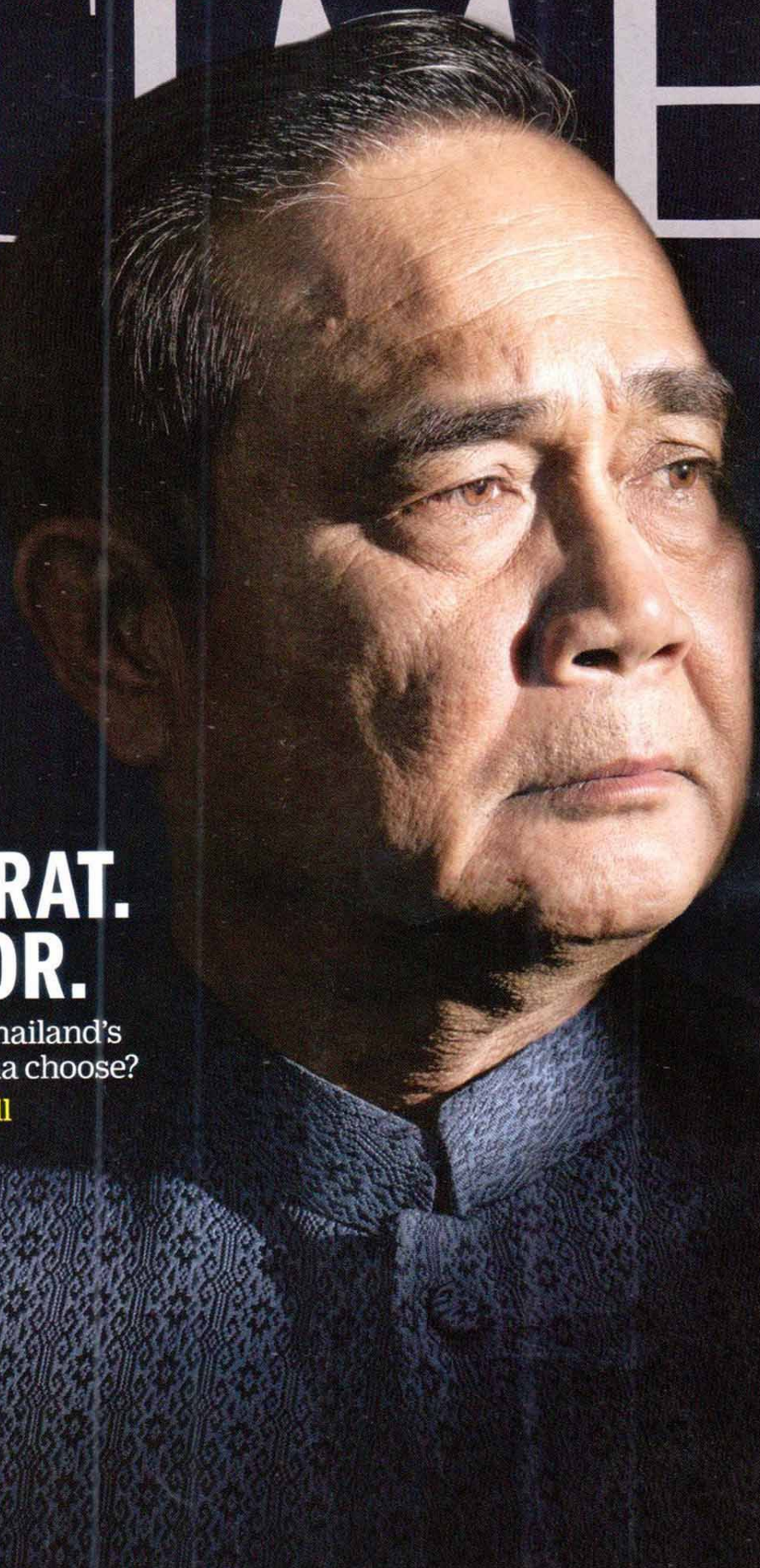


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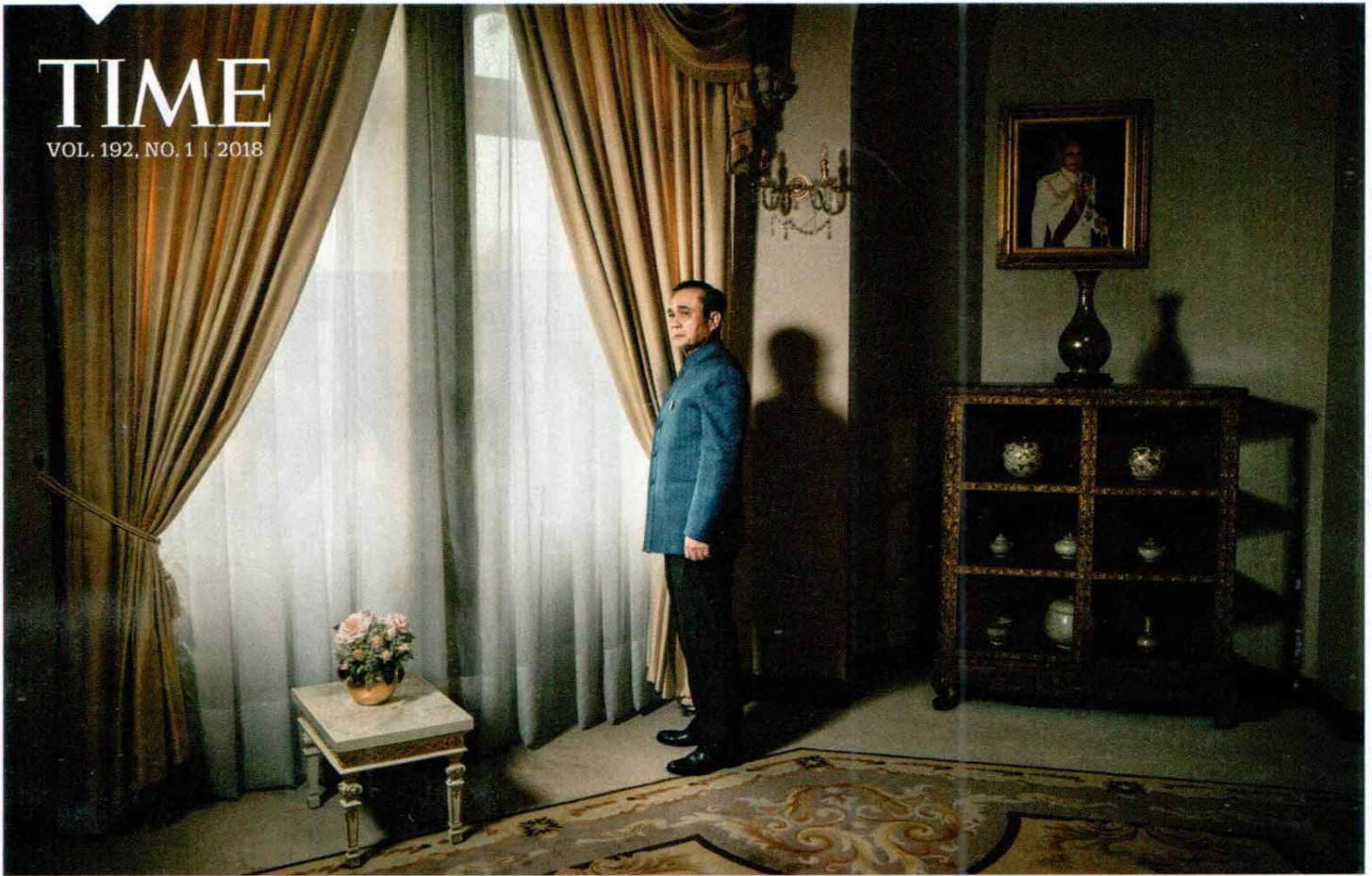
DEMOCRAT. DICTATOR.

Which path will Thailand's Prayuth Chan-ocha choose?

By Charlie Campbell

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Thailand's Prime Minister General Prayuth Chan-ocha at Government House in Bangkok on June 1

Photograph by Adam Ferguson for TIME

ON THE COVER: Photograph by Adam Ferguson for TIME

HARRY AND MEGHAN

WHAT A STRIKING CONTRAST between your coverage of Prince Harry and Meghan Markle's wedding and Graham Smith's sour article ["Who Needs the Royals?" June 4]. He questions who cares about the monarchy and its place in "Britain's rotten constitution." But surely your commemorative issue on this wedding, and your other issues devoted to the House of Windsor over the years, proves that millions of people around the world do care.

David Evans, LONDON

THE NEW DUCHESS OF Sussex has consistently been referred to correctly in the U.K. and by our media as "a woman of mixed race" or "biracial." One white parent, one black, like President Obama. He, however, is commonly referred to in the U.S. as black—our first black President. Here, you are black until or unless you can pass as white, an odious sign of a deeply embedded prejudice.

Katherine E. Kreuter,
RANCHO MIRAGE, CALIF.

YOUR COVER, "THE MODERN Royals," is a contradiction in terms, isn't it?

Anuradha Jagalur,
READING, ENGLAND

WHY MEN TURN TO GUNS
RE "THE HORROR THAT
Won't Stop Happening"

[June 4]: As a Brit living in France, I am perhaps not well placed to comment, but it may be time to look at the issue of gun violence differently. The ready availability of guns no doubt exacerbates the problem. But the real questions are: Why does this generation of young men feel excluded from the normal behavior patterns and beliefs of our society? Where is their sense of right and wrong? What is our society—parents, adults, schools, peers—doing to make these young men act in this way?

