OCTOBER 2, 2017

TIME

MYANMAR'S SHAME

The plight of the Rohingya tarnishes Aung San Suu Kyi's name

BY ELIZABETH DIAS

Rohingya refugees reach the shore of Bangladesh on Sept. 12

TIME
VOL. 190, NO. 13 | 2017

The Brief

News from the U.S. and around the world

The View

Ideas, opinion, innovations

The Features

Time Off

What to watch, read, see and do

Democratic Congressman Tim Ryan visits a neighborhood in Youngstown, Ohio, on July 22

Photograph by Mark Hartman for TIME

ON THE COVER: *Photograph by Dan Kitwood—Getty Images*

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TIME's Second Century

HANGING ABOVE MY DESK IS A LETTER from the editors of TIME to my grandfather. An immigrant who fled Nazi Germany in the 1930s, he, like so many others of his era, was introduced to America through the pages of this magazine. Now and then, he returned the favor by introducing TIME's editors to some of his own ideas—in this case with a dispatch (in rhyme!) pointing out that they had erred in using the word *who* instead of *whom* on a recent cover.

TIME acknowledged in response that, grammatically speaking, it was "skating on very thin ice" but noted, citing H.L. Mencken, Noah Webster and *Do's, Don'ts and Maybes of English Usage,* that traditions change.

Change happens to be a tradition at TIME. This publication has gone from black-and-white to color; from a lightly sketched cover to its famous red border; from print to radio to film (winning an Oscar along the way) to the web. It moved from New York City to Cleveland and back. It supported, through the thinnest of veils, Dwight Eisenhower for President and then 20 years later, in its first editorial, urged Richard Nixon to resign.

Over the past four years, led by my friend and predecessor Nancy Gibbs, TIME has changed more than at any other time in its history. Like so much of the world we cover, our business is in rapid transformation—and we are transforming with it. TIME's news operation now stretches not only around the world but around the clock, as journalists from Hong Kong to Washington to London deliver every hour what we had for the previous nine decades delivered mostly once a week. Ten million people watched our live coverage on election night, thanks to a video team that has earned Emmy nominations two years in a row. What began as a print magazine mailed to 9,000 subscribers in 1923 reaches an audience of 100 million across all our platforms today.

And yet there are essential constants, beginning with the passion and commitment of our journalists. They fly airplanes through eclipses, drive trucks into hurricanes, don hazmat suits to track deadly viruses and board boats in dangerous waters to tell the stories of refugees. Equally enduring is our commitment to fairness and accuracy. There are, as there should be, many policies and agendas; exploring them is our mission. But there is only one set of facts.

ONE OF *TIME*'S traditions is an editor's letter, in which new occupants of this job—there have been 18 all together—introduce themselves and their priorities to readers. I am a student of history, a believer that "the past is still real and present," as Peter Taylor put it in his Pulitzer-winning novel *A Summons to Memphis,* set in my hometown. After earning degrees in law and in diplomacy, I ultimately decided there was no better place to work—no environment that values debate and ideas more fully—than a newsroom.

Halfway through my 15 years at the *Wall Street Journal,* I left its Washington bureau to launch a series of sections and sites. I have always loved being part of the search for new ways to tell stories and reach readers. This is what drew me to TIME, an institution that began with a small entrepreneurial team of journalists who "fitted easily into three taxis," according to a company history, and has informed, challenged and—so important in this world—amused readers ever since.

If you haven't yet, I urge you to explore some of the multimedia journalism my colleagues have been doing at time.com/firsts, time.com/findinghome and time.com/eclipse. You can expect more of this kind of work from us in the coming months and years, even as our weekly magazine continues to prove more relevant than ever with stories like this week's feature on Democratic disarray by Philip Elliott and Elizabeth Dias' look at Nobel laureate Aung San Suu Kyi's inaction amid allegations of ethnic cleansing in Myanmar.

All of us at TIME take seriously our roles as storytellers and our obligation to ensure that this institution thrives into its second century. We also take seriously our commitment to you. I hope that, like my grandfather and so many readers like him through the decades, you'll continue to let us know how we're doing.

MARINA ZARYA

Edward

Edward Felsenthal,
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF
@EFELSENTHAL

THE WRONG GOALS

RE "KID SPORTS INC." [Sept. 9]: I'm sure that in the U.S., putting your children in sports is often about prestige and money, trying to fulfill the American Dream and having a more successful child than your neighbor's. Your article included no deeper insight into how the children themselves feel about all the sports-related travel, and hence a lack of time for a normal social life. I wish parents would act according to their children's interest instead of in hopes of getting them a scholarship. A wunderkind is rare, but you cannot force a miracle.

Michael Colberg,
HAMBURG

YOUR ARTICLE SAYS THAT "intense early specialization in a single sport increases the risk of injury, burnout and depression." That does not sound like a recipe for a healthy childhood. What happened to children playing sports just for fun, for getting exercise and for learning to win and lose as a team? Or are we merely experiencing a "professionalism" of that well-known psychological phenomenon of parents trying to relive their largely imaginary sporting opportunities through their children?

Eric A. Ferrel,
GENEVA

OUT OF BOUNDS

RE "8 QUESTIONS" [Sept. 9]: You seemed to have run out of relevant and interesting questions for tennis star Garbiñe Muguruza, when you asked her if she could picture herself playing a tournament while pregnant as Serena Williams did. An impressive young tennis champion with the world at her feet and yet you default to a boring and sexist question about an entirely theoretical aspect of her future personal life. Yawn. Yet another female athlete being reduced to this sort of dull, gender-biased, ovary-focused "journalism."

S. Boeuf,
TOULOUSE, FRANCE

AN APT PUNISHMENT

RE "HONG KONG JAILS ITS First Prisoners of Conscience" [Sept. 9]: Your coverage on Hong Kong's politics has never been exempt from a biased view that is characteristic of the general Western media. Calling the offenders "prisoners of conscience" completely disregards the fact that imprisonment was an apt punishment for their crime of an unlawful assembly that led to injuries for several security guards. TIME is critical of President Trump's failing to condemn those responsible for violence in the Charlottesville tragedy, and I hope it could apply the same standard of intolerance of violence when it comes to Hong Kong.

Henry Tsui,
HONG KONG

HATE IN AMERICA

RE "WILL THE NATION SUCceed Where the President Failed?" [Aug. 28]: Thank you for spotlighting the reality of extremist hatred in the U.S. Your coverage implies the assumption, overall, that this intolerance and racism is exceptional, that it goes against the grain in America. When Nancy Gibbs writes about "this serial reckoning with the dreams of our founders," she is right, but perhaps not in the way she intended. The U.S. was partly founded by a motley bunch of religious extremists, Puritans, whose fellow travellers then violently colonized (robbed) territories already long inhabited by other people. This colonization, this destruction of civilizations, was a racist genocide. There are no inherited sins, for people or nations, but let's be honest about how the U.S. was born.

Adam Wilshaw,
ESPOLLA, SPAIN

HAVING READ THIS PROfoundly disturbing issue, I'm left feeling as if the true colors of President Trump, and the country he leads, are being exposed. The history lessons in the various articles were incredibly helpful from a European perspective (with xenophobia on the rise here), but there was a significant omission in your selection of perspectives: the voice of Native Americans. What is their view on the ultimate irony that every white person in America is an uninvited immigrant?

Richard Thomas,
PORTHCAWL, WALES

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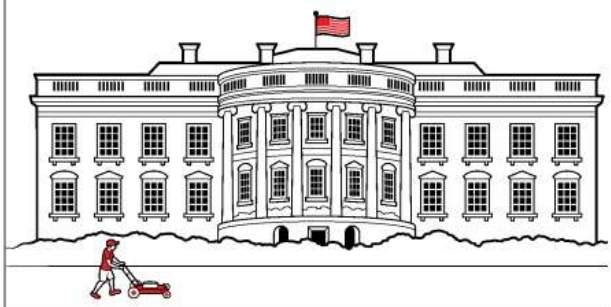
‘The things that make us different, those are our superpowers.’

LENA WAITHE, screenwriter, accepting the Emmy Award for Outstanding Writing for a Comedy Series for *Master of None*’s “Thanksgiving” episode, which she wrote with the Netflix show’s creator Aziz Ansari; she is the first African-American woman to win the award

11

Age of Frank Giaccio of Falls Church, Va., who volunteered to mow the White House lawn for free on Sept. 15 to promote his local lawn-mowing business



A.D. 224-383

Range of dates for the earliest known use of the number 0, University of Oxford scholars say, after a manuscript originally believed to be from the 8th to 12th centuries was carbon-dated

22

Number of consecutive games won by the Cleveland Indians before the Kansas City Royals beat them 4-3 on Sept. 15, now the MLB’s second-longest winning streak after the former New York Giants (who won 26 straight games)

‘If you have to take hits to the head at all, you’re better off taking them at later ages.’

ROBERT CANTU, neurologist, recommending that kids who want to play tackle football hold off until they’re 14, after a study suggested that those who played the game before age 12 were at an increased risk of developing behavior and mood problems in adulthood

It
The movie set a new box-office record for highest-grossing September release

GOOD WEEK
BAD WEEK

IT
Federal authorities opened criminal probes into the Equifax data breach

‘THIS WALL OF FIRE WAS JUST COMING TOWARD US.’

LAUREN HUBBARD, describing how a bomb detonated on her train car in London’s Parsons Green station on Sept. 15, injuring about 30; ISIS took credit for the attack, and London police had arrested five suspects as of Sept. 20

‘THERE WAS THE SOUND OF THUNDER ... THEN DUST.’

MARIANA MORALES, Mexico City nutritionist, describing a building that collapsed when a 7.1-magnitude earthquake struck the region on Sept. 19—the 32nd anniversary of the 1985 quake—killing over 200 people as of Sept. 20

‘ROOF IS GONE.’

ROOSEVELT SKERRIT, Prime Minister of Dominica, posting in real time on Facebook before being rescued as Hurricane Maria hit the Caribbean island with Category 5 strength, about a week after Hurricane Irma pummeled the region

SOURCES: AP; BOX OFFICE MOJO; ELIAS SPORTS BUREAU; GUARDIAN; NEW YORK TIMES; TRANSLATIONAL PSYCHIATRY

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

The Brief

'BEIJING MAY NOT BE INCLINED TO RELINQUISH CONTROL OF THE FAUCET.' —NEXT PAGE

At the global body, founded on altruism by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Trump staked a narrower claim

REUTERS

PHOTOGRAPH BY KEVIN LAMARQUE

WORLD

Trump gives the U.N. his vision of a world governed by self-interest

By Simon Shuster

THE SHOCK VALUE OF PRESIDENT Donald Trump's first speech to the U.N., on Sept. 19, derived, predictably, from its flights of rhetoric—most notably his threat to "totally destroy" North Korea. But the idea on which the speech was based was far more conventional: sovereignty. Trump referred to it 20 times in 42 minutes, and six of those references were as part of a trio that he called the "pillars of peace": sovereignty, security and prosperity.

It is a list of priorities that often comes up during the annual General Assembly, though in recent years usually from lapsed democracies, rogue states or authoritarian regimes. For 400 years, the international order has been based on the idea that sovereignty allows for a balance of power between nation states. But after two world wars, America sponsored the United Nations as a forum for more diplomatic confrontation, as well as tackling transnational threats that individual countries alone cannot manage, like humanitarian crises, terrorism or international aggression. Usually it has been the U.S. that has pushed international norms on states like Russia, China, Iran or North Korea, while the leaders of these countries have cited sovereignty in their defense.

Which made Trump's speech something of a contradiction. Sovereignty, he suggested, defines the way his Administration sees the world and the U.S. role within it and he invited the other countries to adopt

the same approach. "As President of the United States," he said, "I will always put America first, just like you, as the leaders of your countries, will always and should always put your countries first."

The performance received a mix of responses from capitals around the world. It won applause from hawkish leaders like Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel. But many European statesmen expressed alarm over Trump's disregard for the idea of shared responsibility in dealing with the world's most pressing problems. "No mention of rules," said Carl Bildt, the former Prime Minister of Sweden, in a tweet. "No concept of global order."

The speech was indeed notable for what Trump declined to address. He only once referred to the concept of universal human rights, which sits at the core of the U.N. charter and is among the reasons for its existence. Even as Hurricane Maria became the third major storm to devastate the Caribbean in as many weeks, Trump did not bring up international relief efforts or the impact of climate change, which many scientists blame for extreme weather events around the world. He also chose not to mention the ongoing crisis in Myanmar, where the military has subjected the Rohingya minority to what the U.N. has called a "textbook example of ethnic cleansing."

While he was critical of smaller states that the U.S. has accused of violating international norms, like Iran, Venezuela and other representatives of what Trump called the "wicked few," he avoided direct criticism of Russia, even as fresh evidence emerges of its attempts to influence the 2016 U.S. elections, using social media and other more nefarious digital tactics. He thanked Moscow for allowing a round of sanctions against North Korea in mid-September, ignoring the fact that Russia and China insisted on watering down those sanctions before supporting them in the U.N. Security Council.

In that sense, Trump's speech was in line with the sovereignty-embracing realist approach adopted by some of his predecessors. But the worldview he articulated contained none of the larger ambitions—no encouragement of democracy, for instance—by which America has defined itself on the world stage for a century. "We do not expect diverse countries to share the same cultures, traditions or even systems of government," the President said.

How Trump squares his stated brand of realism with, for instance, punishing Syria for gassing schoolchildren, remains far from clear. Sovereignty, in his case, is hard to distinguish from whatever course of action seems right at the moment. □

TICKER

Scores arrested in St. Louis protests

Police arrested more than 140 people during three nights of unrest in St. Louis following a not-guilty verdict in the murder trial of a former police officer in the 2011 death of a black man. Officers later chanted, "Whose streets, our streets."

Merkel on course for a fourth term

Polling ahead of Germany's election on Sept. 24 suggested that Chancellor Angela Merkel was on track to win a fourth term. It put her center-right party with a 14.5-point lead over the Social Democrats, and a 26.5-point lead over the far-right AfD.

Spain arrests Catalan officials

Spanish police arrested at least 12 regional officials in Catalonia and Madrid for allegedly helping to plan an Oct. 1 independence referendum that was ruled illegal by Spain's top court. Hundreds protested the arrests in Barcelona.

California set to ban puppy mills

California could become the first state to ban puppy mills, or mass breeding operations, if Governor Jerry Brown approves a bill passed by the state legislature. Pet stores would have to source certain animals from shelters.

ENVIRONMENT

How China could weaponize water

Since May, China has declined to share hydrological data with India on the Brahmaputra River, which originates in Tibet and flows through India and Bangladesh. Here's why that matters. —*Tara John*

The Brahmaputra River gets severely flooded during monsoon season every year

SOURCE OF POWER
In a region where water sources are scarce, the Brahmaputra is a vital asset. China has constructed a hydropower dam upstream, which gives it the ability to control flows into downstream states like India.

HUNG OUT TO DRY
Beijing is now withholding key data from Delhi during flood season, exerting pressure after a feud between China and India over a disputed Himalayan region. Beijing blames out-of-date hydrological stations for the lack of data.

HELL OR HIGH WATER
Experts fear that China could divert the river's waters away from India, devastating its northeastern plains. A water treaty might prevent that scenario, but Beijing may not be inclined to relinquish control of the faucet.

DIGITS

$277,503

The amount of money donated to anti-arms and human-rights activists by British street artist Banksy after the sale of his latest work, *Civilian Drone Strike*

BANKSY: YUI MOK—PRESS ASSOCIATION/AP; BRAHMAPUTRA: ANUPAM NATH—AP; HANIYEH: SAIDKHATIB—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

BLAZE OF GLORY Cassini project manager Earl Maize, left, and spacecraft operations team manager Julie Webster embrace at NASA's Jet Propulsion Laboratory in Pasadena, Calif., on Sept. 15 after confirming the demise of the Cassini spacecraft. The probe ended its 20-year mission by plunging to its destruction in Saturn's atmosphere, partly to prevent the possibility of its contaminating the planet's moons. *Photograph by Jae C. Hong—AFP/Getty Images*

POLITICS

Hamas takes a step away from isolation

THE ISLAMIST GROUP HAMAS AGREED ON Sept. 16 to elections in Gaza and the West Bank, raising the prospect of Palestinian reconciliation after 10 years of squabbling and violence.

COLD WAR The two Palestinian factions, Hamas and its secular rival Fatah, have been at odds since a 2007 civil war that left the Gaza Strip under Hamas control and the Fatah-led Palestinian Authority overseeing the West Bank. In March, President Mahmoud Abbas accused Hamas of attempting to form a "shadow government" in Gaza by taking over key administrative roles. Abbas cut fuel payments that led to blackouts across the coastal territory.

Hamas elected Ismail Haniyeh as leader in May ›

SMALL CHANGES Under pressure, Hamas agreed to cede control of certain administrative functions in Gaza and move forward with elections. It's just the latest evolution toward moderation from the militant group under new leader Ismail Haniyeh. Hamas even released a policy document in May that accepted the idea of a Palestinian state based on pre-1967 borders, though it stopped short of acknowledging Israel's right to exist.

REALITY CHECK Few experts believe reconciliation is a realistic prospect; no date has been set for elections, and previous efforts have failed. The Palestinian Authority is also unlikely to drop its objections to Hamas' military and security forces, or its control of Gaza. But this move might at least convince Abbas to lift sanctions and improve the lives of the 1.8 million Palestinians living in the desolate Gaza Strip.

—JARED MALSIN

DATA

CITY FITNESS

Just over 53% of Americans reported exercising three or more times per week, up a bit from previous years, per a new report from Gallup and Sharecare, a health and wellness company. Here, some city-specific figures:

Boulder, Colo.
69.6% say they exercise more than 3x per week

Anchorage
61.3%

Austin
54.5%

St. Louis
50.5%

Akron, Ohio
45%

TICKER

U.S. tourists attacked in France

Four female Boston College students were hospitalized after a woman threw hydrochloric acid in their faces at a Marseille train station. Two were treated for facial burns. Police arrested a 41-year-old woman described as mentally disturbed.

National monuments at risk

Ten national monuments could be resized or repurposed to allow mining, logging and grazing, according to a leaked report by Interior Secretary Ryan Zinke. President Donald Trump ordered the review after calling some monuments "land grabs."

Russian helicopter in missile blunder

A Russian helicopter accidentally launched a missile into a parking lot during training exercises, nearly killing at least one bystander, according to video footage. The Kremlin denied Russian media reports that two reporters were injured.

Sunken U-boat wreck found

A German submarine that sank during WW I has been found off the coast of Belgium. Researchers say the wreck is in such good condition that they expect to find the bodies of all 23 crew members still inside.

POLITICS

Republicans launch a last-ditch effort to repeal Obamacare

By Nash Jenkins

IN A SURPRISING REVERSAL, REPUBLICANS resuscitated efforts to repeal and replace the Affordable Care Act, moving a bill to the brink of passage days before a key deadline.

The bill, introduced by GOP Senators Lindsey Graham of South Carolina and Bill Cassidy of Louisiana, would reshape the U.S. health care system. It would end the Medicaid expansion and state insurance marketplaces created by Obamacare, and instead give states pools of money to use as they see fit. The legislation would allow states to sell cheaper plans with skimpier coverage as well as waive minimum-coverage requirements, and would end mandates for people to buy insurance and employers to provide it to workers. "State control of health care will work," Graham said. "The people in charge will be accountable to you."

Health care experts, patient advocates and hospital associations came out against the plan, warning it could lead to higher premiums and millions of people losing insurance coverage. The Senate skirted the typical hearing process for the bill, and the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office said it won't have enough time to estimate the act's long-term effects before the GOP hopes to vote.

Even so, Republicans are edging closer to passing it. The GOP's previous effort to repeal Obamacare failed by a single vote. The party can afford two defections, and only one Republican Senator has so far committed to opposing the new plan. "I'm for a complete repeal," Senator Rand Paul of Kentucky tells TIME, dismissing the Graham-Cassidy legislation as "Obamacare lite." Several other GOP Senators remain on the fence, including some who supported earlier efforts.

