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SHOW ME THE MONEY
The Supreme Court's decision to review cases involving subpoenas for the Trump family's financial records signals that nearly a century of legal precedent could be overhauled.

COVER CREDIT
Photo illustration by **Gluekit** for *Newsweek*;
Photo of Queen by Saul Loeb, Ronny Hartmann/AFP/Getty

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With the family rocked by scandal and feuds, the Queen is finally starting to cede power. Is it time for Prince Charles & Co. to take charge?

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Eventually, perhaps, but not by Nov. 3, 2020. Here's why.

BY ROGER PARLOFF

Newsweek

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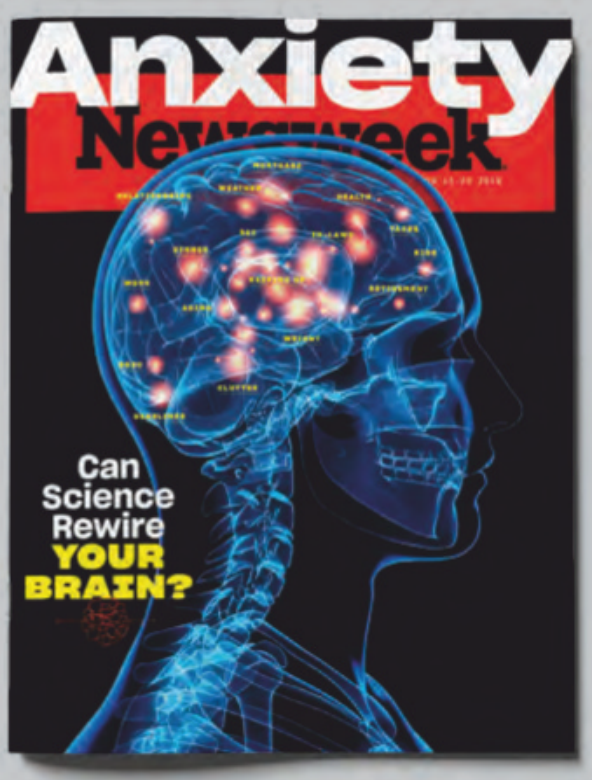
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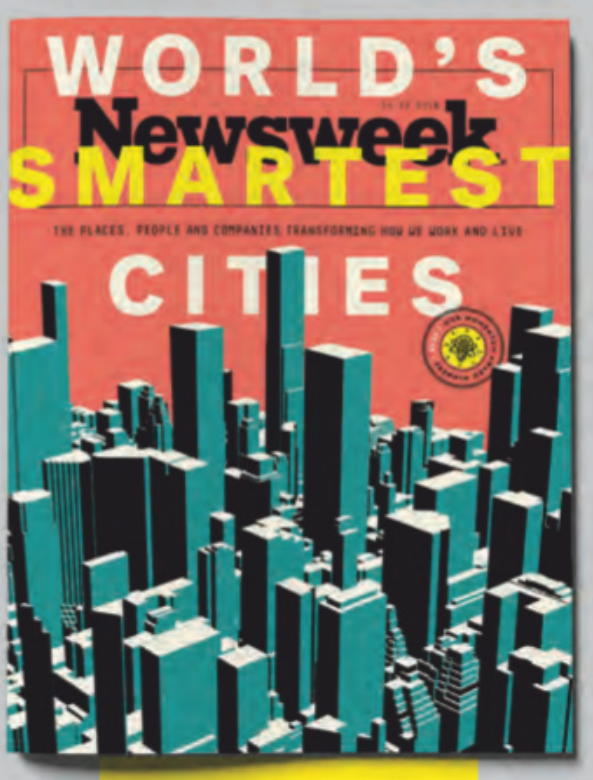
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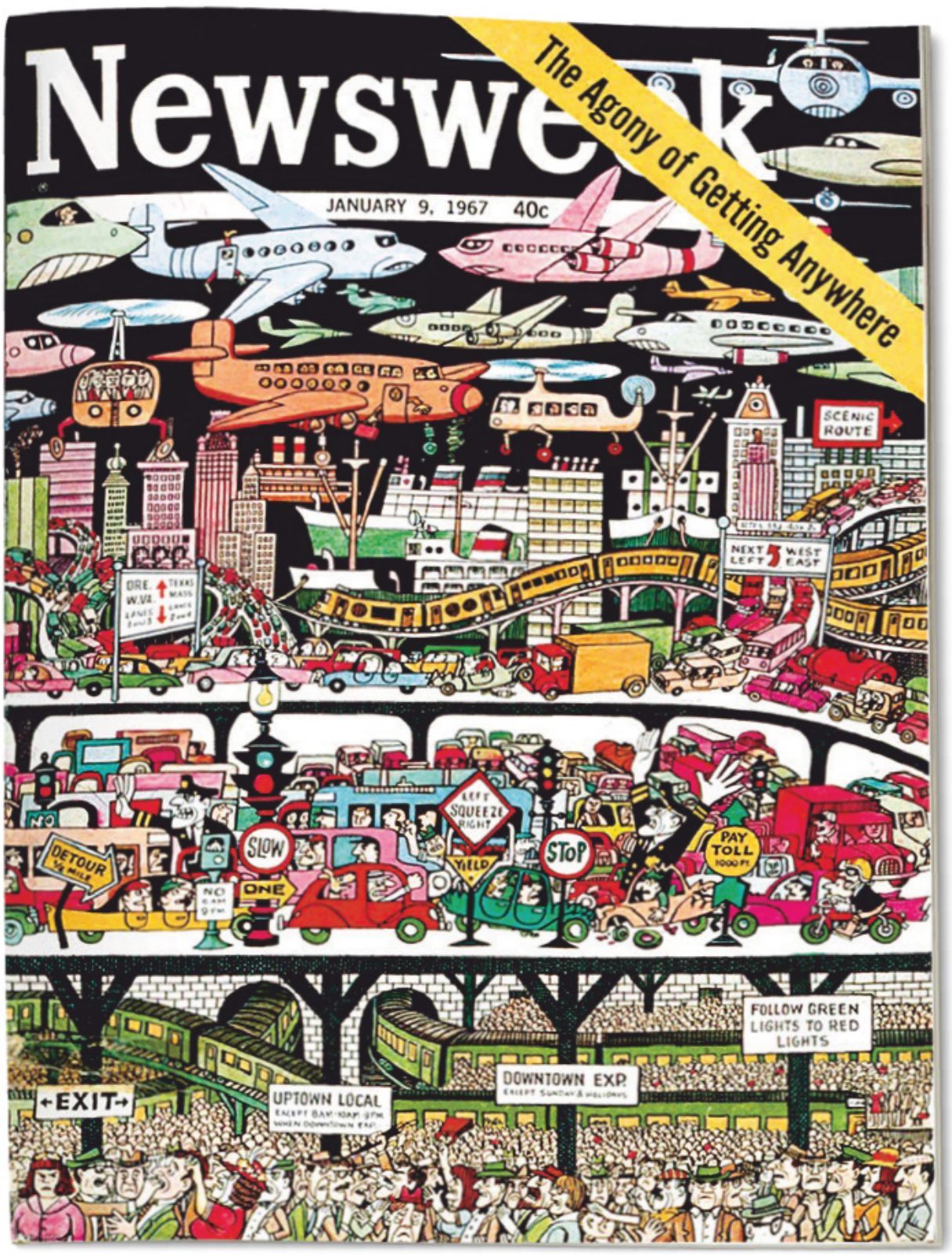
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The Archives

1967 "At almost any hour that urban Americans are on the move, there is an anthem of gnashing teeth," *Newsweek* reported on the growing "agony of getting anywhere" for city dwellers. In "no other society has man deployed so many wheels: they enable him to live in one place, work in another, and vacation anywhere he chooses." On the road, "automobiles choke the expressways." Ever-more beleaguered today by increased congestion and pollution, a new age of smart technology aims to alleviate these historic challenges—such as ride-sharing services and autonomous vehicles.





1980 After Meryl Streep's stunning performance in *Kramer vs. Kramer*, *Newsweek* predicted she "may become the strongest performer of her generation" and "rival the power of such male stars as [Dustin] Hoffman, Jack Nicholson, Robert De Niro and Al Pacino." Indeed, Streep has been nominated for 21 Academy Awards—more than any other actor.



2000 After "all the worries about computer glitches and the threat of violence, it turned out to be a wonderful night," *Newsweek* wrote of the new millennium. The worry was that the year 2000 could screw with computers, bringing massive malfunctions. But with "fanfare and fireworks," Y2K turned out "Y2A-Okay."

CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT: DRAWING BY JAMES FLORA; HADJ-SIPA; LAWRENCE FRIED/IMAGE BANK

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Photo By
ANDREW ECCLES

In Focus _ THE NEWS IN PICTURES





BATTLE CREEK, MICHIGAN

Battle Cry

President Donald Trump arrives at his Keep America Great Again reelection rally at Kellogg Arena on December 18. Just before 9 p.m. on the same night, the House of Representatives, led by House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, voted to impeach Trump. The House passed two articles of impeachment: abuse of power and obstruction of Congress. Trump is just the third U.S. president in history to be impeached.

BRENDAN SMIALOWSKI

BRENDAN SMIALOWSKI/AFP/GETTY

MOSCOW

Happy Holidays

A woman walks past New Year decorations in Russia's capital on December 15. Celebrating the New Year is one of Russia's biggest civic holidays. President Vladimir Putin gives a speech from the Kremlin and revellers make wishes over champagne at midnight. It's also the time when families put up a decorated tree and exchange presents. For Orthodox Christians, Christmas comes a week later on January 7.

→ ALEXANDER NEMENOV

BELEDWEYNE, SOMALIA

Rain, Rain Go Away

Two boys stand next to their tents at a displacement camp on December 14, 2019. Hundreds of thousands of people were forced to leave their homes after rain in late October caused intense flooding, affecting more than 85 percent of the town's residents. It was the largest flood in living memory, and even forced the hospital to close. Many refugees now live in camps after losing their homes and rely on aid for food and water.

→ LUIS TATO

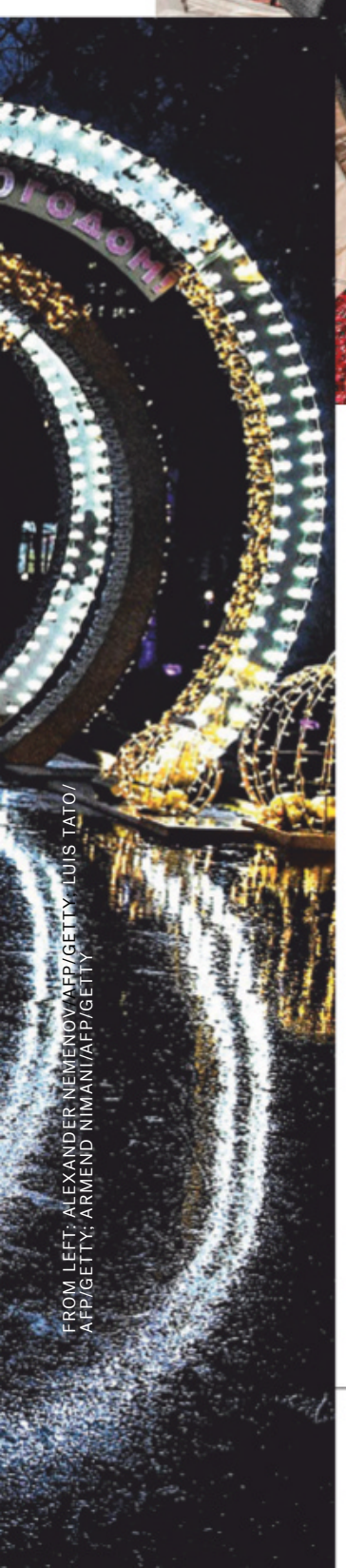
PRISTINA, KOSOVO

Breathe Easy

A statue of Saint Teresa has a face mask placed over it on December 19. The city regularly has high levels of air pollution and was recently on par with notoriously polluted Beijing. The culprit is Pristina's two ageing coal-based power plants, and the use of coal to heat homes. The World Bank once found Kosovo's polluted air caused 852 premature deaths a year. The EU said it will invest $89 million to improve the country's air quality.

