

Why Muslim Voters Love Bernie Sanders

03.13.2020

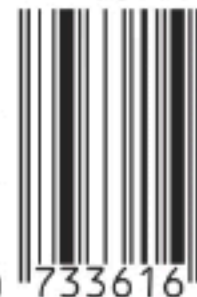
Newsweek

OK Millennial

Boomers Are the Greatest Generation in History

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FEATURES

BIG TURNOUT

Senator Bernie Sanders at a campaign rally attended by 10,000 at the University of Minnesota where he was joined by Representative Ilhan Omar.

COVER CREDIT

Photograph by C.J. Burton for Newsweek



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[NEWSWEEK.COM](https://www.newsweek.com)

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You kids may think your challenges are greater than those other generations faced. They're not.

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VIDEO

Video Production Manager **Jessica Durham**

Bangalore Video News Editor **Nandini Krishnamoorthy**

Video Producer **Zoe Jones**

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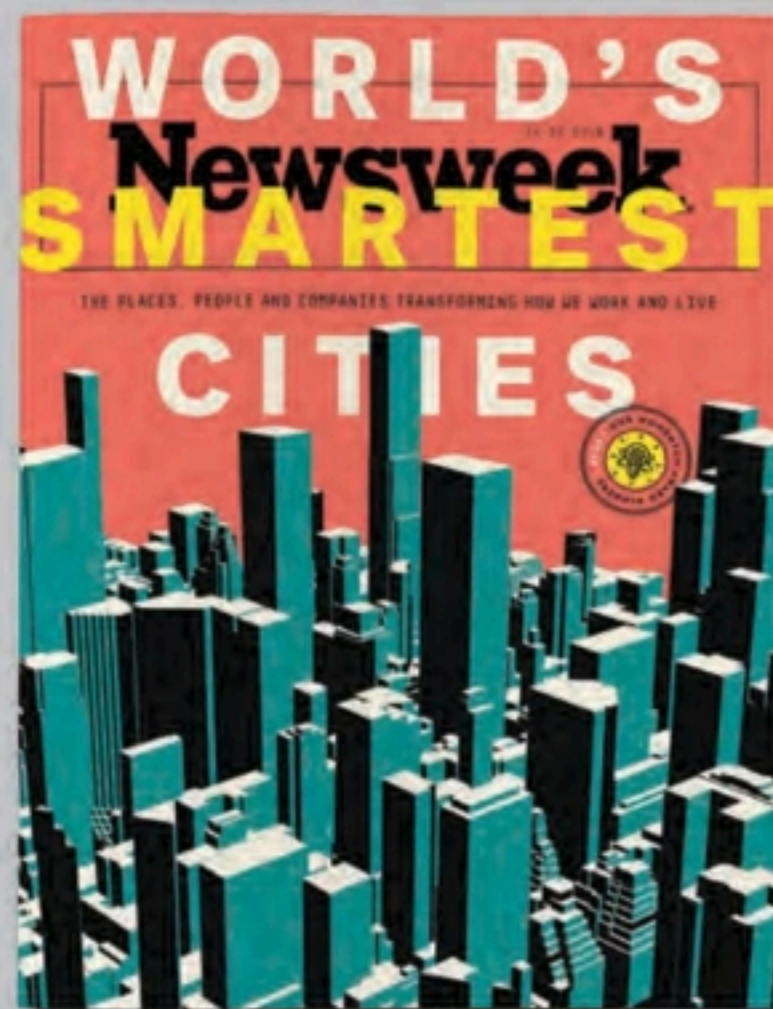
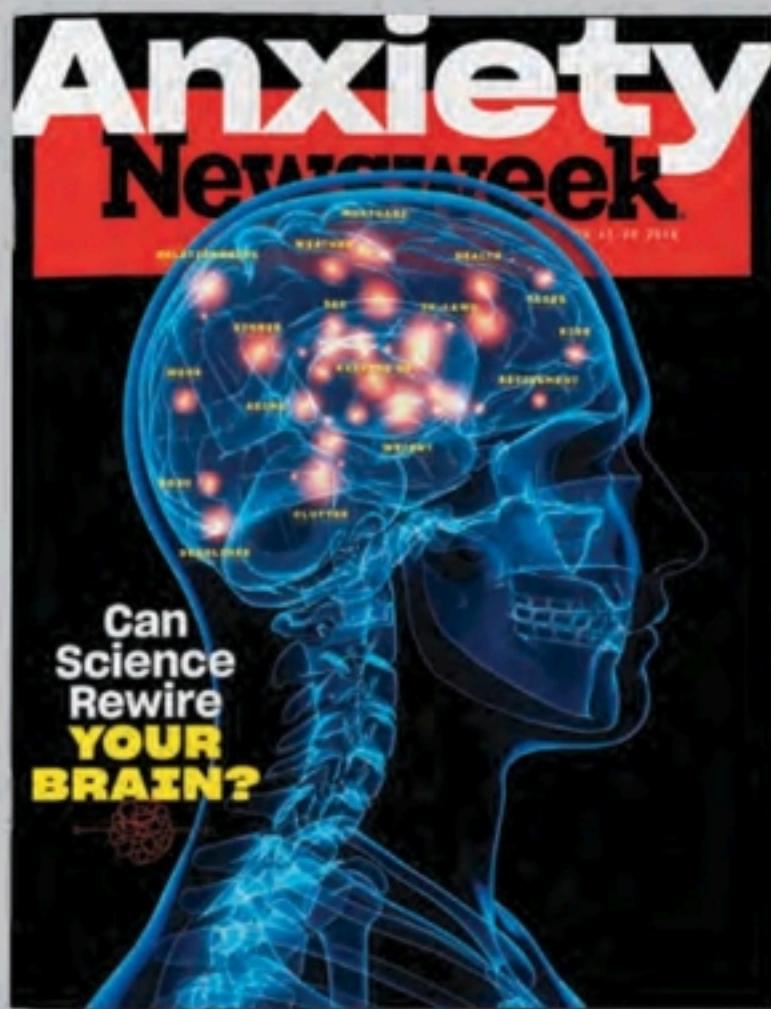
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The Archives

1992

"After declining for nearly a century, a disease once ranked as the nation's leading cause of death is back," wrote *Newsweek*, calling the resurgence of tuberculosis in 17 states "a tragic social failure." TB made its comeback in the U.S. because of "poverty, homelessness and AIDS—combined with a crumbling public-health system." Today, the infectious bacterial disease is at historic lows in the U.S., but globally it killed an estimated 1.5 million people in 2018. People living below the poverty line and those suffering from AIDS are still the most vulnerable to tuberculosis.



Newsweek
Wall Street: Another Bull Market?
(SPOTLIGHT ON BUSINESS)



1961

Chet Huntley and David Brinkley shaped a "revolution in TV newscasting," wrote *Newsweek*. The duo gained popularity with their informal style and the "almost unparalleled appeal of their show-business chemistry." *The Huntley-Brinkley Report* nightly news show was an American staple from 1956 to 1970.



1973

Newsweek reported, "In the permissive 1970s, American families are breaking up in record numbers." While noting concern over this "disturbing trend," it also saw a bright side: women pursuing careers, co-parenting and "bachelor fatherhood." Since its height of 5.4 per thousand in the late '70s, the U.S. divorce rate has been steadily declining—to 2.9 in 2018. **N**

CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT: MELCHIOR DIGIACOMO; WALTER BOMAR; RICHARD NOBLE

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WALL STREET, NEW YORK CITY

Look Out Below!

Equity markets worldwide suffered their worst losses since 2008—the dawn of the great recession—when stocks plunged as a result of the coronavirus crisis. The S&P stock index, for example, plunged 11.5% for the week ending February 28. To the rescue: The Federal Reserve is apparently contemplating interest rate cuts and, according to *The Washington Post*, tax cuts may be implemented by the Trump administration.

📷 → JOHANNES EISELE



In Focus



NEW DELHI, INDIA

Prayer Services

Muslims in India's capital last week held prayer services last week under the watch of police following sectarian riots over India's new citizenship law. Pictured: a mosque in the Mustafabad area in New Delhi. As of February 29, the violence has resulted in more than 40 deaths and hundreds of injuries. The clashes started during the first state visit of U.S. President Donald Trump.

📷 → XAVIER GALIANA



TOKYO, JAPAN

Fear Factor

Masked Japanese commuters during the morning rush hour at the Shinagawa train station in Tokyo on February 28. Japan's prime minister, Abe Shinzo, took a number of steps last week to fight the spread of coronavirus—from closing schools across the country to postponing, canceling or cutting back on the size of sports and other types of cultural events.

📷 → CHARLY TRIBALLEAU



MANTAMADOS, GREECE

Culture Clash

Greek police, on February 26, fought with demonstrators who were protesting the construction of a new migrant camp near Mantamados on the northeastern Aegean island of Lesbos. The Greek islands of Lesbos, Chios and Samos staged a general strike. Small groups of protesters threw stones and even fire bombs at police who fought back with tear gas and flash grenades. The controversial camp is intended to house up to 7,000 people.

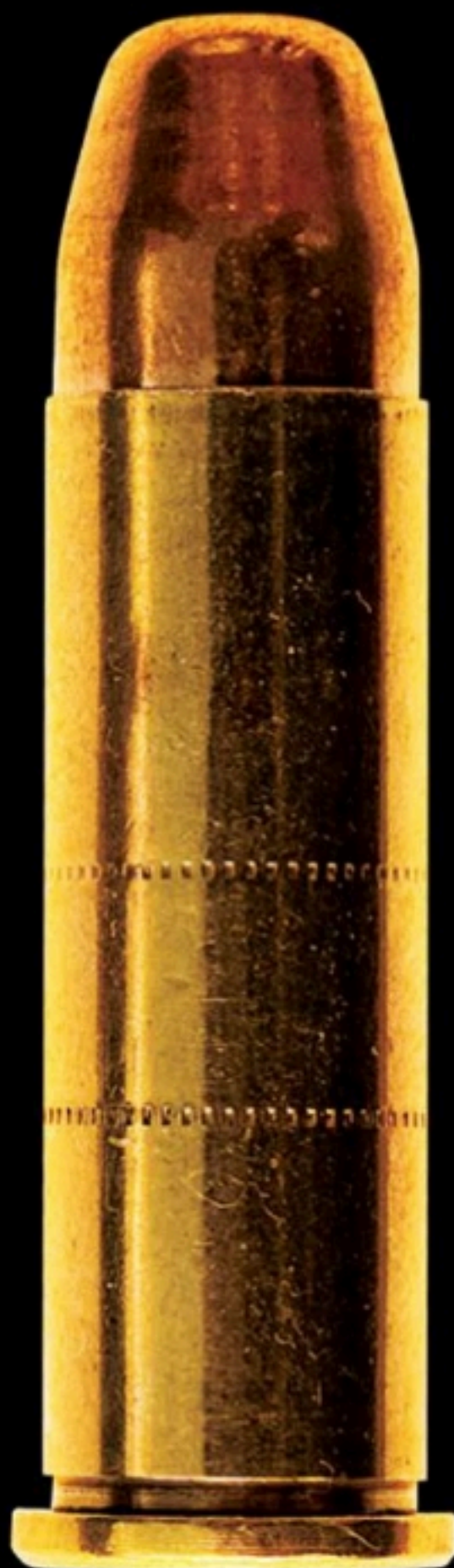
📷 → ARIS MESSINIS





FROM LEFT: XAVIER GALIANA/AFP/GETTY; CHARLY TRIBALLEAU/AFP/GETTY; ARIS MESSINIS/AFP/GETTY





"The Church has no reason to fear history." » P.14



GUN CONTROL

Recoiling from Gun Control

New Zealanders were united in wanting to toughen their country's gun laws after the 2019 Christchurch shooting. A year later, however, the momentum has faded

➔ ON MARCH 15, 2019, A GUNMAN WALKED INTO two Muslim places of worship in Christchurch, New Zealand, and shot 51 people dead. He started at the Al Noor Mosque, continued to the Linwood Islamic Center and was merciless; the youngest of his victims was 3 years old, the oldest 77. Forty-nine people were injured. Police found five guns at the scene—two semi-automatic weapons, two shotguns and a lever-action firearm. The alleged gunman Brenton Tarrant, a 28-year-old Australian, had acquired a New Zealand gun license in November 2017, and had collected these weapons legally.