Geoff Phillips,
ST.-ETIENNE-SUR-USSON,
FRANCE

THANK YOU FOR NOT naming the Santa Fe High School shooter, but rather the victims instead. Just as gun regulations won't stop all shootings, there is no way to totally avoid shooters attaining some level of notoriety, but we still need to do what we can to slow the momentum of this gun epidemic. I'm glad to see some members of the media taking on this responsibility too.

Christian Nelson,
SNOQUALMIE, WASH.

THE COST OF GOING GLOBAL
RE "PROTECTIONISM'S
False Promise" [June 4]:
True, globalization has engendered a lot of problems like inequality, corruption



and the disruption of local economies, but it is beneficial if pursued without let or hindrance. Political and economic stability are the sine qua non for the success of a liberalized economy. In India reforms lifted countless people above the poverty line. Just as democracy is acknowledged to be the best form of government despite populism, corruption and poor governance, so too is globalization. A common refrain is that globalization tends to benefit the rich, while the gap between them and the poor grows. But instead of throwing the baby out with the bath water, governments must try to improve governance, control corruption and initiate tax reforms to reduce the gap between the rich and poor.

Kangayam R. Narasimhan,
CHENNAI, INDIA

GLOBALIZATION FAILS THE "national interest" test. Proponents of globalization myopically skew their arguments to support their obsession with pure economics, giving no thought to the national interest. Australia is a fine example of a place where obsession with the ostensible economic benefits of globalization has eroded the nation's once significant abilities in science, engineering and manufacturing.

Bob Barnes,
WEDDERBURN, AUSTRALIA

SETTING THE RECORD
STRAIGHT ▶ In "The War on Mueller" (June 18), we incorrectly stated Democrats controlled the Senate in 1999 when the chamber acquitted President Bill Clinton after he was impeached in the House. Republicans had the majority at the time. In "The Future of Fitness" (June 11), we misstated the year in which LEKfit started streaming workouts. It was 2017.

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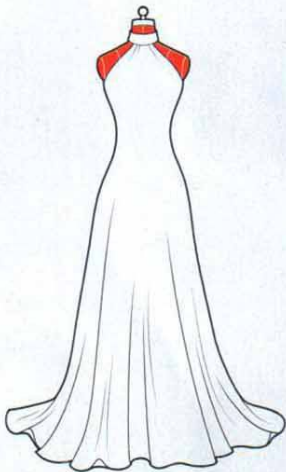
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'He speaks and his people sit up at attention. I want my people to do the same.'

DONALD TRUMP, U.S. President, in a Fox News interview following his summit with North Korean dictator Kim Jong Un; he later said that he was being sarcastic

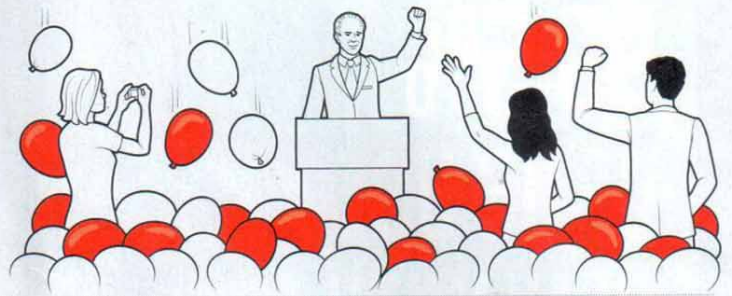


£3,500

The price—equivalent to roughly \$4,650—of a viscose replica of Meghan Markle's silk wedding-reception dress; designer Stella McCartney announced plans to make 46 copies of the dress to mark the opening of a new store

3

Number of votes cast for incumbent Bruce Lorenz in the Ruso, N.D., mayoral race; he was re-elected unanimously



'But my emails.'

HILLARY CLINTON, former U.S. Secretary of State, tweeting on the June 14 Department of Justice inspector general's report, which found that former FBI head James Comey used personal email for official business; Comey raised similar concerns about Clinton's email use during her 2016 presidential campaign

I didn't want people to think that you could give in to fear.'

STEVE SCALISE (R., LA.), majority whip in the U.S. House of Representatives, on returning to play in the annual charity congressional baseball game after he was shot while practicing for last year's outing; Democrats beat the Republicans 21-5

'POSSIBLY BECAUSE OF MASS JUMPING.'

INSTITUTE OF GEOLOGIC AND ATMOSPHERIC INVESTIGATIONS, an organization in Mexico, explaining the cause of the "artificial earthquake" that was registered by its sensors on June 17, right after Mexico scored the goal that led to an upset victory over Germany in the World Cup

Emmanuel Macron
French leader slammed for spending \$58,000 on china plates



Napoleon
Hat worn by the French leader sold for almost \$400,000

30

Length, in days, of the prison sentence received by a neighbor of U.S. Senator Rand Paul (R., Ky.), who tackled the politician and broke his ribs during a dispute over yard debris last year

gaming disorder

A mental-health condition added to the new edition of the World Health Organization's disease-classification manual; it's characterized by a pattern of prioritizing online games or video games to the point of "significant impairment in personal, family, social, educational, occupational or other important areas of functioning"

POLITICS

A China trade war could escalate quickly

By Justin Worland

PRESIDENT TRUMP'S LOOMING TRADE WAR with China ratcheted up so quickly, you might have missed it. On June 15, Trump announced tariffs on \$50 billion worth of Chinese imports. Within minutes, China responded in kind, targeting a range of goods from soybeans to electric vehicles, prompting Trump three days later to order his trade office to find an additional \$200 billion worth of Chinese goods to target. Pre-emptively, Trump said he would be willing to bring the total value of Chinese goods targeted for tariffs to \$450 billion.

