of what a hit could look like. And a new class of diverse executives at major studios greenlighted projects that might have been considered risky in a previous era. Asian Americans who used their newfound roles to promote diverse storytelling include ABC's Samie Falvey,





Randall Park and Ali Wong in the Netflix rom-com Always Be My Maybe



A scene from the upcoming season of AMC's The Terror

who pushed through *Fresh Off the Boat*, and Warner Bros.' Kevin Tsujihara, who helped turn Kevin Kwan's best-selling novel *Crazy Rich Asians* into a box-office juggernaut.

When that film became the highest-grossing rom-com in a decade, some Asian creators noticed a change in how their projects were received by major studios. Writer-producer Soo Hugh, for example, wasn't expecting much when she came to Hollywood to pitch an adaptation of Min Jin Lee's popular novel *Pachinko*. But after an fierce bidding war, the series was bought by Apple, led by veteran TV executive Michelle Lee. "I was shocked by the way the people reacted to this show in the marketplace," Hugh says. "It was that cynicism that these doors were closed to me."

Other writers were similarly galvanized in the wake of *Crazy Rich Asians*. A female Asian-American writers' collective began meetings in which they share job opportunities and workplace horror stories (a recent study showed that 64% of television writers of color reported experiencing bias, discrimination or harassment). These writers say this unity has spurred them to create and push for idiosyncratic passion projects they wouldn't have dared pitch a decade ago. "I don't care what people think they want," says Cindy Fang, a writer for *Fresh Off the Boat*. "I'm just going to write what I want."

WRITER-DIRECTOR LULU WANG was equally persistent when it came to *The Farewell*. In the semi-autobiographical drama, Awkwafina stars as a Chinese-American woman struggling to say goodbye to her grandmother, who doesn't know she has terminal cancer. The film is driven by hyper-specific cultural differences and set in drab apartments; it floundered in development hell for years. "The first question people would ask was, 'Is this a Chinese film or an American film?'" Wang says. Potential partners wanted to change plot points or make characters white.

Wang insisted on preserving each detail, even if it meant the story would never be told. She eventually found producers willing to give her creative control, and in January, *The Farewell* premiered at Sundance to rapturous acclaim and was picked up by A24, which has distributed films including *Moonlight* and *Lady Bird*. Upon wide release, Gold House—the Asian collective that helped propel *Crazy Rich Asians*—will launch a campaign to buy out theaters, host VIP screenings and spread awareness on social media. The improbable result of this concerted effort is that an Asian-American movie that nearly never saw the light of day has a chance to compete at the 2020 Oscars.

Despite the progress made over the past couple of years, some Asian-American film veterans are hesitant to declare victory in a fickle industry. "We have been promised this change before and been disappointed," Hugh says. Tsujihara's resignation from Warner Bros. in March after a sex scandal means there are no major studio heads of color. Many activists say that different types of Asians, including South Asians, are still underrepresented. And a slew of Asian-led pilots that were created after *Crazy Rich Asians* failed to find homes.

But the next couple of years will have no shortage of Asian-led projects. Disney's live-action remake of *Mulan* will arrive in theaters next year, while Netflix will host the anime adaptation *Cowboy Bebop,* starring John Cho, and *Master of None* co-creator Alan Yang's drama *Tigertail*. Awkwafina and other Asian-American creators hope to push the door open wider and wider, knowing that the former status quo is barely in the rearview mirror. "You don't understand how important representation is," she says, "until you see it and realize you've been missing it your whole life." □

