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TIME

IMPEACHMENT

AMERICA  
ON TRIAL

BY JON MEACHAM

WE MUST  
ACT NOW

BY NEAL KATYAL

LET VOTERS  
DECIDE

BY ROBERT RAY

OF

DONALD  
TRUMP



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^  
A custodian enters  
a secure area in  
the basement of  
the Capitol where  
impeachment  
depositions  
take place

Photograph by  
Gabriella Demczuk



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# Conversation



## WHAT YOU SAID ABOUT...

**THE SECRETARY OF OFFENSE** Vera Bergengruen and Brian Bennett's Nov. 11 cover story, about President Trump's personal lawyer Rudy Giuliani, left reader Eugene Ely of San Jose, Calif., horrified by a dynamic in which he sees Giuliani and Trump "feeding off of each other and egging each other [on]." David D'Adamo of Woodcliff Lake, N.J., said Giuliani was unrecognizable compared with when he was New York City's mayor. On *The Late Show*, host Stephen Colbert joked that the image of Giuliani on the cover, a photograph by Spencer Heyfron, would have made a scary Halloween mask, but others, like Leo Latonick of Severna Park, Md., thought the picture was unfairly unflattering compared with the "leader-like" photos of Democratic presidential candidates on previous 2019 covers.

**'How does a President's personal lawyer get off making foreign policy?'**

CHARLES P. LEROYER III, Searsmont, Maine

**SOLVING SUICIDE** Mandy Oaklander's Nov. 4 feature on suicide prevention generated feedback from professional experts as well as those with a personal connection to the issue, like Lisa Kelleher of St. Joseph, Mich., whose son died of suicide and who wondered if the treatment follow-up described in the article could have made a difference for him. Beth Zimmer Carter, a doctor in St. Charles, Mo., whose son also died of suicide, praised the story for raising awareness on an "urgent" matter. And Sarabjit Singh, a doctor in Boonton, N.J., said that given the impact of the therapy in the story, the shortage of psychiatrists could be a worthy subject for future reporting.

**'Supportive follow up can save lives. We can do better.'**

@MADDIE7787, on Twitter



### CELEBRATIONS

On Nov. 4, staff at TIME's New York City HQ went to Wall Street, where editor-in-chief and CEO Edward Felsenthal and president Keith A. Grossman rang the opening bell at the New York Stock Exchange to mark one year as an independent media brand under the ownership of Marc and Lynne Benioff.



**BACK IN TIME** In this week's issue (page 42), TIME's Sean Gregory and Paul Moakley look at how the staff of the Capital Gazette in Annapolis, Md., is coping a year after the June 28, 2018, shooting that left five colleagues dead. Those journalists are among "The Guardians" TIME recognized as the 2018 Person of the Year, "who risk all to tell the story of our time." Watch a new video about them from TIME Studios on [time.com/capital-gazette](https://time.com/capital-gazette) and visit [time.com/poy](https://time.com/poy) for more about the Guardians.

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# Revitalizing History

## A calligraphy and painting exhibition brings the spirit of the Tang Dynasty civilization back By Ding Ying

**H**ad the time machine been invented, the Tang Dynasty (618-907) would be a perfect choice for time travelers who want to experience history.

It's a period full of energy, openness and creativity. Chang'an (today's Xi'an in Shaanxi Province in northwest China), the capital of the great empire, used to be an international metropolis. Merchants from different regions arrived with exotic goods; foreigners became officials and generals because of their extraordinary ability; and the most talented poets, singers, dancers, artists and craftspeople gathered there, creating a splendid civilization.

Now history and culture buffs can get a closer glimpse of the Tang Dynasty without a time machine by visiting the Meet the Tang Dynasty Again calligraphy and painting exhibition in the Liaoning Provincial Museum in Shenyang City in northeast China. They will also discover the spirit of the Tang civilization, which was characterized by confidence, openness and inclusiveness.

### A feast of art

Li Qi, a 34-year-old resident of Shenyang, capital of Liaoning Province, took her 7-year-old son to the museum on October 7, the last day of the National Day holidays. They waited

in a long queue before the *Calligraphy Models in Her Majestic Reign Year of Longevity to the Heaven*, one of the most valuable exhibits.

"Go through it slowly and thoroughly," she told the boy in a controlled low voice. "This is a Wang Xizhi calligraphy copied in the Tang Dynasty."

Wang Xizhi, who lived 1,700 years ago, is regarded as the greatest calligrapher in Chinese history. And the Wang family has contributed the most outstanding calligraphers in different generations.