New Zealand's political response was swift. Briana Spainhour, 20, regional organizing director for the student-led March for Our Lives movement formed in the wake of the killings at Marjory Stoneman

Douglas High School in Parkland, Florida, said: "It took just days there to do something that in America we have been working on my entire life."

Within a week, Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern announced that all military-style semi-automatic and assault rifles would be banned. On April 10, every lawmaker in New Zealand's parliament bar one, voted for the first of two rounds of changes to the country's gun laws, which banned semi-automatic firearms, magazines and parts. In June, a six-month amnesty and buyback scheme was announced as was a second round of legislation that includes a gun registry intended to let police keep tabs on all of the estimated 1.5 million weapons in the country.

Philippa Yasbek, co-founder of lobbying group Gun Control NZ, says, "Obviously no buyback is going to get every firearm out of the

BY

BRENDAN COLE

🐦 @brendanmarkcole

community, but doing it makes quite a big difference to overall safety.” She adds that the arms narrative in New Zealand has been rewritten: “Gun ownership is not actually a private matter because gun ownership affects everybody—not just the people that own them.”

But after a weapon is fired comes the recoil. The nearly unanimous support Ardern had in the aftermath of the massacre has now faded, and both the New Zealand gun lobby and Ardern’s political opposition have taken issue with the country’s gun-control legislation, including the proposed gun registry.

After Christchurch, New Zealand had followed a blueprint for fast action written in Australia. Strict gun-control measures following the Port Arthur massacre in Tasmania which killed 35 in 1996 restricted access to firearms for Australians and 650,000 weapons were turned in. Between 1979 and 1996, there had been 13 fatal mass shootings in the country. After the gun-law reforms, there have been two.

Alexander Gillespie, professor of international law at the University of Waikato in Hamilton, New Zealand, says the post-Christchurch legislation “was rushed through very quickly,” but that “if you have ever had a time of urgency, this was it, because New Zealand had never had a massacre like that before.”

This decisiveness was popular. In April 2019, less than a month after the massacre, 61 percent of Kiwis agreed with the new laws, and a further 19 percent said they did not go far enough, according to a survey by New Zealand pollsters Colmar Brunton. “The scale of the massacre that happened was not just large by New Zealand standards, it was big by international standards, and so in

terms of having to act quickly because something terrible had happened, the measures fitted the bill,” Gillespie says.

Chris Cahill, president of the New Zealand Police Association, agrees that momentum was key to implementing a buyback scheme, with law enforcement overseeing 600 collection events before a December 20 deadline, at a cost to the taxpayer of \$NZ 102 million (\$64 million). He says New Zealand “certainly is safer—56,000 firearms have been handed in, another 3,000 modified, these are the most dangerous. These are semi-automatic assault rifles, the vast majority, the most serious and most dangerous of weapons, so on any measure that has to have made New Zealand safer even if we can disagree on how many are still out there.”

That number remains in question. A 2019 government-commissioned assessment by consulting firm KPMG estimated that the number of now-banned guns still in private hands in New Zealand could be between 50,000 and 170,000.

And not everyone is happy about the buyback. The Council of Licensed Firearms Owners (COLFO), which represents some of New Zealand’s estimated 250,000 legal firearms owners says that the buyback scheme did not fairly compensate people who handed in guns and demonized law-abiding owners. According to

“If you have ever had a time of urgency, this was it, because New Zealand had never had a massacre like that before.”



COLFO spokeswoman Nicole McKee, “Right up to three weeks before the end of the compensation period, they were still adding things to be banned and not really getting that information out to people. We expect that there are still quite a large number of law-abiding people that are in possession of prohibited items and are not aware of it.”

She adds, “It is not that COLFO are against this, it is that we are for effective change for good outcomes.”

Phil Cregeen, secretary of the Sporting Shooters Association of New



CAUSE AND EFFECT Clockwise from top left: the Al Noor Mosque in Christchurch where 51 people were killed in 2019; New Zealand Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern; tributes from around the world at a Christchurch art gallery; and an Auckland police officer during an amnesty and weapons buyback program.

government has argued that a registry would be central to any meaningful change. COLFO, however, opposes it. “We want the registration gone,” says McKee, “We are seriously concerned about the safety and security of firearms owners by having a registration that is able to be breached,” she added, pointing to a data breach in December when details about gun owners in the buyback scheme were briefly made public online.

For the Arms Legislation Bill to pass the 60-vote threshold in the 120-seat parliament, it needs the support of the New Zealand First party which is in coalition with Ardern’s Labour Party. NZ First leader Winston Peters, whose deal with Labour brought Ardern into power in 2017, is known for playing his cards close to his chest and once again holds Ardern’s future in his hands. The upcoming anniversary of the Christchurch killings is likely to refocus public attention and emotion on guns. Ardern faces re-election in September, and gun reform is likely to be a campaign issue. A Royal Commission of Inquiry into the tragedy will file its report at the end of April.

Meanwhile, the prime minister has been trying to maintain the sense of urgency about gun control that united her nation last year. In a recently unclassified government paper, Ardern said New Zealand was now at “greater risk” of another terrorist attack and called for more money to boost to counterterrorism efforts aimed at “preventing such a tragedy occurring again.” **N**

Zealand, is angry that the buyback targeted weapons other than military style semi-automatics and says many owners who handed in guns did not receive fair compensation. Payments ranged from 95 percent of retail price for new or near-new weapons to 25 percent for those in poor condition.

“The reforms currently proposed by the government are not evidence based, but appear to be based on an agenda driven by political ideology,” Creegan says, adding “Many of our members feel victimized at being used as scapegoats for an act

of terrorism in an attempt by government to cover up its failings that allowed the attack to occur.”

New Zealand gun licenses are granted for 10 years to any applicant deemed “fit and proper” by the police. There are no limits to how many “A Category” firearms, which covers most legal rifles and shotguns, a licensee can own. The category once included the AR-15 that Tarrant allegedly used. The proposed gun registry is intended as a way to keep track of all the weapons in the country, not just the individual owners. The

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: TESSA BURROWS/GETTY; PHIL WALTER/GETTY; TESSA BURROWS/GETTY; HAGEN HOPKINS/GETTY



FAITH

The Church & the Holocaust

The opening of long-closed archives may shed light on the actions of the Vatican and Pope Pius XII during World War II

BETTMANN/GETTY (2)

➤ IN APRIL 1938, VATICAN DIPLOMAT Cardinal Eugenio Pacelli sent a confidential memorandum to American officials. In the note, he expressed antipathy toward the Nazi regime: “Evidence of good faith” by the Nazis was “completely lacking.... The possibility of an agreement” with the regime was “out of question.” One year later, Pacelli ascended to the papacy, becoming Pope Pius XII. He never spoke of those feelings again.

It was this silence by Pius and the Vatican during the Holocaust—in which more than six million Jews were killed across Europe—that led historians to declare the pope a Nazi sympathizer. As those communiques from the 1930s remained unknown during the Second World War and for many years after, Pius was branded “Hitler’s Pope.”

Seventy-five years since the liberation of Auschwitz in Poland, more than 150 historians and researchers will access for the first time the Vatican archives of Pius XII, a record largely shielded by the Vatican for nearly a century. Scholarship on Pius and Italy’s complicity in the Holocaust, were stifled without direct access to the archives, and helped birth warring legends about the wartime pontificate.

Ahead of the archives opening on March 2, Cardinal José Tolentino Calaña de Mendonça told reporters that nationality, faith and ideology would not preclude researchers from requesting permission to use the Vatican’s Apostolic Library. “The Church has no reason to fear history,” he told reporters.

COMPLICIT? Possible sainthood for Pius XII (at right) blessing pilgrims at the Vatican, has been stalled by his image as “Hitler’s Pope.”

In an interview with Reuters, Father Norbert Hofmann, the top Vatican official in charge of religious relations with Jews, said, “I don’t think you will find a smoking gun.”

For years the question of whether Pius should be beatified—the final step toward sainthood—hung in the balance as church officials in the United States and Rome were deterred by negative images of the pope, stemming in part from the success of books such as *Hitler’s Pope* by John Cornwell and *Constantine’s Sword* by James Carroll. The books argued Pius was complicit in Nazi crimes for his silence throughout the war.

“We know that publicly, he was silent, but privately, he may have helped, for example, by providing funding for convents and monasteries that were hiding Jews,” Aliza Luft, who will be at the archives

this summer researching a book about the Catholic Church in France during the Holocaust, told *Newsweek*. “I think and hope the archives will show how important moral authorities are in dangerous times.”

Pius led the church during a fraught period, from 1939 to 1958. He held the post at a time when anti-democratic leaders and policies swept across Europe, similar to the rise of alt-right and populist movements today. The Roman Catholic Church has said that Pius never intervened when more than 1,000 Jews were taken from Rome and sent to their deaths, but that he did sequester thousands of Jews in religious institutions nationwide.

More than 8,000 Jews throughout Italy eventually died in Nazi camps, with 30,000 having lived in hiding until Allied forces liberated them.

“We trust that the independent scholarly review of these archival

“The much more important question is the role played by the Church (and the Protestant churches as well) in demonizing the Jews in the decades leading up to the Holocaust.”





BEFORE THE STORM Hitler and Mussolini getting a warm welcome in Rome in 1938. During Pius XII's pontificate, more than 8,000 Jews from Italy were killed in Nazi death camps.

materials will provide greater clarity as to what positions and steps were taken during this period by the Holy See, and help resolve the persistent debates and controversy in this regard," Rabbi David Rosen, international director of interreligious affairs for the American Jewish Committee, wrote in a statement to *Newsweek*. "Such necessary transparency is also to the credit of the Church and will further enhance the mutual trust and excellent relations between the Catholic Church and the Jewish community built up over the last 55 years."

Pius' public stance on the occupation was scrutinized for decades. Then in 2003, while researching an unrelated biography, the diplomatic documents and a report by an American consul general from the 1930s were discovered and described in an

"We know that publicly, he was silent, but privately, he may have helped, for example, by providing funding for convents and monasteries that were hiding Jews."

article written by a Jesuit historian.

In 2012, Yad Vashem, Israel's Holocaust museum and memorial, revised an exhibit about the pope's actions, changing the language from saying Pius "did not intervene" in actions against the Jews deported from Rome to noting he "did not publicly protest."