OPENING PAGE: CONTOUR/GETTY IMAGES; THESE PAGES: THE FAREWELL: CASI MOSS; ALWAYS BE MY MAYBE: NETFLIX; THE TERROR: AMC



Swordplay: Bass, Maron, Watkins and Bell team up to sell a historical weapon

MOVIES

The banter is mightier than the sword

By Stephanie Zacharek

LYNN SHELTON, DIRECTOR OF MOVIES like *Laggies* and *Your Sister's Sister,* has a knack for locating the approaching turns in characters' lives; then she stands back, observing quietly but astutely as they figure out how to round them. In her wily, laid-back comedy *Sword of Trust,* a young woman, Jillian Bell's Cynthia, inherits a Civil War–era sword from her grandfather, an item with a possibly unsavory past that she has no desire to own. With her high-strung partner Mary (Michaela Watkins), she heads off to a pawn shop. The mildly cantankerous owner, Mel (played by comedian and podcaster Marc Maron), hems and haws as he examines the hoary old weapon. He passes on it—only to have his hapless shop assistant Nathaniel (Jon Bass) inform him, after some random Googling, that this grim artifact could fetch some $40,000 from a redneck cult looking to prove that the South actually won the war.

Mel and the two women, with Nathaniel tagging along, broker a deal to sell the sword together and split the profits, though their own personal histories will end up having much more meaning than the strange antique in their possession. That's because Shelton—who co-wrote the script with Mike O'Brien—cares more about interpersonal dynamics than any silly old sword, especially one with racist connotations.

The movie's dazzling centerpiece takes place in, of all places, the back of a truck: The foursome have been stuck there by a skinny, enigmatic emissary named Hog Jaws (Toby Huss, half menacing, half amusing), assigned to transport them and their "high-quality prover item," as one character calls it, from Alabama to Tennessee, where the potential buyer awaits. Inside this stark, carpeted box, Mary and Cynthia spill their secrets, about wanting a child but hoping to pursue some of their dreams first. (Cynthia wants to open an escape room.) And with slow-burning conviction, Mel tells the story of an old flame (played, in a brief but potent appearance, by Shelton herself), a woman he had to abandon after she was undone by addiction, though he's now realizing that she may genuinely need his help. *Sword of Trust* is a modest, wobbly picture, and it falls apart as it rambles toward its ending. Yet it never feels like a waste of time. Sometimes being invited along for the ride is reward enough. ◻

MOVIES

Being a man, the manly way

Masculinity isn't by itself a dirty word; you just don't want the adjective *toxic* preceding it. In his wry black comedy *The Art of Self-Defense,* writer-director Riley Stearns gives the idea of macho aggression a good roundhouse kick: Jesse Eisenberg plays Casey, a shy, scrawny accountant who's mugged by a gang of motorcycle thugs one night as he's out buying food for his dog. Traumatized, he considers buying a gun. Then he happens upon a karate school run by a self-proclaimed martial-arts guru (Alessandro Nivola) who seems to have all the answers Casey seeks about what makes a man a man. He's also intrigued by the sole woman at the school (Imogen Poots), who may be more lionhearted than any of the guys.

Eisenberg's timing is just right for the movie's mildly perverse, yet pointed, humor: At one point Casey, proud of having graduated from white belt to yellow, has a daffodil-hued leather belt custom-made for himself, so he can feel as powerful in his street clothes as he does during his lessons. Eisenberg makes Casey's fears and frustration—and, eventually, his epiphany—wholly believable. He has the nervous energy of a rabbit nibbling away at a carrot. But when provoked, he'll bite. —*S.Z.*



Eisenberg: karate master

SWORD OF TRUST: IFC FILMS; THE ART OF SELF-DEFENSE: BLEECKER STREET; BOOKS: KIM BUBELLO FOR TIME



BOOKS

A killer on campus

When Malin Ahlberg arrives at Hawthorne College in Maine, far from her home in Texas, she's set on reinventing herself. Haunted by a traumatic death in her past, she spent most of her high school days alone. But on her new campus, Malin immediately clicks with a group of five other students, each battling their own biting insecurities. The six remain as close as can be—until senior year, when a devastating decision leaves another person in Malin's life dead.

In *Tell Me Everything,* debut novelist Cambria Brockman flips between Malin's first and last years at Hawthorne, and flashes ominously back to her most potent pre-adolescent memories. Though the fatal incident in college drives the plot, it's the chemistry among the six friends, with Malin in the middle, that makes the book so gripping. (Enough so that Netflix acquired film rights over a year ago.) At times, the group presents as the most normal of college students: partying, studying and struggling with anxieties as they come of age. But at others, Brockman paints an unnerving portrait of the power people hold over one another—especially as they blur the line between protective and obsessive.