Many Chinese emperors, including the only empress in Chinese history, Wu Zetian (624-705), were passionate about owning a genuine Wang calligraphy. So in 697, Wang's descendants parted with precious collections of 28 calligraphers from nine generations of the family including Wang Xizhi to please the empress.

The empress was delighted. However, she returned them to the family after getting the best calligrapher to copy them to provide models for the art. That is the story behind the *Calligraphy Models*.

Li's son is learning calligraphy. She felt the exhibition was a very good opportunity for him to see the original work of great calligraphers. Normally, precious cultural relics like the Wang Xizhi scroll are carefully stored

away for their protection.

She told *Beijing Review*, "I know maybe it's impossible for him to understand all the beauty of these works, but I hope the exhibition can at least produce an aesthetic impression on him."

The exhibition, co-hosted by the National Cultural Heritage Administration and the Publicity Department of the Liaoning Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of China, opened on October 7 and will continue till January 5, 2020. It presents visitors with a feast of art from the Tang Dynasty. Of the 100 exhibits, 38 are first-class national cultural relics.

"The exhibition is an important platform to demonstrate Liaoning's profound culture in front of friends from home and overseas," Zhang Fuhai, head of the Publicity Department, said in his address at the opening ceremony of the exhibition on October 7.

According to him, Liaoning has contributed its best artifacts to the exhibition. Among the 100 exhibits, 56 are from the Liaoning Provincial Museum. Some are well-known national treasures that people can see usually only in history books. The exhibition projects Liaoning's performance in the Tang Dynasty, Zhang said.

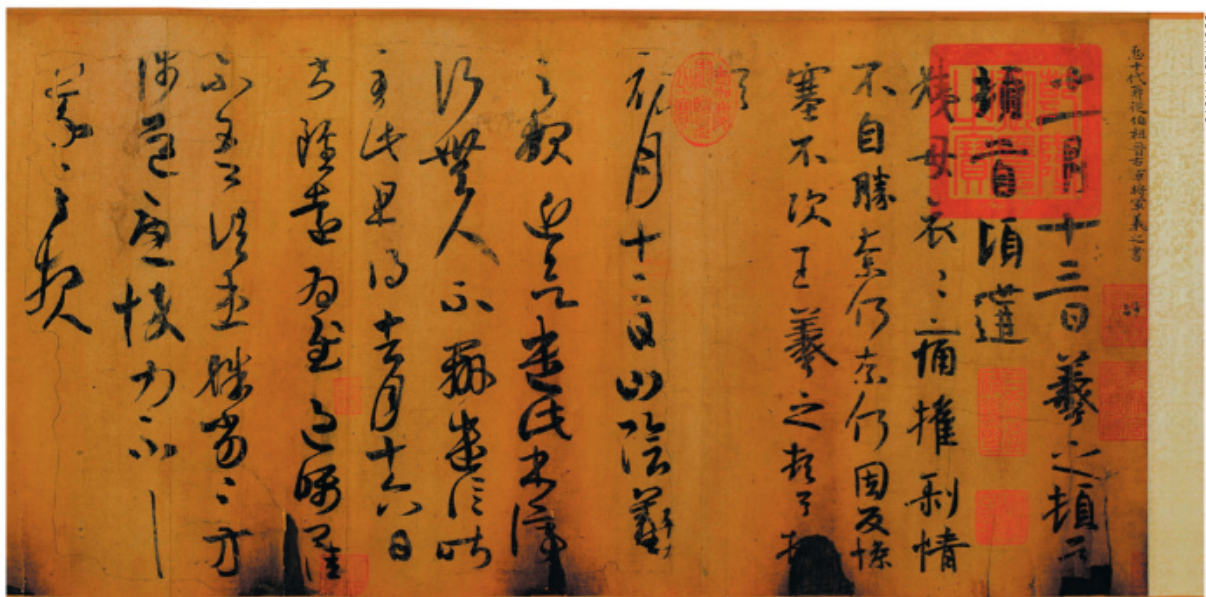
"Marvelous!" applauded Wang Bangwei, Dean of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Peking University. "Even though I have been engaged in Tang history studies for decades, I never had a chance to see those renowned cultural relics. Today, my dream came true," he said at a forum on Tang Dynasty studies on October 7.

Wang believes the exhibition will inspire academic researchers, while to ordinary people, it will bring priceless spiritual and cultural enjoyment.

### A brilliant period

"The Tang Dynasty is an outstanding period in the 5,000-year Chinese civilization," Lu Cairong, Vice President of China International Publishing Group, said at the forum.