"We have to," Trump told reporters as he rolled out the initial round. "We've been treated very unfairly."

For Trump, who has asserted that trade wars are "easy to win," the escalating tariffs represent the fulfillment of a campaign promise to crack down on Beijing and reduce the U.S. trade deficit in order to support American jobs. But economists, business leaders and trade experts on both sides of the aisle have cried foul, arguing that trade wars are a dangerous game that could hurt the economy at home and globally.

The prospect of a trade war is particularly dangerous when it comes to China, the U.S.'s largest goods-trading partner. Products from the country are integrated into global supply chains, and the U.S. sends it billions of dollars' worth of agricultural products, vehicles and machinery each year. That position—along with the authoritarian nature of its political system—gives China significant leverage to stay the course in any trade war.

"China has a fairly predictable pattern of responding immediately and with pretty stiff tariffs," says Ron Kirk, who was the U.S. Trade Representative under President Obama. "Whenever you get in this tit-for-tat escalation and retaliations, it generally is not good."

That's not to say Trump's tariffs were unprovoked. His June 15 announcement came in response to a months-long investigation into Chinese trade practices that have been widely condemned as unfair. Of particular concern, in a world where the U.S. often relies on brainpower to outweigh declining manufacturing, is the practice of forcing American companies to share trade secrets in order to do business. "China seeks to acquire the crown jewels of American technology," says Peter Navarro, a White House trade adviser. "This is the kind of thing that needs to be addressed."

Most economists generally say tariffs are the wrong way to tackle the issue and instead advocate for bringing China to the table with pressure from free-trade deals like the Trans-Pacific Partnership, from which Trump withdrew the U.S. last year. The decisive rollout of this latest set of actions left little opportunity for discussion or compromise, and the fast-moving nature of the back-and-forth means it will be difficult to halt. Once-promising negotiations for a brokered truce with China have all but stopped—Navarro says, "Our phone lines are open"—and trade officials are stretched thin dealing with other fights with Canada, Mexico and a raft of European countries.

"We have a front opened up on the E.U., China and NAFTA," says Carlos Gutierrez, the U.S. Secretary of Commerce under George W. Bush and chair of the Albright Stonebridge Group. "That's pretty much the world's economy right there."

Ticking trade bomb

Global trade tensions escalated quickly this month:

JUNE 15

Trump targets China

The White House says \$50 billion in Chinese goods to be targeted with tariffs

JUNE 15

China reacts swiftly

Beijing announces tariffs on \$50 billion in goods from politically sensitive industries like Florida orange juice

JUNE 18

Trump escalates

The White House says Trump would be willing to impose tariffs on as much as \$450 billion in Chinese imports

JUNE 19

White House calls China a security threat

The White House releases a report saying China's trade policies threaten U.S. "economic and national security"

YOU MAY NOT HAVE FELT the pinch of the trade war yet, but experts say that if Trump continues as promised, large swaths of the American public will get hit. To understand the effects of tariffs, look no further than washing machines and solar panels, for which Trump announced tariffs in January. The price of laundry equipment has spiked 17% over the past three months after years of decline, according to Bureau of Labor Statistics data. And more than \$2.5 billion in U.S. solar projects have been scrapped thanks to the tariffs, according to a Reuters analysis.

The new retaliatory tariffs announced by Beijing take aim at \$50 billion in goods from industries in politically sensitive places: soybeans from Iowa, autos from the Rust Belt and orange juice from Florida. People in those swing states are taking notice. "If we lose trade to China, our neighbors to the south will be glad to take up that trade," says John Heisdorffer, an Iowa farmer and the president of the American Soybean Association.

Meanwhile, markets have responded poorly to Trump's tariffs play, dipping repeatedly with new announcements. Even an internal assessment from the White House Council of Economic Advisers, the *New York Times* reported, found that Trump's trade agenda would hurt the U.S. economy. In the meantime, tax cuts and spending have exacerbated the trade deficit, which Trump ostensibly hopes to reduce—although his former adviser Gary Cohn said at a recent *Washington Post* event that "a trade deficit doesn't matter" and can even be "helpful to our economy."