The party is racing against the clock—intentionally so. The Senate has until Sept. 30 to vote under the budget process known as reconciliation, which requires just 50 votes for passage. (In the event of a tie, GOP Vice President Mike Pence would cast the deciding vote.) Outside that window, the bill would need 60 votes to overcome a filibuster. Republican leaders plan to rush it to the floor.

> Critics say the GOP plan could lead to higher premiums and millions of people losing their insurance coverage

Democrats mobilized against the legislation, urging supporters to flood the Capitol with phone calls and emails. Opponents—from the AARP to comedian Jimmy Kimmel—spoke out against the last-ditch effort by a GOP Congress clamoring for a victory and hoping to fulfill a longtime promise to undo President Obama's signature law. "If you spent seven years raising literally hundreds of millions of dollars from donors on the promise that you would repeal the Affordable Care Act, then you'd feel a certain monkey on your back," says Andy Slavitt, who ran the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services under Obama. "But this is extreme." ◻

LANGUAGE

New words for a new world

Merriam-Webster added more than 250 new terms and definitions to its online dictionary this month, with many reflecting the U.S. political climate. Here, three of the key new additions. —*Kate Samuelson*

ransomware

NOUN

Malicious software that requires the victim to pay a ransom to access encrypted files

The word was first used in 2005, but is now familiar as these kinds of hacking attempts multiply. Ransomware attacks are forecast to cost businesses $5 billion in 2017.

schneid

NOUN

A losing streak (as in sports), e.g, "The Yankees this year are on the schneid"

The etymology of the word *schneid* appears to be a diminution of the German word *schneider* (tailor), used in card games of a player who fails to score any points.

pregame

VERB

To begin drinking alcohol before an event or activity

Pregame has been used as an adjective (as in "pregame meal") for over 100 years. In the 2000s, it gained currency as a verb among college students too young to drink liquor legally.

Milestones

DIED

Stanislav Petrov
Cold War hero

STANISLAV PETROV, THE retired officer of the Soviet Air Defence Forces whose death at the age of 77 was announced on Sept. 18, did not enjoy discussing the day he averted a nuclear holocaust. Maybe he was tired of giving interviews about the cameo he played in the history of the Cold War. Whatever the reason, he balked at being called a hero when he took a call from TIME in August 2015. "*Chush!*" he said, in Russian. "Nonsense! I was just doing my job."

That job was on the Soviet early-warning system code-named Oko, or Eye, whose function was to detect the launch of an American nuclear attack. Having helped design and install the command center, Petrov was at the controls on the night of Sept. 26, 1983, when the sirens inside the massive bunker just south of Moscow began to wail.

The Oko system's satellites were alerting the Russians to the launch of a U.S. ballistic missile, followed in quick succession by four others. "We built the system to rule out the possibility of false alarms," Petrov said. "And that day, the satellites told us with the highest degree of certainty that these rockets were on the way."

It was up to Petrov to confirm the incoming attack to his superiors, who would then launch a retaliatory strike while the U.S. missiles were still in the air. The chances it was real were "50-50," he recalled. "But I didn't want to be the one responsible for starting a third world war." So he told his commanders that the alarm was false. Much later, it emerged Soviet satellites had mistaken the sun's reflection in clouds for the start of a missile salvo.

That day in 2015, relations between the U.S. and Russia were again in decline, and Petrov said he saw the world tumbling back toward these types of standoffs that could result in a catastrophe not by design but by accident. "The slightest false move can lead to colossal consequences," he told me. "That hasn't changed."

—SIMON SHUSTER

DIED

- **Jake LaMotta,** the former world middleweight boxing champion whose memoir inspired the 1980 film *Raging Bull,* at 95.
- Cult actor **Harry Dean Stanton,** star of *Big Love, Alien* and *Repo Man,* and frequent David Lynch collaborator, at 91.
- Archivist **Nancy Hatch Dupree,** a U.S. citizen who withstood extremists and foreign occupations in Afghanistan for five decades to chronicle Kabul's history, at 89.
- Acclaimed journalist **Lillian Ross,** who wrote for the *New Yorker* from World War II through 2012, at 99.

FILED

Retailer **Toys "R" Us** for bankruptcy, as shoppers switch to online and discount stores. The largest toy-store chain in the U.S. secured a $3 billion loan to keep its 1,600 stores open over the holiday season.

PUT UP FOR SALE

Music magazine ***Rolling Stone,*** in the same week it turned 50. Owner and founding editor Jann Wenner said his company is exploring strategic options.

DIED

Bonnie Angelo
Trailblazing journalist

BONNIE ANGELO, WHO escaped society-page duty at her hometown Winston-Salem, N.C., newspaper to write cover stories for TIME during a pioneering career that spanned three decades at the magazine, died on Sept. 17 at 93. As White House correspondent, she reported on Watergate and Nixon's resignation, then became the first woman to run TIME's London bureau in 1978, where she covered the rise of Margaret Thatcher and the wedding of Prince Charles and Lady Diana Spencer. A beloved and respected colleague, Angelo had energy and good humor that masked a steely determination to gain equality for women journalists, a struggle she led as president of the Women's National Press Club. In 1998, she was awarded the International Women's Media Foundation's lifetime achievement award.

—JERROLD SCHECTER

PETROV: ALEXANDER GRONSKY FOR TIME; ANGELO: MARIO RUIZ—LIFE IMAGES COLLECTION/GETTY IMAGES

A nervous Japan gets ready for a fallout from the North Korea crisis

By Charlie Campbell/Sakura City

THE BANSHEE WAIL OF THE EMERGENCY SIREN REVERBERates across the school field, conjuring a primal fear even before the words "Missile launched! Missile launched!" crackle over the loudspeaker. Two dozen men, women and children—many wearing bonnets and wet neck towels in the blazing sunshine—scamper across the expanse of shingle before squatting down low with arms covering heads. "We haven't got a nuclear shelter or even strong buildings, so this is all we can do," says Nakamura Takashi, an official of Sakura City in Japan's central Tochigi prefecture, who helped organize the missile-defense drill at Kamimatsuyama Elementary School on Sept. 10. "The government says you have a much higher survival rate if you crouch rather than stand up."

North Korea's pursuit of nuclear weapons that are capable of striking the continental U.S. has caused outrage in Washington, provoking President Donald Trump to threaten "fire and fury like the world has never seen" in response. But it is Japan that lies on the front line. North Korea loathes Japan because of its colonization of the Korean Peninsula prior to World War II. While North Korean leader Kim Jong Un has more than 1,000 pieces of artillery pointing at South Korea, the 22 ballistic missiles the regime has tested since February were all fired toward Japan, whose capital, Tokyo, lies just 800 miles from Pyongyang. "The four islands of the [Japanese] archipelago should be sunken into the sea by the nuclear bomb of Juche," Pyongyang said in a Sept. 14 statement. *Juche* is the ideology of self-reliance pioneered by Kim Il Sung, the country's founder and grandfather of the current leader. "Japan is no longer needed to exist near us."

THE MOST RECENT MISSILE passed over Japan on Sept. 15, following an earlier one on Aug. 29. Both went over the northern island of Hokkaido before splashing into the Pacific Ocean. They set off emergency sirens across huge swaths of the country, including Sakura, a rice-farming community of 44,000 people a couple of hours' drive north of Tokyo. Besides the sirens, smartphones beeped in unison and television stations suddenly cut to an ominous black screen with bold white script warning of a possible missile attack. For the few minutes until the all-clear signal sounded, residents wondered whether their world was about to end. "It was scary," says kindergarten teacher Atsuko Murakami, 44, who took part in the missile-defense drill. "I just huddled together at home with my two young daughters watching the TV for updates."

Japan's fears have grown more acute since North Korea conducted its sixth nuclear test on Sept. 2. The 120-kiloton explosion was about eight times the ferocity of the bombs that devastated the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki at the end of World War II. Nuclear fallout is not hypothetical for Japan's 127 million people, and certainly not in Sakura, 75 miles from the Fukushima nuclear plant that went into meltdown following an earthquake and tsunami in 2011. Sakura was evacuated after that catastrophe, and people still worry about radiation contamination in local crops.

Students in Okinoshima, in western Japan, cover their heads during a Sept. 6 safety drill

OSAMU KANAZAWA—THE YOMIURI SHIMBUN/AP

Japan's history and propensity for severe seismic activity means disaster preparedness is treated with the utmost seriousness. The threat from North Korea has heightened these existing concerns. Other than the missile drills, people in Sakura practice crawling through a smoke-filled tent, get dragged around an earthquake-simulation chamber and abseil down the school's three-story white facade. Volunteers hand out steaming bowls of miso soup brimming with pork belly and root vegetables. "We added missile-evacuation drills because of this current North Korea situation," says Sakura Mayor Takashi Hanatsuka. "Because when the alert happened on Aug. 29, we didn't know what to do."

Japan's government is also at a loss for how to respond to North Korea's

aggression. Following World War II, the defeated Axis power adopted a pacifist constitution, secure, as it supposedly still is, within the U.S. nuclear umbrella. Its military is called the Japan Self-Defense Forces, and though it is well equipped and trained, it has restrictions on deployment. But Prime Minister Shinzo Abe wants to modify the constitution. He has already changed rules to allow troops to fight abroad and pushed through a draconian antiterrorism law. Although these policies face substantial opposition, Kim's belligerence is a boon for hawks. A minority is even calling for Japan to develop its own nuclear weapons.

Some Japanese are taking things into their own hands. Hiroko Omori, 42, serves iced tea on a lace tablecloth. An outsize framed picture of a cartoon mermaid interrupts her suburban Tokyo living room's quaint floral wallpaper. In the opposite corner is the single mom's newest statement piece: a box-like steel shelter the dimensions of a small bed, where Omori and her 8-year-old daughter can retreat in case of emergency. Inside the 1.2 million yen ($11,000) sanctuary is a wide-screen TV, an air-conditioning unit, a portable toilet and supplies of vacuum-packed chicken stew and tinned muffins. The manufacturer says it can withstand 15 tons of crushing force. "Since I got this I can breathe again and my heart doesn't race," says Omori. "I posted a photo on Instagram, and everyone started asking where I got it and how much it cost."

Omori says the shelter was installed before Sept. 9, the 69th anniversary of the founding of North Korea. Last year, Kim celebrated the anniversary with an underground nuclear test, and given the escalating hostilities, many expected a missile or other provocation to mark the occasion this year. "We slept downstairs so if we heard the missile alert, we could be in the shelter in just one minute," she says. (In the end, there was no Sept. 9 missile, but the one six days later.)

Nuclear calamity is as much a part of contemporary Japanese DNA as sushi or manga comics. The Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum is the most visited site for Japanese schoolchildren. Even pop icon Godzilla was spawned as an allegory for nuclear weapons, following the twin World War II bombings and 1954's Lucky Dragon 5 incident, named after a Japanese tuna fishing boat whose 23 crew members developed radiation poisoning after straying close to the U.S.'s Castle Bravo nuclear test at Bikini Atoll. Prophetically, in last year's *Godzilla Resurgence*, the latest of the character's some 35 movies, the U.S. government is portrayed as belligerently vying to nuke Tokyo to stop the marauding monster. For many in Japan today, the Trump Administration's volcanic rhetoric against North Korea is similarly reckless. "Kim is routinely vilified in the media here, but Trump doesn't get off a lot better," says professor Jeffrey Kingston, director of Asian studies at Temple University in Japan. "His erratic provocations are seen to be making a bad situation far worse."

Japanese nerves also stem from historical baggage. Japan annexed the Korean Peninsula in 1910 and ruled it until the end of World War II. Abuses during this period means that enmity remains deep, bolstered by Tokyo's perceived closeness to Washington. North Korea has admitted kidnapping 13 Japanese citizens in the past, though some believe the true number could be in the hundreds. In 2015, North Korea turned back its time zone by a half-hour on the 70th anniversary of Korea's liberation from Japanese occupation in a symbolic act of divorce from its former colonial overlords. "The wicked Japanese imperialists committed such unpardonable crimes as depriving Korea of even its standard time while mercilessly trampling down its land," state media spat to mark the event.

WERE HOSTILITIES TO break out between the U.S. and North Korea, many Japanese fear they would be the first victims. To wage full-scale war with South Korea—which Pyongyang claims as its own territory, filled with forsaken kin wallowing under "American oppression"—would be a conflicted issue. And the U.S. is too distant and powerful to be the principal target. But North Korea would shed few tears for Japan, which is host to 50,000 U.S. troops and the U.S.S. *Ronald Reagan,* the only American nuclear aircraft carrier with a foreign home port.

Not everyone agrees with the heightened state of readiness. In Nagasaki—where as many as 80,000 people died when the Allied atomic bomb was dropped on Aug. 9, 1945—13 civil society organizations, including survivor groups, have called for the emergency drills to be canceled because "they are impractical and unnecessarily provoke a sense of danger." Still, Nobuko Oribe, whose Oribe Seiki Seisakusho firm sells nuclear shelters in Japan's southern city of Kobe, says it is better to be prepared. Beneath her house is a nuclear bunker with 8-in.-thick concrete doors, a hand-cranked air-filtration system, six orange bunk beds and weeks of supplies. She says many people share her apocalyptic fears: her stock of 60 Swiss-made air purifiers have been sold out since April, she claims, and she's had almost 40 times the orders for shelters already this year compared with last—enough to safely house 800 people. "We've had worries about North Korea for many years," says Oribe, "but we've never had so many requests as now." □

Rescuers search on Sept. 20 for children trapped inside Enrique Rebsamen School, where a wing of the three-story building collapsed in southern Mexico City. Messages calling for silence were written on the facade and rooftops so that the sounds of those trapped could be heard.
Photograph by Miguel Tovar—AP

WORLD

Mexico witnesses a devastating echo of history in a deadly quake

AT 11 A.M. ON SEPT. 19, PEOPLE IN offices and schools across Mexico City took part in an earthquake drill timed to commemorate the catastrophic temblor on the same date in 1985, which led to 10,000 deaths. Just over two hours later, a real, 7.1-magnitude quake hit the capital and surrounding states, the most devastating one in Mexico since that disaster over 30 years ago. Some 220 people were confirmed dead as TIME went to press, with many more feared buried under the rubble and debris. Among the buildings brought down was a school where at least 21 children lost their lives.

In the moments after the quake, bloodied survivors tried to locate loved ones and get help. The sound of crying rang out as people searched frantically for family members, some discovering the worst. Maria Puente, 55, stood outside a collapsed office block, desperate to find out what had happened to her daughter, a secretary who worked there. "I am sure she is under there, alive," she said. "They need to get her out. She'll be hungry, thirsty. They will need to get her to a hospital."

As darkness fell on Sept. 19, thousands of volunteers went into the streets to join the rescue crews that were clearing rubble. Long lines of people worked through the night. Rafael Valenzuela, a 37-year-old graphic designer, said he had rushed home from work to join the rescue efforts near his home. "I remember the earthquake of 1985. I was only 5 at the time, but it was a big deal and something we have always talked about," he said. "It was like we were prepared for this. Like, deep down, we knew this was going to come again." —IOAN GRILLO/MEXICO CITY

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The View

'FORGIVENESS IS NOT JUST FOR THOSE WHOSE SINS ARE MILD.' —NEXT PAGE

Jones, 45, is at the center of a debate about crime, punishment and forgiveness

CRIME

The university-bound mother who killed her child deserves forgiveness

By Belinda Luscombe

MICHELLE JONES IS NOT LIKE THE other Ph.D. candidates rolling up to New York University this year. First, she got out of prison only two days before school started. Second, folks at Harvard are still arguing over whether they should have admitted her. And third, when she was a teenager, she killed her 4-year-old son.

Jones' story, which was recently uncovered by the Marshall Project and the New York *Times*, is an incredible one. She got pregnant at 14, and was, a prosecutor said, beaten by her mother. Her child Brandon was born with a disability. In 1992, when he was 4, she left him home alone and went to an out-of-town theater conference. He was never seen again.

A friend later testified that Jones told her she beat Brandon and found him dead on her return. And she admitted to others that she buried him in the woods, but his body was never found. Jones was convicted of murder and given a 50-year sentence.

For many in the prison system, that's where the story ends: a troubled youth, a sentence, a lifetime of institutionalization. But at some point Jones decided to go for what prison is supposed to offer: a chance to reform. She got two degrees and, despite the scant resources, co-authored a paper that challenged the accepted history of women's prisons in Indiana. It was later published in the *Journal of the Indiana Academy of Social Sciences* and won the state's top history award.

And so, in 2016, her sentence was reduced to 21 years, and she applied to eight colleges—including Harvard,

THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX

PHOTOGRAPH BY DAMON WINTER

where she planned to study history or American studies. In a personal statement appended to her application, Jones addressed her past, explaining that she had a psychological breakdown after experiencing abandonment and domestic violence and that she had repeated those patterns with her son. Now, she wrote, "I have made a commitment to myself and him that with the time I have left, I will live a redeemed life, one of service and value to others."

Although Harvard's reviewers looked on Jones' application favorably, two professors flagged it for review, and the university decided against admitting her. One professor told the New York *Times* that he worried she had soft-pedaled her crime. After Jones' story became public on Sept. 14, many seemed to agree. "Nobody cares about the disabled child," said one disability activist. "It's all about the poor parents." Others noted she had served less than half her sentence. "Abusing and killing a young child is not washed away by 20 years in prison," said a commenter. "It is, and rightly should be, a burden carried for life."

But we should forgive Jones. Not just because she served time and should get to re-enter society. Not just because she turned her life around, against considerable odds, in America's confounding and dysfunctional incarceration system. And not just because studies have demonstrated time and again that a toxic childhood like Jones' has a deep impact on the mental health of those who endure it.

Mostly we should forgive Jones because continuing to punish a woman for something heinous she did as a teenager will not help that woman's murdered child in any way. It will not bring him back or make his life more precious. Nor will it help future Brandons. Jones is in an unprecedented position to shed light on some of America's thorniest problems: How can we make prisons better? How can we break the generational cycle of incarceration? What can we do to help our most vulnerable kids and parents?

A woman with Jones' scars and sins can address these problems from a unique standpoint. She should be given a chance to do so. If she fails to make a difference, she will join a list of smart and able people who have not been able to figure out these issues. But she can't even try if she isn't absolved, if she doesn't get a clean slate and a clear shot. What Jones did was horrible, but forgiveness is not just for those whose sins are mild.

None of this means that Harvard or any other institution had to admit her. Universities have the right and duty to put together the class they feel best about—and she will learn plenty at NYU. Jones won't much notice a loss. Harvard, on the other hand, might. □

VERBATIM

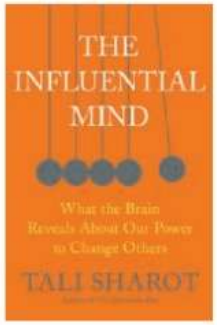
'We should go get a checkup the same way we go to the gym ... instead of waiting for something to go wrong.'

KATE WALSH, who has played a doctor on *Grey's Anatomy* and *Private Practice,* on what's she's learned about the importance of preventive care since being diagnosed with a brain tumor in 2015

BOOK IN BRIEF

Emotion, the great manipulator

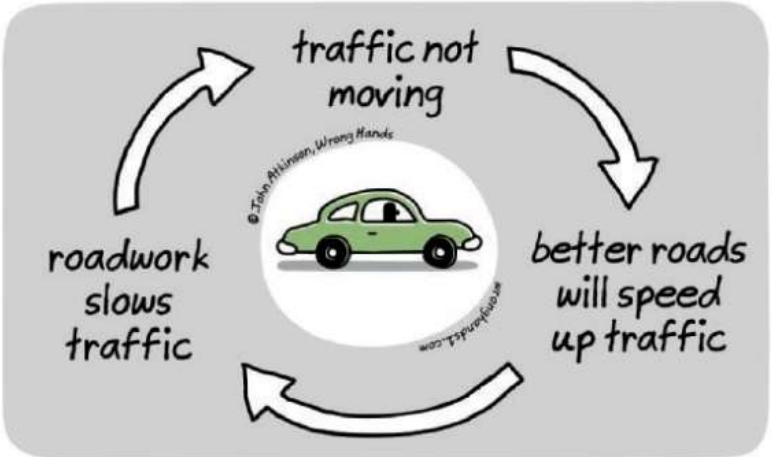
IN THE AGE OF BIG DATA, IT'S EASY TO assume that cold, hard facts can drive change. Not so fast, argues cognitive scientist Tali Sharot, whose new book, *The Influential Mind,* explores how emotion tends to overpower reason when it comes to human decision-making. Consider a study that found that people were more likely to donate to a medical fundraiser when it had a photo of a young woman smiling in the sunlight, rather than a picture of a person suffering in a hospital bed. Although the sick-looking patient may need more help, it's hard for people to imagine that patient having a happy ending; the smiling picture evoked hope, which is a greater motivator. "If we want to affect the behaviors and beliefs of the person in front of us," Sharot concludes, "we need to ... go along with how their brain works."