The exhibition displays the outstanding traditional culture of China to the world, Lu said.



*Calligraphy Models in Her Majestic Reign Year of Longevity to the Heaven*



DUAN WEI

The opening ceremony of the Meet the Tang Dynasty Again calligraphy and painting exhibition in the Liaoning Provincial Museum in Shenyang, capital city of Liaoning Province in northeast China, on October 7

Calligraphy and paintings are historical evidences of the flourishing Tang Dynasty. They represent the politics, culture, religion and other aspects of society and embody the most valuable cultural heritage and social memory of the Chinese people.

"This is the first time in the world that the Tang Dynasty has been showcased through calligraphy and paintings," cultural studies scholar Liu Chuanming said. Liu is also the curator of the exhibition that has been complemented with other exhibits, such as statues, articles of daily use and gold items to depict the political, economic, cultural and artistic life during the Tang Dynasty, an age of vigor and dignified confidence with aesthetic characteristics.

The exhibition hall recreates the atmosphere of the dynasty with the museum staff dressed in Tang period clothing. A giant landscape of Chang'an covers a wall while a girl plays the *guqin*, a traditional Chinese musical instrument with seven strings that has a history of over 3,000 years and was popular during the Tang Dynasty.

Besides, the exhibition has also adopted hi-tech to create interactions between the exhibits and visitors. Through those

interactive devices with audiovisual effects, visitors can see the prosperity that prevailed thousands of years ago and Chang'an's beautiful landscape and riverside scenery. They can step into people's life in that age and relive their experiences.

"We hope visitors can have a real feel of the Tang Dynasty and be proud of our splendid civilization," Liu said.

### A cosmopolitan age

Why was the Tang Dynasty a period of grandeur and prosperity? Ge Chengyong, a research fellow with the Chinese Academy of Cultural Heritage, believes the answer lies in the cosmopolitan culture of that age.

The Tang empire attracted people from different countries with its openness, inclusiveness and prosperity, and influenced their development. It established an advanced administrative system that allowed foreigners to participate in it, which was rare at that time, Ge said at the forum.

The period was also characterized by East-West cultural exchanges thanks to the ancient Silk Road.

For example, Ge explained, gold coins

from the Byzantine Empire and statues of camels have been excavated in Chaoyang, a city in west Liaoning, which used to be the easternmost territory of the Tang Dynasty.

"The relics prove that Liaoning used to be a very important stop on the ancient Silk Road. In my view, Chaoyang in the Tang Dynasty was like today's Shenzhen, a frontier of foreign trade," he said. Shenzhen in south China's Guangdong Province is a hub of trade and industry.

Wang agreed that it was the openness of the Tang Dynasty that enabled it to be so advanced socially and culturally. "We should never forget the cultural heritage of the Tang Dynasty. We should protect it and use it wisely to assist in today's national development and diplomatic relations," he said.

Liu's conclusion was that the confidence, openness and tolerance of the Tang Dynasty are a necessity today, in China and in today's world. ■

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**'IT'S A PRIVILEGE, NOT A BURDEN, TO BE FIGHTING FOR THE PEOPLE BACK HOME.'**

**SIYA KOLISI**, the first black captain of the South African rugby team, after winning the Rugby World Cup against England on Nov. 2

**40%**

Year-over-year increase in employee productivity after Microsoft Japan experimented with a four-day workweek

*'This is exactly the kind of spill we are worried about.'*

**JOYE BRAUN**, organizer for the Indigenous Environmental Network, on Nov. 1, after about 383,000 gallons of oil leaked from the Keystone Pipeline in North Dakota

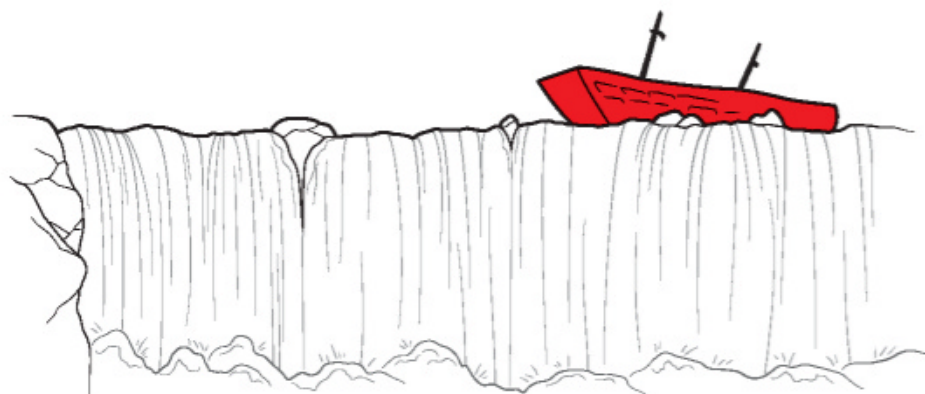
**'IT FEELS AMAZING TO BE ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE FENCE.'**