—Annabel Gutterman

BOOKS

Chuck Klosterman goes short and spiky

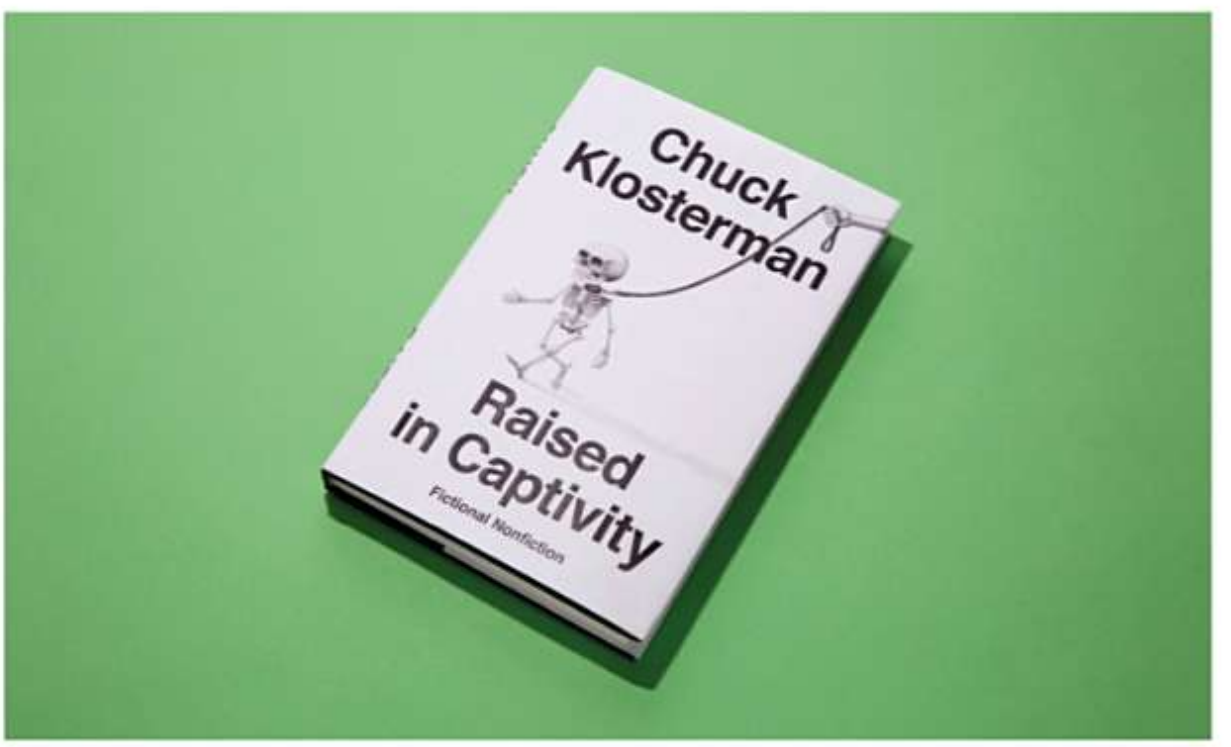
By Nicholas Mancusi

CHUCK KLOSTERMAN HAS LONG BEEN a celebrated sports and culture writer, producing prolific nonfiction for major outlets and helping to launch the beloved website Grantland with Bill Simmons. *Raised in Captivity: Fictional Nonfiction,* Klosterman's first collection of short stories, extends his trademark curiosity and whirring intelligence to the realm of fiction.

The short stories here, 34 in total, are truly short, fewer than 10 pages on average. But what they may lack in development or structure, they make up for in originality and humor. In sports terms, if this book were a football offense, it would rely on quick slant passes and hurrying to the line of scrimmage to snap the ball again.