→ ARMEND NIMANI





FROM LEFT: ALEXANDER NEMENOV/AFP/GETTY; LUIS TATO/AFP/GETTY; ARMEND NIMANI/AFP/GETTY



AVENGING ANGEL? Donald Trump and Attorney General William Barr are hoping John Durham can show the FBI and its leaders jumped the gun on investigating the President's ties to Russia. Clockwise, from right: Trump, Barr, former FBI chief James Comey and Durham.



DURHAM: U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE; TRUMP: JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST/GETTY; BARR: JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST/GETTY; COMEY: MARK REINSTEIN/CORBIS/GETTY; FLAG: EMPPHOTOGRAPHY/GETTY; TOP RIGHT: JONATHAN KITCHEN/GETTY



"The current global economic system is clearly broken." »P.16

ANALYSIS

Who Is John Durham?

The U.S. attorney running Bill Barr's investigation of the FBI investigators was well-known for his honesty, diligence and integrity. Until he took a job in Trumpworld

JOHN HENRY DURHAM, THE U.S. ATTORNEY for Connecticut, is a self-effacing, modest, deeply religious, hard-working prosecutor. Unlike a fair number of U.S. attorneys across the country, he also shuns the limelight relentlessly, even though, on several occasions through a storied career, the limelight has nonetheless found him.

But not like this. Not like now.

Appointed by Donald Trump to lead Connecticut's U.S. attorney's office in 2017, Durham was tapped by Attorney General William Barr in May of this year to investigate the origins of the investigation into candidate and then President Donald Trump—and his alleged ties to Russia. Depending on where you fall on the red-to-blue spectrum, this makes him either an avenging angel, come to right the wrongs inflicted on Donald Trump by an evil deep state—or a deeply untrustworthy partisan hack, tasked to do the dirty work of an allegedly illegitimate president and his attorney general sidekick.

So which is he? Maybe a little of both now.

Until very recently, Durham had, somewhat magically, avoided being part of the partisan bludgeoning. That was all due to his record—and his reticence in talking about it. Though a registered Republican, Durham, now 69, earned chits from Connecticut Democrats for successfully prosecuting former Republican Governor John Rowland for corruption.

Later, then–Attorney General Eric Holder put his trust in Durham, having appointed Durham to one of the most sensitive investigations of the Obama era. Holder's predecessor, Michael Mukasey, had appointed Durham to lead an investigation into why the CIA had destroyed video of waterboarding sessions of captured detainees. In 2009, Holder ordered Durham to widen his probe: He was now to investigate whether any CIA officers should be prosecuted for their roles in applying "'enhanced interrogation techniques" to prisoners. At the time, the political left in the U.S. was baying for blood in the wake of the torture allegations. After a lengthy Durham investigation, the Department of Justice decided not to charge. Holder praised his work publicly.

That might have been the last most people would have heard of Durham, until Barr decided to tap him to "investigate the investigators," as the probe into the origins of the

BY

BILL POWELL

Photo illustration by GLUEKIT

Trump-Russia investigation is known. That made him a potential lighting rod in the most bitterly partisan dispute of all in Washington. Barr, in his second stint as attorney general (the first being under George H.W. Bush), had made it clear that he had questions about the Russia investigation: specifically, whether it was "adequately predicated." That is: Did the government have enough information about the Trump campaign and Russia to justify opening a probe? After all, he famously—or notoriously—said, "spying on a political campaign [in the United States] is a big deal."

The statement caused a meltdown among Democrats. They had become deeply invested in the idea that the Trump campaign's alleged involvement with Russia was going to bring the White House down. Barr, by agreeing to serve as Trump's attorney general, was now simply a political pit bull, determined to go after Trump's enemies at the president's behest. In this view, his statement besmirching a perfectly legitimate counterintelligence investigation into Russia and any ties it might have to Trump was nothing less than scandalous.

On December 9, Justice Department Inspector General Michael Horowitz released a long-delayed, highly anticipated report into the FBI's pursuit of a surveillance warrant against one-time Trump campaign aide Carter Page. The FBI, from former Director James Comey on down, had insisted that there was nothing wrong with the bureau's applications to the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA) court. The FBI went before the court four times seeking the original warrant and three extensions. The FBI's insistence was echoed by Democrats on Capitol Hill—led by now House Intelligence Committee Chairman Adam Schiff—a position largely echoed by the mainstream media. Several Republicans on the committee insisted the opposite was true: the FISA process had been badly corrupted and Page, an American citizen, had been wrongly surveilled for nearly a year.

Horowitz produced something for everyone. He blew the FBI line to shreds in his report. But Democrats happily grasped at two important Horowitz conclusions: that he had found, based on over 100 interviews and over 1 million documents, no "testimonial or documentary evidence" that bias played a role in the Russia investigation; and the investigation had been started for legitimate reasons. Barr had asked whether it had been "adequately predicated." Here was Horowitz, who was well regarded (by both sides), saying it was.

And then, for John Durham, all hell broke loose. (Durham declined to speak for this story, but *Newsweek* spoke to more than 15 colleagues, friends and former Justice Department officials.)

The attorney general put out a statement saying he disagreed with Horowitz's conclusion regarding the investigation's start. He said the IG's brief did not extend widely enough for him to reach such a conclusion.

"I can't figure out why [Durham] of all people would insert himself publicly into this. As much as anyone, he is someone who lets his work do his talking."

Durham's investigation—which includes looking not only into the FBI but the CIA as well as other foreign intelligence agencies—does have the proper scope.

Thirty minutes later, the famously close-mouthed Durham, in the middle of his investigation, issued his own statement: "Based on the evidence collected to date, and while our investigation is ongoing...we advised the Inspector General that we do not agree with some of the report's conclusions as to predication and how the FBI case was opened."

In the context of the tong war that the Russia investigation had become, this was truly a "holy s***!" moment. Several current and former Justice Department officials who talked with *Newsweek* could not fathom why Durham would have spoken out. All assume he and Barr must have coordinated their statements and timing, but neither Justice nor Durham's office would confirm that.

"I was stunned," said former federal prosecutor and longtime Durham colleague David Sullivan. "It was very unusual for him to issue that statement. As much as anyone, he [usually] lets his work do his talking."

The other question: Why would Barr allow Durham to issue the statement? Several sources who have worked with the attorney general said it is much more in keeping with his style for him to take the public heat on a controversial case while shielding his prosecutors. Barr said later that the Durham statement was "perfectly appropriate. It was important for people to understand that his work was not being preempted, that he was doing something different."

To the critics of the investigation, the statement simply intensified their suspicions: this, they reason, is a put up job, Barr and Durham, his



CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: CHIP SOMODEVILLA/GETTY (2); SAUL LOEB/AFP/GETTY







DURHAM'S WORLD Justice Department Inspector General Michael Horowitz (bottom left) felt the wrath of Durham. Former AG Holder (left) was a big fan. Meanwhile, can Durham show Carter Page (below) was done wrong?

handpicked prosecutor, going after Trump's perceived enemies in an election year. Barr must have told Durham to issue his statement; and by doing so, he, like so many others who have worked for the Trump administration, tainted what had been an unblemished record. Eric Holder wrote a column warning Durham, "good reputations are hard-won in the legal profession, but they are fragile; anyone in Durham's shoes would do well to remember that, in dealing with this administration, many reputations have been irrevocably lost."

Some friends and former colleagues say they believe they know why he would issue a public statement in such a politically fraught case. As Sullivan, the former prosecutor who worked with Durham for years put it, "he obviously knows stuff. He's not a guy that's going to make things up. He may see something being reported in the wake of the Horowitz report that's wrong, and he may be a little angry. And there are things in the report that would make him angry."

Like what, exactly?

A friend who is familiar with Durham's thinking says certain allegations in the Horowitz report about an FBI lawyer, Kevin Clinesmith, likely didn't sit well with him. Clinesmith allegedly took information about Page from the CIA, which said he had been helpful to the agency over the years. Then Clinesmith, Horowitz alleges, said the opposite to the FISA Court. "It is the sort of thing that sets John off. Let's face it, the press has underreported the possible gravity of that allegation. This was not some low level [FBI] lawyer making a clerical error. It raises a lot of red flags."

Colleagues of Durham's say he is also acutely aware of the power that federal law enforcement has. The power to do good—putting bad guys away—but the power also to damage lives when its authority is wrongfully deployed. Several people interviewed for this article point to a speech Durham gave at a small Connecticut college in March 2018. It is one of the rare instances in his career in which Durham spoke publicly and at length, about being a prosecutor. The entire focus of the talk was the power that prosecutors' have, and why it must be used judiciously. He said: "Issuing a subpoena can destroy someone's reputation. It can damage their business, hurt their families. It is an awesome power that we have, that should be used only in appropriate instances." Later in the same speech he added, "Maybe accusations that are lodged against somebody are untrue, and again, we can destroy a person if that information gets out."

It's hard, under the current circumstances, to read those remarks and not think about the surveillance warrants granted to target Page, the former low level Trump campaign adviser. Once it became known publicly that Page was a former member of the Trump campaign and then the subject of FBI surveillance, his life, in his own words, "was ruined." He's

had to move several times. He claims he has had death threats. His business as an energy consultant, with a focus on Russia, ended. And now, two years after Comey insisted that there was nothing wrong with the process of getting Page under surveillance, we now know, due to the Horowitz report, that that was not true.

This, David Sullivan speculates, may also have Durham worked up. "I imagine he's pretty concerned about what he's seen so far. It's the only reason he would make a public statement like that."

But not just about Carter Page. Durham's focus is predication: On what basis was the entire Russia counterintelligence investigation—which turned into a criminal investigation of Trump, which turned into a special counsel investigation—started? The official story is that it started because another young low-level Trump aide, George Papadopolous, ostensibly told Alexander Downer, a senior Australian diplomat, in a London bar that someone had told him that the Russians had dirt on Hillary Clinton. A senior official with knowledge of Barr's thinking on this matter says the attorney general is "dumbfounded" that Horowitz would say the investigation was legitimately founded based on this tale. In his public comments, Barr has made it clear that he is skeptical of that.

We now know that Durham is as well. And it's his job to find out whether skepticism is warranted. Can he? One of the trademarks of his career has been long, painstaking investigations that often take a few years to complete. The CIA case took more than three years, so too did the prosecution of a Boston FBI official who was in cahoots with notorious gangster Whitey Bulger. Barr has said the Durham probe is "a big deal." Yet it only began in May, and in mid-December Barr said he expected Durham would wrap up his investigation by late spring or early summer 2020 in the heat of a presidential campaign.

That puts Durham on the clock. Can that possibly be enough time for him to complete an investigation as politically charged and complex as this one? For a prosecutor as thorough as Durham? One indictment, say former prosecutors, seems likely: FBI attorney Clinesmith for allegedly falsifying a document submitted to the FISA court. And there may be other cases to be brought regarding misleading the FISA court, which is a felony. (Clinesmith's attorney did not return calls for comment.)

But that's only glancingly related to the issue of predication. The first FISA application was approved in October 2016, a couple of months after the formal launch of Operation Crossfire Hurricane in late July. Is Durham really going to get to the bottom of what actually happened to start the Russia investigation by next spring, and, if there are alleged crimes involved, to bring cases?

There are a lot of doubters among current and former law enforcement officials. "It really makes you wonder what all of this is really about," says one former attorney in the Justice Department's national security division.

As Eric Holder put it, reputations in the Trump era are easily lost. We'll now see what comes of John Durham's.

"Good reputations are hard-won in the legal profession, but they are fragile"



SPECIAL COUNSEL Robert Mueller in Washington before he testified last July about the report that started it all.

CHIP SOMODEVILLA/GETTY

Talking Points

"It is a terrible thing you are doing, but you will have to live with it, not I!"

—PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP'S ANTI-IMPEACHMENT LETTER TO HOUSE SPEAKER NANCY PELOSI

"NEWSFLASH: YOU CAN TALK ABOUT IMPEACHMENT [WITHOUT] TAGGING ME."