**TESS HARJO**, one of 462 Oklahoma inmates released on Nov. 4 as part of the largest one-day mass commutation of prison sentences in U.S. history

**'One of the things we did was give them the opportunity to actually refill their refrigerator, 'cause their house is still there.'**

**BILL JOHNSON**, CEO of Pacific Gas and Electric, on Nov. 1, in response to a question about low-income families being forced to replace food after the utility shut off power for millions of Californians in an effort to prevent wildfires

**101** Number of years a boat was lodged in the rapids above Niagara Falls; it was knocked loose on Oct. 31



*'I call it being self-partnered.'*

**EMMA WATSON**, actor, on learning to be happy being single, in a British *Vogue* interview published Nov. 4

**\$4.42 million**

Record prize money, claimed by tennis player **Ashleigh Barty**, for winning the WTA Finals in Shenzhen, China



#### Orchestras

A Florida man was arrested on charges of stealing \$30,000 in instruments from a youth orchestra



#### Soloists

A \$320,000 violin was returned to a soloist with London's Royal Philharmonic after he left it on a train

# The Brief



**BLUE VICTORY**  
The win that Democrats in Louisville, Ky., cheered, on Nov. 5, sent a message to the GOP

## INSIDE

AIR POLLUTION CHOKES  
INDIA'S CAPITAL CITY

GUARDING PALESTINIANS AND  
OLIVES ON THE WEST BANK

THE BENEFIT OF  
RUNNING EVEN A LITTLE

PHOTOGRAPH BY HARRISON MCCLARY

## POLITICS

# Off-year votes deliver bad news for the GOP

By Molly Ball/Manassas, Va.

**T**HE CHAIR OF THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL Committee, Tom Perez, looked out at a jubilant crowd on the evening of Nov. 5. “Two years ago,” he said, “you here in Virginia taught America that we Democrats could win again. Tonight you’re going to finish the business.”

Perez’s prediction proved accurate. Democrats seized control of both houses of Virginia’s state legislature for the first time in more than two decades, aided by high turnout. It was an intensification of the trend that began in 2017, when Virginia’s off-year election provided early signs of the backlash against President Donald Trump that helped Democrats win the House of Representatives in 2018. In a college-campus brewpub here, a diverse crowd of Democrats cheered, hugged and cried as the results rolled in, exceeding their most optimistic expectations.

Tuesday’s results in elections across the country are likely to reverberate nationally. Democrats hope that like last time, they are a sign of things to come in 2020. The party’s candidate for governor in Kentucky, Andy Beshear, also appeared to have won, declaring victory over an unpopular GOP incumbent in a state Trump won by 30 points in 2016. Trump rallied in Kentucky on the eve of the election in an attempt to save the Republican candidate, Matt Bevin, a prickly former businessman who had tried to curtail the state’s Medicaid program and feuded with teachers over pensions. “If you lose,” the President said on Nov. 4, “they are going to say Trump suffered the greatest defeat in the history of the world. You can’t let that happen to me!”

Bevin, who declined to immediately concede defeat, had argued that the impeachment of Trump would drive angry GOP partisans to vote. Instead, Bevin’s loss shows that Trump may be a drag on his party. Nervous Senate Republicans were watching the Kentucky results as they continue to weigh Trump’s case, amid increasing evidence that he demanded political favors from Ukraine in exchange for U.S. security aid. This election suggests Trump can use impeachment to galvanize the GOP base, but he inspires the Democratic base even more, creating a nightmarish trap for Republicans: support Trump, and they enrage the opposition; oppose him, and they enrage their own side. Either way, they lose.

**TO BE SURE**, the off-year election was not a wipeout for the GOP. Republicans won every statewide race in Kentucky besides the governor’s, an indication

## BY THE NUMBERS

9

Number of governorships Democrats have flipped since 2016

1994

The last time Democrats controlled both chambers of the Virginia legislature and the governor’s mansion

35%

Increase in voter turnout for Kentucky’s gubernatorial election, compared to 2015

that Bevin’s personal unpopularity was the decisive factor. Among his many cloddish statements, Bevin once contended that a teachers’ strike would lead to child molestation. Before becoming governor, he had split the Kentucky GOP by running against Senate majority leader Mitch McConnell from the right. The GOP easily held onto the governorship in Mississippi, another deep red state where Trump held an election-eve rally. The demographic trends Trump set off in 2016 continued: suburban, college-educated and female voters moving toward Democrats while rural areas grew stronger for Republicans.