The revision followed the opening of the Pius XI archives, 30,000 volumes where much of what is known about Pius XII originates.

Several archives will be accessible to researchers and academics with the opening in March, the largest of which is the Vatican Apostolic Archive. Paramount to understanding the political history of those years are also the Vatican Secretariat of State and the Vatican Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith archives.

"This is not simply a matter of understanding Church history, but getting a better understanding of European and world history for these eventful years, not only the years of the war, but the political conflicts and dramas of the postwar years," David Kertzer, a professor of anthropology and Italian studies at Brown University whose research focuses primarily on the Italian Fascist regime, wrote in an email.

Kertzer said the focus on the Roman Catholic Church and the pope's silence about the Jewish genocide was misplaced.

"For me the much more important question is the role played by the Church (and the Protestant churches as well) in demonizing the Jews in the decades leading up to the Holocaust," he said, "and so allowing tens if not hundreds of thousands of Europeans thinking themselves good Catholics or good Protestants to murder Jewish babies, Jewish children, Jewish women, Jewish aged."

Pope Benedict XVI edged Pius closer to clearing his name toward sainthood in 2009 by determining Pius had lived a "heroic" life. Pope Francis said in 2014 that a miracle attributable to Pius, an important qualification for sainthood, had not been identified, though he called Pius "a great defender of the Jews." **N**

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NEWSMAKERS

Talking Points



"This is a very sad day in the American Judicial System."

—BILL COSBY'S PUBLICIST ANDREW WYATT ON HARVEY WEINSTEIN'S CONVICTION

The Boston Globe

"I COMPLETELY FAILED MY CHILDREN, FAMILY, FRIENDS, AND COMMUNITY. WHAT WAS I THINKING?"

—HOT POCKET HEIRESS MICHELLE JANAVS ON HER ROLE IN THE COLLEGE ADMISSIONS SCANDAL



Michelle Janavs

CNN

"It's not so much a question of if this will happen...but rather more a question of exactly when this will happen and how many people in this country will have severe illness."

—CENTER FOR DISEASE CONTROLS'S DR. NANCY MESSONIER ON CORONAVIRUS



"We live in an atmosphere polluted by too much verbal violence, too many offensive and harmful words, which are amplified by the internet."

—POPE FRANCIS

DAILY SHOW

"IT WAS WILD. I HAVEN'T SEEN WHITE PEOPLE GO THAT HARD SINCE KHAKIS WERE ON SALE AT BANANA REPUBLIC."

—Trevor Noah on the South Carolina Democratic debate



Trevor Noah



"Sen. Warren has convinced me that Bernie isn't that worrisome. He'll never get anything done. SHE'S the freak who will show up with 17 idiotic plans every day."

—ANN COULTER

BBC

"I HAVE TO TOTALLY DISASSOCIATE MYSELF FROM THE REALITY OF THE CLOCK. IT'S AN ART AND A SKILLSET THAT I HAVE MASTERED OVER THE YEARS."

—George Hood, a former Marine who set a world planking record of 8 hours, 15 minutes and 15 seconds



Pope Francis

FROM LEFT: SCOTT EISEN/BLOOMBERG/GETTY; FRANCO ORIGLIA/GETTY; LARS NIKI/GETTY

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OK, Mi



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You kids may think your challenges
are far greater than those
other generations have faced.

NO, THEY'RE NOT  AND HERE'S WHY

Millennials

by SAM HILL



“OK, BOOMER” is what younger people say when they want to dismiss boomers as being out of touch or stuck in our boomer ways, sort of this generation’s version of “If you say so, old-timer.” It’s not exactly an ageist insult, but it sure ain’t a compliment.

→ FINE. OK. WE GET IT. HAVE FUN. BUT REMEMBER ONE thing before slinging insults: The world, according to Harvard psychology professor Steven Pinker (and many others), is better off now than it’s been at any time in history. That’s right. Ever. And I contend it’s because of boomers. Boomers are the greatest generation the world has ever known. The most innovative. The most caring. The hardest-working. That may seem a bit much, but to quote the pitcher Dizzy Dean, “It ain’t bragging if you can back it up.”

Millennials seem to think their challenges are greater than those any other generation has faced. Not really. The Great Recession? Nothing compared with the Great Depression (although the way the markets have been behaving lately, you may get there yet). The wealth gap? Today it’s actually pretty close to historical averages, and nowhere near the peak that occurred at the end of the 1800s, research shows. Student loans? Student loan debt is \$1.6 trillion. Over the next 30 years, boomers will pass down \$68 trillion as part of the “Great Wealth Transfer.” That should cover it for many borrowers (the timing may suck, though).

There’s more. Opioids? We had heroin and crack. Good jobs? They weren’t that easy to come by for us either. We were the population pig-in-the-economic-python. Competition was fierce. Donald Trump and Mitch McConnell? We had Richard Nixon, George Wallace, Lester Maddox and Richard Daley. What about the fact that boomers get an outsized proportion of government benefits such as Social Security and Medicare, what some call boomer socialism? Well, that’s true—but would millennials rather we went back to the old system where the older generation lived with their adult kids who cared for them? Didn’t think so. Oh yeah, we also had the Vietnam War and the draft.

This is not to say that your generation doesn’t face problems or that they’re not important. Some, like artificial intelligence (AI), climate change and the redux of autocracy, rise to the level of existential. The hard truth: Every generation faces existential crises. You think the bubonic plague and AIDS weren’t existential crises? How about Hitler? Or communism? Boomers lived under the very real threat of a nuclear war that would have killed everything and turned the planet into a ball of ice. In 1962, Rachel Carson wrote *Silent Spring* about the global poisoning caused by pesticides. In 1968, professor Paul Ehrlich of

Stanford wrote *The Population Bomb*, which predicted worldwide famine in the 1970s and 1980s due to overpopulation. And in 1972, the Club of Rome published *The Limits to Growth*, which predicted that the world would begin running out of resources by 2008.

None of those happened. Know why? Because we dealt with them, that’s why. During the century before Ehrlich’s book, almost a million people starved each year. Since? About 200,000 a year. That’s still too many, but it’s a huge improvement. We dealt with those crises and cleaned up some of the messes previous generations had left us, like depletion of the ozone layer and the nicotine epidemic. And here’s another insight. You will too. You will manage it because you are the smartest, healthiest, best-educated, most enabled generation in human history. You are what evolution has been working hard for 200,000 years to produce.

And it’s a good thing you’re so well prepped, because it’s your turn now. Last year, millennials passed boomers to become the population’s largest segment, the Pew Research Center says. About half of boomers have already retired. It’s time for us to step off the stage and for you to step up.

Let’s see how we did and what you’ll have to live up to, using 1969 as a benchmark, when leading-edge boomers were 23, the same age as the youngest millennials are now. Spoiler alert: The world we’re leaving you is way better off than the one we got.



Wealth & Income



MILLENNIALS ARE JUSTIFIABLY OUTRAGED OVER THE GROWING wealth gap. Here's what gets lost, though. While the average person may be slipping further behind the wealthy, they are still better off in absolute terms than they were 50 years ago, in income and net worth. Average household income in 1969 was about \$64,000 in today's dollars (adjusted for inflation). Today, it's at \$90,000—a jump that can only partly be explained by the rise in two-income families—and households were larger back then too. Per person, each of us has about 50 percent more income than a typical person did in 1969.

Taxes are much lower now than they were in 1969. Overall, things are cheaper. While health care and education costs have risen faster than inflation, many everyday items have become much less expensive. A round trip New York–London air ticket cost \$550 back then, about what it costs now. But once inflation is considered, that \$550 ticket would cost over \$3,700 in today's dollars. The cheapest color TVs cost the equivalent of \$3,000, which is why

only one in three homes owned one.

Best of all is phone usage. In 1969, according to Federal Communications Commission data, rates varied by location, distance, time of day and type of call (business vs. residence). A typical 10-minute chat cost about \$15 in today's dollars, and much more if the location was more than a few miles away. These days, the average person spends almost three hours a day on their phone—calling, texting, browsing, etc.—so your cellphone bill would be about \$8,000 a month if you were paying the usage rates we paid. You may still be broke, but you're surrounded by better stuff.



→ “You will manage it because you are
the smartest, healthiest, best-educated,
most enabled generation in HUMAN HISTORY.”



Security & Safety



THERE'S A LARGE INDUSTRY OUT THERE working hard to scare you. News media looking for clicks. Burglar alarm companies looking for business. Politicians looking for votes. And it's working. According to Pew, most Americans feel the world is getting more dangerous each year. But it's not. It's actually getting safer, FBI data show. In 1969, the murder rate was about 70 people per million vs. 50 now. The burglary rate was 9,841 vs. 3,760 now, a 62 percent drop.

The only number that's really up is rape, which has more than doubled to 420 per million. But that jump needs some context. Back in 1969, less than one-third of rapes perpetrated by people known to the victim were reported. Now that number has more than doubled. Survivors may also be better able to identify assaults as crimes due to cultural changes like the #MeToo movement, the National Sexual Violence Resource Center has noted. So at least some of the increase may be because we're counting better.

Crimes of violence are horrible but not common. What's really dangerous: cars. A typical person is four times likelier to die in a car than be murdered. Car deaths have been plummeting: In 1969, over 50,000 people died in car accidents, one for every 1,000 miles driven. In 2018, even with the added danger of texting while driving, the number was 36,560, or one for every 3,000 miles. That's due to both safer roads and safer vehicles, as well as mandatory seat belt laws.

Health & Longevity



THE AVERAGE PERSON TODAY LIVES TO BE 79 YEARS OLD, EIGHT years longer than in 1969. Some of that is because smoking has declined. About 40 percent of the population smoked back then; it's down to 15 percent now. Some of the gain is because of better health care. Many of the diseases that affected us, like polio, are no longer an issue because of vaccinations. Five-year cancer survival rates are up too, from around half to over two-thirds.

And although it's harder to quantify, it's also almost certainly a better-quality life because lifestyles and nutrition are better. To millennials, for whom Orangetheory and SoulCycle are a way of life, it probably seems strange, but people didn't really bother to stay fit back in 1969. Running didn't take off until the early '70s. Nike wasn't even making running shoes in 1969. Fitness classes didn't become popular until the 1980s. To be fair, although boomers have taken fitness to where it is today, we didn't start it. In 1966, President Lyndon Johnson launched the Presidential Physical Fitness Test, which resulted in millions of boomers running laps around playgrounds and seeing who could throw a softball the farthest. Those good habits stuck with us.

But those extra eight years of life have come at a cost, helping to drive up health care expenses. Old people require a disproportionate amount of care, and medical costs have risen about twice as fast as inflation. Add it all up and health care was about 7 percent of gross domestic product in 1970. Now, it's 18 percent.





Human Rights & Inclusivity



NOT TO PUT TOO FINE A POINT ON IT, BUT in 1969 life for a gay, black, young woman (or any of the above) was pretty tough.