—SARAH BEGLEY

CHARTOON

Traffic jam causality loop



JOHN ATKINSON, WRONG HANDS

HISTORY

The origins of pumpkin-spice mania

IN RECENT YEARS, FALL HAS become virtually synonymous with pumpkin spice, as U.S. grocery stories and cafés tout the flavor in everything from beer and lattes to Oreo cookies. But the trend is even more novel—if not downright impressive—when you consider how Americans once viewed the squash.

Among colonial settlers, pumpkin "was a food of last resort," says Cindy Ott, author of *Pumpkin: The Curious History of an American Icon*. Because the crop was a new-world native, it was seen as primitive. In fact, "pumpkin eater" was a derogatory term for a poor, ignorant farmer. (Hence the nursery rhyme "Peter, Peter, Pumpkin Eater," about a man who can't read or spell.) Things began to change when Americans flocked to cities in the mid–19th century. Nostalgia for farm life meant nostalgia for pumpkins. They were rebranded as a treat, especially after the 1844 publication of Lydia Maria Child's poem "Over the River and Through the Wood," which ends with a cheer for pumpkin pie.

But if nostalgia saved the pumpkin's reputation, the crop returned the favor. In the 20th century, small producers threatened by industrial farms found that roadside pumpkin stands, pick-your-own pumpkin patches and pumpkin festivals could draw customers to the country—which only made the pumpkin even more of a sign of the season. Last year, sales of pumpkin-flavored products generated more than $400 million, an all-time high.

—OLIVIA B. WAXMAN

For more on these stories, visit **time.com/history**

WALSH: MATTHEW EISMAN—GETTY IMAGES; SNAPSHOT: KHOO GUO JIE

SNAPSHOT

China's 'mountain' skyscrapers

One way to make the world's most populous capital seem more in tune with nature? Buildings inspired by forests, lakes and stones. That's the idea behind Chaoyang Park Plaza, opening soon in Beijing; the local population is expected to exceed 130 million over the next century, thanks to a government plan to combine the surrounding areas into a "super city." To relieve some of that urban density, the architecture firm behind Chaoyang, MAD, drew inspiration from traditional *shan-shui* (mountain-water) paintings to create a series of LEED-certified residential complexes, office blocks and public spaces. The skyscrapers seen above are meant to evoke mountains, replete with shining peaks and ridges from erosion. MAD founder Ma Yansong is just getting started: he recently proposed a similar *shan-shui* plan for the city of Guiyang, in China's southwestern Guizhou province. —*Julia Zorthian*

DIGITS

52%

Percentage of the world's population that lacks Internet access, 62% of whom live in Asia and the Pacific Islands, according to a new U.N. report

DATA

THIS JUST IN

A roundup of new and noteworthy insights from the week's most talked-about studies:

1

FEELING BAD ABOUT FAILURE MAKES YOU IMPROVE

A study in the *Journal of Behavioral Decision Making* found that concentrating on emotions related to failure in a certain task made people more likely to try harder in the future than those who thought only about the details of their mistakes in the task.

2

TATTOOS MAY RELEASE TOXIC PARTICLES INTO YOUR BODY

Research in *Scientific Reports* found that in autopsies of four corpses with tattoos, nanoparticles of titanium dioxide—a possibly carcinogenic ingredient found in tattoo pigments—had appeared in the lymph nodes. But more research is needed to assess possible dangers.

3

IT MIGHT BE NICER NOT TO SAY 'SORRY'

A study of more than 1,000 people in *Frontiers in Psychology* found that people reported feeling more hurt about a rejection when it contained an apology and that the word *sorry* made people feel obliged to offer forgiveness when they didn't want to.

—*J.Z.*

The new Nissan Leaf is fun. Can it transform the electric-vehicle market?

By Justin Worland

DRIVING THE NEW NISSAN LEAF WILL TAKE AN UNINITIATED electric-car operator—like me—by surprise. During a two-day test drive on Washington, D.C.–area streets and highways, the Leaf accelerated fast, ran silently and allowed me to use a feature letting the driver never touch the brake pedal. Add to that a sleek redesigned exterior and you have a vehicle that will impress even a hardened electric-vehicle skeptic.

But those elements are just part of what Nissan says will make this car a success when it hits the market early next year. Indeed, the Leaf's impressive set of features still faces stiff competition from Tesla's most affordable model, which offers greater range and a hotter brand name.

Nissan is betting that the Leaf's value—including its ample features and moderate price tag—will persuade potential buyers to leave traditional cars behind. The Leaf starts at just below $30,000, and the price can drop by a quarter with tax incentives. "We only set out to design, produce and sell a mass-market electric vehicle," says Brian Maragno, Nissan's director of electric-vehicle marketing and sales. That "means affordability, with the right balance of content and capabilities."

The move to distinguish the Leaf—the world's most popular electric car—in an increasingly crowded field of around 30 models comes at a pivotal time. Analysts expect demand for the cars to grow globally in the coming years. In part, those gains will come from simple awareness and word of mouth. More significantly, they will come from the fact that governments around the world keen on eliminating air pollution and tackling climate change have instituted policies to make electric vehicles more affordable, if not mandatory.

The U.K. and France have said their countries will ban fossil-fuel-powered vehicles by 2040. Even China has said it will push automakers to end sales of nonelectric cars, though the date remains uncertain. The U.S. is taking a different tack. In recent years, fuel-economy standards tightened by former President Barack Obama pushed automakers to offer electric vehicles. But automakers also complained, and the Trump Administration has promised to review the policy.

Still, some incentives remain, including a generous federal tax credit of up to $7,500. But tepid U.S. policy support for electric vehicles means automakers will need to change consumer perceptions to attract customers, at least in the short term, says Josh Linn, an energy and environment researcher at the nonpartisan think tank Resources for the Future.

"The greater demand over time will stimulate automakers to invest in technologies, and eventually that will have an effect on the U.S. market," says Linn. But "the bigger challenge right now is how consumers perceive the vehicles."

That's been the trouble in the electric-vehicle game for years, and automakers have confronted it with different approaches. Tesla began by offering cars with all the bells and whistles but at a price that can exceed $80,000. On the opposite end, the cost of a Mitsubishi i-MiEV can dip below $20,000 with tax incentives, but the car might be confused for a glorified golf cart.

540,000
The cumulative number of electric vehicles sold in the U.S. by the end of last year

40%
The percentage of global electric-car sales that took place in China last year after the country surpassed the U.S. in 2015

Nissan hopes the new Leaf, above, will find a customer base interested in the value that the car offers in a crowded electric-vehicle market

The market has grown quickly, with more than 140,000 electric vehicles sold last year in the U.S., up from less than 20,000 in 2011. But the product still represents a niche, just a fraction of the 17.5 million total vehicles sold last year in the U.S.

The makers of the Leaf think their product offers something different that consumers will want, but they're not ignorant of the challenges. "Our parents, our parents' parents, our parents' parents' parents never drove a car like this," says Maragno. "We're talking about generations of internal-combustion vehicles, and now we're making a switch."

Behind the wheel, I feel confident that previous generations would have gotten used to it. The Leaf may or may not reinvigorate the electric-vehicle market, but at the very least, no one who sets eyes on this car or gets behind the wheel can say electric cars have nothing to offer. □

NISSAN

A way forward on the North Korea crisis

By Philip Bobbitt

THE U.S. CANNOT COEXIST WITH A NUCLEAR-CAPABLE North Korea. It would not only endanger Americans at home but also deter the U.S. from protecting allies that were threatened or attacked by North Korea. That could mean the end of the American alliances with Pacific countries, a key pillar of global security.

But options for getting Pyongyang to give up its nuclear arsenal are not good. North Korea already holds U.S. allies hostage to attacks we cannot control—and may already or will soon pose a similar threat to the U.S. homeland. That presents an unacceptable risk of retaliation for any American military action. There is nothing the U.S. can do for North Korea that might induce it to denuclearize, because its leader, Kim Jong Un, uses his country's war footing against the U.S. to justify and maintain his totalitarian regime. International options are hardly more promising. There is nothing the world community, including China, can do to North Korea by enforcing sanctions, or for North Korea by relieving it of them, that would make it renounce its nuclear weapons. The leadership is convinced, with some reason, that only the threats it poses to others keep it in power. One does not commit suicide for fear of death.

THERE IS, HOWEVER, one option that has some promise: induce a nuclear guarantee for the North Korean regime from China. If China can be convinced to give a credible guarantee that it will defend North Korea against a U.S. invasion or preemptive strike, and North Korea can be induced to accept it, then there could be a way out of the current impasse.

There are important advantages to China in such an arrangement. Its leaders would join the establishment of great states that take responsibility for world order, bolstering their domestic legitimacy. And the deal would provide a way out of a mounting crisis that could fuel regional chaos.

North Korea too might find reasons to accept China's protection, especially from the U.S. First-strike technology is developing quickly: over the past decade, strides have been made in the surveillance, tracking and analysis, targeting and detonation procedures needed for a successful preemptive strike. Getting under China's umbrella now could provide Kim a greater chance of long-term regime survival than a nuclear arsenal vulnerable to developing U.S. first-strike and antimissile technologies.

Moreover, Kim could gain legitimacy at home and abroad via an agreement modeled on the Helsinki Accords that would recognize North Korea's borders and finally end the Korean War. Our aim must be to reorient Kim's paranoia, making him fear losing an opportunity for security in the eyes of his own people more than he is afraid of dependence on China.

Our allies might be better off too. With an arsenal of long-range nuclear missiles, North Korea can raise doubts about whether the U.S. would risk an attack on the American homeland in order to protect South Korea and Japan. Unfortunately, this concern has been heightened by some of the rhetoric during the 2016 U.S. presidential campaign.

No one will take this radical proposal seriously unless we stop kidding ourselves about the incentives we can realistically employ to compel the North Korean regime. Nothing short of an ironclad guarantee of preservation for the regime will modify Kim's behavior. He will starve his people and run almost incalculable risks because he has no other credible choice. And no guarantee from the U.S. is credible to the North Korean leadership.

Two other points: As it is our alliances that are most threatened, we should shore them up through consultations with Tokyo, Seoul and Canberra. What do they want to see from us? How can we avoid confrontations with their leaders without hamstringing the protection of our legitimate security interests? Second, our threats only validate Kim's rhetoric by making it appear that there is a plot by the Americans to destroy his regime, a fundamental premise of his domestic propaganda and his thinking.

THE COURSE OF ACTION I propose is neither easy nor risk-free. Relations between North Korea and China are strained. Linking their security interests might increase the chances of a Chinese-U.S. confrontation, and it would tie Chinese nuclear strategy to a surrogate state that is inclined to get into conflicts.

But countering nuclear proliferation through extended deterrence is a proven strategy. It was the deployment of American nuclear forces in Europe and Asia that achieved the great victories of nonproliferation in Germany and Japan, two states that faced a mortal threat and had the wealth and technology to acquire their own nuclear weapons. That they did not was partly the result of extended deterrence, a concept often neglected but that lies at the heart of the current crisis. In the case of North Korea, extended deterrence is a more promising option than any being offered now. And time is not on our side.

ALLIANCE IN DANGER

The threat North Korea's rapidly growing nuclear arsenal endangers not just America's homeland but its strategically important alliance with South Korea, Japan and Australia.

The proposal Induce China to bring North Korea under the protection of its nuclear umbrella. In exchange for giving up its own weapons, Pyongyang gets an end to the Korean War, eased sanctions and international recognition.

Bobbitt is a professor of law and the director of the Center for National Security at Columbia University. A more detailed version of this article is available at time.com/bobbittnorthkorea.

ILLUSTRATIONS BY CARRIE GEE FOR TIME

MYANMAR'S SHAME

Nobel laureate Aung San Suu Kyi was long hailed as the hero of human rights in her homeland. But the forced exodus of nearly half a million minority Rohingya has changed that

By Elizabeth Dias

PHOTOGRAPH BY DAN KITWOOD

A Rohingya man helps an elderly woman reach the Bangladeshi shore from the boat in which they escaped Myanmar

The satellites first detected the villages going up in flames on Aug. 25. One by one, entire townships across western Myanmar were burning, just hours after Muslim militants attacked national army posts in the Asian country's Rakhine state.

Soon a new crush of refugees was pouring into neighboring Bangladesh. Tens of thousands of Rohingya, a predominantly Muslim ethnic group in majority-Buddhist Myanmar, were fleeing the army's apparent retaliation. Refugees told aid workers that the military had set fire to their homes and planted land mines on their escape routes. Myanmar's soldiers, they said, were shooting Rohingya women and children as they fled.

This was not the first time the Myanmar army had attacked the Rohingya, but the scale was far greater than ever before. More than 200 villages burned over the next three weeks. More than 420,000 Rohingya flooded refugee camps, and nearly two-thirds were children. Humanitarian aid agencies UNICEF and Médecins Sans Frontières were denied access to conflict areas. The U.N. human-rights chief called the crisis "a textbook example of ethnic cleansing."

In Myanmar, one voice remained notably silent. Human-rights icon and Nobel laureate Aung San Suu Kyi, now the de facto leader of Myanmar's civilian government, did not condemn the atrocities. Fellow laureates were quick to point out the contradiction. Pakistani human-rights activist Malala Yousafzai said "the world is waiting" for her to speak out. South African clergyman Desmond Tutu prayed that Suu Kyi would be "courageous and resilient again." Instead, Suu Kyi blamed "a misinformation campaign" and announced she would no longer attend the U.N. General Assembly in late September.

Finally, 25 days after the first village was burned, Suu Kyi addressed the world. In a televised global address from Myanmar's capital, in front of army officials and foreign diplomats, Suu Kyi declined to criticize the military. Instead of reaching out to the Rohingya, she questioned the international outcry itself. Her government, she said, was "concerned" about reports of villages burning in Rakhine, but had to weigh "allegations and counterallegations" before taking action. She argued that the international community should pay more attention to areas where there was peace than areas where there was conflict. "It is very little known that the great majority of Muslims in the Rakhine state have not joined the exodus," she claimed. "It is sad that in meeting our diplomatic community, I am obliged to focus on just a very few of our problems." Her remarks prompted outrage. "Her speech tried to sugarcoat ethnic cleansing," says Kenneth Roth, executive director of Human Rights Watch.

This is how icons fall. The U.S. had championed Suu Kyi not just as the great savior of her country but also as the model of nonviolent disobedience in Southeast Asia. The U.N. had expressed expectations for Burma, as Myanmar was long known, under her leadership. Now she has revealed different priorities. "She sees herself very deliberately now as a political actor inside of a changing Burma, not as an icon that essentially speaks out on human rights," says Ben Rhodes, President Barack Obama's Deputy National Security Adviser. "Her single-minded pursuit of that objective of political reform inside of Burma has created a very glaring and tragic blind spot."

More than a reputation is being destroyed. In Myanmar, a country with a population twice that of Texas and squeezed between India, China and Thailand, instability could result in a military takeover of the government, undoing democratic reforms. Terrorists see the persecution of Muslims as a recruiting tool, and already al-Qaeda militants are threatening to punish Myanmar for its violence to the Rohingya. The U.S. has pressured the Myanmar army to break ties it has maintained with North Korea. Meanwhile, China continues to pursue economic interests in Rakhine to secure strategic access to the Bay of Bengal. Hundreds of thousands of lives may depend on whether the once-revered Suu Kyi will eventually take a stronger stand.

The road to democracy is often messy. Beyond the long-standing civil conflicts between Myanmar's central government and myriad ethnic minorities, Suu Kyi is under pressure from army generals who have veto power over constitutional change, as well as Buddhist nationalists whose power is rising. The Trump Administration, which has articulated an "America first" foreign policy, must decide how it will handle the first sweeping ethnic conflict on its watch. In the U.S. Congress, some lawmakers want to impose sanctions and end limited military ties allowed under Obama. The U.N. Security Council issued a rare statement on Myanmar condemning the violence, but a resolution rebuking Myanmar's army is likely impossible, given China's all but certain veto. And all the while, the exodus of Rohingya continues.

THE WORLD LOVES to crown heroes from despair. Suu Kyi, 72, comes from one of her country's most storied families. Her father, General Aung San, founded the modern army and led the movement for independence from Britain in the 1940s. When she was still a child, he was assassinated and hailed as a martyr. The country spiraled into civil war, and her mother was later named an ambassador to India and Nepal. Suu Kyi lived abroad as a young adult, studying politics at Oxford and working for the U.N. in New York City.

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Aung San Suu Kyi, before her Sept. 19 speech; a Rohingya village burning in Rakhine state on Sept. 7

PREVIOUS PAGES: GETTY IMAGES; SUU KYI: HEIN HTET—EPA; BURNING VILLAGE: AP

She captured the West's imagination in 1988 when she defied the military junta and founded the National League for Democracy (NLD), only to be detained as a political prisoner for 15 of the next 21 years. When she was under house arrest, her party won the 1990 elections in a landslide, but the army refused to recognize the victory. She persisted, delivering pro-democracy speeches over the fence separating her from the outside world. Once, though temporarily released, she chose not to visit her husband, who was dying of cancer in Britain, because she knew that if she left her homeland, its military rulers would not allow her to return.

When she was freed in 2010, hope grew that democracy was possible for Myanmar. Obama called her "a hero of mine," and former British Prime Minister Gordon Brown praised her as "the world's most renowned and courageous prisoner of conscience." Washington lauded her with a ceremony to bestow the Congressional Gold Medal, which had been awarded in absentia when she was under house arrest, and the European Parliament presented her with the Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought. When she picked up her 1991 Nobel Prize in Oslo 21 years late, she recited her favorite passages from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. "When the Nobel Committee awarded the Peace Prize to me, they were recognizing that the oppressed and the isolated in Burma were also a part of the world," she said. "The Nobel Peace Prize opened up a door in my heart."

Buried in the good news, an uglier reality remained. For decades, waves of violence and displacement have sent Muslims in Rakhine state, on Myanmar's west coast, fleeing to Bangladesh. The reasons for the violence against the Rohingya have long been hard to sort out, with a mix of religious, ethnic and economic roots. The Rohingya, a Sunni Muslim ethnic minority group, have lived in northern Rakhine for generations, where the majority of people practice Buddhism. The government has long refused to grant citizenship to the nearly 1 million Rohingya in Rakhine or to recognize them as one of the country's 135 official ethnic groups, and many in Myanmar believe the Rohingya to be illegal immigrants from Bangladesh. Rakhine is one of Myanmar's poorest states, and decades of exclusionary policy, including denying the Rohingya the right to vote or to travel without government permission, have deepened underlying tension between the Rohingya and their Rakhine neighbors.

The period before Suu Kyi belatedly collected the Nobel was particularly grim. In 2012, Human Rights Watch documented coordinated government attacks on Muslim villages, mass arrests and blocked aid, part of what they described as an effort to forcibly displace the Rohingya population. When she was receiving the Congressional Gold Medal, tens of thousands of Rohingya fled again. When she was asked in Europe that summer if the Rohingya were Burmese, she replied, "I do not know." The remarks raised red flags. "People were surprised," Derek Mitchell, U.S. ambassador to Myanmar under Obama, recalls. "She was never quite able to address the Rohingya issue to people's satisfaction overseas."

In 2015, three years after Suu Kyi had been elected as a lawmaker, Myanmar held its first free elections in 25 years and her party won a landslide victory. Suu Kyi was made State Counsellor, a

new position created for her, similar to Prime Minister.