But in Virginia, a historically red state that has voted Democratic in the past three presidential elections, Democrats romped to victory up and down the ballot. The victories came despite a pair of scandals involving Governor Ralph Northam (blackface) and Lieutenant Governor Justin Fairfax (alleged sexual assault), and they carry policy consequences. In the exurban county containing Manassas, the county board previously chaired by a Trump-loving, anti-immigration neo-Confederate is now majority Democratic for the first time in decades, with a new progressive district attorney. Democrats captured the board in neighboring Loudoun County, where one of the winning candidates was a woman who lost her government contracting job after being photographed flipping off Trump’s motorcade from her bicycle in 2017. Party leaders plan to use their new majorities in Richmond to enact gun control and LGBT anti-discrimination laws, raise the minimum wage and pass the Equal Rights Amendment.

The gun issue proved particularly potent. Republicans, buoyed by the Virginia-based National Rifle Association, once wielded the Second Amendment as a political cudgel. But national public opinion on guns has evolved while a cash-rich, activist-driven gun-control movement has risen in recent years. After a mass shooting in Virginia Beach claimed 12 lives in May, the governor convened a special legislative session to consider reforms, only to have GOP leaders adjourn after 90 minutes. The national gun-control movement poured money into the legislative races, and in polls and news reports, many Virginia voters cited the gun issue as a motivator. Many Democrats now see it as a political asset, a stunning reversal.

Republicans sought to downplay the election outcome as the result of local factors. On Nov. 16, they’ll have a chance to recapture another red-state governorship in Louisiana. But to Perez, the Democratic chair, this election is a cheering portent. “This is a microcosm of America,” he tells TIME. “In Trump country, they now see the President for what he is. And they’re coming back to the Democratic side.”



**THE HOME TEAM** President Donald Trump embraces Washington Nationals catcher Kurt Suzuki, who wore a Make America Great Again hat during a celebration at the White House on Nov. 4 after the Nationals beat the Houston Astros to win their first World Series title in franchise history. The series briefly united a polarized city, but it didn't last long. The eight team members who skipped the White House event included pitcher Sean Doolittle, who declined attendance for political reasons.

**THE BULLETIN**

## Toxic pollution turns India's capital into a 'gas chamber'

THE HAZE IN NEW DELHI HAS BEEN SO pervasive that national monuments were largely obscured by thick smog. Already the world's most polluted capital, the Indian city saw air pollution that on Nov. 3 peaked at levels too high for some sensors to measure. Many who ventured outside suffered teary eyes and coughs. By one calculation, breathing the air had the health impact of smoking at least 25 cigarettes a day. Delhi's chief minister, Arvind Kejriwal, called the region a "gas chamber." Even as the worst haze clears, a solution remains foggy.

**COMMON CAUSES** A combination of human and environmental factors have aggravated New Delhi's pollution crisis. Farmers in neighboring states burning crop stubble to clear their fields are a contributor, as are fumes from cars, trucks and industry. Slowing winds and stagnant air have allowed pollution to accumulate. The haze comes not long after Diwali, which many continue to celebrate in late October with fireworks, despite a ban on most of them. And there's a climate-change link, as well, as warmer temperatures can drive the formation of some types of air pollution.

**ODD SOLUTION** The government quickly ordered short-term measures to protect public health. Kejriwal announced the distribution of 5 million breathing masks, and the Indian Supreme Court barred farmers from burning fields. Officials also enacted an odd/even driving scheme, under which cars with even license-plate numbers are allowed on the road only on even-numbered days; odd-numbered plates are allowed only on odd-numbered days. But experts are skeptical these initiatives will do enough to curb pollution in the long term.

**FOGGED IN** New Delhi's battle with toxic air is part of a global trend of rising air pollution in cities. At least 22 of the world's 30 most polluted cities in 2018 were in India, according to a study by Greenpeace and AirVisual. But neighboring China has also faced extreme pollution levels, and more than 90% of people worldwide experience pollution levels that exceed World Health Organization guidelines. The U.N. says about 7 million people die prematurely each year from diseases related to air pollution, but increased awareness has not yet translated to cleaner skies. —SANYA MANSOOR

**NEWS TICKER**

### 9 members of Mormon family killed

Nine members of one family, including six children, were killed on Nov. 4 in an ambush on their car convoy in northern Mexico. The victims were **U.S. citizens living in a Mormon community in Chihuahua**, a Mexican border state currently being fought over by rival gangs.