The baseline has moved so far, so fast that it's hard to explain what it was like in 1969, particularly outside major metropolitan areas and in the South. Until 1967, some states had laws that prohibited marriage between people of different races. Before enforcement of the Fair Housing Act of 1968, many towns had sundown laws where blacks were subject to arrest if they were out after dark. In 1981, a young black man was lynched in Mobile, Alabama, by the Ku Klux Klan. In 1969, women earned 59 cents on the dollar vs. men. Now it's 82 cents. Not great, but better. But before 1963, employers didn't even have to pretend to pay men and women equally for the same work. Until 1973, homosexuality was considered a mental disorder by the psychiatric profession. Before *Roe v. Wade* in 1973, abortion was a crime in many states.

We are far from living in a fair and equal world, but it is decidedly fairer and more equal than it was in 1969 and much of that is due to boomers. We voted. We marched—at our schools and in our hometowns, and after piling into beat-up old cars and driving through the night to Washington. We agitated and demonstrated. Sometimes we even rioted—as in Chicago in 1968 and New York City in 1969 (Stonewall). Sometimes we paid a heavy price—people went to jail, and at Kent State University in 1970, students were killed by the National Guard. Today, there is at least some measure of indignation when we see unfairness. And there is redress, both legally and in public shaming. We have not eliminated bias, but we have delegitimized it.



"SPOILER ALERT:

The world we're leaving you is
way better off than the one we got."



The Environment & Climate

MILLENNIALS FACE SOME VERY SERIOUS ENVIRONMENTAL issues—the two warmest years in history are 2016 and 2019; there are 330 billion pounds of plastic garbage floating in our oceans; and an estimated 200 species go extinct every single day. Very little is being done about it because of politics. But we had some pollution issues of our own. On June 22, 1969, the Cuyahoga River, a nasty, black, oozing, bubbly waterway that wound through Cleveland, caught on fire. Really on fire, with huge, billowing plumes of smoke.

According to *Smithsonian* magazine, it had caught on fire a dozen times before. Air pollution caused by cars in American cities was so bad that pedestrians wore gas masks. Visibility would sometimes drop to two blocks. According to journalist Rian Dundon, they called L.A. (Los Angeles) “Smell-A.” Tens of thousands of Americans died from pollution-related disorders. (Of course, it could have been worse. In five days in 1952, 4,000 people in London died from smog caused by coal used to heat homes.)

It was common for factories to simply dump waste onto the ground or into waterways. In 1953, Hooker Chemical sold the Love Canal, one of the most polluted sites in America, to the city of Niagara Falls. They built a school. In Athens, Georgia, barrels of radium waste from an old watch factory (it was used to make the watch hands and numerals glow in the dark) sat rusting in an unfenced yard behind the closed factory. Many of the women who’d worked there died from jaw cancer caused by licking their paint brushes to make the tips sharp. In all, 40,000 sites across America were identified as dumping grounds, 1,600 of which were considered priorities. And before 1972, the accepted way to get rid of the nuclear waste from power plants was to just take it out into the ocean and throw it over the side of the boat. In 1982, scientists found that huge holes were appearing in the ozone layer, the part of the atmosphere that protects us from solar radiation.

Today, people fish in the Cuyahoga River. L.A. still has air pollution, but it’s about 40 percent of what it was, even though 3 million additional people live there. According to the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), “Between 1970 and 2018, the combined emissions of six key [air] pollutants dropped by 74 percent, while the U.S. economy grew 275 percent.” Even Mexico City has breathable air now. Many of the most polluted dump sites have been



cleaned up, and there’s no more ocean dumping of nuclear waste. In 2019, the “hole” in the ozone layer was the smallest ever measured. It’s expected to close by 2075. It’s considered one of the most successful environmental interventions in history.

It’s taken a lot of work. The EPA’s founding in 1970. 1972’s Clean Water Act. The Convention on the Prevention of Marine Pollution by Dumping of Wastes and Other Matter in 1972. 1980’s Superfund law. 1987’s Montreal Protocol (banning chlorofluorocarbons). New technologies making vehicles and industries more efficient and cleaner. Activist organizations like the Sierra Club, the Environmental Defense Fund and Greenpeace. New levels of public awareness, responsibility and commitment. Large-scale deployment of technologies like electric cars, home solar, solar power from photovoltaics and wind power, which now supplies around 7 percent of America’s power. That sort of broad, sustained effort is what it takes to fix an environmental problem. It’s now time to apply what we’ve learned over the past 50 years to plastics and global warming.



Culture



THEY CALL THE 1950S THE GOLDEN AGE OF TELEVISION. PISH. This is the Golden Age of Television. And movies. And music. And books. And probably just about every other cultural vector you can think of. This is the Golden Age of Culture. Better creative output. Better performers. But you have all that because of us.

Before the 1970s, culture in the U.S. was tightly controlled and highly commercialized. The big music labels determined what you heard, the big publishers what you read, the big studios what you saw. The control was both informal and formal, from radio stations refusing to play “Negro” music and black artists to censorship of movies, albums and television programs. In 1952, the National Association of Broadcasters established the Television Code, which among other things prohibited profanity, sex, realistic violence, irreverence about God and religion, or the negative portrayal of law enforcement or family life.

We boomers don’t like rules. Especially dumb ones. We broke down the soft barriers between genres, mixing rock and folk and blues and classical. We showed sex in movies—real sex, not just heavy breathing and passionate stares. And most of all, we refused to take anything as sacrosanct or untouchable. We created *National Lampoon* (1970) and *Saturday Night Live* in 1975. *Hill Street Blues* (1981) broke the police procedural mold with its intertwined storylines, multi-episode arcs and mix of personal and workplace stories—devices still used today. We poked and pushed at that censorship envelope until it finally broke.

The Television Code ended in 1983, although music is still censored on TV and on the radio (the “radio edit” of CeeLo Green’s song *F**K You* has the lyrics as “Forget You”), along with movie content rating codes. Because of us and the abetting technologies of digitalization and the internet, we now have the most exciting and vibrant cultural environment ever.

It’s worth noting that it’s not just entertainment where we have more choice. In 1970, a typical grocery store had 6,000 items. Today, a regular grocery store has about 40,000 items, and a Walmart supercenter has 120,000. Amazon had over half a billion products for sale in 2017 and was adding a million products a day. In every category—electronics, airlines, hotels, clothes, furniture, you name it—the number of available items is growing at what feels like an exponential rate. All that choice can feel like a burden—until, of course, you don’t have it.

Technology

TECHNOLOGY HAS EXPLODED OVER THE PAST 50 YEARS, DRIVEN by boomers. Electronics. Pharmaceuticals. Digitalization. Materials. Nanotech. In 1969, around 72,000 patents were granted. In 2018, almost five times as many were approved, roughly one every 90 seconds, day and night, weekends and holidays. According to a brilliant 1997 essay by W. Michael Cox and Richard Alm of the Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas, a century ago major innovations like the car, electricity and the telephone took about 50 years to become mass market items. Midcentury, the time to reach the mass market had dropped to about 25 years—for example the radio, TV, VCR and microwave. The latest wave of innovations—the PC, cellphone, antidepressants and the internet—took 10 years or less. What that means is that we are the first generation with “unrecognizable” technology. That is, if we magically transported someone from 1919 to 1969, they’d recognize every single device in a home except for the microwave. But if we transported someone from 1969 to today, they wouldn’t recognize half of our devices—laptop, Alexa, Kindle, the cat’s laser pointer, DVD player, router, etc.

It’s no small matter to handle that much innovation. We consumers have trouble keeping up—in little ways, like having to replace still-functioning devices, and in big ways, like falling behind in workplace skills. Business models become obsolete very quickly. In 1998, a Motorola-backed company called Iridium began launching satellites into space with the idea of providing a worldwide communication service for business people and travelers. Problem was, by the time it finished launching the 66 satellites three years later, cellular technology had gotten so good and was so widespread that it made Iridium obsolete.

We boomers were the ones who sped up technology, and we are the ones who slowed it down. We realized any technology powerful enough to save the world is powerful enough to destroy it. We questioned technology and pushed for things like natural and organic products, curbs on the use of X-rays and radiation, new regulations for chemical producers and chemicals, and a hiatus in new nuclear plant construction after the Three Mile Island disaster in 1979, in which a nuclear reactor in Pennsylvania partially melted down and leaked radiation.

Consumers in Europe and California are now moving to establish tighter rules around identity protection. And we are keeping a wary eye on AI and genetic modification. Sometimes our boomer techno-skepticism goes too far, as with the anti-vaxxing and anti-genetically-modified-organism movements. Still, it’s reasonable to be at least somewhat paranoid. In 1938, X-ray machines were used to measure children’s feet in shoe stores. Technology is wonderful but dangerous. It could’ve destroyed our world already in any number of ways—nuclear, chemical, genetic modifications. But it hasn’t, because we haven’t let it.

→ “We boomers were the ones who sped technology up, and we are the ones who **SLOWED IT DOWN.**”





The Bigger World Outside America



THERE IS A BIG WORLD BEYOND THE WALL, AND WHILE MUCH OF it still lags behind the U.S. and Europe in terms of economic development and human rights, it's a lot better now than it was in 1969. The website Our World in Data has become the go-to resource for measuring global progress. It's showing improvement across almost all measures of human progress. Here are a handful of metrics, out of hundreds. In 1969, 449 people out of every 100,000 died from an infectious disease. Now, it's 140, a drop of 69 percent. Over the decade of the '60s, almost a million people died in wars. Over the most recent decade, it was around 567,000. That's twice as many people on earth and half as many deaths. But the real progress has been on poverty and hunger. In 1969, 36 percent of the world's population lived in what the United Nations terms "extreme poverty." Now it's 8 percent. On average, 4,600 people starved to death each day during the '60s. Now, it's one-fifth of that, despite a larger population.

And here's another way we're better off. In the '60s, the most common form of government on earth was dictatorships. There were 119 autocracies and only 36 democracies. Today, there are 99 democracies in the world. Yay freedom!

Of course, averages deceive. The fact that people, on average, are better off isn't very comforting to people in Syria, Central America or the South Sudan. Nor does this address the elephant in the room, climate change, which is likely to adversely affect developing nations far more than developed ones, which can just turn down the thermostat.



→ “It’s a good thing you’re so well prepped,
because it’s **YOUR TURN NOW.**”

→ NONE OF THIS IS TO SAY THE WORLD IS AS IT SHOULD BE. We said better, not perfect. There are new problems, like AI and the loss of privacy; old problems that we didn’t solve completely, like environmental degradation; and old problems where we made progress but are now sliding backward, like civil rights, with over-incarceration and resegregation. As frustrating as those things are, we shouldn’t lose sight of the progress that’s been made. Generations solve the problems they are presented with. The generation before us took on autocracy and dictatorships. We took on social change. Your turn.