Her powers, though, were limited and the democracy more fragile than anyone wanted to admit. Myanmar's constitution, written in 2008 by the then ruling military junta, guarantees the army 25% of seats in parliament and veto power over any constitutional change. Suu Kyi cannot become President because her children are British citizens. Even if she could, the army controls key ministries, including Home Affairs, Border Affairs and Defence, under the leadership of commander-in-chief Senior General Min Aung Hlaing. "The NLD's 2015 campaign promise was that they were the only political party that could confront the military," says human-rights activist Cheery Zahau in Myanmar. "They have to live up to that promise."

In May 2016, Suu Kyi told then U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry that her country needed "space" to address the Rohingya crisis. She advised officials to not use the term *Rohingya*, arguing to the U.N. that the choice would promote harmony. "She always felt people outside Burma didn't understand [the Rohingya issue's] complexities," says Mitchell. "She'd try to explain, but she has not proven very effective at strategic communication."

The Obama White House tried to push Suu Kyi to embrace the international community's help in Rakhine. In dozens of meetings with Obama or senior Administration officials, Suu Kyi would "generally say the right things" about the need to protect human rights and minority rights and to pursue citizenship solutions, Obama's Deputy National Security Adviser Rhodes says, but she repeatedly argued that she could only go so far.

"She would argue that if she essentially tried to open the door to the international community playing a much greater role there, that would potentially undercut her assuming civilian control of the military," Rhodes says. "We, and particularly our embassy, would really keep the focus on this issue, and that would at times allow for more incremental progress, like improved humanitarian access, but we were unable to, in the context of their divided politics, secure more structural changes, like addressing the citizenship status of the Rohingya."

In 2016, Suu Kyi sat down with Obama in the Oval Office. Obama, hoping the message on democratic reforms had been received in Myanmar, lifted U.S. sanctions that had been in place for almost two decades. "Essentially you were restricting the type of investment that could pull Burma toward the international community," Rhodes says. "We believed that if she and her government were more stable and confident in their position, that they would be in a stronger place to take risks on behalf of the Rohingya."

Human-rights activists worried that only made things worse. "The message to the army was, you can get away with a token democratic concession, you can retain control, let Aung San Suu Kyi be the figurehead, you don't have to stop your abuses against the ethnic groups, and the sanctions are all gone," says Roth, the Human Rights Watch executive director. "The Obama Administration was much too quick to claim victory, so it does deserve some of the blame for what has happened now."

THE TRUMP ADMINISTRATION has been far less engaged. Trump himself has not spoken to Suu Kyi since taking office, according to a National Security Council (NSC) spokesperson. Ambassador Joseph Yun, the special envoy for North Korea policy, visited Myanmar in July and met with Suu Kyi and the army chief, but his trip focused solely on the U.S. relationship with North Korea, not on the Rohingya or humanitarian issues, according to a State Department spokesperson.

Now the scale of the recent violence against the Rohingya may force Trump's hand. Trump discussed the crisis with Malaysian Prime Minister Najib Razak when he visited Washington in early September, and they agreed that Myanmar needed to end the crisis and allow humanitarian aid. Secretary of State Rex Tillerson called Suu Kyi,

> Unlike Suu Kyi, Pope Francis has regularly defended the Rohingya by name

urging the government and the military to facilitate humanitarian aid. The next day, the State Department announced an additional $32 million in aid to help the Rohingya. Deputy Assistant Secretary for Southeast Asia Patrick Murphy visited Naypyidaw for Suu Kyi's speech and sat in the front row. He then visited Sittwe, the capital of Rakhine, but local Burmese officials stated that he would not be allowed to visit the conflict areas to the north, citing security concerns. An NSC spokesperson tells TIME that military-to-military engagement between the U.S. and Myanmar has so far been nascent and that moving forward will be difficult until Myanmar's security forces stop the violence and displacement. "We particularly welcome Aung San Suu Kyi's commitment that Burma will accept the return of Rohingya refugees when it is safe to do so," State Department spokesperson Justin Higgins says. "We call on Burma to allow an investigation into the allegation of abuses."

In Congress, a range of reactions is

DAR YASIN—AP

A Rohingya woman grieves for her infant son, who died when their boat capsized off Bangladesh on Sept. 14

on display. Senate majority leader Mitch McConnell, who has championed Suu Kyi for decades, called her the week before her speech as public pressure on her rose. He then defended her to the Senate. "She is the same person she was before," he said. "She is trying to improve conditions." Senator John McCain of Arizona wrote her a letter, asking her to reverse her decision denying U.N. Human Rights Council access to northern Rakhine. McCain and others also struck language from the National Defense Authorization Act that would have increased U.S. military-to-military engagements with Myanmar's army. Senator Dianne Feinstein of California, who participated in Suu Kyi's Congressional Gold Medal ceremony in 2012, wants Congress to re-evaluate its relationship with the army and Suu Kyi's government. "At the very least, the leaders who planned and executed this campaign of ethnic cleansing should be sanctioned, all military-to-military contact should be suspended, and preferential trade benefits with Burma should be ended," she told TIME.

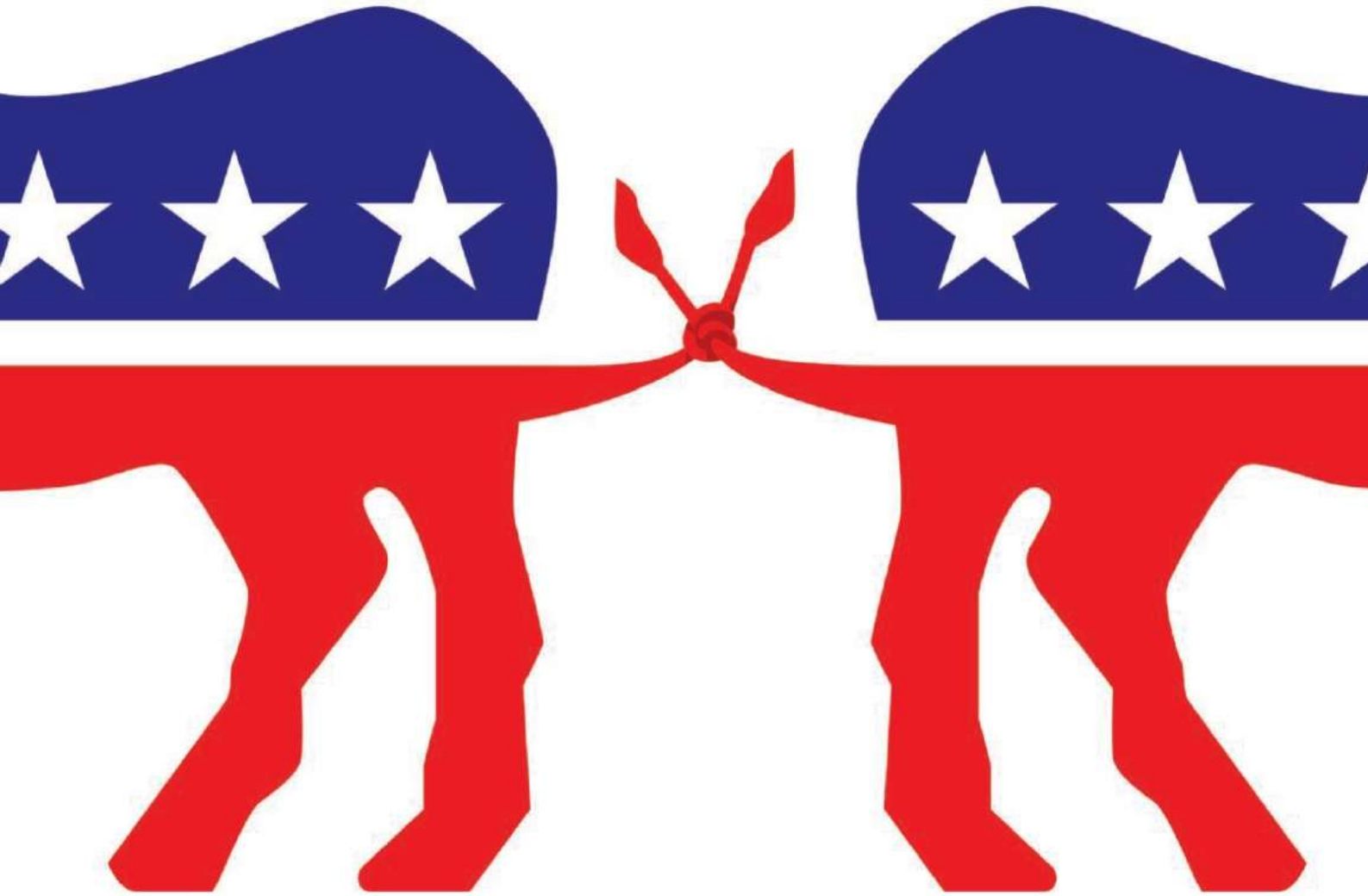
At this junction, managing the military in Myanmar remains crucial, says the country's top Catholic official, Cardinal Charles Maung Bo of Yangon, appointed by Pope Francis. "Aung San Suu Kyi is walking a tightrope walk," he says. "Already dark forces are clamoring for return to army rule."

Helping the Rohingya was an urgent topic at the annual gathering of the U.N. General Assembly in mid-September. Global leaders, from the U.N. Secretary-General to U.S. Vice President Mike Pence to European and Asian ministers, discussed the crisis in a series of meetings and speeches. But Trump did not mention Myanmar or the Rohingya crisis in his address to the body.

At home, Suu Kyi wants the world to absorb a different narrative. Hers is a young democracy, she said in her speech, and the world cannot expect it to overcome its challenges in the 18 short months since she has been State Counsellor. She argued that Muslims in Rakhine have equal access to health care and education "without any discrimination," counter to human-rights groups' reports. She offered for foreign diplomats to visit Rakhine, but only the parts where Muslims have not fled, so that the international community could learn "why they have chosen to remain in their villages." Before she spoke, supporters gathered in the capital holding signs supporting her. But others are disappointed. "She was our role model, our icon, our leader, and we loved her because of her values," says Chit Min Lay, a democracy activist and former political prisoner in Myanmar. "Some people say she's being pragmatic, but I don't know why she's acting this way."

Two months from now, a new moral leader will draw the world's attention to the Rohingya. Pope Francis will visit Myanmar in late November, followed by a visit to Bangladesh. The Vatican established diplomatic relations with Myanmar just four months ago, under his leadership, and unlike Suu Kyi, he has regularly defended the Rohingya by name. The expectations for his trip are as high as the challenges, at home and abroad. "I do hope he will address many issues of all people in Myanmar in a way that brings healing, not hatred," Bo says. "That is the challenge since a section here is not happy to see the real peace."

Through it all, the Rohingya suffer. Human-rights groups on the ground say the military operations in Rakhine continue, though Suu Kyi claims they ended on Sept. 5. Bangladesh is planning to build a new refugee camp with 14,000 shelters to accommodate the nearly half a million people who have arrived in the past month. The U.N. resident coordinator in Bangladesh, Robert Watkins, believes there could be at least 100,000 more people lined up inside Myanmar trying to cross the Naf River to safety. "They all come with the same story. Their villages have been burned, there are reports of rape, of family members being killed," he says. "Sadly, no one family's misery is worse than any other." —*With reporting by* FELIZ SOLOMON/HONG KONG



The Democrats' Dilemmas

A DIVIDED PARTY DEBATES ITS FUTURE

BY PHILIP ELLIOTT / YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO

LIKE VIRTUALLY ALL DEMOCRATS, TIM RYAN IS no fan of Donald Trump. But as he speeds through his northeastern Ohio district in a silver Chevy Suburban, the eight-term Congressman sounds almost as frustrated with his own party. Popping fistfuls of almonds in the backseat, Ryan gripes about its fixation on divisive issues and its "demonization" of business owners. Ryan, 44, was briefly considered for the role of Hillary Clinton's running mate last year. Now he sounds ready to brawl with his political kin. "We're going to have a fight," Ryan says. "There's no question about it."

That fight has already begun, though you'd be forgiven for missing it. On the surface, the Democratic Party has been united and energized by its shared disgust for Trump. But dig an inch deeper and it's clear that the party is divided, split on issues including free trade, health care, foreign affairs and Wall Street. They even disagree over the political wisdom of doing deals with Trump.

Every party cast out of power endures a period of soul-searching. But the Democrats' dilemma

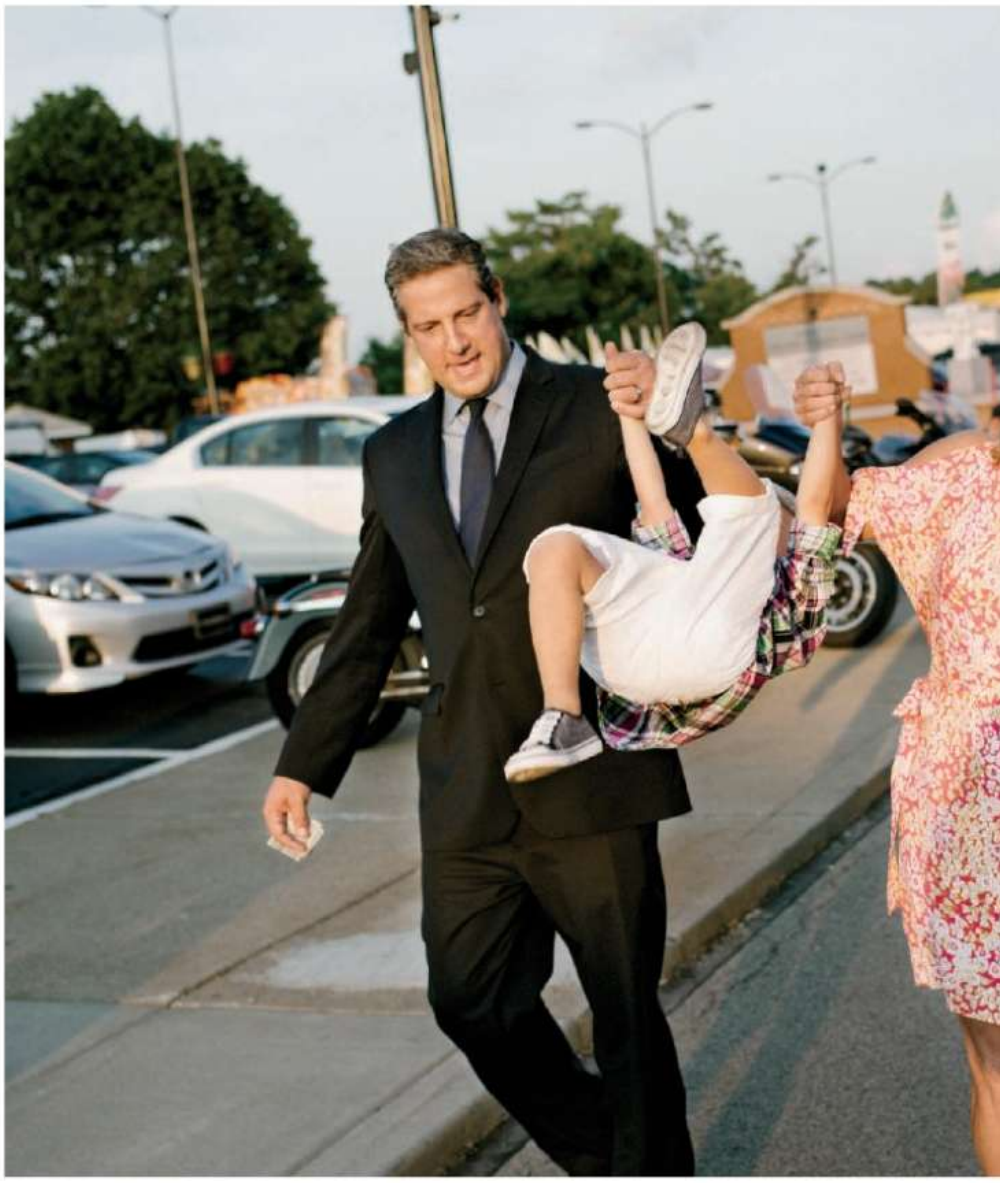
ILLUSTRATION BY BEN WISEMAN FOR TIME

was unimaginable even a year ago, when Clinton seemed to be coasting toward the White House and demographic change fueled dreams of a permanent national majority. Now, eight months into the Trump presidency, the party looks to face its toughest odds since Ronald Reagan won 49 states in 1984. The Democrats are in their deepest congressional rut since the class of 1946 was elected, and hold the fewest governors' mansions—15—since 1922. Of the 98 partisan legislatures in the U.S., Republicans control 67. During Barack Obama's presidency, Democrats lost 970 seats in state legislatures, leaving the party's bench almost bare. The median age of their congressional leadership is 67, and many of the obvious early presidential front runners will be in their 70s by the 2020 election.

Meanwhile, there's still no sign the Democrats have learned the lessons of the last one. "I've tried to learn from my own mistakes. There are plenty," Clinton writes in her campaign memoir *What Happened*. The book, released on Sept. 12, casts blame on Russia, the FBI and the candidate herself, but never quite finds a satisfying answer to the titular question. Even if it did, these days the party seems to prize ideological purity over Clintonian pragmatism. "There is no confusion about what we Democrats are against. The only disagreement," says strategist Neil Sroka, "is what we're for."

Which leaves the party confronting a puzzle. The momentum may be on the left, but picking up the 24 seats required to retake the House, and the three states needed for control of the Senate, will mean luring back blue collar workers in places like Ryan's Mahoning Valley district, where the steel plants are shells of their former selves, small businesses are boarded up and payday lenders seem to be on every corner. This used to be a Democratic stronghold, but Trump won three of the five counties in Ryan's district. If Democrats don't refine their pitch to alienated white voters, Trump could win re-election with ease. "The resistance can only be part of it," Ryan says. "We have to be on the offense too."

It's not clear who has the influence or inclination to spearhead that shift. Senate minority leader Chuck Schumer and House minority leader Nancy Pelosi are seasoned dealmakers who can raise



Brink's trucks full of cash. Their Sept. 6 pact with Trump, which pushed back a pair of fiscal showdowns and delivered hurricane relief money to storm-stricken southeastern Texas, was hailed as a fleecing by the Democrats. After a dinner of Chinese food in the Blue Room of the White House a week later, the pair said they had reached a tentative agreement with Trump to sidestep the Justice Department's rollback of an Obama-era program that helped young immigrants who were in the country illegally. But among the grassroots, any agreement with the President is viewed as cause for suspicion. When Schumer dared to back a handful of Trump's Cabinet picks earlier this year, activists protested outside his Brooklyn apartment, hoisting signs with slogans like GROW A SPINE, CHUCK. In her San Francisco district on Sept. 18, Pelosi was shouted down by activists who were angry that her proposed immigration deal with Trump did not cover more people.

If Democrats don't refine their pitch, Ryan warns, President Trump could win re-election with ease

For all these challenges, the party's time in the wilderness could prove to be an opportunity. A poll from CNN/SSRS in August showed Democrats with an 11-percentage-point advantage over Republicans on a generic congressional ballot. "Winning is the first goal of governing," says Chicago Mayor Rahm Emanuel, a former head of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee. "You can't have a governing part without a winning part." But before the party comes

Ryan, with wife Andrea and son Brady, leaves an Italian festival in Youngstown, Ohio, on July 21

MARK HARTMAN FOR TIME

together, first it has to banish the furies that threaten to tear it apart.

THE COUNTERPOINT to Ryan's call for moderation could be found onstage in August in a Hyatt ballroom in Atlanta. Senator Elizabeth Warren, the former Harvard Law School professor and consumer advocate, had come to deliver a battle cry to 1,000 grassroots activists. "The Democratic Party isn't going back to the days of welfare reform and the crime bill," she said in not-at-all-veiled criticism of President Bill Clinton's mid-'90s strategy to peel off Republican votes. "We are not a wing of today's Democratic Party," Warren declared to her fellow liberals. "We are the heart and soul of today's Democratic Party."

Warren is clearly thinking of running for President in 2020. If she does, a crowd will be waiting to cheer her on: a year ago, under pressure from supporters of insurgent Senator Bernie Sanders, the Democrats adopted the most progressive platform in their history, which called for free college for families earning $125,000 or less and Medicare options for Americans as young as 55. This march to the left has become a sprint since Clinton's defeat.