—MONICA LEWINSKY



Monica Lewinsky

THE DAILY SHOW WITH TREVOR NOAH

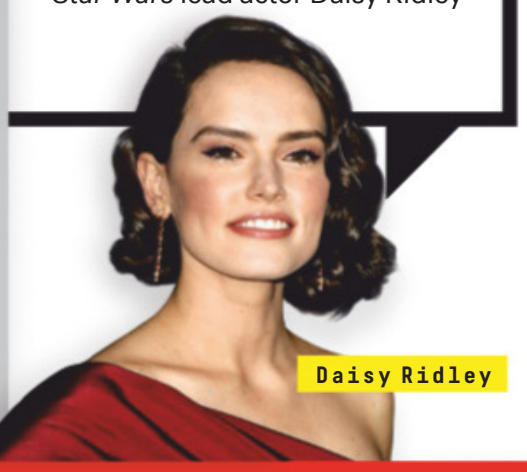
"Maybe that's how you get the U.S. government to put money into things like healthcare or teachers...just tell them the Taliban is there."

—HOST TREVOR NOAH

VARIETY

"I WANT TO BE A WORKING ACTOR. AND I CURRENTLY AM UNEMPLOYED, SO I'M NOT SUCCEEDING RIGHT NOW."

—*Star Wars* lead actor Daisy Ridley



Daisy Ridley

billboard

"The first thing I said was, 'I can't, I'm Canadian. I can't go accept an Icon award.' Yet I'm also Canadian so I said, 'Yes.'"

— SINGER ALANIS MORISSETTE ACCEPTING THE WOMEN IN MUSIC'S ICON AWARD

CNN

"Those are not alleged facts, those are not alternative facts...They are established by the bank records themselves."

— FEDERAL JUDGE AMY BERMAN JACKSON SENTENCING FORMER TRUMP CAMPAIGN AIDE RICK GATES

"AFTER FIVE WEEKS OF ELECTIONEERING, THIS COUNTRY DESERVES A BREAK FROM WRANGLING, A BREAK FROM POLITICS AND A PERMANENT BREAK FROM TALKING ABOUT BREXIT."

—U.K. Prime Minister Boris Johnson



Trevor Noah

FROM LEFT: NATHAN CONGLETON/NBC/NBCU PHOTO BANK/GETTY; NOAM GALAI/GETTY; KEVIN WINTER/GETTY

OPINION

No Planet, No Politics

Why the Green New Deal will save the world from extremists

BY

JOHN FEFFER

THE BEST WAY TO FIGHT THE rising far right is to go green. That's what dozens of academics, researchers and activists told me over the course of 80 interviews this year.

Over the last decade, the radical right has come to power in the U.S., Brazil, India, Poland, Hungary and elsewhere. It has joined forces with autocrats in Russia, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Thailand to create a new illiberal ecosystem. Together, they are challenging the rule of law, democratic governance and the gains made by social movements that have expanded the rights of women and minorities.

The radical right has appealed to all those who feel threatened by the more rapid movement of capital and people across borders. The center parties that have pushed this project of globalization have lost at the polls, while the left has failed to articulate a clear alternative.

Yet despite its political successes, the radical right has an Achilles' heel. It has no credible response to the most urgent threat facing the planet: the current climate crisis.

For the last couple of years, the likes of Donald Trump and Brazil's Jair Bolsonaro have ignored climate change and boosted support for extractive industries like oil and coal. Thanks to Trump, the U.S. is the only country to pull out of the Paris climate deal. Bolsonaro, meanwhile, reneged on Brazil's offer to host this year's climate confab, which recently wrapped up in Madrid instead.

Despite the far-right putting its head in the sand, the climate crisis hasn't gone away. In fact, it's gotten worse.

According to the most recent UN report, the world has utterly failed to restrain carbon emissions despite dire warnings from the scientific community. The two biggest offenders, the U.S. and China, actually increased their carbon emissions last year. The scientific consensus is that the world must execute a much faster pivot away from fossil fuels.

The radical right doesn't have a plan to reduce carbon emissions. By comparison, the various Green New Deals on the table offer a comprehensive response that addresses the scale of the problem.

The U.S. version offered by Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez (D-NY) and Ed Markey (D-MA) proposes significant investments in making America's infrastructure and transportation carbon-neutral. The Europeans and Canadians are pushing similar plans. The government in New Zealand, meanwhile, unveiled a "wellbeing budget" this year that also combines a reduction in carbon emissions with improving the livelihoods of those left behind by globalization.

A massive transition away from fossil fuels and toward renewable energy is not only sensible from an environmental point of view. It also addresses the insecurity so many people feel about their economic future in an era of automation and downsizing. The Green New Deal—like its earlier World War II-era cousin, Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal—promises to be a major job creation program.

And not just for the Global North.

A major transfusion of money into the Green Climate Fund would help the Global South leapfrog over existing





IS THIS THE END? Clockwise from top: Climate activist Greta Thunberg in Brussels; California burning in October; climate demonstrators in front of the Brazilian embassy in Argentina in August; and a "clean" coal-fired plant in Germany.

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: EMMANUEL DUNAND/AFP/GETTY; JOSH EDELSON/AFP/GETTY; RONALDO SCHEMIDT/AFP/GETTY; CHRISTIAN CHARISIUS/PICTURE ALLIANCE/GETTY









dirty technologies. By providing jobs in countries currently experiencing economic crisis throughout the Global South, these GNDs would also reduce the massive displacement of people who would otherwise be forced to migrate to find new opportunities—or more habitable land—abroad.

The current global economic system is clearly broken, which has opened the way for a global far-right reaction. By contrast, the Green New Deal offers a set of principles of sustainability that can help restructure the global economy so that it helps people and the planet—while undermining the far right's appeal.

The radical right has won elections by ramping up fear: of others, of the future, of do-nothing government. It's time to turn that around and revive a politics of hope.

The 80 people I talked to pointed to the student climate strikes as the most promising movement at the moment. But as those students understand better than their elders, there's no politics without a planet. A Global Green New Deal is perhaps our last best hope to save that planet. N

"The radical right has appealed to all those who feel threatened by the more rapid movement of capital and people across borders."

→ **John Feffer** *directs the Foreign Policy In Focus project at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington D.C. He's the author of the new IPS study,* THE BATTLE FOR ANOTHER WORLD: THE PROGRESSIVE RESPONSE TO THE NEW RIGHT.

After Eliza

With the family rocked by scandal and feuds, the 93-year-old queen is finally starting to



cede power to the next generation. Is it time for Prince Charles & Co. to take charge at last?

by

DIANE CLEHANE



JAMES DEVANEY/FILMMAGIC/GETTY



THE LATEST BRITISH ROYAL DRAMA HAS MORE plot twists than the juiciest episode of *The Crown*, the hit Netflix series chronicling the life of Queen Elizabeth II. Only this real-life saga might more aptly be called *As the Crown Turns*, with a cast of characters and story developments to rival the most compelling soap opera.

There's Andrew, the queen's second son, embroiled in a sex scandal involving underage girls and an accused human trafficker who died in prison—you know, the prince who recently gave an interview on British television trying, and spectacularly failing, to repair his damaged reputation. There's his older brother, Charles, heir to the throne, reportedly wielding his influence behind the scenes to oust his disgraced sibling from royal duties and consolidate power for himself and his sons. Also in the cast: the Duke of Sussex, aka Harry, who has been bickering with his older brother, William. With his American bride, Meghan, Harry has also publicly railed against the emotional hardship of royal life while traveling by private jet and running up big home renovation bills.

Then there's the queen herself, Britain's longest-serving monarch, an aging matriarch whose grasp on the reins of her family appear to be slipping amid questions about how much longer she'll reign after more than 65 years on the throne.

For the royal family and the British people, the coming of a new year and new decade are coinciding with what's shaping up as a new era for the House of Windsor. The mounting tensions within the family and ongoing scandals have raised questions about whether the queen is, in fact, still the head of "the firm," as the royals refer to the family business in private. The big question: Has the time finally come for Prince Charles, at age 71, to stop waiting in the wings and take charge?

"There is a sense that she's lost control within the family, between Andrew's disastrous interview and the ongoing drama with Harry and Meghan," one palace insider told *Newsweek*. "The queen has been deeply disappointed by their behavior. As future king, it's been up to Charles to put a stop to the chaos."

This is certainly not the first time the question of Elizabeth, who is 93, giving up the throne has come up. Ever since 2017, when her husband, Prince Philip, retired from public life at age 95, there have been rumors that she would step down when she reached the same age. She has already been delegating some high-level decision-making to Charles, scaling back her public appearances and passing on her patronages of various charities to other members of the royal family for several years.

"I don't believe

Still, while the role is largely ceremonial, the queen retains a full schedule—she had 238 engagements last year and served as a patron to hundreds of charities: not too shabby for a nonagenarian. And, despite the rumors, it is unlikely she will step down anytime soon. British historian and author Robert Lacey, who serves as a consultant to Netflix's *The Crown*, told *Newsweek*, "I don't believe the queen has









CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT: PAUL EDWARDS/AFP/GETTY; MAX MUMBY/INDIGO/GETTY; HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY; MAX MUMBY/INDIGO/GETTY; JUSTIN TALLIS/AFP/GETTY

the queen has any wish to retire, nor to appoint anyone who might INFRINGE ON HER POWERS."

any wish to retire, nor to appoint anyone who might infringe on her powers, if she can avoid it."

But the controversy swirling around Andrew in particular has renewed speculation about a changing of the guard, giving Charles a more prominent role and seeming to accelerate a shift in power. What does the future hold for the British monarchy? The queen's adherence to a "never complain, never explain" royal code makes it impossible to know her plans with certainty, but her responses to the latest family drama provide some telling clues.

The Royal Fallout

IT WAS CLEAR THAT SWIFT ACTION WAS NEEDED IN the wake of Andrew's BBC interview, in which he fumbled through an explanation of his relationship with convicted sex offender Jeffrey Epstein, denied having sex with then-17-year-old Virginia Roberts (now Giuffre) at Epstein's London home and expressed no sympathy for Epstein's alleged victims. A YouGov poll taken after the program aired in November found that 51 percent of the British public did not believe his explanations and

ROYALS ON THE JOB
Opposite: The queen at the opening of Parliament in October. Clockwise, from top left: Prince Charles at a tea on his 70th birthday in 2018; the queen after her coronation in 1953; Princes William and Harry at a World War I memorial; Elizabeth and husband, Prince Philip, greet well-wishers.

Royals Behaving Badly

Prince Andrew is by no means the only member of the British monarchy to be embroiled in a **SEX SCANDAL**

that another 43 percent weren't sure. Even worse, nearly half felt that the way Andrew responded to the allegations had damaged the monarchy.

It didn't help Andrew's cause within the family that negotiations for the interview went on for over a year, reportedly without consulting the queen's senior advisers. Although Elizabeth gave her permission for the interview, she reportedly wasn't informed that it would focus solely on the prince's ties to Epstein or that it would be filmed at Buckingham Palace. "It gave the appearance that the entire thing had been sanctioned by the queen, but that was not the case," a palace source told *Newsweek*. "The optics said one thing, but the truth was something else entirely."

It wasn't the first time that Andrew had negotiated his own TV deal. When his youngest daughter, Eugenie, got married in 2018, the same year as Harry and Meghan, the prince reportedly wanted her wedding to be treated with equal pomp and circumstance. That included having the nuptials televised. When the BBC declined, Andrew arranged for limited coverage by ITV instead. Security for the wedding, which included about 850 guests, cost British taxpayers over £2 million, or roughly $2.5 million.

Maternal feelings for Andrew (who is believed to be the queen's favorite son) did not prevent her from acting decisively after the interview about Epstein aired—reportedly on the recommendation of Charles, with input from his son Prince William. The upshot: Andrew "stepped down" from his official duties (not his decision, insiders say), losing the taxpayer-funded £250,000 (about $325,000) he made as a working royal. His office at Buckingham Palace was shuttered.

