

TIME



THE MODERN ROYALS

by AFUA HIRSCH

plus
MEGHAN AND THE MONARCHY
by DAISY GOODWIN

A PERFECT MATCH
by TINA BROWN

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

Photograph by SIMON ROBERTS for TIME

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

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For the Record

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

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

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

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

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



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

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



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

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

'Trust that inner voice!'

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



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

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



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

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

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

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



The Brief

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

INSIDE

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

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

WHY NEW EBOLA CASES HAVE PUBLIC-HEALTH OBSERVERS ON EDGE

The Brief Opener

NATION

The horror that won't stop happening

By Haley Sweetland Edwards

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A Quinnipiac University poll from February broke down that support by proposal: 97% of Americans support universal background checks; 83% support mandatory waiting periods for firearm purchases; 67% support an assault-weapon ban. But the politics are tricky, and in the world of lobbying, there's plenty of money in intransigence. Two weeks before the shooting at Santa Fe High School, Trump addressed the annual convention of the National Rifle Association. "Your Second Amendment rights are under siege," he told the crowd, "but they will never, ever be under siege as long as I'm your President."

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



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

NEWS TICKER

North Carolina teachers rally for funding

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

Maduro claims victory in Venezuela

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

White House: No funds for abortions or referrals

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

GOOD QUESTION

Have North Korea negotiations hit a dead end?

By Charlie Campbell/Beijing

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Kim Jong Un, pictured in April



CONFIRMED

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

DROPPED

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

DENIED

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

FILED

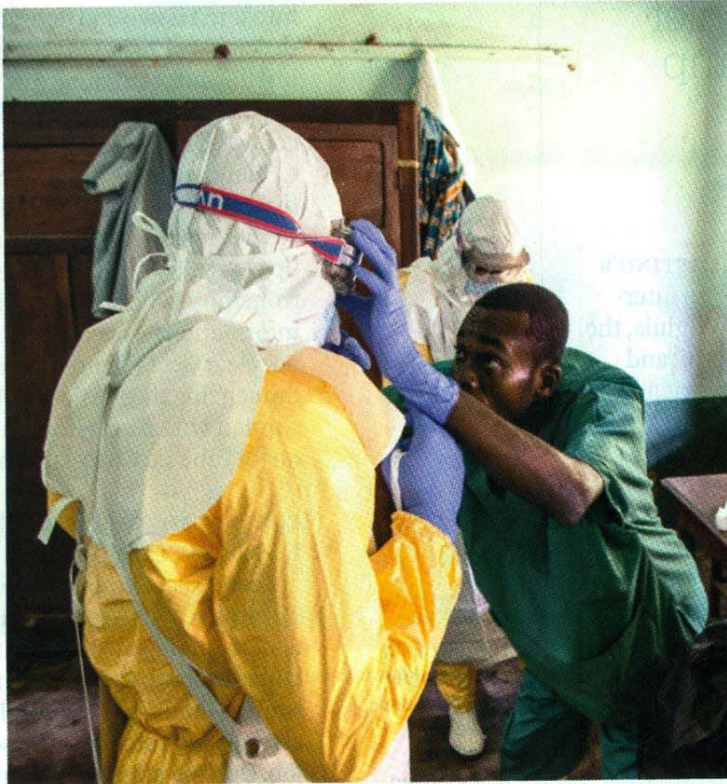
Cambridge Analytica, the political consulting firm at the center of Facebook's privacy scandal, for bankruptcy on May 17. The firm and its parent company shut down earlier in May.

RELEASED

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

SUED

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



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

CONFIRMED

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

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

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

APPROVED

Migraine drug *New hope for headache sufferers*

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

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

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

—JAMIE DUCHARME



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

By Massimo Calabresi

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

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

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

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

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

COATS QUICK FACTS

Midwestern roots

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

Washington insider

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

Iran hawk

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

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

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

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

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

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