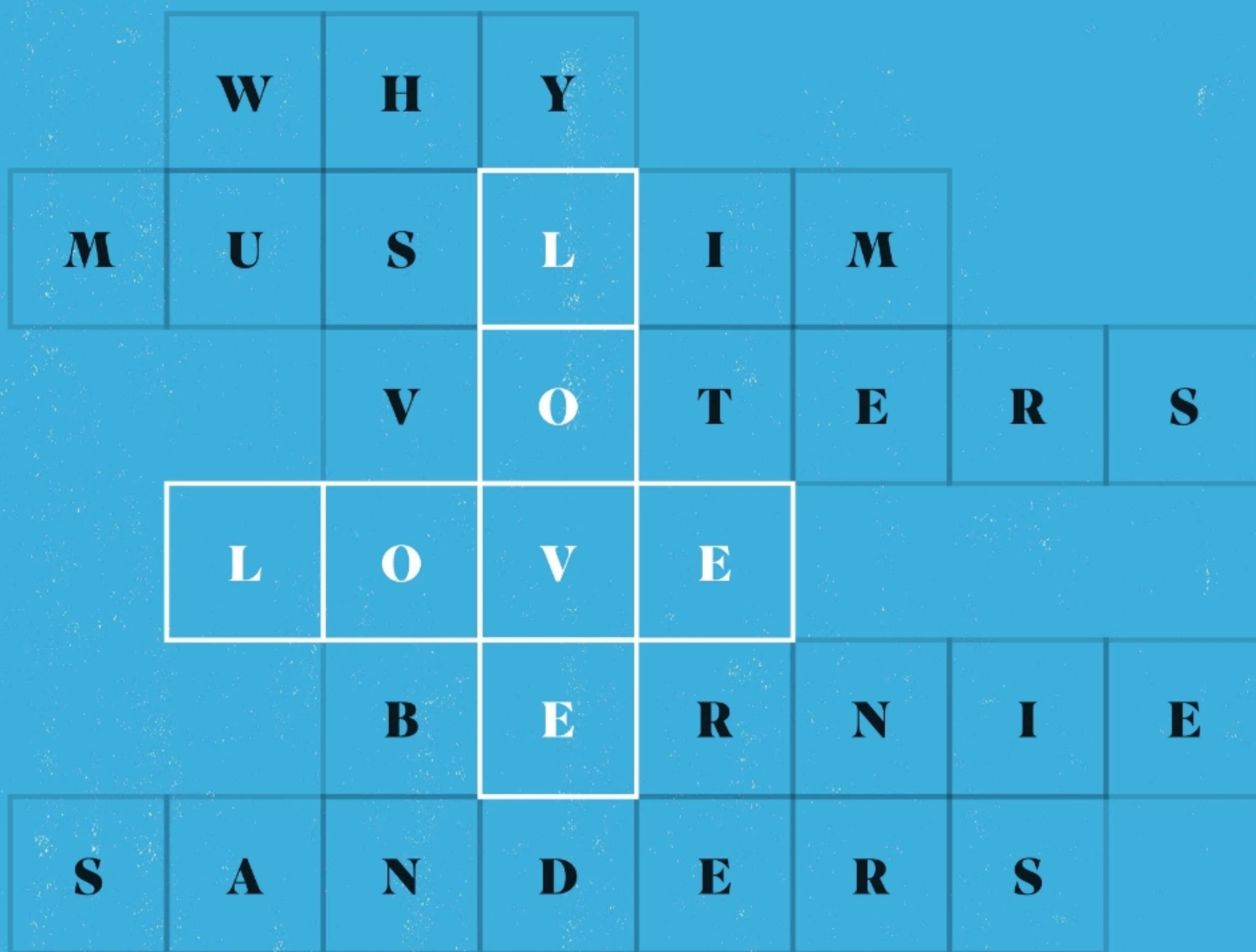
You are ready. You’re bigger than we were, by about an inch; smarter, by about 10 IQ points; much better educated—far more people are completing high school and college than ever before. You have extraordinary technology. And though it’s hard to quantify, you have another advantage we didn’t—you’re woke. We understood we needed to account for things like bias and privilege, but we didn’t really know how. You have a much better understanding of the world around you and how it works.

Here’s one last piece of advice. Aim higher. Your passion for change seems to be mostly for yourselves—health insurance, child care, student loans, paid family leave. Our passion was often to help others: civil rights, apartheid and famines in places like Bangladesh, Biafra and Ethiopia. Yes, it was naïve to think that a few concerts like Live Aid could save millions, but it was rooted in good intentions. Our generation may have failed in the execution, but we did not fail in ambition.

You’re right to be scared by the enormity of the tasks before you. It could be very bad if you don’t do something. But you will do something. And as you do, do your best to avoid our mistakes—but don’t lose sight of what we did right. Good luck.

OK, millennial? OK. **N**

→ **Sam Hill** is a NEWSWEEK contributor, consultant and best-selling author. Thanks to the following for the statistics used, beyond those already cited: Statista, Census Bureau, NOAA, NBER, National Institute of Justice, Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis, CDC, National Committee on Pay Equity, U.N., professor Guido Alfani, the Sentencing Project, the Disaster Center, Timeline, Paycor, Leftronic, NomadWallet, 123 Test, Live Science and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.



**The Democratic front-runner has made a
concerted effort to court the Islamic community
—and it's paying off in a big way**

BY _ STEVE FRIESS

ILLUSTRATION BY _ ALEX FINE



A

T LAST MONTH'S MESSY DEMOCRATIC debate in Charleston, South Carolina, one of the messiest moments came when Bernie Sanders was asked to address the concerns of American Jews over his Mideast policies. The Vermont Senator firmly voiced his commitment to protect the independence and security of Israel. But he also called Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu "a reactionary racist" and coupled his support for Israel with the view that "you cannot ignore the suffering of the Palestinian people."

The response likely didn't win the candidate any new supporters but instead served to solidify feelings about Sanders among two key constituencies: Muslim voters, who are strongly in his corner, and Jewish voters, who are not—even though he may be



"Bernie is the one candidate who has made the effort to engage our community

the first Jewish person to become the presidential nominee of a major political party in the U.S.

In fact, in a national poll of Muslim Democrats released by the Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR) just before primary season got underway this year, Sanders was the clear leader, with 39 percent support to Joe Biden's 27 percent. The rest of the Democratic contenders were all in single digits. And in the weeks since the poll was released, that support has only seemed to grow stronger.

For many Americans, everything about this development defies well-worn stereotypes about Muslims—that they're instinctively hostile to or suspicious of Jews and that the dogma of their faith demands they be extreme social conservatives who would find a stridently pro-choice, pro-LGBTQ candidate unacceptable. But Sanders, in fact, has a long history of outreach to Muslim Americans that is serving him well in the current race. Says Medicare For All activist Abdul El-Sayed, "Bernie is the one candidate who has made the effort to engage our community and speak to us where we are."

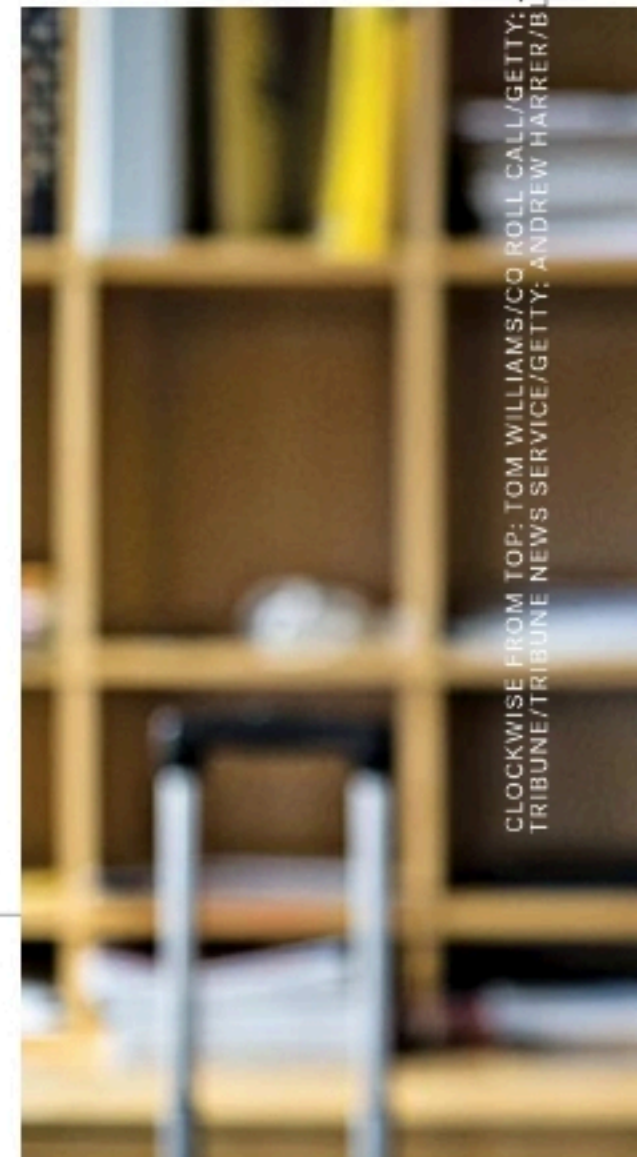
Early Signs of Strength

THE STRONG SUPPORT FOR SANDERS AMONG Muslim voters was abundantly clear in Iowa, during a caucus otherwise marred by confusion. On caucus

night on February 3 at the Muslim Community Organization mosque in Des Moines, for example, voting didn't even go to a second round. When Democrats there were first told to head to their candidates' corners, just two people each dispersed to show support for Andrew Yang and Elizabeth Warren and one went for Pete Buttigieg. The rest, another 115 folks, congregated for Bernie Sanders.

Similarly lopsided breakdowns in Sanders' favor emerged at other mosques that served as caucus sites. What's more, the only reason there were caucuses in mosques at all—the first time for a presidential primary caucus anywhere in the U.S.—was because the Sanders campaign lobbied the state Democratic Party to do so to encourage Muslim participation.

Six days later, on a conference call of more than 100 "Muslims For Bernie" volunteers, some speakers even referred to him as Ammu Bernie, using the Arabic for "uncle," so familiarly and affectionately do they regard the independent senator from Vermont. Yet another vote of confidence: Ten days before Super Tuesday, when voters from 14 states would go to the polls—including California and Texas, the two states with the largest number of voting-age Muslims—Emgage, the nation's biggest Muslim PAC, endorsed Sanders, saying the candidate "has built a historically inclusive and forward-thinking movement."



CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: TOM WILLIAMS/CO ROLL CALL/GETTY; JOHN J. KIM/CHICAGO TRIBUNE/TRIBUNE NEWS SERVICE/GETTY; ANDREW HARRER/BOOMBERG/GETTY



Courting the Muslim Vote

THAT THE MAJORITY OF MUSLIM VOTERS WOULD PICK a Democrat has become a given in recent years. More than 74 percent of Muslim voters backed Democrats in exit polling from the 2012, 2016 and 2018 elections, CAIR says—a significant shift since the 2000 election, when Republican George W. Bush took 42 percent of the Muslim vote, according to a 2001 Zogby survey. After 9/11, Bush's "War on Terror" and its harsh rhetoric against what it called Islamic extremism, Muslim Americans migrated in droves to the Democratic Party. "That's when you start seeing Republicans run on really anti-Muslim platforms and engaging in very Islamophobic campaign rhetoric," says Robert McCaw, CAIR's director of government affairs director.

As Muslims became a consistent Democratic voting bloc—one with substantial numbers not only in California and Texas but also in states like Minnesota, Virginia and Michigan, all with primaries in early

March—Sanders has been singular in his direct, aggressive effort to win their support. True, Massachusetts Senator Elizabeth Warren in January held a one-hour conference call with Muslim leaders to hear their concerns and vie for their help in her quest for the Democratic nomination. And former New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg in February sent an Arab-American campaign surrogate to hold two meetings with community leaders in Michigan and has taken out Arabic-language ads in the Dearborn-based *Arab American News*.