He won't have to worry about making a living, though. According to CNN, most of his income was funded by the queen's Duchy of Lancaster, a private estate of commercial, agricultural and residential properties that last year brought in $28 million.

Likely of greater concern to Andrew: the scandal's impact on Eugenie, 29, and her sister Beatrice, 31. The prince has long felt his daughters, who are "blood princesses," were overlooked within the royal family and has lobbied to get them higher-profile roles. Now, the opposite is likely to happen. Particularly problematic for Eugenie is her role as co-founder of the Anti-Slavery Collective, a charity that works to eradicate—oh, the irony—sex trafficking, as well as slavery, around the globe. As royal biographer Ingrid Seward said recently on *Good Morning Britain*, "We all feel very sorry for Princesses Beatrice and Eugenie." Beatrice recently became engaged, and her 2020 wedding will likely be a smaller affair than her sister's extravaganza and private—which won't require massive security, making it cheaper for taxpayers.

What's Next for Charles?

DECIDING ON THE BEST COURSE OF ACTION FOR his scandal-ridden brother has not been the only topic of discussion for Charles and his parents



TOUGH TALK Agreeing to be interviewed by BBC journalist Emily Maitlis, left, about his association with convicted sex offender Jeffrey Epstein proved "disastrous" for Andrew. Instead of the exoneration he'd hoped for, public sentiment went sharply against him, forcing him to step down from his royal duties.

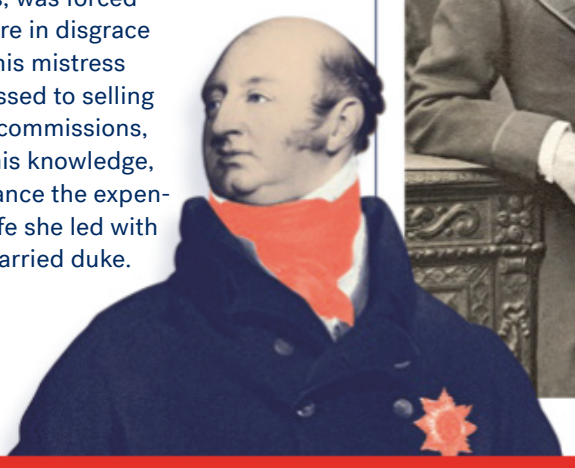
1536

Henry VIII, the OG star of British royal sex scandals, who married his third wife, Jane Seymour, 10 days after beheading second wife Anne Boleyn. He'd married Boleyn after having an affair with her sister while married to his first wife, Catherine of Aragon. Henry had six wives in all.



1809

Frederick, Duke of York, who was a son of George III and commander in chief of the British armed forces, was forced to retire in disgrace after his mistress confessed to selling army commissions, with his knowledge, to finance the expensive life she led with the married duke.



1869



Edward, the Prince of Wales, who later became King Edward VII, was the eldest son of Queen Victoria and a notorious playboy known by the nickname "Bertie." In 1869, one of his mistresses told her Scottish aristocrat husband she feared she'd gotten a sexually transmitted disease from the prince. When the outraged husband threatened to sue for divorce and name Bertie in court, the woman's family had her declared insane and sent to an asylum for the rest of her life.

1936

Edward VIII abdicated the throne to marry the twice-divorced "woman I love," American socialite Wallis Simpson.



1953

Princess Margaret, sister of Queen Elizabeth II, accepted the marriage proposal of recently divorced Royal Air Force officer Peter Townsend. But the queen's government scuttled the wedding and transferred Townsend abroad. Margaret later married the photographer Lord Snowden, but they divorced in 1978.



1989

Amid rumors of liaisons with other people, Queen Elizabeth's daughter, **Princess Anne,** and her husband, army captain Mark Phillips, separated and subsequently divorced in 1992—the same year Anne married Royal Navy Commander Timothy Laurence, with whom she'd been romantically linked while wed to Phillips.



1992

Shortly after the separation of Queen Elizabeth's second son, Andrew, Duke of York, from his wife, the former **Sarah Ferguson,** she was photographed sunbathing topless while on vacation with her "financial adviser," who appeared to be sucking her toes in the pictures. Andrew and "Fergie" divorced in 1996 but have remained on good terms.



1996

Heir to the throne **Charles, Prince of Wales,** and Diana, Princess of Wales, divorced after four years of separation filled with rumors of affairs on both sides. That included, but was not limited to, Charles' ongoing relationship with his longtime love, Camilla Parker Bowles, whom he later married. In 1992, tapes of a risqué phone call between Charles and Camilla were leaked, in which he famously said, "I'll just live inside your trousers or something. It would be much easier!" In a 1995 television interview, Diana said, "There were three of us in this marriage, so it was a bit crowded."



2012



Nude photos of **Prince Harry,** taken at a party in Las Vegas that featured a game of strip billiards, were published in U.K. newspapers.

2019

Prince Andrew is forced to relinquish his royal duties as a result of his long association with convicted sex offender Jeffrey Epstein and accusations of sexual assault by one of Epstein's alleged victims. Andrew denies the charges.



LEFT: MARK HARRISON/BBC; TIMELINE FROM 1536 TO 2019: HERITAGE IMAGES/GETTY (2); UNIVERSAL HISTORY ARCHIVE/GETTY; JOHN SHELLEY COLLECTION/GETTY; TIM GRAHAM PHOTO LIBRARY/GETTY; CHRIS JACKSON/GETTY; MAX MUMBY/INDIGO/GETTY; PHOTO ILLUSTRATIONS BY RYAN OLBRYSH



fundamentally running the family now."

The role that Charles played in effectively ending his brother's royal career has strengthened his public position as chief decision-maker. It also raises questions about his plans for when he officially becomes king. Among his top priorities, experts say, will be to cut the list of working royals to a core group consisting of his wife, Camilla, Duchess of Cornwall, and his sons, William and Harry, and their families.

The streamlining has already begun. "Many of Prince Charles' paring-downs have come to pass, most notably with the disappearance of all the cousins and aunts from the balcony [of Buckingham Palace during official engagements]," said Lacey. "It's difficult to see how the current working family can be pared down any further with [Charles' other siblings] Princess Anne and Prince Edward carrying out a full roster of duties."

"William and Kate, along with their adorable children, are the greatest assets the monarchy has right now. THERE'S NO DRAMA."

lately. When he recently met with Prince Philip at the family's estate at Sandringham, father and son were reported to have talked about the queen's "retirement" in the next 18 months. In this scenario, Charles would assume a prince regent role, which would allow him to officially take over family affairs and day-to-day royal business. "This is something Charles has been wanting for some time, but the queen has resisted," explained a royal insider.

"If Charles had been regent in November," explained Lacey, "it would have been his job to check out the interview plans, and he would almost certainly have blocked them."

The appointment of a regent, though, happens only under very specific circumstances—say, when a monarch becomes incapacitated—and is not something the queen is legally empowered to do but instead falls to Parliament. Still, even without a formal transfer of power, there is little doubt that there's been a changing of the guard. Speaking to CTV News, royal expert Richard Berthelsen said the response to the crisis surrounding Andrew "has exposed the reality many of us have been saying for some time, that [Charles], the prince of Wales, is

Challenges for the Monarchy

BUT THE MONARCHY'S SURVIVAL, SHOULD CHARLES become king, will take more than removing superfluous relatives from the taxpayers' tab. The British public's enduring admiration for Elizabeth, the most popular royal, has been the most critical factor in the current support for the monarchy—72 percent view her favorably, according to a YouGov poll this summer. Only 48 percent feel the same way about Charles.

She has been considered a fairly inscrutable public figure for much of her reign, yet those closest to the queen say privately she has a good sense of humor and dotes on her grandchildren and great-grandchildren, who call her Gan Gan. She eats cereal out of a Tupperware container every morning and enjoys her cocktails—up to four a day, reportedly, including a gin and Dubonnet on the rocks with a slice of lemon before lunch and a glass of champagne before bed.

Humanizing details, for sure. But despite the public's affection for the reigning royal, the monarchy as a British institution also represents privilege and inherited wealth at a time of financial uncertainty and jitters over Brexit, and a growing segment of the pop-

ROYALS ON PARADE
Above: The official christening photo of Archie Harrison Mountbatten-Windsor, Harry and Meghan's son. Right: Elizabeth and Charles en route to the opening of Parliament in December, where she gave her second speech in two months.

FROM LEFT: CHRIS ALLERTON/AFP/GETTY; MATT DUNHAM/WPA POOL/GETTY



ulation believes those things are out of step with the ideals of meritocracy and equality. Should Charles take the crown, he will have to prove the monarchy is still relevant at a time of tremendous upheaval, without the queen's same reservoir of goodwill. Still, his reputation has come a long way from the days when his imploding marriage to Diana played out in the British tabloids' daily headlines.

Charles's sons, William, 37, and Harry, 35, have a critical role to play as well. The once-close siblings are estranged these days, a rift that supposedly started a couple of years ago when William questioned whether Harry was moving too quickly in his relationship with Meghan and if she could adjust to royal life. Harry reportedly considered that attitude "unsupportive." But recent developments suggest that, perhaps, William's concern was not entirely unfounded.

Once viewed favorably as a modernizing and positive force for change, Harry and Meghan now seem to be a lightning rod for controversy, with rising disapproval among the British over the couple's perceived spendthrift ways and their complaints about the fishbowl life of a royal. Renovations on Frogmore Cottage, their 10-bedroom home near Windsor Castle, cost taxpayers about $3 million and included construction of a yoga studio for Meghan, a devotee of the practice.

Meanwhile, in an ITV documentary in October, Harry noted the toll that royal life has taken on his emotional health, revealing that he relives the tragic circumstances of his mother's death every time he is faced with a wall of flashbulbs. "With the role, with the job and pressures that come with that—I get reminded of the bad stuff," he said. Meghan, for her part, decried the family's "stiff upper lip" ethos as "destructive."

The queen has reportedly charged Charles with brokering a peace between the brothers. "The queen knows that both William and Harry represent the modernization of the family which ensures its survival," said an insider. "The estrangement between the brothers has to end because a united front is critical for the future."

While Harry and Meghan have gone off the grid for "much-needed family time" during the holidays,

ROLE PLAY
Princess Anne looks on while Queen Elizabeth, Prince Charles and his wife, Camilla, greet President Donald Trump and first lady Melania at a Buckingham Palace reception for NATO leaders. The December 2019 gathering marked the alliance's 70th anniversary. Earlier, Charles and Camilla met privately with the U.S. president and his wife for a quick talk over tea (the Trumps were nearly an hour late) and to pose for photos.

It's Reigning Men

Three of England's most consequential monarchs have been queens: Elizabeth I, Victoria and now Elizabeth II. At 93, the current queen has worn the crown for 67 years, making her Britain's longest-reigning monarch—and the world's longest-reigning female royal. But her heir will almost certainly be male. Here is the current line of succession:

1
Charles, Prince of Wales
AGE 71
Oldest child of Queen Elizabeth and her husband, Prince Philip

2
Prince William, Duke of Cambridge
AGE 37
Older son of Charles and his ex-wife, Diana, Princess of Wales

3
Prince George of Cambridge
AGE 6
Oldest child of William and his wife, Kate, Duchess of Cambridge



Photo illustration by RYAN OLBRYSH



GEOFF PUGH/WPA POOL/GETTY; PHIOTO ILLUSTRATION: SOURCE IMAGES: GETTY (10)

William and his wife, Kate, have taken responsibility for shoring up the family brand with a highly successful tour of Pakistan and a recent joint television appearance on a Christmas special hosted by British television personality Mary Berry. "William and Kate along with their adorable children are the greatest assets the monarchy has right now," another palace insider told *Newsweek*. "There's no drama, they're both charming, and their children are darling and well behaved. That's what the public wants from the royals—a happy family scenario that makes people feel good about the future."

Perhaps that's why the queen decided it was time for the couple's two oldest children, Prince George, 6, and Princess Charlotte, 4, to make their first public appearance with the family on the traditional and much-photographed walk from the family estate at Sandringham to St. Mary Magdalene Church on Christmas morning this year. "The queen wanted the emphasis to be on the next generation of royals this Christmas and remind people that through it all, the monarchy will survive," the insider said.