Groups that support abortion rights have stopped offering polite silence to Democrats who disagree. Others are demanding jail time for bank executives. Small-dollar donors are goading progressive groups to advance liberal policies and challenge lawmakers who balk. A group of prominent liberal Democrats, including some 2020 hopefuls, are pushing a national single-payer health care plan—even though its strongest backers acknowledge that it has zero chance of becoming law in this Republican-controlled Congress. Representative Luis Gutiérrez of Illinois threatened on Sept. 8 that Democrats may shut down the government in December if Congress doesn't provide a pathway for undocumented immigrants to become citizens. "Running on progressive values," strategist Adam Green told a candidates' training session in Washington this summer, "is how Democrats will win."

History counters this, at least at the presidential level. The most progressive nominees in recent memory—Michael Dukakis in 1988, Walter Mondale in 1984 and George McGovern in 1972—all suffered landslide defeats. But this liberal vision is most popular among the younger ranks of Democrats. A survey in July of young voters likely to participate in primaries spells out where the Democrats are headed: 43% of 18-to-29-year-olds said they were more liberal than the party, while 20% described the party as "conservative."

Efforts to mend the rifts of the 2016 election have fallen flat. Earlier this year, the Democratic National Committee (DNC) launched a national tour with Sanders and newly minted party chairman Tom Perez, who was elected in February. Things didn't go well. When Sanders thanked Perez at rallies, his so-called Bernie bros heckled the new chairman. The attempt at unity was a footnote within a month. "The current model and the current strategy of the Democratic Party is an absolute failure," declared Sanders, who plans to seek a third term in the Senate next year as an independent.

Activists aligned with Sanders are working to mount primary challenges against centrist Democrats. Our Revolution, a group that rose from the ashes of Sanders' presidential campaign, led a protest in August outside the DNC, demanding a more liberal platform. Party staffers tried handing out snacks and bottles of water, but the hospitality did little to defuse the tension. "They tried to seduce us with doughnuts," said former Ohio state senator Nina Turner, a protest organizer.

Some of the grievances hinge on strategy as much as substance. Kamala Harris, the popular junior Senator from California, backs Sanders' health plan and won an endorsement from Warren during her election last year. But as California's former top cop, Harris declined to prosecute bankers, including Treasury Secretary Steve Mnuchin, for their role in the 2008 financial crisis. She also spent part of her summer raising cash in the tony precincts of the Hamptons. As a result, Sanders allies say she's a Wall Street shill. "Follow the money," says Nomiki Konst, a Sanders supporter who serves on the DNC panel tasked with forging postelection unity.

No one waits on the horizon to broker a peace. The DNC has been hollowed out, first by Obama's neglect and then by a Clinton campaign that raided its talent. Now it is trying to play catch-up, sending $10,000 a month to each state party to help add bodies and channel activists' energy into permanent organizations. But the party is still $3.5 million in the red, and Republicans are outraising it by a margin of roughly 2 to 1. Meanwhile, Perez is serving as a visiting fellow at Brown University, where he teaches a course called Governance and Leadership in Challenging Times.

Schumer says the party lost the White House in 2016 because it had a "namby-pamby" message on the economy. He's not risking that again, working with members from both chambers on an aggressive, worker-focused message. The blueprint, dubbed "A Better Deal," has Warren's fingerprints all over it, calling for a national $15-per-hour minimum wage and cheaper drugs, colleges and child

care. "The focus starts on economic issues," Schumer said. "That's where the American people are hurting."

IGNORING THAT STRUGGLE has caused headaches in the heartland. Today only 28% of House Democrats hail from states that don't touch the Atlantic or Pacific oceans, down from 37% in 2007. The survivors have tried to distance themselves from the party's leftward drift. "When I'm back home, I'm not talking party issues," says Representative Ron Kind, an 11-term Democrat from La Crosse, Wis., whose Capitol Hill office features pictures of him hunting. "I'm not on the stump bashing Republicans."

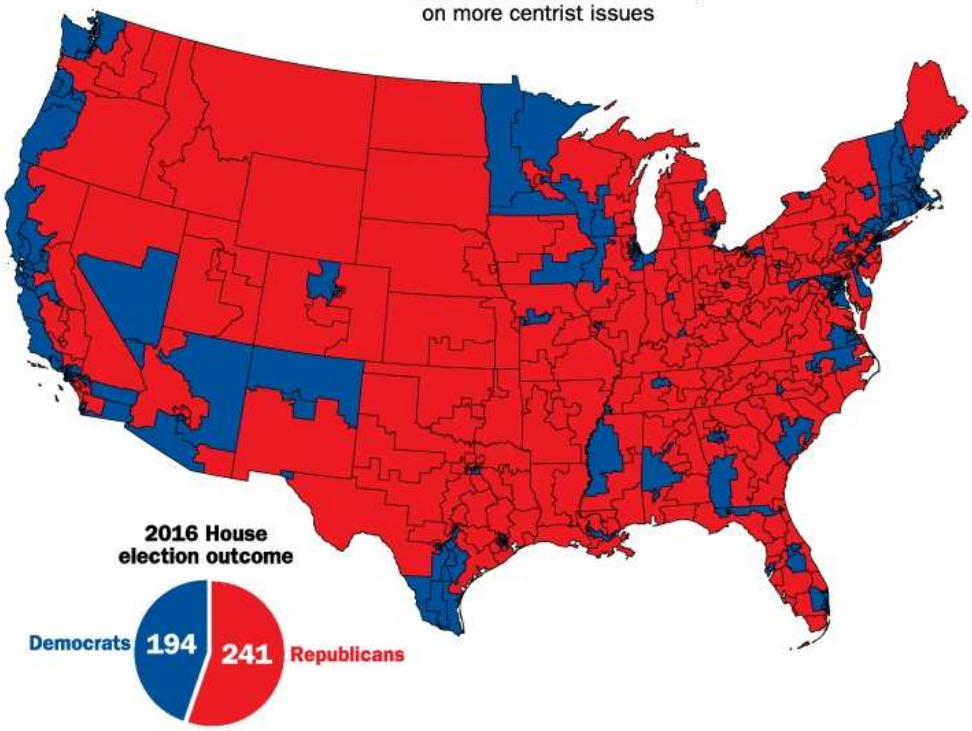
This breed of Democrat is endangered but hardly extinct. Dave Loebsack, who represents a district in eastern Iowa, spent his August break from Washington meeting with rural farmers. John Yarmuth, the lone Democrat in Congress from Kentucky, focuses on his work to preserve Obamacare, which provides health care coverage to almost 500,000 low- and middle-income residents in his state. Cheri Bustos represents parts of northwestern Illinois, where she gamely pivots away from divisive issues like guns to local workers' families and business prospects at John Deere and Caterpillar, which both have big footprints in her district.

Governing in Washington these days is "the most frustrating thing I've ever done," complains Senator Joe Manchin, a West Virginia Democrat. "Most of my life, there was about 20% on the right fringe and the left fringe, but 60% in the middle, where common sense would prevail. Now I'm thinking 40% on each fringe."

Part of the problem is that red states are getting redder, while blue states are growing ever more blue. Consider West Virginia, where Manchin is still popular from his days as governor. When Bill Clinton ran for President in 1992, he carried 42 of the state's 55 counties. That number climbed to 43 four years later. But by 2000, West Virginia residents were sour on Democratic trade policies that many saw as costing them coal and steel jobs. Al Gore won 13 counties that year, and John Kerry took just nine in 2004. It's little wonder that during Manchin's first campaign for Senate, in 2010, he cut an ad that showed him firing a rifle at an Obama-backed environmental bill.

The heartland holdouts

Nearly 3 in 4 Democrats in the House are from coastal states. The few remaining in the middle of the country are focused on more centrist issues



Obama would go on to lose all 55 counties in 2012—a feat Hillary Clinton repeated.

Democrats still outnumber Republicans in West Virginia by 12 percentage points. These Democrats, however, don't want to hear about NFL players protesting during the national anthem or the latest in the ongoing investigation into Trump's alleged ties to Moscow. They care far less about Black Lives Matter than keeping their checking accounts in the black. Add in the 21% of West Virginians who say they don't identify with either party, and it's a dangerous proposition for candidates like Manchin to parrot talking points from MSNBC. It's not that he's a squish on cultural issues; it's that he'd rather talk about lifting the economy in his state, where 18% live in poverty.

In 1996, Bill Clinton won 43 of West Virginia's 55 counties. In 2016, Hillary Clinton lost all 55

The Democrats' focus on identity politics is one reason Manchin suggested, half-heartedly, that he doesn't care if he wins another term next year. "The Washington Democrats' mentality has been more urban," he says. "They forgot about rural America and rural states. They don't want you to tell them about their bathrooms or their bedrooms or all this other stuff we're trying to control."

Some say another problem is Pelosi. The first female House speaker and a legendary vote wrangler, she was widely, if wrongly, blamed for a series of special-election defeats in the spring, even though Democrats fared far better than usual in places like Kansas and Georgia. A special election in June became less about the candidates than about the specter of Pelosi, whom Republicans cast as a puppet mistress for the Democratic nominee. "A lot of the demonization directed toward her," says Kind, "is patently unfair. But that's been the perception that's been created." Ryan's long-shot bid to replace her as House Democratic leader won 63 votes last year.

Part of Ryan's pitch has been to put away the pitchforks and modulate the tone. "We cannot be a party that is hostile to business. We need those businesspeople to hire our people, who just want a shot," Ryan fumes. "We can be business-friendly and still be progressive." And while it puts him at odds with some peers, such arguments have also won him some unlikely fans. "The smart guys in the Democratic Party, they understand what's going on. [Ohio Democratic Senator] Sherrod Brown gets this. Tim Ryan gets this," Trump's former chief strategist Stephen Bannon told *60 Minutes*' Charlie Rose in an interview that aired on Sept. 10. "The only question before us: Is it going to be a left-wing populism or a right-wing populism?"

ONE DEMOCRAT who has found a happy middle ground is Ryan's colleague Brown, who is campaigning for his third term in 2018. He's tough on trade but hardly a protectionist, as progressive as Warren but willing to work with fellow Ohioan Rob Portman, a Republican Senator, to write legislation to address their state's opioid crisis. Brown recognizes that the shifts influencing his colleagues can change from state to state. "Demographics are not changing dramatically in Ohio. They are changing in Colorado and Virginia and Arizona and Nevada and North Carolina," Brown says, "and making those states more Democratic."

Ohio is experiencing a different kind of upheaval. In Mahoning County, home to Youngstown, Hillary Clinton won just shy of 50% of the vote; Obama carried 63% four years earlier. In Trumbull County next door, where Ryan lives, Trump became the first Republican to win since 1972. Overall, Trump won 44% of the vote in Ryan's district, four years after Mitt Romney captured just 36%. "Our members didn't know better, unfortunately, and they did vote for him," says Tony DiTommaso Jr., secretary-treasurer of Western Reserve Building Trades, a coordinating body for 7,500 unionized workers in northeastern Ohio. "They wanted a change. They didn't care what it was."

One only needs to look at the shuttered mom-and-pop businesses dotting Ryan's district to see why voters were inclined to listen to Trump's promises. Which is why Ryan is pushing plans to bring high-speed Internet to the farming communities and to recruit tech giants to the cheap real estate in local cities and towns.

On a Friday in late July, Ryan was padding through the Basilica of Our Lady of Mount Carmel's annual Italian festival in Youngstown. Simmering red sauce was heaped on polenta, and elephant ears layered with powdered sugar were matched with mostaccioli showered with ground Parmesan from plastic tubes. It was a throwback to a time when church socials defined communities. "These are my peeps," Ryan says to no one in particular as voters swarm him. "He doesn't forget where he came from," says Robert Rodkey, 71, after saying hello to Ryan. "*Union* isn't a word for him. It's a way of life. Now if only the Democrats would follow him."

If Ryan has bigger ambitions to lead, he is not alone. A shadow campaign for the 2020 nomination is quietly taking shape in early-nominating states like Iowa and New Hampshire. Some of the most interesting names are unfamiliar ones. Senator Jeff Merkley of Oregon and Pete Buttigieg, the mayor of South Bend, Ind., visited Iowa in early September to check in. Jason Kander, the former Missouri secretary of state who is viewed as a rising party star, recruited a Sanders aide to stake out territory in Iowa and has announced plans to open offices for his voting-rights group in five states. The Iowa steak fry, previously led by former Senator Tom Harkin, is an annual rite of passage for Democratic presidential hopefuls and will draw Ryan, Bustos and Representative Seth Moulton of Massachusetts in September.

"We have the next generation of Democratic leaders. We need to lift them up in the public eye," says Stephanie Schriock, president of Emily's List, a group dedicated to electing women who support abortion rights. "This is not a party of one leader. It's just not."

Back in Youngstown, you can see the wheels spinning in Ryan's head. He sees a role for a Midwesterner who can connect with the working-class voters who took comfort in Trump's rage. Indeed, he thinks the Democrats' future depends on it. "We can get the party back on track," Ryan says as his SUV rolls away from a meeting with Ohio union chiefs. "Someone's going to figure this out. Someone needs to." ▢

Who will lead the Democrats?

The race for 2020 is already under way. Here's a look at the emerging field:

The Front Runners

JOE BIDEN, BERNIE SANDERS, ELIZABETH WARREN

Each is a liberal icon with national name recognition, devoted supporters and a robust financial network waiting to spring into action if they decide to run.

The Rising Stars

KAMALA HARRIS, JULIÁN CASTRO, ERIC GARCETTI

Now a Senator, Harris was California's top cop, and she has drawn plaudits for her tough questions in hearings and willingness to work across the aisle. Castro is a former mayor of San Antonio and Housing and Urban Development Secretary. Los Angeles Mayor Garcetti brings big-city leadership experience. Together the trio reflect the growing diversity that the party counts among its strengths.

The Senators

KIRSTEN GILLIBRAND, AMY KLOBUCHAR, JEFF MERKLEY

Progressive and pragmatic, they're tough to pick out of a crowd but unburdened by the baggage of bold-name Democrats. Merkley, Oregon's junior Senator, is making the rounds in Iowa, while Klobuchar's proximity to the state and Gillibrand's donor list command respect.

The Veterans

JASON KANDER, SETH MOULTON, PETE BUTTIGIEG

Former Missouri secretary of state Kander retired as an Army Captain. Moulton, a Massachusetts Congressman, was a Marine captain in Iraq. South Bend, Ind., Mayor Buttigieg worked in naval intelligence in Afghanistan. Each is highly regarded and committed to public service.

WARREN, HARRIS, GILLIBRAND: GETTY IMAGES; MOULTON: THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX

SHOTS FIRED

PHOTOGRAPH BY MARK MAHANEY FOR TIME

A ShotSpotter analyst reviews possible gunshots in real time at the company's headquarters

A growing surveillance network aims to fight crime by tracking gunshots

BY JOSH SANBURN/ NEWARK, CALIF.

THE ALERT BLARES FROM THE COMputer like a ray gun from an old cartoon: *WAH-wahwahwahwah*. Jonathan, a ShotSpotter analyst, focuses on one of the six monitors in front of him and zooms in on a street-level map of Milwaukee. Next to the map are what look like Christmas trees on their sides—a cluster of green sound waves.

Jonathan, who has spent nearly five years staring down these monitors, says he can tell just by looking that the pattern means gunshots. The audio seems to confirm it with a series of loud pops. The map appears to show that the sound originated from the top of a building, but Jonathan is hesitant to relay that to police on the ground. "I'm a little apprehensive to tell people to go to a roof," he says. Instead, he simply notes gunshots were confirmed and pushes an alert to the Milwaukee police department. The entire sequence—from the supposed trigger pull in Milwaukee to the analysis at Jonathan's desk 2,200 miles away in Newark, Calif., to the squad cars of cops back in Wisconsin—happened in under a minute.

That rapid chain of events is the selling point of ShotSpotter, a small public company whose proprietary gunshot-detection technology is being used by a growing number of police departments across the nation. ShotSpotter works by installing specially calibrated outdoor microphones that pick up what CEO Ralph Clark likes to call a "boom or bang." Those microphones are now in more than 90 U.S. cities, including New York and Chicago, and as far afield as South Africa.

Every one of those booms and bangs are routed to this cool, dimly lit room inside a Northern California business park.

Here, behind a wall of tinted glass, employees like Jonathan man six computer bays, with six monitors apiece, around-the-clock. (Citing threats to employees, ShotSpotter asked that their full names be withheld.) The acoustics analysts are trained to differentiate gunfire from similar sounds like construction noise or firecrackers. When gunshots are confirmed, they send an alert that could reach the cell phone of a cop near the scene in less than a minute. "It's a weird feeling," Jonathan says of identifying gunfire. "It's like you want to see one, but you don't."

A large monitor on the wall tracks how many incidents are flowing into the center in real time. In 2016, ShotSpotter's analysts confirmed more than 80,000 gunshots and they expect to exceed that figure this year as they expand. In the past year, the company's domestic network has grown more than one-third, to 480 sq. mi. New York City has announced it will increase its ShotSpotter coverage from 24 sq. mi. to 60, while seven new locations, including Cincinnati, Louisville, Ky., and Jacksonville, Fla., have recently signed on.

In June the company went public, raising $31 million in an IPO. ShotSpotter's move to the stock market comes as crime rates have ticked up around the U.S. after a period of sustained decline. In 2016, homicides increased by about 10% across 60 of the largest U.S. cities, after a similar increase the year before. Meanwhile, many big city police departments are struggling with the effects of years of tight budgets and manpower shortages. All that makes technological innovations increasingly appealing, from automated license-plate readers that mail tickets directly to speeders to predictive software tools that aim to identify potential criminal behavior from social-media feeds.

"Police deserve credit for their willingness to adopt and experiment with new technology," says Eric Piza, a professor at John Jay College of Criminal Justice and a former Newark, N.J., police officer. "It's not surprising to me that ShotSpotter is starting to take off."

The company's expansion, however, raises important questions about privacy and security. The prospect of a national network of microphones, owned and operated by a for-profit company, concerns civil-liberties advocates. Others debate the system's value. At least five law-enforcement agencies have decided against renewing their ShotSpotter contracts over questions about its cost and effectiveness.

The company says its aim is at once more modest than critics contend and grander than they may realize. Says Clark: "Police, along with communities and residents, should have an expectation that it is completely unacceptable for guns to be fired."

SHOTSPOTTER WAS FOUNDED in 1996 by Bob Showen, a physicist with a Ph.D. from Rice University and a quirky personal style (all-black wardrobe, two pairs of eyeglasses at once). At the time, Showen was working near East Palo Alto, Calif., which had one of the highest murder rates in the U.S. Showen believed he could help. He had a hunch that the same technologies used to detect earthquakes could be applied to gunshots, so he rigged a series of microphones from antennae at a radar site in Los Banos, Calif. It worked.

ShotSpotter started slow. The system was expensive for clients—$250,000—and it called for police departments to analyze the sounds themselves. The company was in just 30 cities when they hired Clark as CEO in 2010. An Oakland, Calif., native who remembers the Black Panthers patrolling the streets as a kid, Clark went on to Harvard Business School and Goldman Sachs, and later became CEO of a cybersecurity firm. It wasn't until his second year in charge of the gunshot-detection company that he says he even held his first gun. "I don't like being around guns," he says.

But Clark knew balance sheets, and he realized ShotSpotter's business model was holding the company back. Now, law-enforcement agencies pay subscriptions—$65,000 to $80,000 per sq. mi. per year—for sensors that typically sit on rooftops 30 to 40 ft. above the ground and are sophisticated enough to help analysts determine the direction a shooter is moving. Clark's approach has more than tripled the number of cities using ShotSpotter, even as the company has continued to lose money. In 2016, ShotSpotter brought in $15 million in revenue but lost almost $7 million.

'Police should have an expectation that it is completely unacceptable for guns to be fired.'

RALPH CLARK, ShotSpotter CEO

ShotSpotter's key pitch is that gunfire is vastly underreported. Research from Jennifer Doleac, a professor of public policy at the University of Virginia, found that 88% of gunfire incidents picked up by sensors in Oakland and Washington, D.C., weren't reported to 911. The main reason: residents don't trust the police.