But Sanders is the only one of the major 2020 presidential contenders who has visited mosques or appeared publicly with prominent Muslim elected leaders from the Democratic Party such as Representatives Ilhan Omar of Minnesota and Rashida Tlaib of Michigan. Meanwhile, Bloomberg's Arabic ads, instead of boosting him within the community, conjured up controversy in the Detroit media with many Muslim leaders saying the outreach was disingenuous given his past support of undercover surveillance of New York City mosques while he was mayor.

Sanders, on the other hand, is seen as the real deal. He has a career-long history of outreach to Muslims; it's not something that began with the 2020 campaign or even his run for president in 2016. Along the way, he's also forged alliances with some purported anti-Semitic figures and has been a longstanding critic of Israel's treatment of Palestinians—factors that may help explain why he polls poorly among Jewish voters.

"Jewish reticence for Sanders has a number of sources," wrote columnist Alex Zeldin last month for *The Forward*, a Jewish magazine, under the headline "Bernie Sanders says he's proud to be Jewish. Will Jewish voters care?" "Some may worry that any prominent Jew in the race could attract anti-Semitism. Others may feel alienated by Sanders' online fans, many of whom have a reputation for harassing his critics. Then there are his surrogates, which include Linda Sarsour, who repeatedly antagonized American Jews, including with attempts to make Jews choose between Zionism and feminism, and by hosting a conference in which Sarsour sought to define and explain anti-Semitism to Jews."

and speak to us where we are."

HISTORY OF OUTREACH

Above: The Senator takes part in a panel on religion at a mosque in Washington D.C. in 2015. Below: Sanders campaign manager Faiz Shakir (left); Iowa caucus participants say evening prayers before voting begins at a Muslim community center in Des Moines.



Sanders also hasn't worked particularly hard to court this demographic. The day after his resounding Nevada caucus win put him in the driver's seat for the Democratic nomination, he infuriated many in the Jewish political world by tweeting that he wouldn't attend the American Israel Public Affairs Committee convention in Washington D.C. in early March. His reason: He was "concerned about the platform AIPAC provides for leaders who express bigotry and oppose basic Palestinian rights."

An "Authentic" Voice

ALL THIS JUST MAKES SANDERS' VIEWS SEEM MORE authentic to Arab-American voters, according to Sanders' campaign manager, Faiz Shakir, the 40-year-old Muslim son of Pakistani immigrants. "You get tarred as somehow a member of a terrorist group, told you are somehow not fully American, you get all kinds of Islamophobia spewed against you," Shakir says. "Then here comes Bernie Sanders who stands up and says, 'I'm going to a Muslim convention' and he speaks authentically about Kashmir, the Israel-Palestinian dispute, the Afghanistan war, the Chinese treatment of the Uyghurs. Muslims have been dealt injustices from American politicians of both parties and then Bernie Sanders says, 'I see that, I speak to it and I tell you, I'll do better.'"

El-Sayed, the Medicare For All activist whom Sanders endorsed in his failed pursuit of the 2018 Democratic nomination in Michigan's gubernatorial race, agrees. "National Democrats talk about us when it scores some political points, like when they want to virtue-signal that they're standing with Muslims [against President Donald Trump's ban on travel from Muslim-majority nations] and fighting for our rights," he says. But they don't do the work of engaging the issues as we see them or engaging on our turf."

Shakir and CAIR's McCaw both trace the origins of Muslim affinity for Sanders at least back to his 2003 vote against the authorization of force that started the Iraq War. In 2007, as Keith Ellison of Minnesota was about to become the nation's first Muslim member of Congress and controversy swirled over his plan to be sworn in on the Quran, Sanders was the first to call to bolster his resolve. "Brother Bernie, he said, 'You swear on anything you want,'" says Ellison, now Minnesota attorney general. "That's why I love Bernie." More recently, Sanders campaigned for Tlaib, Omar,

BUILDING ALLIANCES

Many Muslim American political leaders, such as Representative Ilhan Omar of Minnesota, here with Sanders at a 2019 campaign rally in Minneapolis, support the Vermont senator, who was also recently endorsed by Emgage, the largest Muslim American PAC.



A poll found Muslims rated civil rights, educa



tion and the economy as issues of even greater concern than opposition to Trump's proposed Muslim ban or the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

SCOTT HEINS/GETTY

El-Sayed and other Muslim candidates in 2018—and they’ve all endorsed him this year in return.

“Bernie Sanders offers an authentic message that has stood the test of time,” McCaw says. “Also, it’s not just that he speaks to Muslim issues. He embraces Muslims speaking for his campaign in a way that I have not seen another candidate do.”

An Agenda That Works

SANDERS’ APPEAL GOES BEYOND HIS OUTSPOKEN opposition to bigotry against Muslims and U.S. interference in the affairs of Muslim-majority countries. A 2016 exit poll by CAIR found Muslims rated civil rights, education and the economy as issues of even greater concern than opposition to Trump’s proposed Muslim ban or the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. So the rest of Sanders’ creed—his drive for universal health care and free college and against income inequality, gun violence and climate change—resonates because the vast majority of Muslims in the U.S. are also minorities living in urban areas, says Youssef Chouhoud, a political science professor at Christopher Newport University in Newport News, Virginia.

“A large percentage of American Muslims are at or below the poverty line, so these economic policies appeal to them as well,” Chouhoud says. “They gravitate toward Bernie for that broader platform, first and foremost. And then it just so happened that he has a foreign policy that they find appealing as well.”

McCaw echoed this, noting that Muslims are “the most ethnically diverse religious community in the United States. Our issues are a combination of almost every minority community’s issues, all unified around the issues of progressive social justice.”

Still, the idea that Muslim Americans want a Jew as their standard-bearer is intriguing. Prominent Palestinian-American activist Linda Sarsour, a Sanders surrogate, winks at that twist when she marvels over the fact that she “fell in love with an old Jewish guy,” a routine laugh line in her speeches.

And far from Sanders avoiding discussion of his faith around Muslim groups, he uses his family’s immigrant experience to relate to their experiences as targets of oppression and bigotry. At the Islamic Society of North America convention in July 2019, for instance, he opened by declaring himself the “proud son of Jewish immigrants,” a phrase the elicited applause. The Holocaust, he told the crowd, taught him “how important it is for all of us to speak out force-

fully wherever we see prejudice and discrimination.”

Sometimes his authenticity does risk alienating Muslims, but audiences give him props for his consistency. “I am a strong supporter of the right of Israel to exist in independence, peace and security,” he said later in that speech. “But I also believe that the United States needs to engage in an even-handed approach towards that long-standing conflict which results in ending the Israeli occupation and enabling the Palestinian people to have independence and self-determination in a sovereign, independent, economically viable state of their own.”

Shakir conceded that some more socially conservative Muslims struggle with Sanders’ stances on LGBTQ equality, abortion and legalized marijuana. But “people end up saying, ‘Hey you know I don’t agree with Bernie Sanders on this or that, but I know he really believes it and so I appreciate that,’” Shakir says. “What brings it all together is that he’s trustworthy, he’s compassionate, he has the qualities that I feel comfortable with as a leader.”

Sanders surrogate Amer Zahr, a comic-activist who last year hosted an Arab Americans For Bernie organizing meeting in Dearborn, bristles at the idea



“We actually view Bernie’s Jewishness as a positive,”





from Jewish leaders like Rabbi Jacob Herber of Wisconsin, who tweeted in response to Sanders' silence, "I abhor Donald Trump for the same reasons you do. But I'll be damned if I'm going to vote for Bernie Sanders."

For his part, Sanders has put more effort into courting Jews than in 2016, when he was criticized for rarely discussing his religion. In an essay last year for

Jewish Currents, he wrote: "It is true that some criticism of Israel can cross the line into anti-Semitism, especially when it denies the right of self-determination to Jews, or when it plays into conspiracy theories about outsized Jewish power. I will always call out anti-Semitism when I see it." At a hall in Derry, New Hampshire, shortly before that state's primary, Sanders explained that his drive for social justice began when, as a young boy, he learned about the Holocaust—an answer that earned him unusual plaudits from the Jewish media.

Yet if Sanders' outreach to the Muslim community loses him some support among Jewish voters, it has paid political dividends too. The effort can easily

MATTERS OF FAITH

Above: Muslim leaders and allies rally against Islamophobia in New York City last March after the mosque attack in New Zealand (left); Palestinian-American activist Linda Sarsour, a staunch Sanders supporter. Below: The Vermont senator, struggling to win support among Jewish voters, lights a menorah on the campaign trail in Iowa last year.

that Sanders' Jewish identity could be a deal-breaker. "Yes, the Palestinian-Israeli thing is out there and that creates tension from time to time, but that doesn't automatically color the way we see every Jewish person," Zahr says. "We actually view Bernie's Jewishness as a positive, something that connected us more with him as being minorities in this country."

Backlash From Jewish Voters?

IN FACT, SANDERS' EMBRACE OF MUSLIM VOTERS generally and some Muslim leaders in particular may cost him politically—with Jewish voters. A Pew Research survey released in January showed he drew support of just 11 percent of Jewish

something that connected us more with him as being minorities in this country."

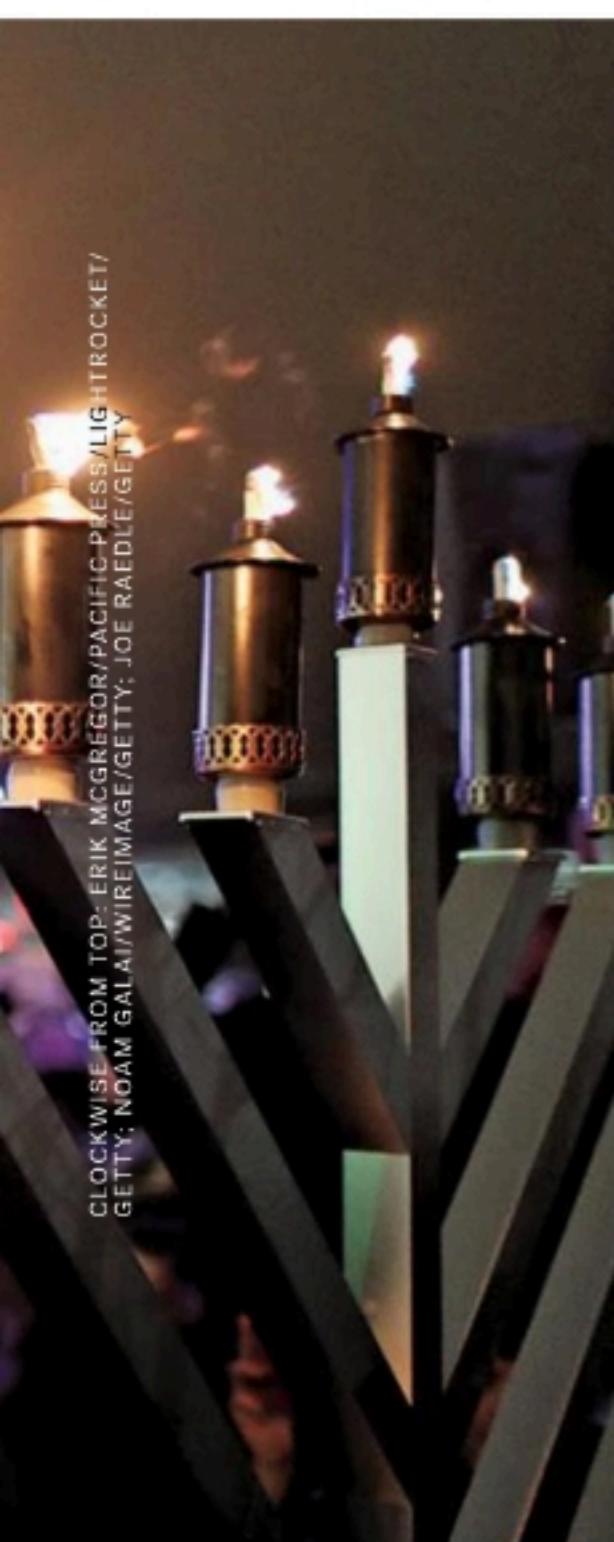
Democrats—the lowest he drew with any religious group—versus 31 percent for Biden and 20 percent for Warren. That 11 percent figure hasn't grown, even as his overall polling averages have. Nor has there been much fanfare in the Jewish media over his wins in the early voting or the possibility that he could be the first Jewish president of the U.S.