Lacey believes it will. "I am quite sure that prince George will become king one day," he said. "The 'de-royaling' of Andrew was a tragedy, but it is a reminder of how the survival of a constitutional monarchy depends on its respect and compliance with the values of the society it seeks to represent."

→ **Diane Clehane,** *who has been covering royalty for more than 20 years, is a best-selling author of five books, including* DIANA: THE SECRETS OF HER STYLE *and* IMAGINING DIANA, *a novel that envisions what would have happened if the princess had survived the 1997 crash in Paris.*

4

Princess Charlotte of Cambridge
AGE 4
William and Kate's only daughter

5

Prince Louis of Cambridge
AGE 1 YEAR, 9 MOS.
Youngest child of William and Kate

6

Prince Harry, Duke of Sussex
AGE 35
Younger son of Charles and Diana

7

Archie Harrison Mountbatten-Windsor
AGE 8 MONTHS
First child of Harry and his wife, Meghan, Duchess of Sussex

8

Prince Andrew, Duke of York
AGE 59
Second son and third child of Elizabeth and Philip





JANUARY 17, 2020

Trump's Finances: Will voters ever get answers?

EVENTUALLY, PERHAPS, BUT NOT BY NOVEMBER 3, 2020

HERE'S WHY.

by Roger Parloff

ILLUSTRATION BY ALEX FINE

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP'S MOST JEALOUSLY guarded secrets—his financial records, including tax returns—will probably remain hidden from voters until after the next election.

That's just one likely consequence of the U.S. Supreme Court's red-letter decision last month to hear three cases, involving five subpoenas, seeking those records. Though the justices will hear arguments in March and rule by next June—several months before we go to the polls—it seems increasingly doubtful that they will order a quick, clean turnover of the president's crown jewels.

Rather, the court's decision to review these cases signals that 92 years of legal precedent concerning the investigative powers of Congress may be due for an overhaul. Precisely what will emerge is anyone's guess, except that it will be momentous.

The subpoenas, issued by three congressional committees and a state grand jury in Manhattan, seek the records of Trump, his three oldest children—Donald Jr., Ivanka and Eric—the Trump Organization and a dense tangle of affiliated business entities. (These subpoenas were all issued before the House commenced a formal impeachment inquiry this fall. The House impeached Trump on December 18.)

Since 1927, when the court decided a case stemming from the Teapot Dome Scandal of the Harding administration, the law in this area has been fairly clear. Congress has had broad investigative leeway to inform its legislative functions. So long as it could articulate a "legislative purpose" for the information sought, courts would not second-guess its motives.

But while congressional subpoenas were once rare, their use has been accelerating since the 1970s. Since taking control of the House in January 2019, Democrats have demanded documents from more than 100 Trump allies or businesses. In response, Trump has stonewalled. "We're fighting all the subpoenas," he vowed last April.

In taking these cases, the court looks poised to make, at the very least, a course correction.

"Disputes over documents and testimony in the past usually got resolved through a process of mutual accommodation and compromise," says Mark Rozell, the dean of the Schar School of Public Policy and Government at George Mason University, and an expert on investigative clashes between the president, Congress and the judiciary. "Matters get trickier when there is no accommodation process—regardless of who is at fault for that. The court may very well be tempted to fashion a judicial resolution that puts constraints around the subpoena power and requires some actual showing of need—of something much more than a fishing expedition."

The lower courts saw these cases as pretty simple. Because the subpoenas sought only personal records and not official documents, they raised no thorny "executive privilege" issues. In addition, since these subpoenas were directed to Trump's accountants and banks, rather than to Trump directly, they required no action on his part—occasioning no distraction from his official duties.

Party Lines

TWO OF THE CASES INVOLVE SUBPOENAS TO MAZARS USA, Trump's accounting firm, while the other involves subpoenas to his banks, Deutsche Bank and Capital One. (Neither the accounting firm nor the banks are fighting the subpoenas, but Trump filed three federal suits, one in Washington and two in New York, to block those institutions from complying.)

All three district judges ruled against Trump, and all three appeals courts promptly affirmed. In total,





FAMILY VALUES Subpoenas issued by three congressional committees and a state grand jury in New York City seek the records of President Trump and his three oldest children: Donald Jr., Ivanka and Eric. Right: New York state lawmakers vote to let Congress see Trump's state tax returns.



IT SEEMS INCREASINGLY DOUBTFUL [redacted] THAT (THE COURT) WILL ORDER A QUICK, CLEAN TURNOVER OF THE PRESIDENT'S [redacted] Crown Jewels.

FROM TOP: VICTOR J. BLUE/BLOOMBERG/GETTY; CINDY ORD/GETTY

12 federal judges took part, with nine voting against Trump. The appeals court rulings were authored by three eminent circuit judges with, between them, 92 years of experience on the bench.

Still, in today's politically polarized world, counting lower court rulings is a poor way to predict Supreme Court outcomes. Eight of the nine judges who ruled against Trump were appointed by Democrats, while all three who voted for him were Republican-appointees. (Two additional Republican appeals court judges also voiced disagreement with the rulings by requesting, unsuccessfully, reconsideration of the case involving the congressional subpoena to Mazars.)

Even apart from political allegiances, there's another reason lower court decisions don't necessarily predict high court outcomes. Lower court judges are bound by Supreme Court precedent; Supreme Court justices are not.

Compromise?

THE TRIO OF SUBPOENA CASES NOW BEFORE THE court each present distinct issues. Accordingly, their outcomes may vary, and there is room for compromise among the justices.

The first case involves a subpoena that the late Elijah Cummings, then chairman of the House Oversight and Reform Committee, issued to Mazars this past April. It seeks, among other things, "all statements





FROM TOP: BRITTA PEDERSEN/PICTURE ALLIANCE/GETTY; MICHAEL NAGLE/BLOOMBERG/GETTY; AL DRAGO/BLOOMBERG/GETTY

of financial condition, annual statements, periodic financial reports, and independent auditors' reports" prepared or reviewed by Mazars for Trump and his businesses. If Mazars used Trump's tax returns to prepare documents—which is, as yet, unknown—Mazars would have to turn those over too. (Still another House subpoena—issued by Chairman Richard Neal's Ways and Means Committee directly to the Treasury Department—specifically seeks Trump's tax returns. But litigation over that subpoena is still bogged down in a federal district court in Washington and seems unlikely to be resolved before the election.)

Cummings' subpoena to Mazars was prompted, in part, when the Office of Government Ethics, in May 2018, found that candidate Trump had filed an inaccurate ethics disclosure statement. It omitted his obligation to reimburse his private attorney Michael Cohen for "hush money" payments to adult film actress Stormy Daniels, whose real name is Stephanie Clifford. (Daniels says she had an affair with Trump, which he has denied.) Later, when Cohen testified before Cummings' committee this past February, he alleged that Trump regularly "inflated his total assets when it served his purposes" and "deflated his assets to reduce his real estate taxes."

In asking his committee to approve the subpoena to Mazars, Cummings said in a memo that the committee needed to inform itself, among other things, about pending and potential ethics legislation it might enact to beef up presidential disclosure obligations.

TRUMP CLAIMS THAT [redacted] HE IS IMMUNE FROM [redacted] CRIMINAL PROCESS WHILE IN OFFICE, INCLUDING PRE-INDICTMENT [redacted] Investigation.

The subpoena's demands seemed quite unremarkable to both the district and appellate courts in Washington, D.C. The materials related to a "subject...on which legislation could be had," in the broad words of the landmark 1927 Supreme Court precedent *McGrain v. Daugherty*. A subsequent high court ruling also dictated that "so long as Congress acts in pursuance of a Constitutional power, the Judiciary lacks authority to intervene on the basis of the motives that spurred that power."

Rao to the Rescue

BUT THERE WAS AN IMPORTANT DISSENTING VOICE on the appeals panel. It belonged to U.S. Circuit Judge Neomi Rao, a 46-year-old Federalist Society favorite whom Trump appointed to the bench in March, a month before the subpoena was issued. (Her bitterly contested appointment was approved by the Senate on a party-line vote, 53-46.)

Rao homed in on a particular clause from chairman Cummings' memo to his committee, laying out the reasons for the subpoena. There, Cummings had specifically admitted that he also wanted to find out

18+

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HUSH MONEY
One subpoena was triggered by an ethics department filing. The problem? Trump omitted an obligation to reimburse his lawyer Michael Cohen, below, for payments to Stormy Daniels. At left: Laundering at Deutsche Bank?



"whether the President may have engaged in illegal conduct before and during his tenure in office."

Rao then drew a bright-line distinction that, if adopted by the Supreme Court, would mark a radical change from existing practice. "Allegations of illegal conduct against the President cannot be investigated by Congress except through impeachment," she wrote. This was so, she insisted, even if "the investigation also has a legislative purpose." (Although Congress did, months later, start a formal impeachment inquiry to study unrelated matters—the "favor" Trump asked of Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskiy—the validity of the subpoenas now before the top court will probably be unaffected by that development.)

Judge David Tatel, a Clinton appointee who wrote the majority decision, rejected Rao's reasoning: "The dissent cites nothing in the Constitution or case law—and there is nothing—that compels Congress to abandon its legislative role at the first scent of potential illegality and confine itself exclusively to the impeachment process."

Rao's approach, he protested, "would enfeeble the legislative branch," forcing Congress "to initiate the grave and weighty process of impeachment or forgo any investigation in support of potential legislation." Her interpretation would force legislative inquiries to "grind to a halt whenever...crime or wrongdoing is disclosed."

The second case before the court involves three subpoenas issued to Deutsche Bank and Capital One. These were issued by the House Financial Services Committee (which subpoenaed both institutions) and the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence (which subpoenaed only Deutsche Bank).

The main difference between this case and the Mazars case is that the Finance and Intelligence committee chairs did not explicitly admit that they were seeking evidence of criminal wrongdoing. Thus, Rao's argument—that the subpoena could be issued only as part of a formally convened impeachment inquiry—was legally unavailable.

Leverage?

THE STATED PURPOSES FOR THE DEUTSCHE BANK and Capital One subpoenas were more benign. Finance Committee Chair Maxine Waters said she was investigating potential legislation relating to "money-laundering schemes," while Intelligence Committee Chair Adam Schiff said his panel was pursuing its inquiry into Russian interference in U.S. elections.

Schiff wanted to find out, for instance, "whether any foreign actor has sought to compromise or holds leverage, financial or otherwise, over Donald Trump, his family, his business or his associates." (*The New York Times* had reported, as Schiff noted, that over the past two decades Trump had borrowed more than $2 billion from Deutsche Bank at a time when no other bank would lend to him.)

Again, the lower court judges saw nothing amiss with these subpoenas, though they admitted that they were quite broad. The ones to Deutsche Bank, for instance, sought "any summary or analysis of domestic or international account deposits, withdrawals and transfers." The subpoenas generally demanded documents dating back to at least 2010, and for a few categories of documents there was no time limit at all.

Again, a Republican-appointee dis-

sented. "The legislative subpoenas here are deeply troubling," wrote U.S. Circuit Judge Debra Ann Livingston, a George W. Bush appointee. She expressed concern that "ill-conceived" congressional inquiries could lead to "ruthless exposure of private lives" and fuel perceptions that legislative committees were "engaged, not in legislating, but in opposition research."

Accordingly, Livingston would have sent the case back to the lower courts and required the committees to show much more specific need for each category of document sought.

Hush

THE THIRD CASE BEFORE THE COURT PRESENTS different issues still. It involves a state grand jury subpoena rather than a congressional subpoena.

This subpoena, issued in late August and also directed to Mazars, stems from a criminal inquiry opened by Cyrus Vance Jr., the district attorney for New York County. Vance's inquiry reportedly revolves around the "hush money" payments made on Trump's behalf to Daniels and a second woman, former *Playboy* model Karen McDougal, who has also said she had an affair with Trump. (Trump has denied that affair too.)