Here's a sampling of these brief bursts of imaginative firepower: In the title story, a traveler discovers a puma in an airplane bathroom. ("Maybe this was advertising. Maybe this is some kind of guerrilla marketing for Puma basketball shoes … maybe mankind has encroached upon nature too much, to the point of no return.") In "Cat Person" (a title that cheekily references Kristen Roupenian's viral *New Yorker* story of the same name), a cop and a journalist discuss a spate of incidents in which someone has been using cats as a sort of biological weapon, rubbing them on citizens to spread the *Toxoplasma gondii* infection they carry. In "Rhinoceros," a man meets with an old friend who has gained some infamy by committing the "insouciant cybercrime" of permanently deleting Wikipedia entries. And in "The Secret," the protagonist is brought down into a government bunker where hundreds of participants flip coins to track the unraveling of the universe, evidenced by the fact that a coin flip is drifting away from a 50-50 proposition.

Klosterman's work is motivated by his interest in ideas or, rather, his interest in society's interest in ideas: how we come to them, experience them and abandon them. In these short pieces, he uses largely faceless characters to test accepted realities, such as time, technology, death and football, to an extent well beyond the reach of nonfiction. The effect of these almost scrollable-length stories is at once familiar and uncanny. It feels like a replication of the fractured way we are forced, in the age of technology, to mediate reality and attempt to understand the world around us. ◻



Klosterman has previously published eight nonfiction books and two novels



Legendary music producer Rick Rubin gets the doc treatment

TELEVISION

Finding *Shangri-La* on earth

By Judy Berman

YOU NEEDN'T BE A RAP SNOB TO APPRECIATE RICK RUBIN, THE SUPER-producer who shepherded the careers of hip-hop pioneers like Public Enemy, LL Cool J, Run-DMC and the Beastie Boys. He's helped shape classic albums in every genre, from Slayer's *Reign in Blood* to Tom Petty's *Wildflowers* to Adele's *21*. And with his flowing white beard, chill vibe and minimalist ethos, Rubin's sagelike persona—or, depending on your level of cynicism, personal brand—is as distinctive as that of any icon he's produced.

His calm pervades *Shangri-La,* a four-part docuseries named for his storied Malibu studio that premieres on Showtime on July 12. Though it traces the 56-year-old Rubin's life and career, it's not a standard bio. Director Morgan Neville *(Won't You Be My Neighbor?)* lets episodes meander like trains of thought. Rubin's past and present melt together, as old friends and new artists cycle through Shangri-La. Childhood flashbacks star a boy with the man's balding mane and beard.

Rubin isn't without detractors. Artists such as Muse and Jakob Dylan have painted him as a charlatan; critics have pointed out his willingness to work with acts like Kid Rock. Likely because Rubin is an executive producer of the miniseries, these charges go unspoken. Yet Neville finds a way to let his subject defend himself, comparing Rubin's mystical methods of drawing out performers' most creative selves, rather than imposing his own aesthetics, to a hall of mirrors. (The producer agrees.) But we don't find out what happens when said performer doesn't have much of a vision for him to reflect.

Neville does ultimately illuminate Rubin's elusive genius. In the studio he's an editor and a therapist. Working with young talents like SZA and iLoveMakonnen, he poses insightful questions. Chats with associates from fellow meditator David Lynch to Beastie Boy Mike D almost always go somewhere interesting. Most of all, *Shangri-La* captures Rubin's openness and authenticity. In other words, he produces by example. "You're so goddamn free," Tyler, the Creator marvels in one heart-to-heart. Coming from a rapper known for indulging his wildest instincts, that's high praise. ☐

QUICK TALK

Banks

Singer-songwriter Jillian Banks helped popularize the brooding R&B sound that's dominated pop this decade. Now, after a two-year hiatus, she returns with her third album, III.

What did you do differently with this album? First of all, I rap. There's also a voice I sing with that comes from a different part of my throat. It felt new to me because there's an innocence to the songs that I've never let out. Usually I'm the type of artist where I still need sleep at my regular hours. But making this album, I'd be in the studio until 5 a.m. and I wanted to do it again the next day.