### Cohabitation tops marriage in U.S.

Fifty-nine percent of American adults ages 18 to 44 have lived with an unmarried partner, **now surpassing the 50% who have been married**, according to a Pew Research Center analysis released on Nov. 6. From 1995 to today, the percentage of adults of all ages who are currently married declined from 58% to 53% while the percentage of those cohabiting rose to 7%.

### China hints at a tighter grip on Hong Kong

China said Nov. 5 that it would "perfect" its governance of Hong Kong, **signaling a desire to tighten control over the territory**. The decree came amid a week of unrest, with a pro-democracy politician and four others injured in a knife attack Nov. 3 and a pro-Beijing lawmaker nonfatally stabbed Nov. 5.

## NEWS TICKER

### October hiring strong despite GM strike

U.S. hiring remained strong in October, with employers adding 128,000 jobs, according to Nov. 1 Labor Department figures. Those numbers **might have been even higher** if not for the recent General Motors strike, which caused economic pain across the Midwest.

### Iran moves further from nuclear deal

Iran announced on Nov. 5 it will begin injecting uranium gas into 1,044 centrifuges, in the country's **latest move away from the landmark 2015 nuclear deal** since the U.S. withdrew last year. The new development, which Iran said is reversible, could bring it closer to being able to make a nuclear weapon.

### Jersey City deals Airbnb a blow

In a Nov. 5 referendum, Jersey City, N.J., voted overwhelmingly to **crack down on large-scale Airbnb operators by banning hosts who rent out entire homes.** The vote came amid concerns that investors were cashing in at the expense of locals by renting thousands of residences to tourists and driving up housing costs.

## POSTCARD

### In the West Bank, olive trees draw defenders from afar

THIS SUMMER, 48-YEAR-OLD DYLAN JONES walked into a gallery in his hometown of Caersws, Wales, and was drawn to a collection of photos depicting the olive harvest in a small West Bank village—the gray skies and golden landscapes, the piles of purple olives, the men and women reaching toward the tree branches. A few months later, Jones was on a plane, headed to join a global brigade of volunteers who assist Palestinian farmers during the October-November harvest season.

In the West Bank and Gaza Strip, 45% of agricultural land is planted with olive trees, with the olive-oil industry making up a quarter of the region's gross agricultural income. Groves are often passed down through families, and the olive tree—which has symbolic value across Islam, Christianity and Judaism—represents peace and resilience for Palestinians. But it has also become a political flash point. In September, after Benjamin Netanyahu promised to formally annex the Jordan Valley, the Israeli Civil Administration (ICA) ordered the uprooting of hundreds of olive trees there. Clashes between settlers and Palestinians often manifest in the targeting of farmers. More than 800,000 Palestinian olive trees have been uprooted by Israeli authorities and settlers since 1967, according to one study.

In 2006, the Israeli high court unanimously

granted a petition to allow Palestinian farmers safe access to their olive groves during the harvest. “Our policy is to allow Palestinians to get every last olive from every last tree, even if that tree is in the middle of a settlement,” an ICA spokesperson told the *Los Angeles Times* when the decision was announced. The ways in which the ruling has not been upheld, or has proved ineffective, have fueled a global response, based on the idea that foreign volunteers can provide a protective, deterrent presence during the harvest. “Their impact is multidimensional,” says Baha Hilo, a founder of To Be There, one of many groups that recruit volunteers. “It’s about understanding, bearing witness and buying time so that families can harvest as much as they can.”

Mahir Shtewi, 52, who owns olive groves in the West Bank village of Kafr Qaddum, says they help, but only so much. Last year, he arrived at his field with a group of British volunteers to find more than 20 of his trees cut down. “It’s like seeing your children cut down in front of you,” he said. “This land is as dear to my heart as my own children are, but I swear—sometimes I wish I had never inherited it because of all of these incidents.”

Thirteen years have passed since the Israeli promise to allow Palestinians the right to pick every last olive. To many, it seems a pipe dream. Still, every year, civilians from around the world try to improve its chances. “There must have been around 20 of us from many different countries,” Dylan Jones wrote in a text message toward the end of his time in the West Bank. “An unofficial United Nations in the trees.” —NOOR IBRAHIM

## SPACE

### Long-distance deliveries

Astronauts aboard the International Space Station (ISS) are receiving a surprising treat: a resupply rocket launched Nov. 2 is bringing the team an oven designed to work in zero gravity, along with a supply of chocolate-chip cookie dough. Here, other unusual space supplies.