Specifically of concern to many Jewish leaders is Sanders' close relationship with Sarsour, whose strident anti-Israel comments, they believe, occasionally seem anti-Semitic. In December, for instance, Sarsour asked in a speech to the American Muslims for Palestine conference in Chicago how anyone could claim to be against white supremacy but support "a state like Israel that is based on supremacy, on the idea that Jews are supreme to everyone else."

Sanders, who opposes the Sarsour-led boycott, divest and sanction (BDS) movement to economically punish Israel for its Palestinian policies, nonetheless did not disavow Sarsour's remarks. That earned him another round of opprobrium

be regarded as decisive in his poll-defying, surprise 10,000-vote win over Hillary Clinton in the 2016 primary in Michigan, which has one of the largest concentration of Arabs and Muslims in the U.S. Now the Sanders cause will likely be helped by the large numbers of Muslim and Arab voters in key March contests. "It's not that the Muslim community will swing the election in any state, but we're definitely in a position to tip it," Shakir says. "If you can increase participation rates by just a few percentage points, you can actually have a major impact."

In fact, according to a study by Emgage, voter turnout among Muslim Americans for the 2018 mid-term elections in the key states of Florida, Michigan, Ohio and Virginia—all four with primaries in early to mid-March—was 25 percentage points higher than in 2014, compared with a 14 percent jump in participation among the general electorate in those areas. If any of these contests are as close as, say, the Iowa caucus turned out to be, says Shakir, "it demonstrates that any increase can be everything." ■



CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: ERIK MCGREGOR/PACIFIC PRESS/LIGHTROCKET/GETTY; NOAM GALAI/WIREIMAGE/GETTY; JOE RAEDLE/GETTY

BY THE NUMBERS

Veganism

Over the past decade veganism—eating no animal products, including dairy and eggs—has grown sharply in popularity. In fact, almost 40 percent of Americans now say they are actively trying to follow a more plant-based diet, Nielsen reports. Here's a look at recent trends driving this increasingly common gastronomic lifestyle. —Sarah Dreher



The number of McVegan burgers that McDonald's sold in the first month of launching this menu item in **Finland** and **Sweden** in 2017. McDonald's is now testing a similar product, the PLT (Plant, Lettuce and Tomato) Sandwich, in select locations in **Canada**.

SOURCES: PLANT BASED NEWS, VOMAD, DICTIONARY.COM, VEGAN BITS, VEGANUARY, GOOGLE TRENDS, PLANT BASED FOOD ASSOCIATION, GOOD FOOD INSTITUTE, SCHOOL NUTRITION ASSOCIATION, THE BMJ, HAPPYCOW

WHY PEOPLE GO VEGAN

Top reasons, according to a 2019 survey of **12,814** respondents from 97 countries



68.1%

The Animals



17.4%

Personal Health



9.7%

The Environment



4.8%

Other Reasons

1944 →

The year that Donald Watson, founder of the Vegan Society, coined the term "**vegan**"

75,300

The estimated number of vegans in the world



401,283

The number of people worldwide who participated in Veganuary 2020—a challenge to try out going vegan for the month of January—up from **250,310** in 2019

9x → The increase in Google searches for the term **"VEGANISM"** since 2004

\$4.5B

Total sales of plant-based food in the U.S. last year, an **11 percent increase** over 2018—which is more than five times greater than growth in the retail food market overall

14% → The percentage of U.S. school districts in which at least one school provided vegan lunch options in 2017, up from **11.5 percent** in 2016



22%

The decrease in risk of coronary heart disease among vegans and vegetarians, according to a 2019 study. But the same study found non-meat eaters have **a greater risk of stroke.**



1,627

The number of exclusively vegan restaurants in the U.S.



Three out of Four

The percentage of vegans who identify as female

ROCK AND ROLL

The Return of Stephen Malkmus and Pavement

The alternative-rock legend on making a folk album, collaborations and the return of his seminal '90s band

SAMUEL GEHRKE; TOP RIGHT: MYKYTA DOLMATOV/GETTY



➔ SINGER AND GUITARIST STEPHEN MALKMUS BECAME ONE OF THE MOST RESPECTED VOICES IN MODERN rock when his band Pavement arrived on the scene 30 years ago. The band recorded a number of critically-acclaimed records such as *Slanted and Enchanted* (1992), *Crooked Rain, Crooked Rain* (1994) and *Brighten the Corners* (1997)—that have often appeared on music critics’ “best albums” lists. While Malkmus is hesitant to talk about his legacy today, his influence can be heard across the current crop of indie rock artists, whether it’s the frantic pop-punk of musicians such as Jeff Rosenstock or the groove-oriented, swaggering indie rock of a band like Wolf Parade.

After Pavement went on hiatus in 1999, Malkmus entered the second phase in his career as the leader of the Jicks, who have recorded seven well-received albums. Of late, he has branched out of the indie rock genre, sans the Jicks, starting with 2019’s electronic-dominated *Groove Denied*. Now he is making another stylistic and radical musical departure with *Traditional Techniques*, a ’60s-styled folk album due out on March 6. *Traditional Techniques* invokes both the simplicity of storytelling troubadours like Bob Dylan and Leonard Cohen, but veers into psychedelia reminiscent of the The Doors. Nonetheless, this is a record for a 2020 audience.

Malkmus, 53, will of course tour to support *Traditional Techniques* in North America, starting on March 31 in Minneapolis. But here’s some big news: He will also reunite with Pavement in June at the Primavera Sound festival in Spain and Portugal. Malkmus talked all about it with *Newsweek*. Edited Excerpts:

What inspired you to make a folk album?

I was sort of curious to see what my songs put through that prism would be. That wish combined with the possibility to do it, because Chris Funk [of indie rock band The Decemberists], who helped organize it, offered me the relative easy ability to throw together a band to make it happen in my hometown. I would say those two things: opportunity and desire.

What artists influenced this album?

Song to song, I pictured myself as kind of a Gordon Lightfoot-style existential troubadour—a little bit melancholy and singing in a lower register with a bit more gravitas than some things I do and quieter. Certain voices or styles of singing would pop up in my head. I would sound like Lou Reed for a second, or folky things like Bert Jansch—Bob Dylan even. A lot of ’60s guys.

Is there a thematic thread that runs through the album lyrically? Or do you see them as individual songs?

It’s hard for me to be the arbiter of that. I don’t think that way necessarily. When I said I was the existential

troubadour, which is kind of ridiculous, I don’t know what to say. If you notice something, tell me, and I’ll probably agree.

I’m always curious if an artist thinks about an album as a whole when they’re writing it, or if they’re just going song to song.

I would want to use a language that was of our time and not completely retro. At times, if it’s sounding like it was made on a porch or in an incense-drenched Afghan-carpet studio, I don’t think I want the lyrics to just take you back to incense and peppermints. I used some of my own modern jargon and ideas updating some of our neuroses from today [laughs].

My favorite song on the album is “The Greatest Own in Legal History.” Can you tell me more about writing and recording that song?

Originally I imagined it as one of [’70s power pop band] Big Star’s softer ballads in terms of melody, but then it slowed down—and then I was maybe vocally in a Bob Dylan sound. I came up with the tagline: I was on a “greatest own” of something. When I got to

BY

JAMES CROWLEY

🐦 @jamespcrowley68

"Legal History," I was like, "Okay, this is going to be a slightly self-satisfied but earnest public defense lawyer." He's just going to be pumping up his young client to let him know that he sympathizes, and that he's there in his corner and he's going to save him. It starts to write itself. You get a few cinematic images in your head and off to the races.

Songs like "Shadowbanned" and "Brainwashed" lyrically have a modern sensibility, but there's also a classic timeless sense stemming from the folk presentation. Do you try to write more timelessly or for the moment?

A song like "Shadowbanned" is totally of the moment to the point of some of the jargon and thoughts in there will be thought of as silly, internet-y, cringe maybe [laughs]. The music is going in a way that's not that. They're pretty solid formats for singing whatever you want in a way. One thing I had to do was make the songs pretty simple by some standards, because everyone had to learn the songs on the fly. Hopefully, it does create a different feel than roots rock. If people are looking for that when they go to their playlist, "give me soft rock," it's going to be a little bit of cognitive dissonance. I could've used that, too, in a song.

You made three albums in the last three years: the indie rock *Sparkle Hard*, the electronic-oriented *Groove Denied*, and now the folk-inspired *Traditional Techniques*. How conscious are you of genre when making a record? And do you see yourself experimenting with other genres in the future?

In this case, I was pretty aware. The last 17 years I've just been making records, and they identify as indie due to

the audience and the state of electric guitar music that's not Nickelback or metal. Even though it's probably closer to some rock 'n' roll that was not indie when it was first made, it identifies as that. As far as the future, it's open. I don't think I'm going to try to make a Nashville country-sounding modern record or some genre that's outside of my signifiers, but there's a way to do it, just like the *Traditional Techniques* that's a fresh approach.

So we can't expect a gangster rap or death metal record?

I can't rap. I've tried to rap—that boat just sinks when I try it. I don't have the voice for it. And, metal—I'm not really good at playing fast, and I don't love fast music.

You've worked pretty consistently with the Jicks since the start of the 2000s. What was it like to record an album with a different set of musicians?

It's different. I think I develop a certain working style with people, which there's a lot of benefits from that and concepts of loyalty, teamwork and a

LEGENDS Pavement back in the day, in a 1998 publicity shot (top) and performing in New York's Central Park in 2010.



"I would sound like Bert Jansch,



FROM TOP: MICK HUTSON/REDFERNS/GETTY; CORY SCHWARTZ/GETTY; SAMUEL GEHRKE; ALBUM COVERS: COURTESY MATADOR RECORDS

shared existence. Those are the things with the Jicks that I have. But when you play with somebody else, inevitably, you get more surprises. It gives me a chance to play a different role. Relinquishing some control, that was pretty cool.

Pavement is marking its 30th anniversary with appearances at the Primavera Sound festivals. How do you view your influence—and Pavement's influence—on indie rock and pop music at large?