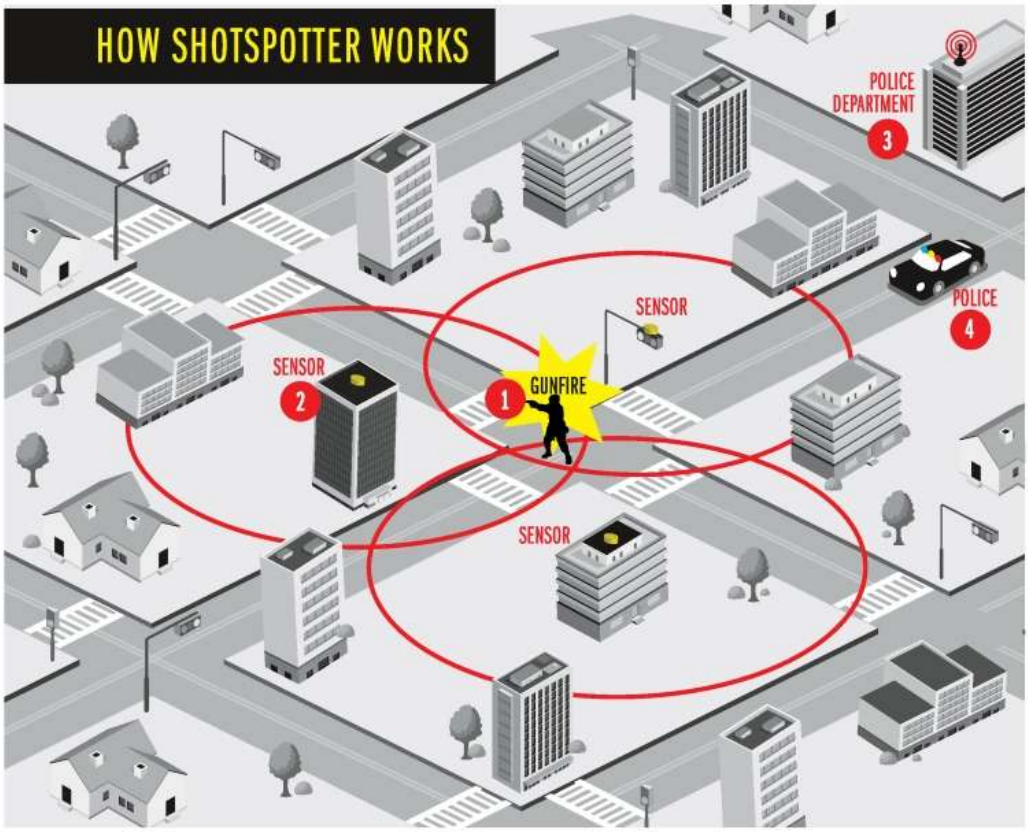
"This system is not about capturing criminals with guns in their hand," Clark says. "What you buy the system on is denormalizing gun violence, recovering physical forensic evidence and being able to investigate gun crime down the line."

There's no shortage of happy customers. Agencies in Oakland, Youngstown, Ohio, and Wilmington, N.C., have all credited the system with making arrests. Police in Omaha say ShotSpotter has helped reduce gunfire by 45% since 2013.

In New York, the police department—the company's largest client—committed to a $3 million ShotSpotter expansion. The NYPD pushes ShotSpotter alerts directly to officers' smartphones, which they say has helped lead to a 12% reduction in response times. "It is for sure one of our most successful programs," says Jessica Tisch, the NYPD's deputy commissioner for information technology.

Police in Milwaukee, which has one of the highest murder rates in the country, say they recovered more than 2,600 shell casings and 45 guns related to more than 4,300 ShotSpotter alerts in the first half of 2015 alone, leading to 68 arrests. And in Denver, police commander Michael Calo says his department attributes at least 30 arrests to the alerts. "I don't understand why any urban center wouldn't want ShotSpotter," he says.

One answer is in Troy, N.Y., a former industrial hub outside of Albany. Police chief John Tedesco says the system, which the city adopted in 2008, gave false alerts or failed to report actual gunfire up to one-third of the time. "We weren't finding physical evidence," Tedesco says. "It would sometimes take



1 When a **gun is fired**, sensors—usually placed on top of buildings or light poles—record the audio.

2 The gunfire's location is determined by **three or more sensors** that pick up and triangulate the noise.

3 That information is relayed to Newark, Calif., where analysts confirm the gunshots before alerting the corresponding **police department**, often within 30 to 45 seconds.

4 Police receive audio clips and location information to help them **respond** to the incident. Some departments can access gunshot data on their smartphones or inside their squad cars.

officers to the wrong location." He says ShotSpotter tried to rectify the problems but that "officers lost confidence in it." The department ended its contract 2012.

Even departments that use ShotSpotter acknowledge concerns about its effectiveness. In San Francisco, police say they couldn't find evidence of gunshots for two-thirds of ShotSpotter calls between January 2013 and June 2015. Still, they say it helps identify potential problems. "We may not be making arrests, but we're pinpointing the areas," says SFPD spokesperson Carlos Manfredi.

Similar frustrations have plagued police in New York's Suffolk County, where the department said less than 7% of ShotSpotter alerts between August 2012 and March 2013 were confirmed as gunshots. The county considered eliminating funding for it this year.

Clark says most of the problems are the result of misuse and misunderstanding. In Troy, he says the low accuracy rate for alerts was from an earlier era when departments were doing their own analysis. He points to a study from the National Institute of Justice that found the company's sensors accurately identified gunfire 80% of the time.

What's more challenging is determining ShotSpotter's effect on crime. "The jury is out on whether it reduces gun violence or improves relationships" between police and communities, says Doleac of the University of Virginia. "There's a lot of potential that it could do that, but there hasn't been any rigorous evaluation of it."

Any potential study is complicated by ShotSpotter's refusal to release its data. Every shot registered by its sensors is owned by the company. Anyone wanting to fully analyze gunfire patterns must pay ShotSpotter for the information—a decision Clark defends on the grounds that the data is too valuable to give away.

One of the few studies of gunfire-locator systems looked at incidents in two high-crime St. Louis, Mo., neighborhoods from 2008 to 2009. It found no "appreciable effect" on deterring gun crimes. "The vast majority of departments use ShotSpotter for arriving at a scene more quickly," says John Jay's Piza, who used the system when he was an officer. "The problem with that is you have 30 years of research showing that police response times don't have effects on crime occurrence or whether a crime is solved."

ShotSpotter does publish year-end summaries, which offer a partial glimpse. Among the claims: gunfire incidents decrease 34.7% within the first two years of departments' using the system. Other information backs up what's clear to anyone reading the police blotter: 60% of shots occurred between 8 p.m. and 2 a.m., and the busiest hour was Saturdays between 2 a.m. and 3 a.m.

There are also the Big Brother concerns that stem from installing a vast recording apparatus across the nation's public spaces. Clark says the sensors "only trigger when they hear a boom or bang" and that what isn't gunfire is effectively erased after 36 hours. To privacy advocates, however, that still leaves the question of how police departments will use the data some of them buy from ShotSpotter. "What stops them from saying, 'There was a Black Lives Matter activist having an argument, we want to get the audio from them'?" asks Jay Stanley, a senior policy analyst at the ACLU.

BACK AT SHOTSPOTTER'S office-park HQ, the analysts are monitoring potential gunfire from across the country. The alerts come in almost every minute: a power-line crackle in North Palm Springs, Calif., a strange cracking noise in Newark, N.J., a *pop-pop-pop* in San Francisco. All apparently harmless. Then came one they were trained for: another shooting in Milwaukee, this time 19 rounds. Jonathan played the audio. A series of loud *pops*, one after the other, in the early evening hours thousands of miles away. He alerted the Milwaukee Police Department, and the incident was investigated. Police later said no one was injured, but no evidence was recovered. □

Medicine

THE TEST OF A LIFETIME

Newborns with maladies doctors can't explain face bleak odds. Now genetic testing is providing answers—and hope

BY ALICE PARK

PHOTOGRAPHS BY JOHN FRANCIS PETERS FOR TIME

DOLORES SEBASTIAN, 31
SEBASTIANA, 9 MONTHS

SEBASTIANA'S SYMPTOMS
Soon after she was born in December 2016, Sebastiana experienced repeated seizures.

WHY SHE HAD GENETIC TESTING
There wasn't anything wrong with Sebastiana's brain structure, so doctors hoped that abnormalities in her DNA would help explain her seizures.

HOW GENETIC TESTING HELPED
Her genome revealed mutations that guided doctors to the right medications for her seizures. Because she was diagnosed and treated just six days after she was born, doctors hope they saved her brain from more serious damage that could lead to developmental and cognitive disorders.

HOW SHE'S DOING NOW
Her seizures have all but stopped, and her brain scans have improved. "She is breaking all the rules," says Dolores.

WITHIN HOURS OF ENTERING THE WORLD, LITTLE SEBASTIANA MANUEL'S ENTIRE BODY FROZE IN A RIGID SPASM. HER NECK TWISTED, HER FACE TURNED BLUE, AND ONE SIDE OF HER BODY STIFFENED AS IF SOMEONE WERE YANKING HER VIOLENTLY. SHE SCREAMED.

At first her doctor wasn't too concerned; some newborns have seizures. But Sebastiana's kept coming every few hours. And the way her arms and legs stiffened during each episode was unusual. When her mother Dolores Sebastian tried to breast-feed her, she wouldn't eat. After the baby's body convulsed more than a dozen times in her first night, an ambulance rushed her from the local hospital in Fallbrook, Calif., where she was born, to the only advanced-care children's hospital in the area, Rady Children's Hospital in San Diego.

But even the specialists there were baffled by Sebastiana's symptoms. As doctors hooked up her brain to monitors and conducted test after test from her crib in the neonatal intensive care unit (NICU), Dolores and her husband Pascual Manuel couldn't touch or hold their baby. The nurses used one of Dolores' shirts as a pillow so Sebastiana could still smell her mother's scent and know that she was there.

Hours later, they received devastating news from Dr. Jeffrey Gold, director of neonatal neurology at Rady and the University of California, San Diego. "He told us he wasn't sure what was wrong with her, but he didn't think she was going to make it," says Dolores. "I cried and cried in the corner, and I tuned out the rest of what he said. I wanted to blame someone about why she was that way."

Because Sebastiana's brain scans were abnormal, Gold suspected that her brain was not fully developed, which could have triggered her seizures. Repeated seizures can interrupt a newborn's brain from making all the right connections it needs to develop its myriad networks—for an immune system, digestive system, functioning brain, strong bones, growing muscles. Without those networks, babies can suffer from severe developmental disorders, and many don't make it past their second birthday. Gold wanted to do an MRI the next day to be sure. In the worst case, he advised the Manuels, they would have to decide whether to allow doctors to insert tubes to help Sebastiana breathe and eat or let her die a natural death without them.

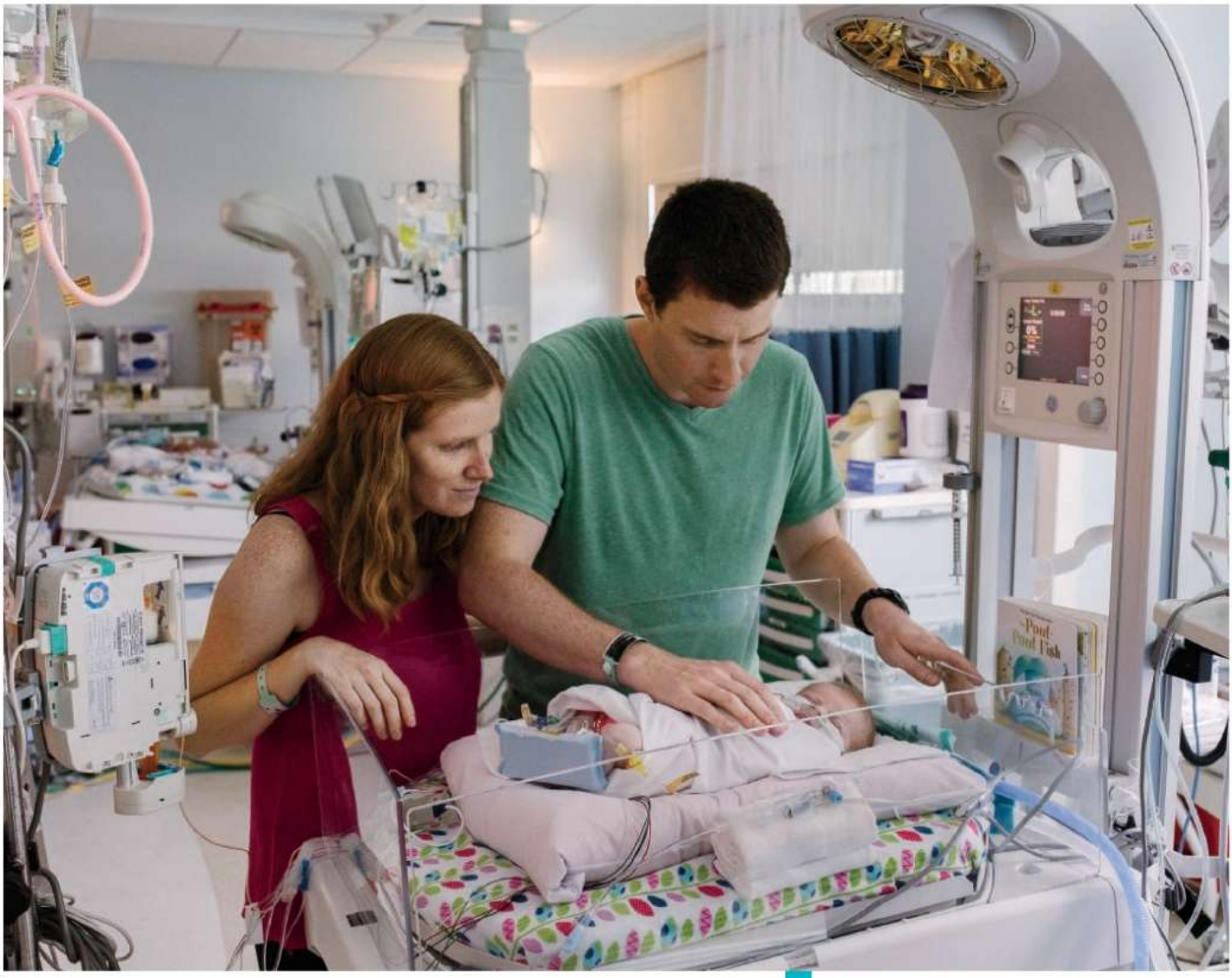
The Manuels prepared for the worst. Catholics from Guatemala, they didn't want their daughter to die without being baptized, so they hurriedly arranged a ceremony in the NICU, with the priest and family surrounding Sebastiana's crib.

But Sebastiana had one thing going for her. A year before she was born, Dr. Stephen Kingsmore launched a genomics institute at Rady designed to help babies like her. From any infant younger than 4 months who has a sickness that can't be explained, Kingsmore's team takes a vial of blood to run a genetic test. Within days, they sequence the entire genome of the baby, looking for clues to explain the undiagnosed symptoms and alert doctors to any abnormalities they see in the DNA.

On the basis of those results, which arrived six days after Sebastiana's birth—and a few days after her baptism—Gold adjusted his initially dire prognosis. Sebastiana's DNA told him that an antiseizure drug different from those that doctors normally use—one that is rarely used in infants—would be more effective at treating her seizures. The other drugs were making her sleepy, and if they were used for too long, her development could be slowed. The MRI showed that there wasn't likely anything physically wrong with her brain, so if Gold controlled Sebastiana's seizures, there was a chance it could develop normally. Once he made the switch, she became more alert, responding to her parents and eating as any healthy infant would. And her seizures stopped.

The genetic-testing program at Rady is still in the study phase, which means it's not part of standard care for babies with mystery symptoms—yet. All the infants who have had their DNA mapped are part of a research trial. But so far, Kingsmore's team has decoded the genomes of about 100 newborns with unexplained illnesses. Of those, about half had their symptoms explained with a proper diagnosis, and of those, 80% received life-changing treatments that doctors otherwise might never have considered. The power of using genetic testing in real time persuaded the Food and Drug Administration to allow Kingsmore's group to report their results directly to doctors without the additional confirmation that the agency normally requires (which could take up to a week) if it would change the baby's treatment. The National Institutes of Health (NIH) has supported Kingsmore's work with a $6 million grant, and other doctors are starting to appreciate how useful genetic information can be. By the end of the year, 15 children's hospitals across the country will start sending samples from their most challenging patients to Rady so that they too can make better decisions about how to diagnose and treat those patients.

If Kingsmore gets his way, mapping the DNA of these babies will one day be as standard as ordering a blood test. These infants often carry the answer to their own mystery illnesses in their very DNA; it's just a matter of recognizing and reading the genetic clues. "If they don't have a diagnosis, doctors are trying to hit a piñata with a blindfold on," says Kingsmore. "All we're trying to do is take the blindfold off." The babies whose genomes Kingsmore is sequencing, including Sebastiana, are part of the NIH study to document how useful DNA mapping can be. With more babies and more genetic maps, he hopes to prove that smart genomic testing can save lives, which in turn will persuade not just doctors



LIZ AND TRISTAN HOLBROOK, BOTH 27; GRACE, 3 MONTHS

GRACE'S SYMPTOMS
Grace was born with an unusual combination of a congenital hernia and heart abnormality that required her to use a ventilator and feeding tube as soon as she was born. Doctors did not expect her to survive beyond a few weeks.

WHY SHE HAD GENETIC TESTING
If there was a genetic cause, the test results could help doctors better treat Grace. Knowing if her condition was inherited would also help the Holbrooks decide whether to have more children.

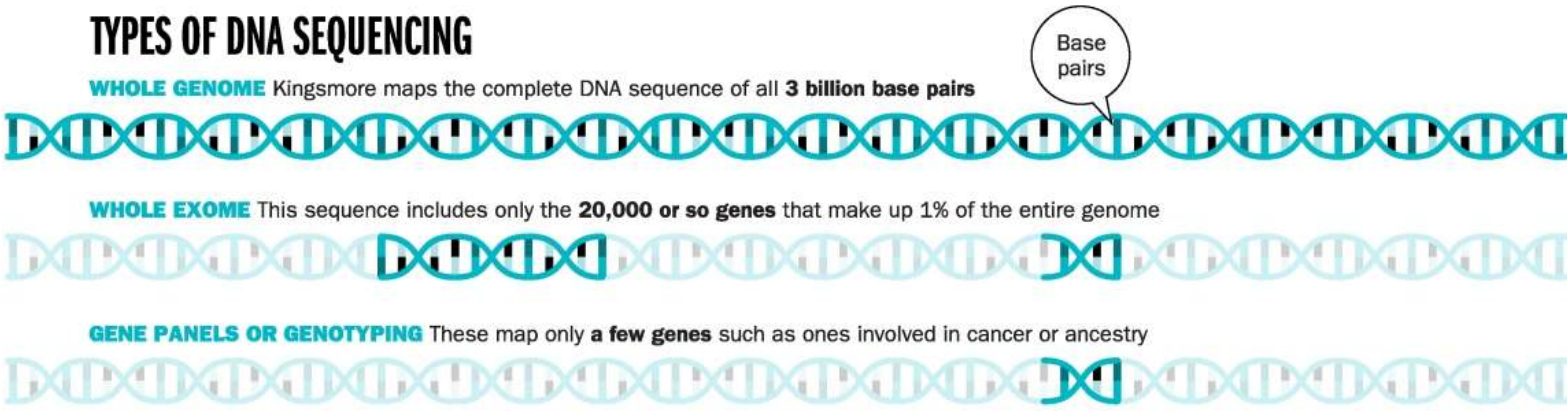
HOW GENETIC TESTING HELPED
Grace's condition wasn't due to anything in her DNA, so doctors believe that two surgeries alone will correct her major health problems.

treating newborns but other physicians treating adults for nearly any disease to start thinking of their patients' DNA as the next indispensable tool in medicine. It could pave the way for using genetics to diagnose and treat disease, and validate the power of personalized medicine. "His project is going to be a watershed," says Dr. Tracy Trotter, chair of the council on genetics at the American Academy of Pediatrics. "When you see that it saves lives and it saves brains, when you are touched by that as a physician one time, you are forever interested."