But Trump has remained determined to carry out his trade agenda, in contrast to his vacillations on other issues. And he is counting on the tough-on-China play to deliver a win for his base and give Republicans a boost in the midterm elections. As he waits on the political effects to play out in November, the question is whether the economic effects will be felt by then too. □

LightBox

Temporary truce

A crowd of civilians, Afghan national police and Taliban fighters ride together on the back of a police truck on a highway in the village of Top, in Wardak province, on June 17, the third day of an unprecedented cease-fire in Afghanistan. The government and the Taliban had each declared unilateral three-day cease-fires for the Eid holiday, and groups from both sides celebrated and prayed together. But the truce was marred by two suicide bombings, one claimed by ISIS, that left dozens dead. Despite the violence, Kabul extended its cease-fire for an additional 10 days. The Taliban rejected an offer to join and soon resumed hostilities, killing at least 30 soldiers at army checkpoints on June 20.

Photograph by Andrew Qulity

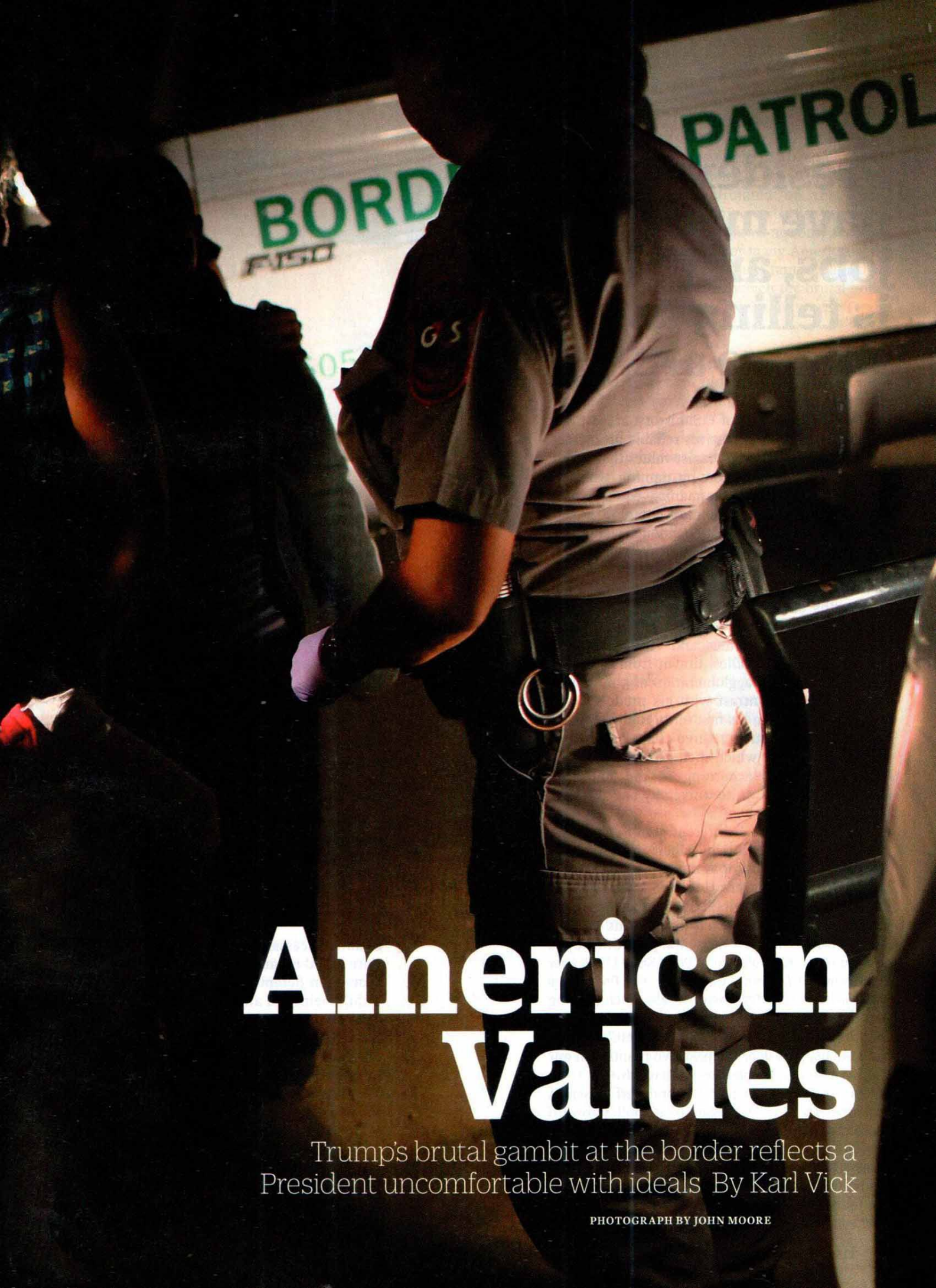
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Nation

Central American
immigrants detained
in McAllen, Texas, on
June 12





American Values

Trump's brutal gambit at the border reflects a President uncomfortable with ideals By Karl Vick