—Alejandro de la Garza

#### SPACE SLICES

In a 2001 promotional stunt, Pizza Hut **sent a pizza to the ISS** on board a Russian spacecraft. The company paid about \$1 million for the delivery, and to paste its logo on the side of a rocket.



#### COSMIC COMIC

Comedian Stephen Colbert was one of the celebrities to have a digital copy of his DNA brought to the ISS in 2008 on an “Immortality Drive” containing human genes—just in case we ever need to start over.

#### FAR-OUT FLIES

A 2015 cargo rocket to the ISS contained, among other things, a load of live fruit flies so scientists could study how spaceflight affected their immune systems and “the risks of in-flight infections.”

## FIRED

McDonald's CEO, **Steve Easterbrook**, on Nov. 3, for engaging in a consensual relationship with an employee.

## DECLARED

That **President Donald Trump** will list his primary residence as Florida instead of New York. Trump confirmed the move in an Oct. 31 tweet.

## REOPENED

**Thailand's Tham Luang cave**, on Nov. 1, for the first time since 12 youth soccer players and their coach were trapped there, then rescued in July 2018.

## MOVED

An upcoming **U.N. global climate conference**, from Chile to Spain, per a Nov. 1 announcement. Chile canceled plans to host the meeting in the midst of ongoing mass protests there.

## ARRESTED

A Colorado man, on Nov. 1, for **allegedly plotting to blow up a synagogue**, by the FBI. Officials said they began to track him after he made threatening comments online.

## PURCHASED

**Fitbit**, by Google, in a \$2.1 billion acquisition announced Nov. 1.

## REVEALED

That **measles** can have long-term effects on the immune system, per two studies published Oct. 31.

## DROPPED OUT

Former **Representative Beto O'Rourke**, from the 2020 Democratic presidential race, on Nov. 1.



*Mercado, photographed in 2001 in Los Angeles, began his career as an astrologer in 1969*

## DIED

### Walter Mercado

#### Star of the stars

By Susan Miller

WALTER MERCADO, WHO DIED IN HIS LATE 80S ON NOV. 2, WAS a giant in the field of astrology, having made his forecasts understandable and instantly useful to a wide Spanish-speaking audience. My hat goes off to him, because he did much to start the modern interest in astrology.

His horoscopes and predictions—presented with his warm, optimistic style—were syndicated daily throughout Latin America, attracting the dedication of millions of fans for more than three decades. Although I never met him, his mark on our field was inescapable. The many publications for which he wrote included *People en Español* here in the U.S., and I had the pleasure of working on my book *Planets and Possibilities* with someone who had been at the Time & Life Building in New York City several decades ago when word got out that he was coming to see his editor there. The crowd of fans stretched down the block, she said, just to capture a glimpse of him. This was even more remarkable because it happened before the advent of social media.

Mercado dressed like Liberace, in an entertaining, flamboyant style. He was the original individualist, far ahead of his time, and I feel I'm successful in part because of his work. All astrologers stand on his shoulders, for he led the way—and the world will miss him too, as there will never be another Walter Mercado.

Miller is an author and astrologer and the founder of AstrologyZone.com

## ANNOUNCED

### Paris Agreement withdrawal

#### A climate setback

PRESIDENT TRUMP HAS NOT been shy about his disdain for climate science. Still, some world leaders held out hope that he might reverse course on his promise to leave the Paris Agreement, the landmark 2015 climate deal supported by every other nation—until Nov. 4, when his Administration, on the very first day the U.S. was eligible to do so, officially told the U.N. the U.S. would withdraw.

The move was widely expected but nonetheless disappointed leaders committed to stemming temperature rise. The U.S. played a key role in shaping the deal, and some fear that without the U.S., other leaders will now feel less pressure to act. Trump framed the move as necessary to protect American economic interests. But other countries are finding adherence is an advantage. China, for example, is growing its clean-energy economy, and the European Union is working on a border tax to punish countries that aren't committed to addressing climate change. It's easy to guess who will be target No. 1.

—JUSTIN WORLAND



*Trump's intent to leave the deal drew protests, as above in 2017*

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# The Brief Exercise

## Running can help you live longer. And more isn't always better

By Mandy Oaklander

ONE MAJOR REASON AMERICANS DON'T GET enough exercise is they feel they don't have enough time. It can be difficult to squeeze in the 75 minutes of vigorous aerobic exercise per week that federal guidelines recommend; only about half of Americans do, according to the most recent numbers from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. But new research suggests people may be able to get life-lengthening benefits by running for far less time.