In college you majored in psychology. Has that influenced your writing? I've always been interested in human dynamics. Maybe it stems from the same place that makes me write music: I need to understand things because I feel so much. It's meditation for me, making music. My artistic mind is always a step ahead of the other side, and I'm constantly trying to catch up.

***III* tracks your arc from naive romantic to wise woman. What was that transformation like?** The more experiences you have and the more pain you've gone through, the wiser you become. I was in one of those turning points. When you're trying to overcome certain thought patterns, you have to take a shovel and dig in the mud every day.



You've opened for the Weeknd and cite artists like Fiona Apple and Lauryn Hill as inspiration. What sets you apart? You can give painters the same three colors, and one could be inspired by the other, but the pictures will look completely different. You may not be able to put into words why they're different, but it's their own energy.

—RAISA BRUNER

SHANGRI-LA: SHOWTIME; BANKS: TIMOTHY HIATT—GETTY IMAGES

I am #HeForShe
Are you?



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

Join me at HeForShe.org

HeForShe

Megan Rapinoe The World Cup MVP on declining to sing the anthem, coping with criticism from the President and the U.S. team's legacy

Since the U.S. beat the Netherlands 2-0 in the World Cup final on July 7, you and your teammates have partied pretty hard. How tired are you? I'm equally exhausted and totally exhilarated all at once. There's nothing like the opportunities we have right now, and the excitement around it.

You scored three of your five knockout stage goals on tension-filled penalty kicks. What kind of advice can you share with the rest of us for dealing with high-pressure situations? Calm yourself, believe in yourself, stick to your routine and smash it home.

Why do you stand stoically during the national anthem, declining to sing or put your hand over your heart? I am in solidarity with Colin Kaepernick in trying to continue a conversation. It's no secret that we still have very tense race relations in this country. I don't think everybody is as free as everybody else.

Despite this action, why do you consider yourself, as you've said, "very deeply American"? I looked out my hotel window in New York City as soon as I got here and saw the Statue of Liberty. The land of opportunity. But it has to be for everyone. A lot of people have been cut out of that dream. It's one thing to be the biggest and baddest and best country. But if you're not sticking up for someone else who maybe isn't in that position, then you're kind of just a bully.

"CALM YOURSELF, BELIEVE IN YOURSELF, STICK TO YOUR ROUTINE AND SMASH IT HOME"



Your goal celebration, a pose with outstretched arms, is now iconic. What message were you sending? That was me representing everyone fighting for the same things as I am—equal pay, more attention to race relations, migrants at the border—saying, You will not silence us, you will not take the smile off our face, you will not take anything from us. We're coming. We're here. We're not leaving.

What was your reaction to President Trump's tweeting, during the tournament, that you disrespected the country? It seemed insane to me that this was happening. You skipped over 4,000 things on your to-do list to do this instead. Whatever. We have games to play.

But the next game, against France in the quarterfinals, you scored both goals in a 2-1 win over the host country. Did his tweets motivate you? Maybe a little bit. If at this point I need a presidential tweet to get me motivated, we have a bigger problem. But it certainly didn't unmotivate me, that's for sure.

You've been an outspoken advocate for equal pay in soccer. FIFA has pledged to increase the World Cup prize money available to women players from $30 million this year to $60 million in 2023. But you've said that doesn't go far enough. Why? Thirty to 60 is completely arbitrary. I think they thought, "We'll double it and they'll be really happy with that." But doubling zero still equals zero. I would like to get into how we can over-invest in the women's game to get those numbers much closer to where the men are. [The men will receive $440 million in prize money for the 2022 World Cup.]

The U.S. team has come to embody women's empowerment, on and off the field. What, in your mind, does this World Cup win ultimately represent? Certainly much more than the World Cup. Much more than sport. This has to be the turning point. The conversation is no longer about should we have equal pay, or should we be supporting women. It's how do we support women and really move forward. The effects are going to be felt for years to come. —SEAN GREGORY

GETTY IMAGES

Save The Oceans

Feed The World

OCEANA

Restoring the oceans could feed 1 billion people a healthy seafood meal each day

Visit Oceana.org/FeedTheWorld to learn more