In his suit to block Vance's grand jury subpoena, Trump claims that he is absolutely immune from all stages of criminal process while in office, including pre-indictment investigation. During oral argument before an appeals court in October, the president's lawyer stunned observers by arguing that if Trump shot someone on Fifth Avenue while in office, local authorities would be powerless to act.

Though everyone acknowledges that Trump probably cannot be indicted while in office, Trump's sweeping claim to pre-indictment immunity is contrary to Supreme Court precedent, according to the unanimous ruling written in

LEGAL SCRUM
Opposite page, clockwise top left: Elijah Cummings; Neomi Rao, Cyrus Vance Jr. and Maxine Waters. Above: protest-ready in Manhattan.

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: ERIK MCGREGOR/PACIFIC PRESS/LIGHTROCKET/GETTY; ANDREW HARRER/BLOOMBERG/GETTY; ZACH GIBSON/GETTY; ANDREW BURTON/GETTY; MICHAEL BROCHSTEIN/SOPA IMAGES/LIGHTROCKET/GETTY

November by Chief Judge Robert Katzmann of the 2nd U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in New York.

Specifically, Trump's position runs counter to the most famous subpoena case in history. In 1974, the Supreme Court unanimously ordered President Richard Nixon to turn over his Oval Office tape recordings in response to a federal grand jury subpoena—an event that led to his resignation. In 2000, the Justice Department's Office of Legal Counsel specifically said a grand jury could properly "gather evidence" throughout a president's term, even though it couldn't issue an indictment until he left office.

Furthermore, Katzmann noted, the grand jury's request for Trump's tax returns was not even particularly invasive. The previous six presidents, dating back to Jimmy Carter, all disclosed theirs to the public voluntarily, he observed in a footnote.

No Satisfaction

WHILE THE GRAND JURY CASE MAY BE THE SIMPLEST of the three before the court, offering the strongest prospects for unanimous affirmance, it will not furnish voters with any insights. Even if Mazars turns over Trump's tax returns to Vance, they will remain grand jury secrets unless and until they become the subject of an indictment—which, again, cannot happen until Trump leaves office.

To be clear, some observers remain optimistic that the Supreme Court will follow its precedents and enforce the congressional subpoenas in these cases. They hold out hope that today's bitterly divided Supreme Court will come together in another transcendent ruling comparable to *United States v. Nixon* in 1974 or *Clinton v. Jones* in 1998, unanimously reaffirming that no man is above the law. (In *Jones*, the court held that President Bill Clinton was not immune from responding to Paula Jones' civil discovery requests while in office.)

"The fact that the political tables could one day be turned should provide grounds for consensus on the court in support of the House," says Brianne Gorod, chief counsel of the progressive Constitutional Accountability Center. "Accepting the president's arguments would undermine Congress' oversight authority, which is critical to our nation's system of checks and balances, and would make it more difficult for Congress as an institution to do its job, no matter which political party holds a majority."

Still, the lower court rulings suggest that judges of different parties see these cases through radically different lenses. In any case, even some justices in the court's liberal faction may have concerns about the broad, invasive subpoenas that a vindictive Republican congressional chairman or a rogue Republican state prosecutor might one day fashion for some future Democratic president.

It seems certain that, in time, grand jurors, journalists, biographers and historians will all pore over Trump's financial records, including his tax returns. But not voters—at least not before November 3.

LOWER COURT JUDGES [redacted] ARE BOUND [redacted] BY SUPREME COURT **Precedent,** WHILE SUPREME COURT JUSTICES ARE NOT [redacted]











BY THE NUMBERS

Health & Fitness

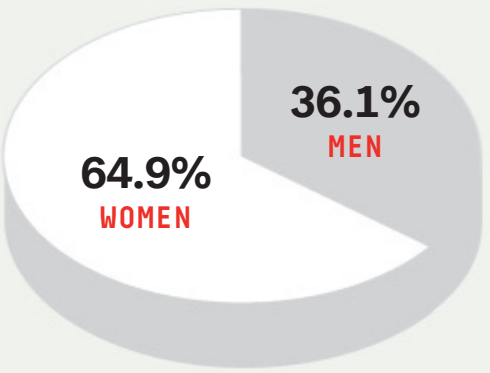
Just over half of Americans say that health and wellness will be their top focus in 2020, according to a recent survey from Allianz, vs. only 27 percent who are most concerned with getting their finances on track. Resolving to become more fit in the New Year? Here's a look at some of the trends that may guide you. *—Noah Miller*



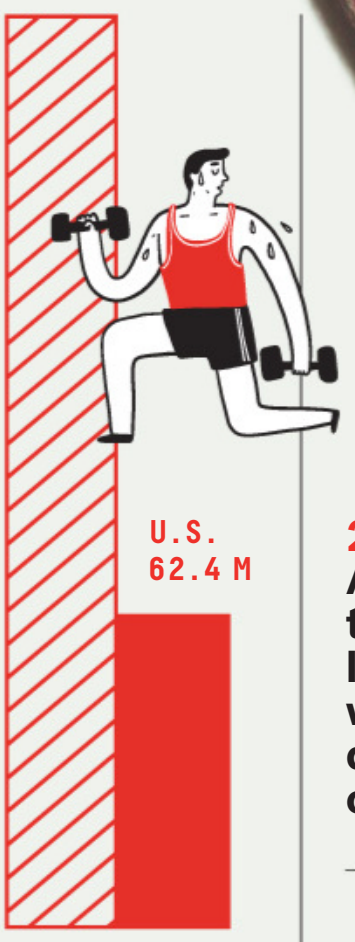
$95 BILLION

Estimated size of the "wearable technology" market (fitness trackers, smart watches, heart rate monitors and so on), expected to be the top fitness trend of 2020. Also popular: high interval intensity training (HIIT) and working out with free weights.

1 hour, 27 minutes → **The average amount of time spent on a sport or exercising among the 18 percent of Americans who engage in those activities on any given day**



The percentage of Americans who have avoided the gym due to anxiety or fear of being judged

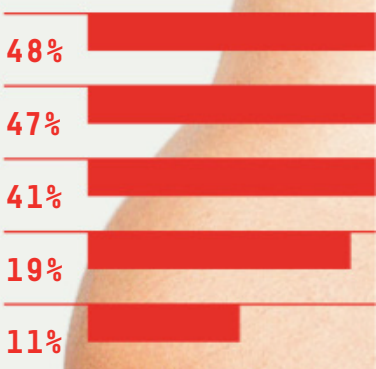


62,400,000

The number of Americans who belong to a health club or fitness center, more than any other country, and a 37 percent jump over the past decade. Worldwide membership: 183 million.

Top Health Resolutions for 2020

Five of the top 10 resolutions for the New Year are wellness-related, including the top three.



25.7% → The percentage of Americans who sit for more than eight hours per day—a level of inactivity associated with a heightened risk dying, similar to the risks of obesity and smoking

16:

SOURCES: AMERICAN COLLEGE OF SPORTS MEDICINE, BLS, FITRATED.COM, INT'L HEALTH, RACQUET AND SPORTSCLUB ASSN., STATISTA, JAMA, MAYO CLINIC, WEIGHT WATCHERS, GOOGLE, EQUINOX, PLANET FITNESS, WALLETHUB, ROBERT WOOD JOHNSON FOUNDATION, HARVARD T.H. CHAN SCHOOL OF PUBLIC HEALTH





TO EAT HEALTHIER

TO EXERCISE MORE

TO LOSE WEIGHT

TO QUIT SMOKING

TO CUT DOWN ON ALCOHOL





$4,160

Annual price of a top-tier Equinox membership (monthly dues plus fees, but excluding taxes and promotions), which gives you access to any of its facilities in the world. A comparable membership at Planet Fitness, the global leader in health clubs, costs $315.88.

30.4%

Among Americans who exercise, the percentage who choose walking, by far the most popular form of physical activity. Rounding out the top four: weight lifting (8.9%), running (8.8%) and cardio (8.7%).



$559.40

Annual cost of a Weight Watchers membership, for the digital diet plan plus workshops (standard $44.95 monthly rate plus $20 starter fee; discounts may be available). Cost of food is not included.

Most Fit Places to Live in the U.S.



Healthiest Places to Live in the U.S.



(Based on 16 measures of health and 7 measures of fitness)



8

A diet in which you fast for 16 hours a day, then eat during the remaining eight. The so-called intermittent fasting diet was the top-trending diet of 2019. Other versions include the 5:2 and 1:1.



58% → Among U.S. adults who play sports, the percentage who say it has reduced their stress. Other benefits: 54% say it improved their mental health; 51%, their physical health.



JENA ARDELL/GETTY; ILLUSTRATIONS: SILWAT WISANSAK/GETTY; ICONS: MAGNILION/GETTY

SCIENCE

Life, Death & Arithmetic

In his new book, Kit Yates explains how mathematical principles can help prevent outbreaks of measles and other diseases



THE MEASLES VACCINE IS incredibly effective, yet recurrences and outbreaks abound. Samoa is currently undergoing an outbreak with thousands infected, and in 2019, the United States had the most cases reported since 1992. What can we do about it? In this excerpt from his new book, The Math of Life & Death: 7 Mathematical Principles that Shape Our Lives*, mathematical biologist Kit Yates explains how everyone has a part to play in the wider context of public health. Increasing the vaccination rate allows vaccines to prevent deadly illnesses. By understanding the mathematical principles behind disease prevention, the public can better protect themselves from disease.*

SOMETIMES MATH REALLY IS A MATTER of life and death, particularly when it comes to the outbreak of a deadly disease and the strategies to control it. As well as helping us to understand the unusual features of different disease landscapes, mathematical models of epidemics allow us to peer into the future of disease progression and to take proactive preventive measures, rather than always playing reactive games of catch-up.

Mathematical epidemiology helps us answer a number of perplexing questions that surround childhood diseases such as mumps and rubella.

The idea that a large population of immune individuals can slow or even halt the spread of a disease, as with the dormant periods between outbreaks of childhood diseases, is a mathematical concept known as herd immunity. Surprisingly, this community effect does not require everyone to be immune to the disease for the whole population to be protected.

By reducing the effective reproduction number—the average number of secondary cases produced by a typical case—to less than one, the chain of transmission can be broken and the disease stopped in its tracks. Crucially, herd immunity means that those with immune systems too weak to tolerate vaccination—including the elderly, newborns, pregnant women and people with HIV—can still benefit from the protection of vaccinations.

Vaccinating only 80 percent of the susceptible population against smallpox was enough, in 1977, to complete one of the greatest accomplishments of our species—to wipe a human disease clean off the face of the Earth. The feat has never been repeated. The debilitating and dangerous implications of smallpox infection alone made it a suitable target for eradication. Its low critical immunization threshold—the minimum proportion of the population that must be immunized in order for the infection to die out—also made it a relatively easy target.

Many diseases are harder to protect against because they spread more easily. Chicken pox would require 90 percent of the population to be immune before the rest would be effectively protected and the disease wiped out. Measles, by far the most infectious human-to-human disease on Earth would require between 92 percent and 95 percent of the population to be vaccinated. A study that modeled the spread of a 2015 Disneyland measles outbreak suggested vaccination rates among those exposed

BY

KIT YATES

@Kit_Yates_Maths

RIDVANARDA/GETTY



to the disease may have been as low as 50 percent, way below the threshold required for herd immunity.

MR. MMR

Given the astounding success of the smallpox vaccine in eradicating the formerly deadly disease, why are some vaccination rates for other deadly diseases now falling? One cause of this dangerous trend can be tied to the anti-vaxxer campaign, which has its roots in a now debunked study linking the MMR vaccine to autism.

As an example, in 1996, England, whose rate of rate of vaccination against measles (through the combined measles, mumps and rubella [MMR] injection) hit a record high at 91.8 percent—close to the critical immunization threshold for eliminating measles. Then, in 1998, something happened that would derail the vaccination process for years.

"By reducing the effective reproduction number to less than one, the chain of transmission can be broken and the disease stopped in its tracks."