KINGSMORE'S GENETIC operation is concentrated in a 2,700-sq.-ft. space on the second floor of one of Rady's medical office buildings. An affable 57-year-old Irishman prone to sports analogies, he has a gentle lilt and warm demeanor that make him an apt advocate for babies. Previously, he led the Center for Pediatric Genomic Medicine at Children's Mercy Hospital in Kansas City, Mo., where he pioneered a rapid genetic-sequencing program with the goal of providing real-time DNA information to doctors that would change treatments for the sickest babies.

Kingsmore still remembers the first child whose genome he mapped, which convinced him that genetic sequencing was needed in every children's hospital. That 7-year-old girl had a genetic abnormality that could have been easily treated with a supplement found in pharmacies and supermarkets—for about 5¢ a dose. But the genetic testing was done too late, and the girl had already suffered from brain damage due to her condition, as had her younger sister. Had the genetic test been run when they were newborns, their brains might have been saved. "Those first cases made us realize, Holy cow, for the sake of 5¢, these children could have had a completely different outcome," says Kingsmore. "That's when I, and all of us, got really serious about this."

TYPES OF DNA SEQUENCING



But while he was adamant that genetic screening could help diagnose and treat newborns, not everyone in the medical community agreed that screening was mature enough for use in the daily care of patients. It costs about $8,500 to sequence a baby's DNA, and no insurers then or now cover the test. Many experts still saw DNA sequencing as an experimental curiosity rather than a medical necessity. Ever since the human genome was mapped in 2001, the promise of using that trove of medical information has lured many a scientist and investor into ambitious ideas for making genome sequencing more routine. But doing sequencing right takes time. Commercial gene-testing companies often take up to six weeks to map a genome—far too long for newborns whose every breath is a struggle.

Frustrated, Kingsmore moved his operation to Rady in 2015. Ernest Rady, the Canadian-American financier and entrepreneur for whom the hospital is named, agreed with his vision and donated $120 million to create the Rady Children's Institute for Genomic Medicine. To make his genetic testing more practical, Kingsmore has limited it to a very defined population of patients who could benefit: the sickest newborns in the NICU who don't have a diagnosis. "These are little tiny babies looking for an excuse to die," says Dr. Donald Kearns, CEO of Rady.

When Kingsmore maps the genomes, he doesn't scan them randomly hoping that an answer will miraculously pop out. If the genome is like a person's Internet of everything, then he uses a refined keyword search to extract only what he needs to know to explain a baby's sickness. He's not interested in whether that infant has a gene that makes her more likely to develop Alzheimer's, for example. That laser-like focus is the key to finding the right answer for the right newborn.

When Kingsmore began his program, he created a custom database of the known symptoms and conditions that can affect babies; he now folds in commercial software that does the same. ("We're a bit like pigs—we'll eat anything," he says of the scope of symptoms he scans.) Those symptoms are matched with whatever mutations scientists have described in studies and compared with the results of the sequencing. If there are no reported mutations fitting the symptoms, Kingsmore's group documents the first case and provides the best treatment based on what they know. Genetic testing can provide a significant number of answers, but it can't solve every mystery. Kingsmore is hoping that will soon change.

KINGSMORE HOLDS the world record for fastest genetic diagnosis from mapping the human genome: 26 hours. In his lab, DNA decoding machines run nearly 24 hours a day, seven days a week. Even commercial sequencing companies can't produce a map of a human genome as quickly. On average, it takes Kingsmore's team 96 hours from the time a blood sample enters the lab to the time that the specific sequence of 3 billion base pairs unique to that person is churned out.

Mapping the genome is the easy part. Once the DNA is decoded, the real challenge lies in figuring out what it means. A small percentage of genetic mutations are associated with disease, while a much larger percentage make up so-called variants of unknown significance. These are the genetic changes that doctors don't know how to decode yet. And they are the reason that many are still wary about ordering whole genome testing. "When you crunch a genome, you're talking about 600 to 800 million data points, and in trying to analyze that, there are lots of gray zones," says Dr. Eric Topol, director of the Scripps Translational Science Institute. "There is no magic Google search for the genome today."

> 'WE HAVE THE KEY TO UNLOCK THE DOOR TO PREVENT ENORMOUS SUFFERING AND FUTILE CARE. FOR US TO KEEP IT TO OURSELVES IS MORALLY WRONG.'
>
> **DR. STEPHEN KINGSMORE,** president and CEO of the Rady Children's Institute for Genomic Medicine

To address that problem, Kingsmore is intent on making the genomic information he generates useful to doctors and patients by making sure that every test is connected to a list of suggested treatments, if they're available, that doctors can consider. "We need to break the artificial glass barrier where we think the genomics job is done if we print the report," he says. "We're not done until our babies have had a change of care or we're convinced that they are getting the best care possible for their particular diagnosis."

That's what happened in Sebastiana's case. The sequencing found a rare defect in a gene called KCNQ2. Aberrations in this gene can contribute to Ohtahara syndrome, which causes continued seizures. But depending on where the gene is mutated, the outcomes can be dramatically different. A mutation in one part of the gene can mean seizures in the first few months but no serious long-term consequences. Children with those mutations develop normally and live healthy lives as adults.

Mutations in another part of the gene, however, can cause persistent seizures that disrupt the development of the brain, leading to severe problems. "We worry

about epilepsy, developmental delays, intellectual disability and cerebral palsy," says Gold. About half these infants don't make it past age 2.

Sebastiana had a mutation that was in neither of those regions. Hers was smack in the middle of the gene. There were no previous descriptions of her variant in case studies; it was a completely new mutation. Gold couldn't tell the Manuels whether they could expect their daughter to outgrow her seizures or whether she would fail to develop like other newborns and continue to have seizures until her early death.

The genetic testing did tell him, however, that her mutation affected a particular pathway in her brain, and he knew there was a drug that could address that. It wasn't an antiseizure drug doctors normally use in infants; still, with the genetic support, he felt confident it would control her seizures and hopeful that it would give her brain a chance to develop normally.

So far, it seems he was right. Sebastiana's brain scans have improved considerably since her first ones. That means there's a strong chance that she will not have the severe developmental delays that other children with Ohtahara syndrome experience. Sebastiana is a little slower to hit her milestones, such as holding up her head and crawling, but Gold is cautiously optimistic that her case may show how powerful genetic testing can be in diagnosing and treating seizures in newborns early, which could lead to better health outcomes for them. Three weeks after her emergency admission at Rady, she went home for the first time, on Christmas Day. "I thank God every night that I get to sleep with my daughter, that I get to cuddle her, and she doesn't have tubes in her and she doesn't have seizures," says Dolores. Since she's been home, Sebastiana has had only one seizure, but that might have been due to an unrelated respiratory infection.

4 to 6
Typical number of weeks a commercial lab takes to sequence a whole human genome

2,000
Number of diseases that can be detected with genetic testing

6
Number of days Kingsmore's lab takes to generate a genomic report

$8,500
Average cost of sequencing a newborn's DNA

These are the kinds of second chances that Kingsmore and his colleagues hope to continue to make by introducing genetic testing as early as possible to help newborns. "I do this because I am haunted by the kids we could have saved had we tested earlier," says Dr. David Dimmock, medical director of the Rady Children's Institute for Genomic Medicine.

Even when DNA mapping does not lead to a diagnosis or change in treatment, it can be valuable. For Liz and Tristan Holbrook, an accountant and software developer in San Diego, genetic sequencing of their first child, Grace, gave them much-needed clarity. Grace was born with a congenital hernia and heart condition that required two operations in her first four weeks. The Holbrooks agreed to get genetic testing to learn if DNA defects were causing Grace's condition; the answers could help her treatment and their family planning. "If her condition was something we could pass on to future children, we might think differently about doing that," says Liz. However, Grace's DNA didn't reveal anything out of the ordinary, indicating that the issues Grace faced wouldn't affect future kids. "It was a big sigh of relief," says Liz.

More doctors are seeing the value that genomics can provide. At Cincinnati Children's Hospital Medical Center, physicians are launching a program that offers genetic sequencing to infants referred there for whatever reason as part of their medical workup—similar to the way doctors order a CT scan to learn more about a patient's health. At the University of Michigan, doctors sequence a specific portion of children's genomes to help guide treatment of those with undiagnosed diseases. And it's not just infants who can benefit; as the testing expands, it may improve diagnosis and treatment of adults as well. "I would love to see genomic sequencing used more often," says Dr. Jeffrey Innis, a pediatric geneticist at the University of Michigan.

Standing in the way are not just concerns about the practicality of genetic testing but also the cost. No insurers currently reimburse the expensive test. But Kingsmore's strategy is to change the cost-benefit equation by proving through his studies that genetic sequencing for the sickest babies will save money in the long term, sparing them the expensive and lengthy medical care they will need if they remain undiagnosed or are treated with the wrong therapies. He estimates that genetic testing could save about $1 billion in annual NICU costs across the country.

For parents of babies who have benefited from the testing, it's obviously priceless. "There is a reason why things happen," says Pascual. "I think Sebastiana is here to educate our entire family to grow together and understand the basic blessing of life and to never forget it. She is a miracle." □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'THE WAVES IT'S CAUSED THROUGH ASIA HAVE BEEN INCREDIBLE.' —NEXT PAGE

Yeoh and Martin-Green kick off the new Star Trek *with an action-packed episode on Sept. 24*

JAN THIJS—CBS

TELEVISION

In a quantum leap, *Star Trek* becomes a female enterprise

By Eliana Dockterman

WHEN CBS ANNOUNCED TWO YEARS ago that it would bring *Star Trek* back to television, this time starring two women of color, you could have been forgiven for thinking the trolls might stay under their bridges for once. Even if they turned out in droves to protest the casting of Daisy Ridley as the lead of the new *Star Wars* and harassed the stars of the all-female *Ghostbusters* remake, surely Trekkers—fans prefer that term to Trekkies—would be different. After all, when it first aired in the 1960s, *Star Trek* boasted one of the most diverse casts on TV, and in 1968 it broadcast the first interracial kiss. Across its many iterations, the 51-year-old series consistently promoted postracial alien harmony and a top-line promise to "boldly go."

If only. When CBS revealed that Sonequa Martin-Green *(The Walking Dead)* and Michelle Yeoh *(Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon)* would headline the new *Star Trek: Discovery,* the two women were greeted with the kind of abuse that has become commonplace in social media. Earlier this year, Martin-Green decided to address the blowback at San Diego Comic-Con—a 130,000-person pop-culture convention that can trace its origins to *Star Trek* fan gatherings in the early 1970s. Martin-Green, *Trek*'s first African-American female lead, says she wasn't surprised by the fracas: "I'm a black woman raised in the South, so that's something that I have always had an unfortunate understanding of. But on the flip side, it was surprising, because to say that you love *Star Trek* but you're upset

about diversity on the show is completely antithetical." So she encouraged fans to remember the show's long history.

THE LAST *STAR TREK* television series ended in 2005. Writer Bryan Fuller, who worked on *Star Trek* shows *Deep Space Nine* and *Voyager* before he created *Hannibal* for NBC, began lobbying for a new *Star Trek* starring a black woman. Martin Luther King Jr. once told Nichelle Nichols, who played communications officer Uhura and who was the one to lock lips with William Shatner's Kirk for that groundbreaking kiss, that she was an inspiration to him. Imagine if Nichols had gotten to play the lead, Fuller argued. CBS eventually greenlighted his idea for a *Star Trek* prequel set 10 years before the original. The show will premiere on its broadcast network on Sept. 24, but will then move to CBS All Access, a subscription streaming site, in a bid to take on the likes of Hulu and Netflix.

Transferring the show to the web is just one of many tweaks CBS is making to the *Star Trek* formula. *Discovery* traces plot arcs and character development over several episodes rather than adhering to the monster-of-the-week structure of the original. Martin-Green stars as Michael Burnham, a human orphan who is taken in by Vulcan-human couple Sarek and Amanda. (Fans will recognize them as the biological parents of Spock; as for Michael's name, Fuller has long made a practice of giving his female leads male monikers, with this one a nod to the archangel Michael.) She grows up suppressing her human emotions in order to assimilate into the hyper-logical Vulcan society. In hopes of helping her connect to her human roots, Sarek asks Captain Philippa Georgiou (Yeoh) to take Michael under her wing and teach her to engage with her emotions.

The series begins with the two women leading the ship *Shenzhou* before certain spoilery events send Martin-Green's character on an adventure aboard another ship, the U.S.S. *Discovery*. The writers say the characters' mentor-mentee dynamic will be more realistic than most female relationships on television. "People always think you put two women in the same place and they compete with each other," says Yeoh. "'She's older, so she's going to be jealous of the young one. They're going to fight over a man.' It's all absolutely not true, and it's a silly thing to encourage."

And in this version of space, there's no glass ceiling. "In *Star Trek*'s utopian future, many of the gender issues have been rectified," says Martin-Green. "It's common to see a woman of color in power."

THE COSTUMES ALONE—female officers once sported skimpy skirts and now wear practical pants—mark the progress women have made in the *Star Trek* universe. In 1995, Kate Mulgrew became the first woman to sit in the captain's chair in *Voyager*. Twenty years after *Voyager*, *Discovery* showrunners Aaron Harberts and Gretchen Berg say that CBS neither pressured them to write their female heroes as if they were men in order to make them more authoritative, nor did they ask them to glam up the characters' looks.

Yeoh was surprised when journalists began to ask her about breaking ground as a woman of color starring on a network series. "I grew up in Malaysia, with many races living all in one place," she says. "We embraced diversity a long time ago. So it never comes to my mind until someone points it out." In recent months, Yeoh—who made her mark playing female warriors like Yu Shu Lien in *Crouching Tiger* and Jessica Yang in *Supercop*—has found a younger fan base. "The waves it's caused through Asia have been incredible, more so than for anything else I've done because it's *Star Trek*," she says. "And for little girls to think, I'm Asian, but I can be the captain of that ship too, that impact is immeasurable."

Which has been the point all along. *Trek*'s creator, Gene Roddenberry, set out to tackle issues like race and class at a time when television was populated by white families living in the suburbs. To that end, *Discovery* will feature the first openly gay series regular on TV. (The film *Star Trek Beyond* revealed that Sulu is gay.) And the writers promise that despite a heavy investment in special effects, they will use the series to continue taking on social and political issues. Martin-Green, too, wants to push for more progress. "I always say I think we have to have a healthy discontent," she says. "We have to be at once celebratory of the change that has happened while at the same time yearning for more and realizing that we're not done." To go boldly, in other words. □

Final frontiers

The women of *Star Trek* have risen in power over 51 years

THE COMMUNICATOR
Nichelle Nichols was the only woman on the bridge as communications officer Uhura in the original 1960s-era *Star Trek*

THE BARTENDER
Whoopi Goldberg, a lifelong *Star Trek* fan, asked for a role on *Star Trek: The Next Generation*, which ran in the '80s and '90s

THE CAPTAIN
Kate Mulgrew became the first female lead in a *Star Trek* series when she was cast as Captain Janeway in *Voyager* in 1995

THE FIGHTER
Zoe Saldana plays a more battle-ready version of Uhura in J.J. Abrams' *Star Trek* films, the first of which came out in 2009

NICHOLS: GOLDBERG: MULGREW: CBS/GETTY IMAGES; SALDANA: PARAMOUNT PICTURES

Boreanaz, left, and fellow members of his SEAL team

TELEVISION

Network TV's calorie-free take on American patriotism

By Daniel D'Addario

THIS FALL, THREE NEW NETWORK SHOWS LOOK AT DIFFERENT aspects of the U.S. military: NBC's *The Brave* is about undercover specialists; CBS's *SEAL Team* is about a SEAL team; and the CW's *Valor,* true to the soapy network's form, is about torrid drama on an Army base. All three share dialogue rich in technical jargon—on both *SEAL Team* and *Valor,* characters refer pointedly to "helos," instead of helicopters. All three share the same antagonist: the global spread of ISIS. And, unfortunately, all three share a shallow take on American righteousness.

Take the first episodes of *The Brave* and *SEAL Team,* both of which get their charge from overseas kidnappings of blond American women. "We are fighting people that want to wipe us off the planet," Anne Heche, as deputy director of the Defense Intelligence Agency on *The Brave,* intones. "That means we have to be as ruthless as they are." Later, another character provides his own take: "I'm not saying I'm gonna enjoy killing these guys, but you kidnap a woman, you get what you deserve." *SEAL Team* takes much the same tack toward its villains.

These shows seem to be trying to provoke a vengeful growl from the audience. *Homeland,* in its lesser moments, had similarly nasty paranoid outlines. But that show has been more adept at moral ambiguity. On *SEAL Team,* meanwhile, lead David Boreanaz jokingly pretends to find it racist when another character compares Liberia to the postapocalyptic film *Mad Max.* On *Valor,* the show most concerned with the human side of war, pilot Nora (Christina Ochoa) keeps a doll in the cockpit: "It was a gift from a little Afghan girl. She said that until me, she didn't know women could be soldiers." These characters generally don't have the time or inclination to care about pieties, unless those pieties can be spun in self-aggrandizing ways.

We are living in the longest period of war in American history and, watching the new TV season, one might think the grinding nature of the conflict has made meaningful storytelling about it impossible. War provides an innately compelling hook for these shows, but there's something unpleasant and hectoring about how bluntly incurious they are about what it might all mean. They seem satisfied to prove a case with which so many will easily agree: that the military comprises hardworking people, that global terrorism is bad. But true patriotism means wanting one's own homeland to be the best it can, not just repeating three times a week in prime time that it already is.

STARS WITH STRIPES
Mike Vogel stars on NBC's *The Brave;* Ochoa plays the lead on the CW's *Valor*

THE BRAVE *premieres Sept. 25 at 10 p.m. E.T. on NBC;* **SEAL TEAM** *premieres Sept. 27 at 9 p.m. E.T. on CBS;* **VALOR** *premieres Oct. 9 at 9 p.m. E.T. on the CW*

SEAL TEAM: SKIP BOLEN—CBS; THE BRAVE: VIRGINIA SHERWOOD—NBC; VALOR: ERIKA DOSS—THE CW

Stone as King, Carell as Riggs: class act vs. chauvinist showboater

MOVIES

Venus and Mars duke it out on the tennis court

By Stephanie Zacharek

ANY WOMAN WHO HAS NEGOTIATED A SALARY OR RAISE IN the past five years (or the past 50) might feel a shiver of recognition watching Jonathan Dayton and Valerie Faris' buoyant period piece *Battle of the Sexes*. In 1973, aging tennis legend Bobby Riggs, hoping to recapture the spotlight by crowing that he could beat any female player, challenged the much younger—and, because of her gender, much less well paid—champ Billie Jean King to a match that would become legendary. King won several victories that day: she triumphed over the posturing of insecure sexist dudes everywhere and also made an over-the-net leap toward pay parity for female athletes and for working women everywhere.

Dayton and Faris *(Little Miss Sunshine)* trace the events leading to that dazzling showdown, along the way capturing sparks of what King and Riggs were like as people and as public personalities. Riggs (Steve Carell) is a player long past his prime, with his big ego perpetually bruised. He's also a compulsive gambler who is flailing in a faltering marriage. (His probably too-patient wife is played by a regal Elisabeth Shue.) Emma Stone plays King, then one of the top-ranked female players, who was fully aware of how much larger the men's purses were. With the help of *World Tennis* magazine founder and go-getter Gladys Heldman (an exquisitely brassy Sarah Silverman), she founds the Women's Tennis Association, whose first key event is the inaugural Virginia Slims tournament, held in Houston. After clinching the sponsorship, Heldman sweeps in, waving one of those all-too-seductive cigarette packs in the faces of the players assembled for the tour. "You do the tennis, I'll do the smoking," she tells them, one glamorous death stick perched elegantly between two fingers.

KING FOR A DAY—OR SO HE THOUGHT
Although Riggs was riding high before his momentous 1973 match against King, he'd say afterward, "I never could get over her head."