PHOTOGRAPH BY JOHN MOORE

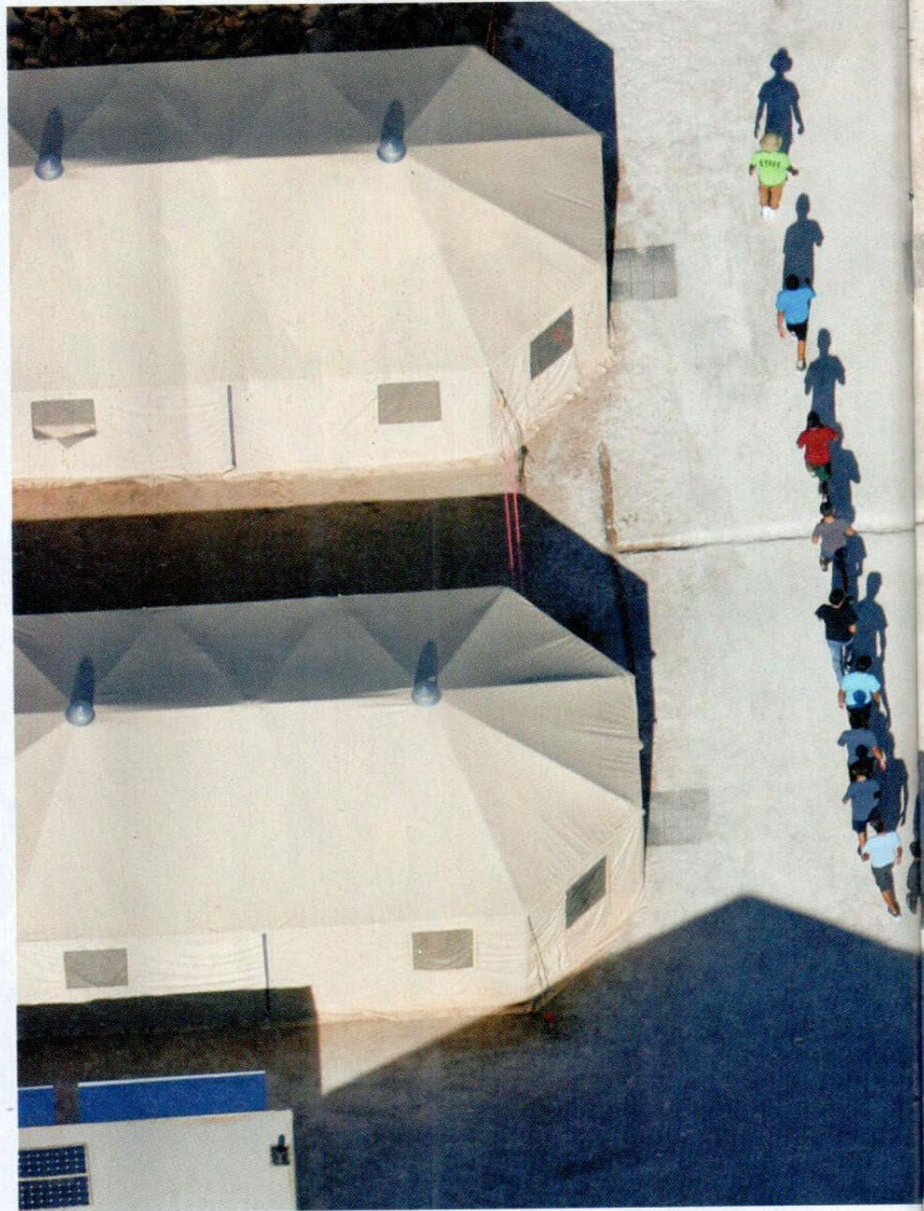
Presidents have many jobs, and one is telling us who we are.

For the first 240 years of U.S. history, at least, our most revered chief executives reliably articulated a set of high-minded, humanist values that bound together a diverse nation by naming what we aspired to: democracy, humanity, equality. The Enlightenment ideals Thomas Jefferson etched onto the Declaration of Independence were given voice by Presidents from George Washington to Barack Obama.

Donald Trump doesn't talk like that. In the 18 months since his Inauguration, Trump has mentioned "democracy" fewer than 100 times, "equality" only 12 times and "human rights" just 10 times. The tallies, drawn from factba.se, a searchable online agglomeration of 5 million of Trump's words, contrast with his predecessors': at the same point in his first term, Ronald Reagan had mentioned equality three times as often in recorded remarks, which included 48 references to human rights, according to the American Presidency Project at the University of California, Santa Barbara.

Trump embraces a different set of values. He speaks often of patriotism, albeit in the narrow sense of military duty, or as the kind of loyalty test he's made to NFL players. He also esteems religious liberty and economic vitality. But America's 45th President is "not doing what rhetoricians call that 'transcendent move,'" says Mary E. Stuckey, a communications professor at Penn State University and author of *Defining Americans: The Presidency and National Identity*. Instead, with each passing month he is testing anew just how far from our founding humanism his "America first" policies can take us. And over the past two months on our southern border, we have seen the result.