This public health disaster was caused by what was later found to be a fraudulent study in the well-respected medical journal the *Lancet*. In the study, lead author Andrew Wakefield proposed a link between the MMR vaccine and autism-spectrum disorders. On the back of his "findings," Wakefield launched his own personal anti-MMR campaign, stating in a press conference, "I can't support the continued use of these three vaccines given in combination until this issue has been resolved." Most of the mainstream media couldn't resist the bait.

While indulging the fears of many fretful parents, the media's coverage of the story typically failed to mention that Wakefield's study was conducted on just 12 children, an extremely small cohort from which to draw meaningful large-scale conclusions. Any coverage that did sound a note of caution about the study was drowned out by the warning sirens emanating from most news outlets. In the 10 years that followed the publication of the infamous *Lancet* paper, the MMR uptake rate would drop from above 90 percent to below 80 percent. Confirmed cases of measles would increase from 56 in 1998 to over 1300, 10 years later. Cases of mumps, which had been becoming less prevalent throughout the 1990s, suddenly skyrocketed.

In 2004, investigative journalist Brian Deer, sought to expose Wakefield's work as fraudulent. Among other claims, Deer claimed to have evidence that Wakefield had manipulated the data in his paper to give the false impression of a link to autism. Deer's evidence of Wakefield's scientific fraud and extreme conflicts of interest eventually led to the offending paper's retraction by the *Lancet*'s editors.

In 2010, Wakefield was struck off the medical register by the General Medical Council. In the 20 years since

Wakefield's original paper, at least 14 comprehensive studies on hundreds of thousands of children across the world have found no evidence of a link between MMR and autism. Sadly, though, Wakefield's influence lives on.

Although MMR vaccination in the UK has returned to pre-scare levels, vaccination rates across the developed world as a whole are dropping, and measles cases are increasing. In Europe, 2018 saw more than 60,000 cases of measles, with 72 proving fatal—double the number from the previous year. The United States experienced more measles cases in the first four months of 2019 than in any year for a quarter of a century. The World Health Organization lists what it calls "vaccine hesitancy" as one of 2019's top 10 global health threats. The *Washington Post*, among other media outlets, attributes the rise of the "anti-vaxxers" directly to Wakefield, describing him as "the founder of the modern anti-vaccination movement." The doctrines of the movement, however, have expanded far beyond Wakefield's now-debunked findings, and anti-vaxxer rhetoric has risen to prominence as a result of support from high-profile celebrities including Jim Carrey, Charlie Sheen and Alicia Silverstone.

THE GOOD PULPIT Kristen Bell advocated for herd immunity to protect against the spread of disease in a June tweet: "Let's stop outbreaks and support science based public health policy."

"Alongside the rise of the celebrity activist has come the emergence of social media, allowing these personalities to promulgate their views directly to their fans on their own terms."



Alongside the rise of the celebrity activist has come the emergence of social media, allowing these personalities to promulgate their views directly to their fans on their own terms. With the erosion of trust in the mainstream media, people are increasingly turning to these echo chambers for reassurance. The rise of these alternative platforms has provided a space for the anti-vaccination movement to grow unthreatened and unchallenged by evidence-based science. Wakefield himself even described the emergence of social media as having "evolved beautifully"—for his purposes, perhaps.

DISEASE PREVENTION IS IN YOUR HANDS

DESPITE THE GROWING POPULARITY of vaccine hesitancy, the individual decision to get ourselves and our children vaccinated bolsters the herd immunity that keeps whole populations safe. We all have choices to make that affect our likelihood of contracting infectious disease. When we are ill, choices we make affect our likelihood of transmitting disease to others: whether we cancel the much-anticipated get-together with friends; whether we keep our children home from school; whether we cover our mouths when we cough. The crucial decision of whether we vaccinate ourselves and our dependents can only be made ahead of time. It affects our chances not only of catching—but also of transmitting—diseases.

Some of these decisions are inexpensive, making their adoption straightforward. It costs nothing to sneeze into a tissue or a handkerchief. Other decisions provide us with more of a dilemma. It is tempting to send the kids to school even if we know it increases the number of potentially infectious contacts they will make. At the heart of all our choices should be an understanding of the risks and consequences.

Mathematical epidemiology provides a way to assess and understand these decisions. It suggests strategies to tackle disease outbreaks and the preventive measures we can take to avoid them. In conjunction with reliable scientific evidence, mathematical epidemiology demonstrates that vaccination is a no-brainer. The World Health Organization figures show that vaccines prevent millions of deaths every year and could prevent millions more if we could improve global coverage. They are the best way we have of preventing outbreaks of deadly diseases and the only chance we have of terminating their devastating impacts for good. Not only does it protect you, it protects your family, your friends, your neighbors and your colleagues. N

→ *From* THE MATH OF LIFE AND DEATH *by* **Kit Yates**. *Copyright © 2019 by Kit Yates. Reprinted by permission of Scribner, an imprint of Simon & Schuster, Inc.*

FROM LEFT: VERA ANDERSON/WIREIMAGE/GETTY; UNIVERSITY OF BATH



BOOKS

Q&A: Kit Yates

BY MEREDITH WOLF SCHIZER

Why this book?
It's the right time. Math is fundamental for grasping the complicated phenomena we experience every day. It's the flow of water through our taps and the electricity that keeps the lights on. It's the ads we see in our internet browsers to the "friend" recommendations pushed at us on Facebook. I want people to know how they can both avoid falling victim to mathematical manipulators and use math to their own advantage.

What is a mathematical biologist?
The job of a mathematical biologist is to use mathematics in order to gain an understanding of complex biological processes. These range from the way in which our genes function at the smallest scales all the way up to the way in which diseases spread through populations at the largest scales.

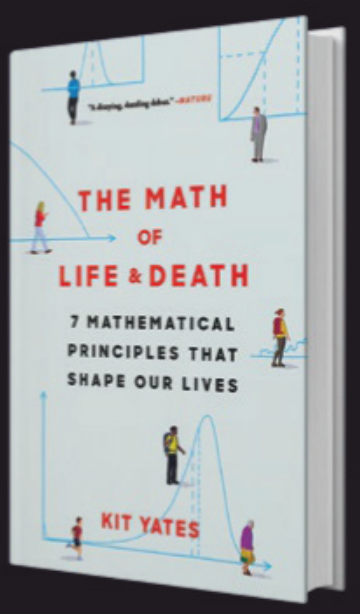
How do you explain what you do to the layman?
I try to use stories. In the book, we meet athletes banned by faulty tests and patients crippled by faulty genes; innocent victims of miscarriages of justice and the unwitting victims of software glitches. I tell the stories of investors who have lost everything and parents who have lost children, all because of mathematical misunderstandings.

What is the best way to combat the persistent belief that vaccines cause autism?
The science is very clear. There is no connection between vaccines and autism. The best way to best way to combat anti-vax rhetoric is at the grassroots through education programs—arming people with the facts about the benefits of vaccination and dispelling the myths.

To what do you attribute the increased prevalence in autism?
There are prenatal risk factors including, for example, advanced paternal age, which might contribute to a rise in incidence of the disease. However, the number of cases diagnosed has almost certainly increased due to widening diagnostic criteria, better detection and improved awareness. In short, children who were previously being misdiagnosed, or not diagnosed at all, are now receiving diagnoses of autism

Why do you think the "anti-vaxxer" movement has so many celebrity supporters?
There has long been a preponderance of new-age beliefs in Hollywood. In reality, however, there are probably more pro-vaccine than anti-vax celebrities. People like Seth MacFarlane and Kristen Bell are staunchly pro-vaccination and doing great work to encourage people to vaccinate their kids. The anti-vax celebs just get more media attention because they hold such a controversial opinion.

We've seen more cases of measles in the U.S. since the 1990s, and now there's an outbreak in Samoa. Do we need to be concerned that measles will no longer be contained?
Absolutely. In 2019, Greece, Albania, the Czech Republic and the United Kingdom all had their measles-free status revoked by the World Health Organization. The United States itself came within a few weeks of losing its eliminated status. Measles is on the rise again in the U.S., Europe and much of the developing world, placing vulnerable people at risk. If vaccination rates continue to fall, this problem will only get worse.



BY THE NUMBERS
Yates' book illuminates how principles of math tackle disease prevention, explain the perceived passage of time and more.

Do you have any qualms about germs and air travel? How do you protect yourself when you travel?
I wash my hands thoroughly, but I don't go so far as to use a mask. There is relatively little risk of communicable diseases being transmitted on airplanes. Air quality is quite tightly controlled and filtered in order to reduce the risk, so I don't worry too much about it.

Have you always liked patterns?
I was not one of those child prodigies who always knew he was going to be a mathematician. I got into math at high school and I realized that, at its most fundamental, that's all math is—pattern. Pattern is the way that everyone can appreciate our subject. If you spot a pattern in the fractal branches of a tree, or in the multi-fold symmetry of a snowflake, then you are seeing math. When you tap your foot in time with a piece of music, or when your voice reverberates and resonates as you sing in the shower, you are hearing math. If you bend a shot into the back of the net or catch a baseball on its parabolic trajectory, then you are doing math.

What do you do for fun? What are your hobbies?
I have two little kids. They keep me busy. I love to take them out to the park or on muddy walks or just to play games with them at home. I also follow Manchester City Football Club [American soccer] in the English Premier League. And I read a lot, mostly literary fiction. N

HEALTH

More Evidence Against Vaping

The similarities to cigarettes keep mounting: A new study finds vaping makes the lungs as vulnerable to infections as smoking the traditional way

AMID MORE THAN 50 DEATHS and thousands of hospitalizations in the U.S. attributed to e-cigarette- or vaping- associated lung injury, and the CDC's recommendation to refrain from all vaping products pending their investigation, comes a new study.

Scientists found that vaping may carry the same risk as cigarette smoke when it comes to making the lungs more susceptible to infections, and they published this research in mid-December in the journal *Respiratory Research*.

Vaping is the inhalation of a heated liquid, which becomes aerosolized. It was introduced to the market in the U.S. in 2007, and according to Euromonitor International, the number of vapers has increased from about 7 million in 2011 to 41 million in 2018.

BY

KASHMIRA GANDER
@kashmiragander

To reach their conclusion, researchers grew bacteria in a lab and exposed them to e-cigarette vapor and cigarette smoke.

The bugs in question—*Haemophilus influenzae, Streptococcus pneumoniae, Staphylococcus aureus* and *Pseudomonas aeruginosa*—can live in the lungs without causing problems.

But the bacteria can cause a "toxic mix of infection and inflammation" in the lungs of people who already have conditions such as Chronic Obstructive Pulmonary Disease (COPD), bronchitis and asthma, study co-author Dr. Deirdre Gilpin of the School of Pharmacy at Queen's University Belfast told *Newsweek*.

"This can result in the lungs becoming damaged and not able to function well," Gilpin said.

However, when the team exposed the bacteria to cigarette smoke and e-cigarette vapor, they became more virulent, or potentially harmful, in a way that could cause diseases such as COPD and asthma, Gilpin explained.

While she didn't expect this, Gilpin found the changes in bacteria exposed to e-cigarette vapor to be the same—and sometimes greater—than those seen with cigarette smoke.

"This suggests that vaping may carry the same risk as cigarette smoke in increasing the susceptibility to bacteria infection," Gilpin said.

However, she also highlighted that both the smoke and vapor were generated in the lab in the same way. But in real life, people smoke and vape differently, as the latter requires a deeper inhalation, and people may vape for longer at each session.

"It's possible that the effects we observed with vape could be potentially greater in real life," she said. Gilpin added that there are thousands of different e-cigarette flavors on the market, some of which are toxic. Investigating these in the future and with more patient samples is "really important," she said.



PASCAL KISZON/GETTY



UP IN SMOKE
Vaping may change the microbiome of our lungs, according to Dr. Panagis Galiatsatos, a spokesman for the American Lung Association. This could weaken immune defenses and make people "more susceptible to lung-related diseases in the future."

"Ideally we would encourage—particularly young non-smokers—not to start vaping," Gilpin continued. She suggested that people trying to quit smoking use alternative methods.

"Vaping is often quoted as being less harmful than smoking," Gilpin stressed. "But less harmful isn't the same as safe, and results from our study suggest that exposing lung bacteria to vape may carry the same risk as smoking."