It's hard to reflect on it without sounding like you're really great. All I can say is I'm really happy that people want to hear those songs. I'm going to make every effort to make it period correct. Pavement's going to try for a '90s sound and do those songs as they were then.

Are there any new artists that you feel are an extension of what Pavement did?

I like all kinds of genres. If we're talking just guitar music, it's hard for me to want to put that upon another group or something though. Of course, there have been some bands that have been mentioned in the same breath—like Parquet Courts, and I like them a lot. They're doing their own thing, and they probably don't want to even hear that. I guess I'm a little careful to say what we influenced: like Real Estate doesn't sound like Pavement. They're good. Snail Mail. Everyone's got a distinct voice, but I know what you mean. **N**

TRADITIONAL TECHNIQUES comes out March 6 on Matador Records.

SOUNDS

Getting Started with Stephen Malkmus



Slanted and Enchanted

1992

Pavement's 1992 debut is also often mentioned as a '90s classic. The album is a little rougher around the edges than the band's later work, but tracks like "Summer Babe" and "Zurich Is Stained" are clear predecessors to what Pavement would accomplish throughout the decade.



Crooked Rain, Crooked Rain

1994

Pavement's sophomore record, oft-regarded as their best, is an indie classic. Tracks like "Cut Your Hair" and "Gold Soundz" are essential, decade-defining tracks of the '90s, combining catchy, garage-rock with smart, often self-aware lyrics. The album's 2004 reissue also has lesser-known gems like "Nail Clinic."



Stephen Malkmus

2001

The singer's self-titled solo debut, released two years after Pavement's dissolution, is some of Malkmus' best work. The album saw him writing songs that both resembled commercial jingles such as "Phantasies" and thoughtful ballads, like the gospel-tinged "Vague Space."



Sparkle Hard

2018

Malkmus' most recent album with the Jicks has the same infectious songwriting that one would expect from the singer-songwriter, but he pushes the envelope more than other releases with the band—as with directly political tracks like "Bike Lane" and "Shiggy"—and country tinged-tracks like "Refute," featuring Kim Gordon.

Lou Reed for a second, or folky... Bob Dylan even. A lot of '60s guys."

Culture



01 Hovenweep National Monument — Cajon Mesa, United States

Straddling Colorado and Utah, this dark-sky park is one of many places to enjoy an awe-inspiring dark sky in the area. Uniquely, it is also home to six prehistoric villages from A.D. 1200 to 1300; built by Puebloans, they create a beautiful backdrop to stargazing.

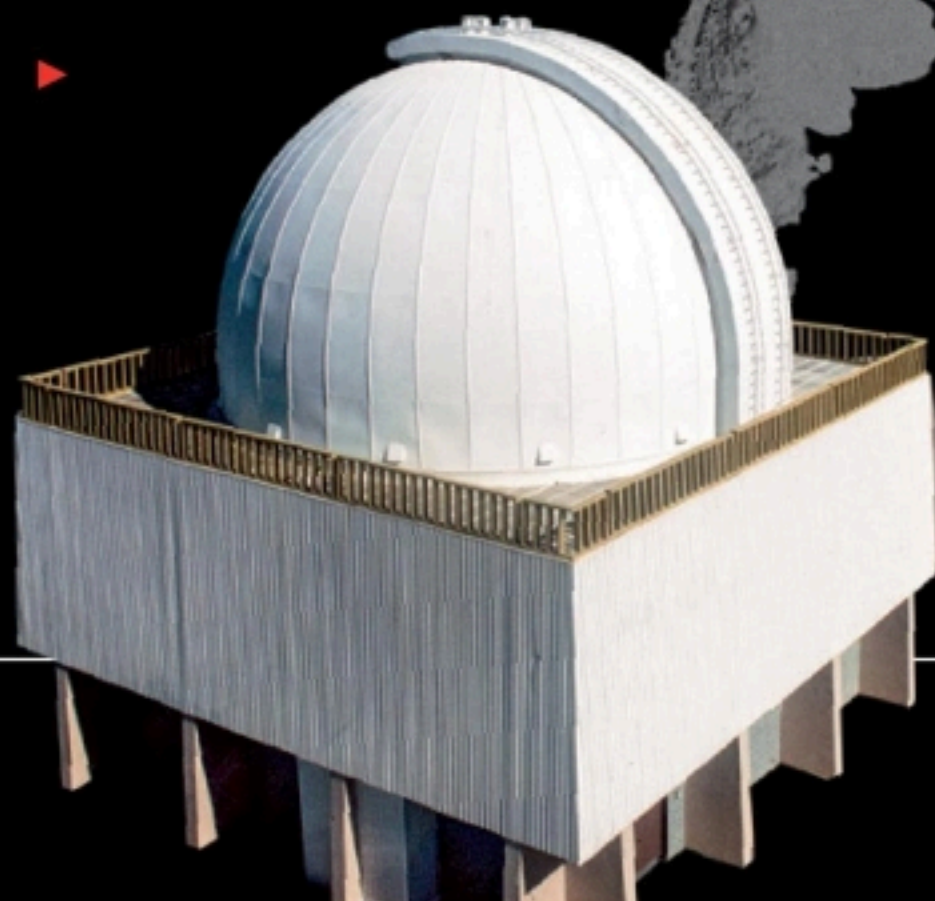


02 Mata ki te Rangi — Pitcairn Islands, British Overseas Territory

This extremely remote island near French Polynesia is only accessible by boat, but once there, the dark skies, beaches and remote locale make "Eyes to the Sky" a highly unique dark-sky sanctuary. As one of the newest additions to the list, it has not yet been inundated with astrotourists.

03 Gabriela Mistral — Elqui Valley, Chile

This dark-sky sanctuary in northern Chile works on long-term conservation, both to limit light pollution and to protect fragile ecosystems. An optimal site for stargazing, it is also a prime location for viewing lunar eclipses, which pass through Chile almost every year. Visitors can also visit the vineyards that grow in the surrounding area.



05 Snowdonia National Park — Wales, United Kingdom

At over 823 square miles, Snowdonia is home to much more than just dark skies. Mountains, lakes, waterfalls and even the beach make this park an outdoor-activity haven. Try one of these two lakes for star watching—Llyn Geirionydd and Llyn y Dywarchen—but leave time for daytime exploration of the castles, abbeys and Roman archaeological ruins in the park, too.



04 Mont-Mégantic — Quebec, Canada

Bundle up and grab a hot drink before waiting for the stars to appear at The Popular Observatory. This dark-sky reserve outside of Quebec City offers use of telescopes and educational shows, and the exterior lights up to create a beacon in the dark for hikers. For those willing to brave the cold, the area is also known for snowshoeing, even at night.



07 NamibRand — Nature Reserve Windhoek, Namibia

At this "Gold Tier"-rated dark-sky reserve—the highest designation—you can stare at the sky in comfort from the luxury accommodations available on site, while also enjoying the four distinct natural habitats and wildlife on this private reserve.



◀ **06 Alpes Azur**
— **Mercantour**
Beuil, France

This dark-sky reserve is uniquely placed where the Alps meets the Mediterranean Sea. Because of this, the area is hailed for its biodiversity both in flora and fauna, including the rare Tengmalm's owls from Siberia. Also in the national park are thousands of famous Bronze Age engravings. On the border with Italy, visitors can choose either country as a jumping off point.



◀ **09 Yeongyang Firefly Eco Park**
— **Wangpi River Valley, South Korea**

Originally established as a conservation effort to protect the native firefly populations from light, the added benefit is that it has become a prime stargazing spot. Less than 5 hours outside of Seoul, the area is accessible without being crowded. The "Silver Tier" park offers a curator and a telescope for avid and novice stargazers alike.



◀ **08 Ramon Crater**
— **Negev Desert, Israel**

How about gazing at faraway planets while feeling like you're on one? This naturally formed erosion crater and surrounding national park has Mars-like terrain, with rare desert wildlife, too. Campground visitors can spot stars outdoors or in Bedouin tents.



◀ **10 Aoraki Mackenzie**
— **South Island, New Zealand**

Home to the Mount John Observatory, this dark-sky reserve is one of the most southern spots for dark skies outside of Antarctica. Those looking to trek on their own can head to Lake Tekapo, where one of the most photographed locations in the country sits, the Church of the Good Shepherd.

7

UNCHARTED

Best Stargazing Spots Around the Globe

Today, more than 80 percent of the world and more than 99 percent of the U.S. spend their nights under light-polluted skies. The International Dark Sky Association is seeking to protect our clear night skies for future generations and to bring back the magic of starry nights by designating dark-sky reserve, sanctuary and park status to spots around the world dedicated to preserving dark skies. But "Dark Sky" distinction or not, astrotourism is taking off, and these are the best places—on our planet, at least—to witness the dazzling display of luminous balls of gas that we call stars. —*Laura Powers*

06: DEAGOSTINI/GETTY; 07: ANTONYSPENCER/GETTY; 08: THOMAS COEX/AFP/GETTY; 09: COURTESY OF YEONGYANG FIREFLY ECO PARK; 10: BEERPIX/GETTY

PARTING SHOT

Daniel Radcliffe

➤ AS HARRY POTTER, DANIEL RADCLIFFE USED MAGIC TO GET OUT COUNTLESS life-threatening situations. But as Tim Jenkin, the real-life hero he plays in the new film *Escape from Pretoria*, released in theaters March 6, he needs more than just spells and his trusty wand to escape from an apartheid-era prison in South Africa in 1979. “We all like to think that we would be those people in an oppressive society, but in reality, there are very few of them,” Radcliffe says of Jenkin, Stephen Lee and other anti-apartheid activists imprisoned for going against the regime. “Being able to have that perspective on something is a quality to be celebrated and shown as heroic in films.” Not your traditional biopic, *Escape from Pretoria*—based on the book written by Jenkin, who also spent time on the set—also serves as a heart-pounding thriller. “It functions as the story of the important moment in these guys’ lives and where South Africa was politically, but also it is just a great prison-break movie.” It is “the most insane,” thing Radcliffe says, “to just make keys and walk out of the prison one day.”

How do you feel this story is relevant today? What do you hope modern audiences take from it?

Unfortunately, I don’t think there’s ever a time when it’s not relevant. The fact that Tim and Stephen and all the guys in that prison were able to see the system that they had been raised in from the outside for the immoral, oppressive tyranny that it was.

Why do you feel it was important for the film to play like a thriller?

It is also an incredible prison-break story. It’s amazing. They made keys. What’s crazy when you talk to Tim, he kind of has an air of, “Well, you know, I just did what anyone would do,” and you’re just like, “No, no one else would’ve been able to do this.”

You worked with your co-star Ian Hart as a child in *Harry Potter and the Philosopher’s Stone* [as Quirrell]. What was it like working together all these years later?

I think it gave both of us a terrifying sense of the passage of time. It’s lovely.

What’s something that you’re rarely asked about the *Harry Potter* franchise that you wish you were asked more often?

People always want to talk about actors hanging out, but I would talk about the crew until the cows come home, because I feel like there was a family feel on set that is rarely felt on franchise films—a real caring atmosphere that I think the crew was responsible for. —H. Alan Scott

“It is the most insane [thing] to just make keys and walk out of the prison one day.”



SPECIAL **Newsweek** EDITION

JAMES BOND

25
FILMS
ONE
007

**YOUR
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• Villain
• Gadget
...and More!



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