At the time, Big Tobacco's sponsorship of a sports event raised few eyebrows. But just being yourself could destroy a career. On the circuit, the married King (Austin Stowell plays her loyal husband) meets and falls for a young hairdresser (Andrea Riseborough). Their affair's tentative start is one of the movie's most graceful features: the two flirt cautiously in a club, cushioned by the sound of Tommy James and the Shondells' "Crimson and Clover," a song as full of fragile promise as a secret whispered into a pillow.

The performances in *Battle of the Sexes*, agile and perceptive, keep the game alive every minute. Carell plays Riggs more as an affable, unenlightened boob than a villainous creep. And although the incandescently elfin Stone doesn't much resemble King—who always looked both refined and California-friendly—she nails King's thoughtful directness. She also captures King's marvelous antelope saunter, the casual grace this superb athlete radiated when she *wasn't* running for the ball.

Battle of the Sexes isn't a laundry-list account of everything King would later come to fight for, including LGBT rights. Instead, it's the story of a woman, already a world-famous athlete, who didn't yet know how much more she'd become. It's easy to say, "You've come a long way, baby." Here's someone who walked, or sprinted, every mile. ◻

BATTLE OF THE SEXES: 20TH CENTURY FOX; KINGSMAN: GILES KEYTE—20TH CENTURY FOX; FIRST THEY KILLED MY FATHER: NETFLIX

Egerton's Eggsy: If the suit fits, try not to destroy it

MOVIES

Return of the *Kingsman*

ONE OF THE FOLLOWING IS not a feature of *Kingsman: The Golden Circle,* Matthew Vaughn's bodaciously entertaining sequel to his equally nutso 2015 comic-book adventure *Kingsman: The Secret Service.* A treacherous gondola in the Italian Alps, a pug puppy, a Sistine Chapel explosion, a royal wedding, Julianne Moore as a perky yet sadistic drug lord—lordess?—with a penchant for '50s populuxe design.

Give up? All you really need to know is that there's enough sleek, meticulously tailored disreputability here for three movies. Taron Egerton returns as the insanely well-dressed secret agent Eggsy, member of an elite spy ring fronted by a London tailor's shop. Colin Firth and Mark Strong also return as, respectively, Eggsy's mentor and right-hand tech expert. Don't be shocked if Channing Tatum shows up as a Kentucky lawman in a cowboy hat, because there's room amid all this post–James Bond madness for almost anything to happen. *Almost.* These gentlemen of taste and discernment would never blow up the Sistine Chapel. At least not yet. —S.Z.

MOVIES

A child survives the Khmer Rouge

SOME MOVIES ARE JUST A TOUGH SELL, and you could be forgiven for shying away from a story about the horrific reign of the Khmer Rouge as seen through a child's eyes. But Angelina Jolie's *First They Killed My Father: A Daughter of Cambodia Remembers,* adapted from Loung Ung's 2000 memoir of the same name, is made with so much care and acumen that there's no reason to fear it.

The picture opens with just a hint of the nightmare to come: the 5-year-old Loung (played by the subtly expressive young actor Sareum Srey Moch) and her family heed the regime's orders to leave their comfortable Phnom Penh household and head, supposedly temporarily, for the countryside. Loung's gentle, generous father (Phoeung Kompheak) is a government official, and that's dangerous. The new order makes literacy, and even the act of thinking for oneself, a criminal offense.

Jolie is attuned to America's role in the rise of Pol Pot and his regime, and she uses vintage news clips of Nixon doublespeak to skim through the horrific history of the U.S. military's bombing of Cambodia, initiated in 1969. But her real focus is Loung's experience—her hunger, her fear and especially her eventual training as a child soldier. When Loung is taught to plant mines in the forest, she watches her teacher's precise technique with a child's inquisitiveness—but the delicacy of Sareum Srey Moch's performance shows that this kid is not buying the goods.

Jolie knows how to dramatize the actions of a brutal regime—and, more specifically, their effects on children—without brutalizing the audience, and she's perceptive about the way nature can be a salve in the worst of times. Sometimes the color of the sky at night is the only thing to hang on to. *First They Killed My Father* is a sensitively rendered account of one child's real-life experience, but its broader implications are noteworthy too. This is what can happen in a country ruled by a despot who doesn't want people to read. —S.Z.

A FAMILY TORN APART

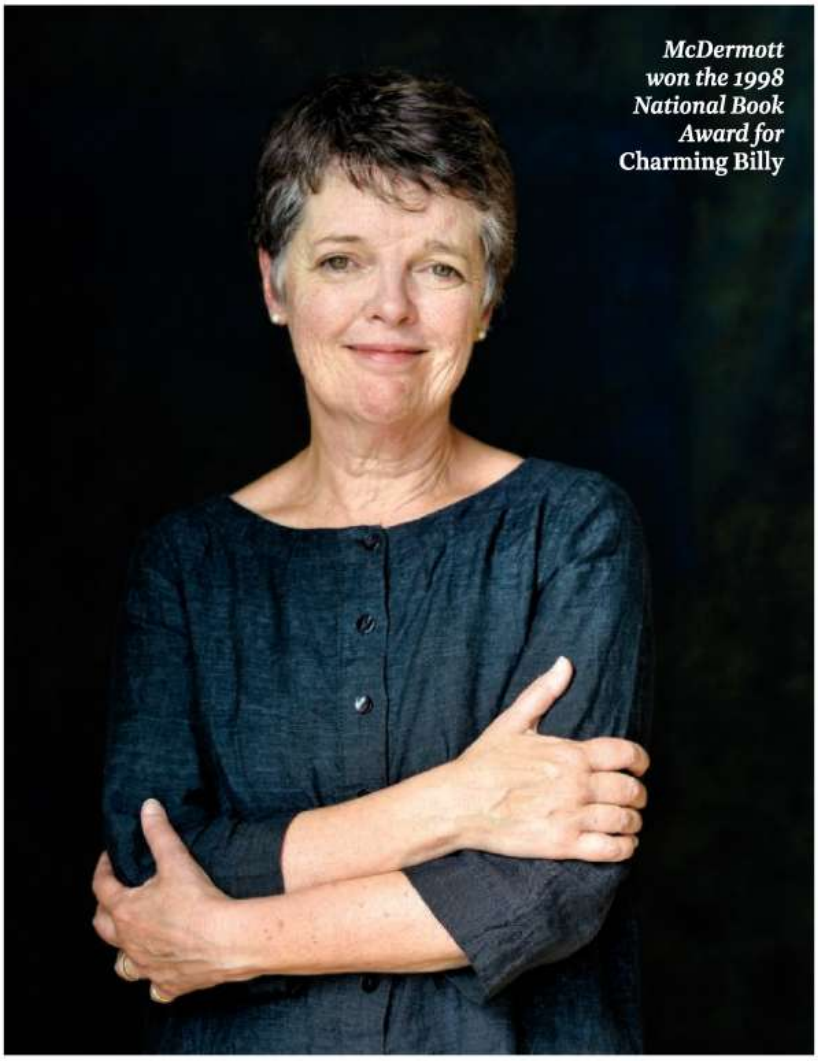
Loung Ung survived the Khmer Rouge occupation because her mother sent her and two of her siblings away from the town of Ro Leap, where the family had been living and working in a hard-labor camp. Her instructions to the children: pretend to be orphans, and never return.

Sareum Srey Moch as Khmer Rouge survivor Loung Ung

BOOKS

Grace and gumption in Irish-Catholic Brooklyn

By Sarah Begley



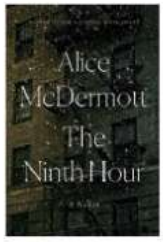
McDermott won the 1998 National Book Award for Charming Billy

NOT MUCH HAPPENS TO THE LITTLE NURSING Sisters of the Sick Poor, the stars of Alice McDermott's new novel *The Ninth Hour*—they live to serve others. But plenty has happened to those in their care. These nuns in early–20th century Brooklyn help people in rock-bottom situations: a woman who's lost her leg to a rabid dog, children with life-threatening illnesses, a wife whose husband commits suicide while she's pregnant. This last case is Annie, an Irish immigrant who came to America for the man who would eventually widow her. When their daughter Sally is born, the sisters give Annie a job in the convent's laundry, and the twosome become lifelong associates of the nuns.

The job is a life raft—little Sally has supervision down in that laundry room from infancy through adolescence, first swaddled on a rug on the floor, and later accommodated with a desk to do her homework. But it's a brutal way of life for Annie and the nun who oversees her, Sister Illuminata, filled with harsh detergents and scalding irons. In this world of severe physical realities, the simplest comforts are sublimely felt. One nun finds happiness in the green smell that comes off a basket woven from unblessed palms when her own body heat warms it up; another tells a group of children that arriving in heaven will be like taking off an itchy, too-tight wool coat: "When you finally get the old thing off, the air in this house will feel as cool and as sweet as silk on your skin, won't it? It will feel like cool water on the back of your neck and on your wrists … That's how you'll feel when you get to heaven."

It's very much in doubt whether all of these characters will get to heaven—including the dead father, whose suicide bars him from burial in hallowed ground. Sin and virtue drive the novel, and though several characters commit serious transgressions—at least in the eyes of the church—they are more often motivated by love than hate.

McDermott, who frequently writes about Irish-American communities, has as much affection for her characters as they have for one another. Although the plot can be bleak, it offers just enough warmth to nurture hope. The nuns are full of solutions—practical ones, and sometimes superstitious ones—to keep people moving through crises, "one foot in front of the other" as the elderly Sister St. Savior puts it. Watching a pregnant Annie clutch at her hair immediately after her husband's death, Sister St. Savior gently "moved Annie's hand from out of her hair—it was a mad, dramatic gesture that would lead to mad, dramatic speech—and placed her fingertips once again on her middle, where her thoughts should be."



WRITE WHAT YOU KNOW
Like many of the characters in the novel, McDermott was born in Brooklyn and educated in Catholic schools

McDermott's *That Night, At Weddings and Wakes* and *After This* have made her a Pulitzer finalist three times over. She is a poet of corporeal description; Sally's faint freckles, for instance, are "beneath the surface of her skin, as if under a milky veil." But it's the way she marries the spirit to the physical world that makes her work transcendent. "Down here," says Sister Illuminata, "we do our best to transform what is ugly, soiled, stained, don't we? We send it back into the world like a resurrected soul. We're like the priest in his confessional, aren't we?"

For each other, these women may actually serve a higher function than a priest in his confessional. They keenly understand suffering, and do what they can to alleviate each other's. *The Ninth Hour* is a story with the simple grace of a votive candle in a dark church. ◻

ULF ANDERSEN—GETTY IMAGES

Murals by British street artist Banksy have appeared in central London near a new exhibition of work by Jean-Michel Basquiat. One mural bears that artist's signature crown image.

A new photo of Prince's ID badge on Rick James' tour in 1980 surfaced, **showing that the singer—at the beginning of his career—already identified as a "star."**

Selena Gomez revealed that, to treat her lupus diagnosis, she **underwent a successful kidney transplant,** with a kidney donated by a friend, earlier this summer.

'So now, more great roles for women, please!'

NICOLE KIDMAN, accepting the Emmy Award for Best Limited Series as a producer of HBO's *Big Little Lies,* in which she also starred

The celebrity-staffed **Hand in Hand telethon raised over $44 million for hurricane relief,** thanks to support from stars like Oprah, George Clooney and Stevie Wonder.

LOVE IT / LEAVE IT

TIME'S WEEKLY TAKE ON WHAT POPPED IN CULTURE

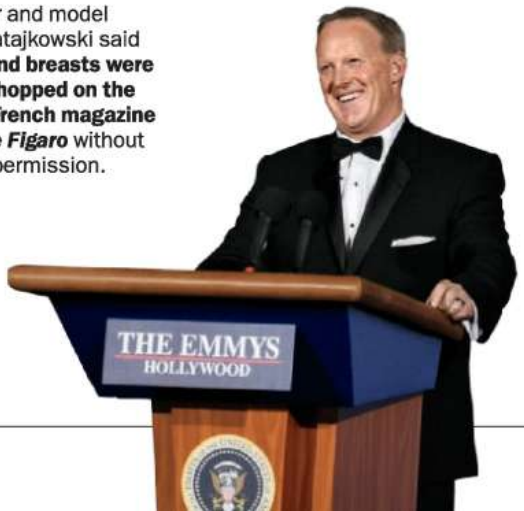
Jon Cooper
@joncoopertweets

Sarah Huckabee Sanders even looked habitually pissed when she was a teenager! I guess having @GovMikeHuckabee as your dad does that to you.

An old photo of actor Busy Philipps in *Freaks and Geeks* was **misidentified on Twitter as President Trump's current press secretary,** Sarah Huckabee Sanders, causing Philipps to decry the error as "fake news."

Actor and model Emily Ratajkowski said **her lips and breasts were Photoshopped on the cover of French magazine *Madame Figaro*** without her permission.

Swiss toilets in three restaurants (and one bank) were found to be **mysteriously clogged with tens of thousands of dollars' worth of wads of cut-up cash,** to the confusion of officials.



An Emmys bit in which **host Stephen Colbert brought former White House press secretary Sean Spicer onstage** was received poorly, with many criticizing the show's playful treatment of Spicer's tenure in the Trump Administration.

BANKSY: SPICER: AP; PRINCE: RR AUCTION; GOMEZ: INSTAGRAM; PHILIPPS: TWITTER; RATAJKOWSKI, TOILET, KIDMAN, OPRAH: GETTY IMAGES

By Raisa Bruner, Cady Lang and Megan McCluskey

Darren Aronofsky The *Black Swan* director on how his divisive new film starring Jennifer Lawrence, *mother!*, confronts climate change and fame

***Mother!* is about a couple (Jennifer Lawrence and Javier Bardem) who are living an idyllic rural life until it is severely disrupted by unwelcome guests. It's an allegorical epic that has split critics. Why make this film now?** It started off with me wanting to return to the horror genre after *Black Swan*. I thought that the home-invasion movie would be a good place to start because everyone understands what it means to have a guest who stays too long. At the same time, I thought it would be interesting to talk about another home—not your home, not my home, but our home.

You mean the earth? The mother of us all. The one who gave us all life. I wanted to tell a movie from Mother Nature's point of view and talk about her love and her gifts and the way people ultimately cause her pain.

What were some other inspirations? *The Exterminating Angel*, this film by the great surrealist Luis Buñuel, where all the guests at a dinner party got locked in the room for some surreal reason. Through it, he was able to make a commentary on society.

***Mother!* shows people worshipping and then literally tearing apart certain characters. Is it a meditation on the consequences of fame?** To be honest, I wasn't thinking about that. I think it was a by-product of casting Jennifer Lawrence and Javier Bardem and Michelle Pfeiffer, who have dealt with that in their own lives.

Where do you draw the line when it comes to depicting violence? I have a real problem with violence and sexuality being used for no reason. Those are very easy tools to rely on and very dangerous to abuse. I try to be truthful to what violence is. There's nothing glamorous about it.

Do you see yourself as the Bardem character, as some critics have assumed? I felt like I was empathizing most with Jen's character, but I can see why they would think that. I make movies, he's a writer—there's clearly a connection about the male ego. But I'm connected to every character. I was the ballerina in *Black Swan*. I was the wrestler in *The Wrestler*. I was the math whiz in *Pi*.

The movie also draws from biblical stories. Why do you keep returning to religion in your films? These are myths that belong to the world. They are some of the oldest stories that we've been telling repeatedly since the beginning of humankind. There's power to them.

> 'I'm connected to every character. I was the ballerina in *Black Swan*. I was the wrestler in *The Wrestler*. I was the math whiz in *Pi*.'

So you're attracted to the symbolism? When you think of Icarus, you instantly know what that story means. We never debate whether he actually put on a pair of wings and flew up to the sun. If you were to fight over that, you'd lose the whole point of the story. Through symbols, you can talk about things that are pertinent to people living now.

Speaking of which, *mother!* came out as the U.S. was reeling from two of the worst hurricanes in history. *The* worst. Harvey was *the* worst rainstorm in the history of the United States. A forest fire in British Columbia is *the* worst fire in the history of Canada. The year 2016 had the hottest summer in the history of the world, and the 10 years before that were the hottest in the history of the world. It's not a coincidence.

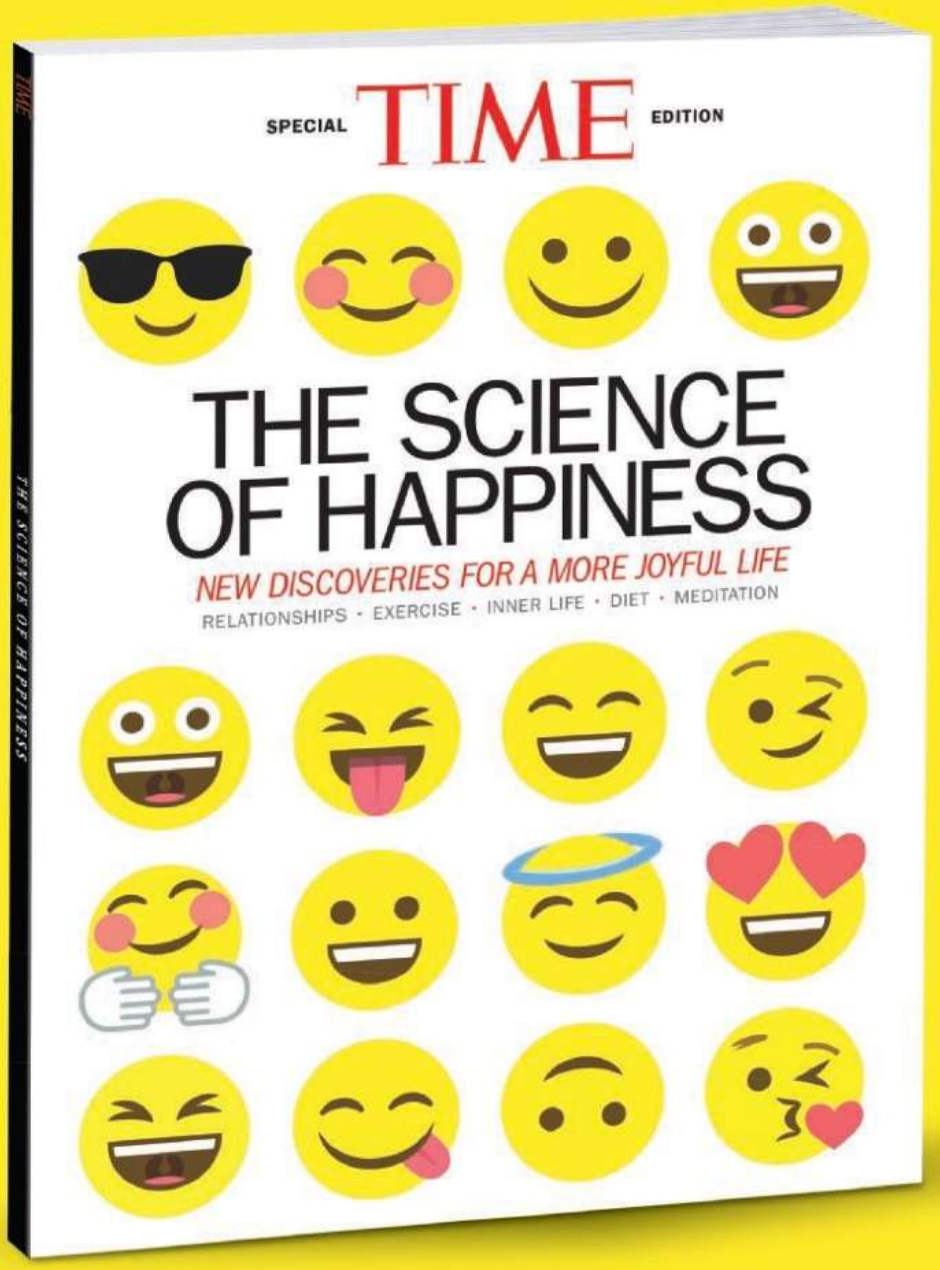
You sound frustrated. It's very frustrating. I'm a parent. My grandfather came to America to give me and my sister a better life. I can't give that to my children.

—ELIANA DOCKTERMAN

ELISABETTA A. VILLA—WIREIMAGE/GETTY IMAGES

How to Be Happy

Bring more joy into your life with this Special Edition from the Editors of *TIME*



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- Simple tricks to bring more happiness into your life right now
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