"We urgently need more research about the long-term effects of vaping on the lungs," she concluded.

Dr. Panagis Galiatsatos, assistant professor of pulmonary and critical care medicine at Johns Hopkins Medical School and a spokesperson for the American Lung Association, who did not work on the research, commented on the paper. Referring to the bacteria which populate the lungs, he told *Newsweek*, the study "tells us that vaping may begin to change the microbiome of our lungs."

"Our lungs' normal microbiomes are made of bacteria that live in an ecological community in a symbiotic relationship with our lungs. When we allow the prevalence of more pathogenic bacteria to increase (e.g., *Pseudomonas*) and/or become more virulent, then we create a susceptibility to disease initiation and/or progression," explained Galiatsatos.

Asked whether those who use e-cigarettes should stop, he said doctors should tell their patients "to stop smoking, whether combustible or electronic cigarettes."

"More importantly, any activity that has the ability to weaken lung immune defenses and tip the microbiome in favor of pathogenic bacteria, then these persons will be more susceptible to lung-related diseases in the future," Galiatsatos said.



REASONS TO BE CHEERFUL
There are lot of different paths to happy, among them alternative practices like Japanese forest bathing (opposite page).

FROM LEFT: WILLIE B. THOMAS/GETTY; IPPEI NAOI/GETTY

UNCHARTED

Global Wellness Rituals to Try This Year

What is the secret to physical and mental well-being? Since the beginning of time, people have searched for the answer. Every country has its own traditions and take on self-care. In Finland, it involves steamy saunas and icy dips; in Tibet, sound vibrations are believed to heal and harmonize the body; and in the United States, floating in darkened soundproof pods to chill out is enjoying a renaissance. This new year, try a new wellness ritual from around the globe. *—Kathleen Rellihan*



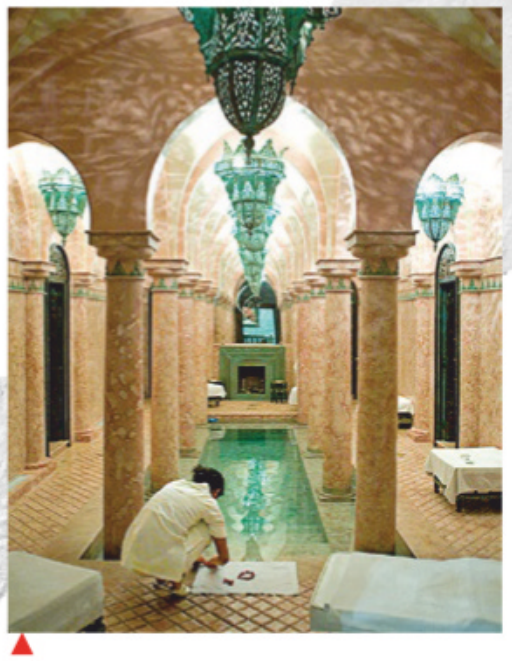
04 Saunas and Ice Swimming
Finland

The United Nation has ranked Finland as the happiest country in the world for the second year in a row. Could one of their secrets to being so content lie in the national pastime of sweating out the blues in a sauna? Or maybe it is the adrenaline rush of ice swimming, another popular activity Finns do for a jolt of joy on a cold winter's day.

01 Sensory Deprivation Flotation Tanks
United States

While floating in a pitch-black soundproof pod filled with salt water might seem terrifying, this is one of the hottest wellness trends in the U.S. Devotees say the lack of stimuli creates a deep state of mental and physical relaxation that lasts long after emerging from the tank.





03 Hammam
Morocco

Hammam, traditional Moroccan bath houses, aren't for the shy, as they are typically experienced in the nude (although separated by gender). These public baths are places to socialize, relax and get squeaky clean—you'll be rigorously scrubbed and exfoliated down to a new layer of skin with black soap and a hand mitt.

02 Ayahuasca
Peru

Ancient Amazonian tribes used this psychedelic brew made from tea leaves for spiritual and religious purposes. Now, however, it has become popular worldwide as an alternative healing treatment to reach an altered state of consciousness and to heal past traumas, depression, cancer and more. During a retreat, a shaman prepares the drink and guides the participant through the ceremony, which can result in the body purging in all forms, which is believed to be part of the cleansing process.



01: MEDIANEWS GROUP/BAY AREA NEWS/GETTY; 02: VICTOR DE SCHWANBERG/SCIENCE PHOTO LIBRARY/GETTY; 03: GIUSEPPE MASCI/AGF/UNIVERSAL IMAGES GROUP/GETTY; 04: IN PICTURES LTD./CORBIS/GETTY



05 Banyas and Branch Beating

Russia

Volunteering to be whacked with a bunch of oak leaves might not sound relaxing, but it's a traditional type of massage in Russian banyas, or bath houses. The beating of water-dipped branches takes place in a sauna, and it is believed to boost circulation and prevent premature skin aging.



06 Laughter Yoga

India

Traditional yoga poses involving headstands or backbends might be intimidating to some, but Laughter Yoga is something everyone can do. In Mumbai in 1995, Dr. Madan Kataria created this hilarious meditative practice that involves cracking up for no reason in order to lower levels of stress hormones. Now it's contagious, and Laughter Yoga clubs can be found all over the world.



07 Singing Bowls

Tibet

For centuries, Buddhist monks have used "singing bowls" for meditation and healing purposes. The vibrations created by these bowls are believed to balance, heal and restore out-of-harmony parts of the mind and body by reducing stress, focusing the mind and even relieving pain.



08 Shinrin-yoku or Forest Bathing

Japan (See previous spread)

Shinrin-yoku or forest bathing is the Japanese practice of immersing oneself in nature through the five senses as a form of preventative medicine and therapy. In fact, trees give off organic compounds that support cancer-fighting cells by boosting the immune system. A simple stroll in the woods also lowers blood pressure and accelerates recovery from surgery or illness.

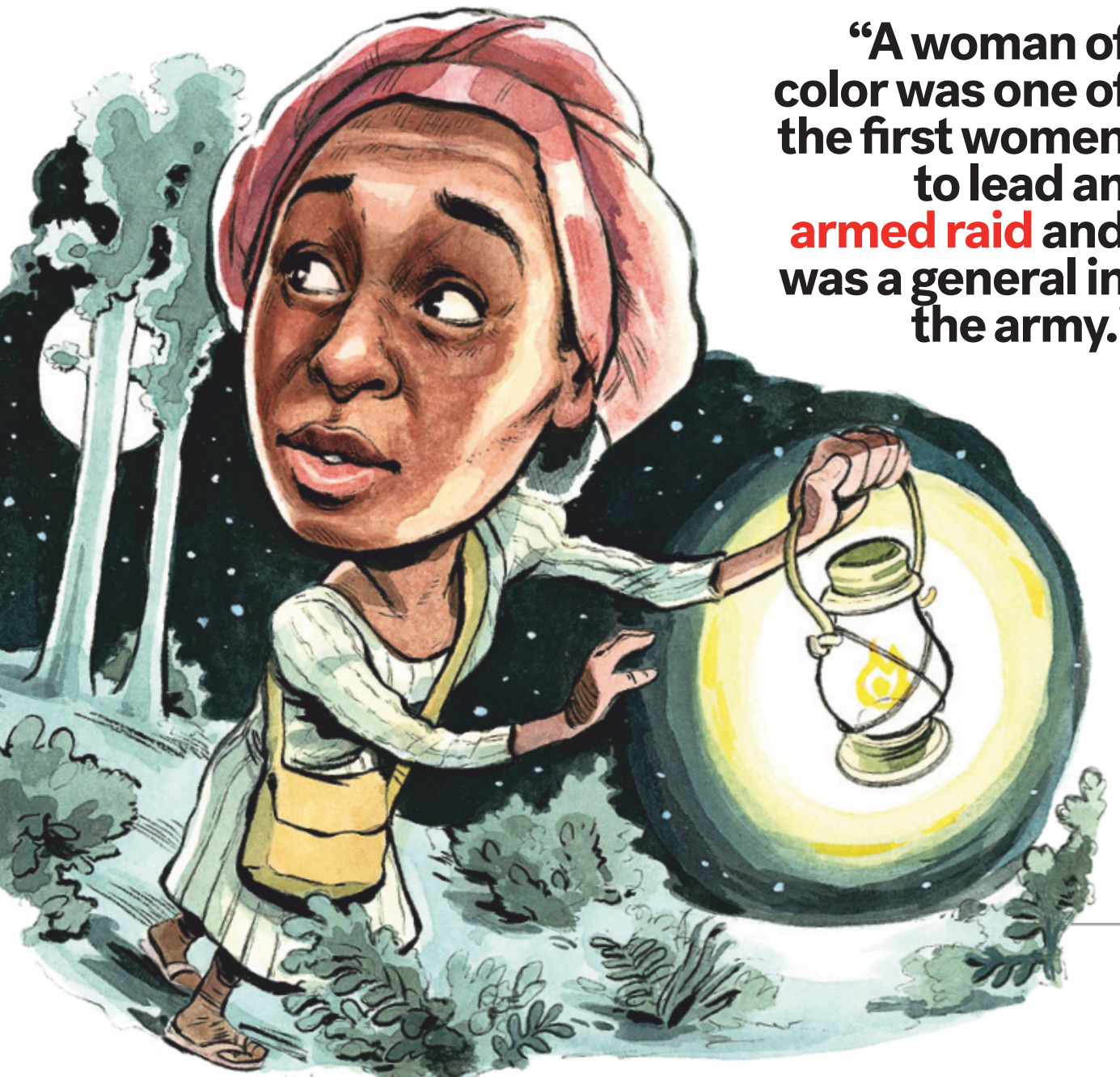
05: NIKKYTOK/GETTY; 06: KUNAL PATIL/HINDUSTAN TIMES/GETTY; 07: BJORN999/GETTY; 08: ART WOLFE/GETTY

Illustration by BRITT SPENCER

PARTING SHOT

Cynthia Erivo

CYNTHIA ERIVO, THE TONY, EMMY AND GRAMMY-AWARD WINNING ARTIST, says the Oscar buzz around her most recent performance as Harriet Tubman in the film *Harriet* is "very overwhelming" and she "genuinely didn't expect it." Already nominated for two Golden Globes for the role, Erivo breathes life into the often mysterious public image of the famous abolitionist and unofficial leader of the Underground Railroad. Erivo says she hopes people learn more about the life lived before and after the period for which Harriet (born Araminta Ross, Erivo's Tubman takes her mother's name—Harriet—in the film after running to freedom) was famous. In order to tap into Tubman's soul, Erivo used a skill she knows a thing or two about: singing, a "powerful, powerful" tool to tap into the spirit of Tubman, and ultimately into the film's message of freedom. "I think we need to use this film to inspire us to do good things and see the strength we have in ourselves," Erivo told *Newsweek*. "We as people have agency and the ability to bring about really good change." —*H. Alan Scott*



"A woman of color was one of the first women to lead an armed raid and was a general in the army."

Why do you think it's important for people to know Harriet Tubman's various names?
Getting to meet Araminta Ross, we get to humanize her and watch her grow. It took time to get from Araminta to Harriet.

What is often left out of Tubman's story is her military service and her work in the women's suffrage movement. Why are these parts of her story so important?
I don't think many people realize she worked in the army and the suffragette movement—much of that in the script we didn't have time to delve into. It's very exciting that a woman, particularly a woman of color, was one of the first women full stop to lead an armed raid and was a general in the army. There's a life story there that continued for a really long time.

Did the music in the film impact your performance?
Yes. It's a connection to the spirits. Negro spirituals were a way to send a message to one another. It's a powerful, powerful thing.

What sort of impact do you hope Tubman's story has on people?
To help or to make change should be a duty of ours. I hope it gives young men and women the courage and the confidence to see a woman who is the center of her narrative and to be strong and fast and mysterious and have this wonderful heart. It's an example that women can do anything.

RELIVE THE SKYWALKER SAGA



FIND IT ON NEWSSTANDS NATIONWIDE OR AT *ONNEWSSTANDSNOW.COM*