On April 6, Attorney General Jeff Sessions announced a new "zero tolerance" policy toward those crossing illegally into the U.S. from Mexico. In mere weeks, over 2,000 children were taken from their parents and held, alone, sometimes behind chain-link fences, under the cold care of the federal government. In Texas, three "tender age" centers were set up for detained toddlers and



infants. Incessant wails of "Mamá" and "Papá" were heard on audio from a Customs and Border Protection detention center. An advocate told of a child being led away from her mother crying so hard she vomited. In a case mocked by former Trump campaign manager Corey Lewandowski, the child taken from a parent was a 10-year-old with Down syndrome.

The reality on the southern U.S. border was so difficult to reconcile with Americans' vision of themselves that Trump did not even make the effort. The President's first mention of the order to separate children from their parents was a May 26 Twitter post calling it "horrible" even though he had personally authorized it. Three weeks later, his motives were fully in the open: by driving attention

A costly distraction

By Sarah Saldaña

Each year I was the director of U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), Congress mandated that we use discretion when deciding how to use our funds wisely. This prosecutorial discretion is a time-honored and rational approach to seeking justice—one that balances the need to ensure public safety with the availability of limited public resources.

Every dollar spent by the U.S. government in pursuit of criminal misdemeanor immigration cases is wholly contrary to that mandate. Setting aside concerns of compassion—if that is even possible—the “zero tolerance” policy further burdens our over-burdened justice system when there are drug cartels, international organized criminal enterprises and cyber malefactors to investigate.

While Congress has incomprehensibly evaded the responsibility of legislating total immigration reform, there are effective alternatives to manage our critical border-security issues, other than simplistic responses like a physical

border wall or the criminal pursuit of immigrant mothers, fathers and infants. I worked directly with the Presidents, national security and immigration officials of our neighbors to the south to collaborate on such solutions, which I found to be meaningful and effective. We should continue our public information programs in Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador and Mexico, among other countries, to emphatically lay out the dangers of illegal immigration. We should work with these governments to shore up their economies and strengthen their nation-building capacities. And we should collaborate with—not denigrate—they, for the sake of our mutually beneficial law-enforcement relationships.

I am a true believer in the rule of law and the important ends of law enforcement. The actions being taken serve neither.

Saldaña, a former U.S. Attorney for the Northern District of Texas, served as the director of U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement from 2014 to 2017

The U.S. should prosecute illegal immigration as it does other laws

By Haley Barbour

I am for reforming legal immigration, so that more people who come into the U.S. legally work, pay taxes, contribute to society. We clearly need the labor, and there are a lot of immigrants who entered the U.S. legally who are very successful and are very good for our community and country.

We need to do as much as we can to stop illegal immigration. It's a crime, and those who commit crimes in the U.S. should be prosecuted.

The answer is to have secure borders and to improve our legal immigration system. People who entered the U.S. illegally but have been good citizens, have not committed crimes, have paid their taxes, have supported themselves—they ought to have an opportunity to be treated just like anybody else who commits a nonviolent crime. They should be put on probation and should have to pay a fine. At the end of that probationary period, if they've been good citizens, then they ought to be allowed to get in line to try and get citizenship if they want it.

Those are the solutions. To have an open border is not one of them. Americans don't want people to commit a crime and to not have to be held accountable. That is in line with American values. If somebody commits a crime, they should have to pay the consequences.

Barbour, a Republican, is a former governor of Mississippi and co-chair of the Bipartisan Policy Center's Immigration Task Force

America's recent horrors echo its history

By Norman Y. Mineta

IN 1942, AS A 10-YEAR-OLD BOY IN San Jose, Calif., I was one of 120,000 people—close to 70% of us were American citizens—taken from our homes by the U.S. government and put into makeshift detention camps at horse racetracks. Our so-called crime was that we were of Japanese ancestry after Japan had attacked America.

When I was put into a camp, I was too young to be angry. I was afraid and confused. And I was ashamed of being punished for somehow being different.

Forty years later, the federal Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians determined that there was no military necessity for our detention. It concluded that the causes for the internment were racial prejudice, hysteria and “a failure of political leadership.”

Today the circumstances are different, but the causes are the same. From his first words as President to the recent suggestion that America is at risk of becoming “a migrant camp,” Donald Trump has trafficked in fear. “We” are up against “them,” and “they” are coming to get “us.”

Immigration, refugee resettlement and maintaining national borders were some of the toughest problems I faced in my years as a member of Congress. To resolve those issues requires hard choices, tempered by compromise and political courage.

America is at its best when it applies its democratic values, a can-do spirit, an open heart and a helping hand to problems like these. It is at its worst when it forgets those values and acts like a frightened, angry nation with second-rate political leaders.

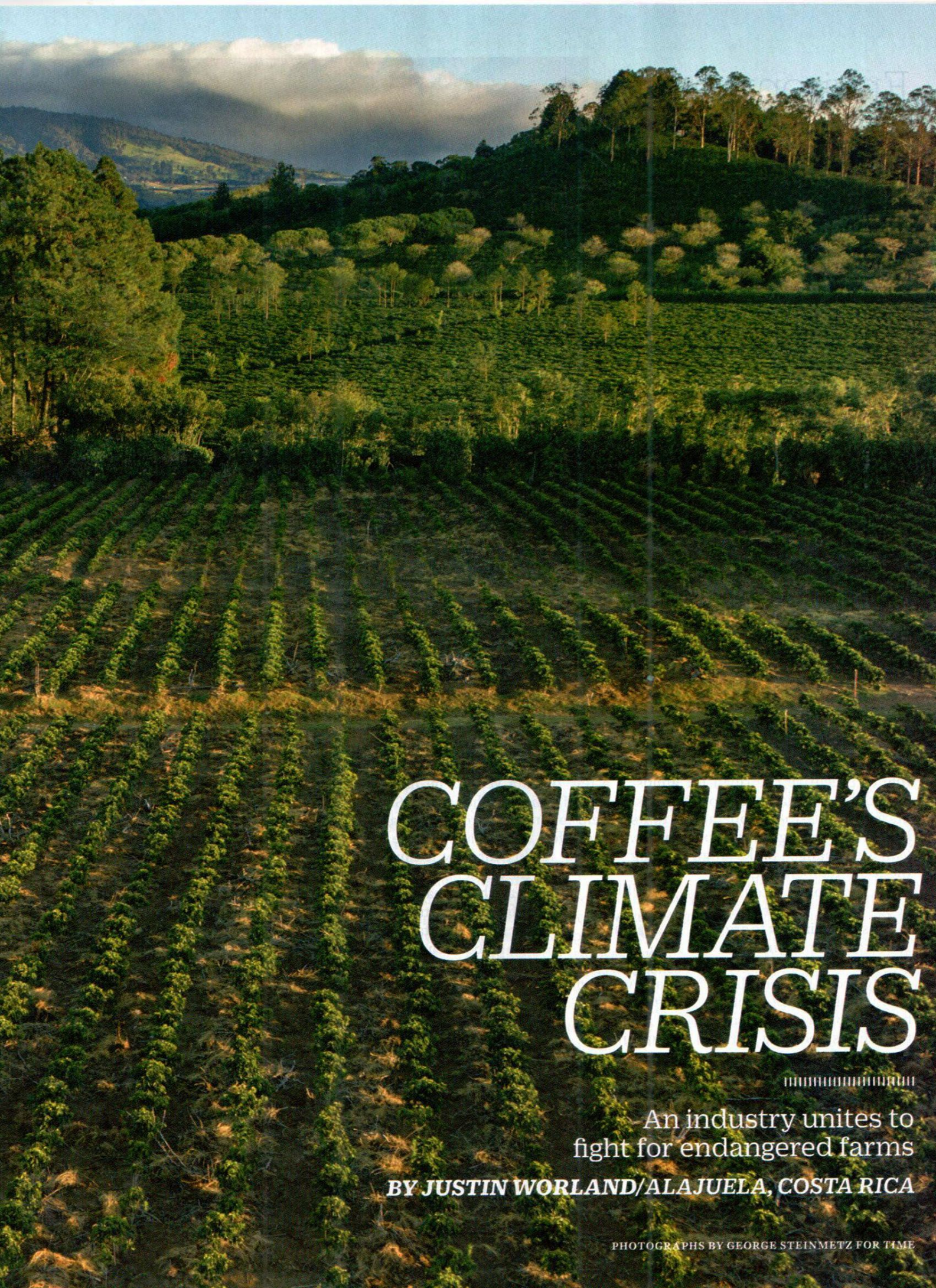
We don't need 40 years and a commission to tell us what went wrong here.

Mineta, a Democrat, was a U.S. Representative for California from 1975 to 1995, U.S. Secretary of Commerce from 2000 to 2001 and U.S. Secretary of Transportation from 2001 to 2006

Environment



Workers weed coffee plants at a Starbucks-owned coffee farm in Costa Rica, where climate change could damage the health of the industry



COFFEE'S CLIMATE CRISIS

|||||
An industry unites to
fight for endangered farms

BY JUSTIN WORLAND/ALAJUELA, COSTA RICA

PHOTOGRAPHS BY GEORGE STEINMETZ FOR TIME

Time Out



MAKING NICE
Bebe Rexha and
her peers are
creating an era of
collaboration in a
genre known for
competition

INSIDE

BEYONCÉ AND JAY-Z
TAKE OVER THE LOUVRE
—AND THE WORLD

A BRILLIANT NEW STAND-
UP SPECIAL INTERROGATES
THE NATURE OF COMEDY

THE DINOSAURS ARE NASTIER
THAN EVER IN JURASSIC WORLD:
FALLEN KINGDOM