In a new analysis of 14 studies, researchers tracked deaths among more than 232,000 people from the U.S., Denmark, the U.K. and China over at least five years, and compared the findings with people's self-reports about how much they ran. People who said they ran any amount were less likely to die during the follow-up than those who didn't run at all. Runners were 27% less likely to die for any reason, compared with non-runners, and had a 30% and 23% lower risk of dying from cardiovascular disease and cancer, respectively. This was true even for those who didn't log a great deal of time. The analysis grouped people into clusters, with 50 minutes or less per week representing the group that ran the least—but still ran.

"Regardless of how much you run, you can expect such benefits," says Zeljko Pedisic, associate professor at the Institute for Health and Sport at Victoria University in Australia, and one of the authors of the new analysis published in the *British Journal of Sports Medicine*.

**THE ANALYSIS IS THE LATEST** to illustrate the benefits of running on the human body. "It's what we evolved to do," says Daniel Lieberman, a professor of human evolutionary biology at Harvard University (who was not involved in the new research). People may no longer chase down prey for their next meal, but running is still helping us survive: as leisure-time exercise, it keeps us healthy. "One of the best ways to avoid



**30%**

The risk reduction in dying from cardiovascular disease among runners, compared with nonrunners, over several years

**23%**

The risk reduction in cancer deaths in the same groups

**46%**

Share of Americans who don't meet the minimum aerobic physical activity guidelines

having to see a doctor," Lieberman says, "is to stay physically active."

The physical demands of running "affect just about every system of the body" in a beneficial way, Lieberman says. Take the cardiovascular system. Running forces it to adapt by "generating more capacity," he says. "You grow more capillaries and small arteries, and that helps lower your blood pressure." (High blood pressure is a major cause of health problems and death.) Running is good at guarding against cancer partly because it uses up

blood sugar, starving the cancer cells that rely on it for fuel. And it protects you in other ways not necessarily measured in the latest research: by decreasing inflammation, for example, which is at the root of many diseases, and stimulating the production of a protein that improves brain health, Lieberman says. "Vigorous physical activity has been shown to be by far—with no close second—the best way to prevent Alzheimer's," he notes.

The good news for people who want the maximum longevity benefits—while spending the least amount of time slapping one foot in front of the other—is that running more than 50 minutes per week wasn't linked to additional protections against dying. Neither were

how often people ran and the pace they kept. As long as you're running, more isn't always better, especially given that the risk of injury increases with repetition.

But both Pedisic and Lieberman advise people not to cling too tightly to that number. "We found no significant trends, but it's not evidence of no trend," Pedisic says. "To be able to infer something like that, you would need the whole population measured." (Important, too, is that the results showed a correlation, not causation.)

Of course, people run for life-giving reasons, not just death-defying ones. "Mortality is an important variable to think about, but there's also illness, and happiness, and vitality," Lieberman says. "Some people are running in order to stave off Alzheimer's, and other people to prevent heart disease, and other people because it makes them feel better and others for depression." No piece of research—including the latest—can define a truly optimal number after which all health perks wane. But one finding is clear: anything greater than zero m.p.h. is where you'll reap the biggest benefits. □



## As *Sesame Street* turns 50, **Big Bird** is still making new friends everywhere he goes

By Lily Rothman

THERE ARE PERKS TO BEING AN 8-FT.-TALL canary. Everyone recognizes you and wants to be your friend. On the other hand, our world is not built for 8-ft.-tall canaries. Inside a television studio, for example, tail feathers will brush up against camera rigs. A head that high up can get awfully close to the lighting.

So it's a good thing the world's most famous 8-ft.-tall canary (8 and change, actually) knows his way around a set. Big Bird, his yellow plumage bright as always, his eyes ever gentle, has spent the past 50 years on one: *Sesame Street* debuted on Nov. 10, 1969. Its next season kicks off Nov. 16—4,935 episodes later—and the show will celebrate the milestone with a special that airs Nov. 9 on HBO and Nov. 17 on PBS. Since it started, *Sesame Street* has won 193 Emmy Awards, launched thousands of products and changed early education around the world. The publicity blitz accompanying the anniversary has had the cast crossing the country on a summer road trip, lighting up the Empire State Building and, on this recent morning, appearing on NBC's *Today* show.

Though a helper smooths the bird's feathers before the camera rolls, Big Bird himself is largely unruffled by the fuss. It's not just that the fame isn't new to him, though that's certainly the case—he appeared on the cover of *TIME* in 1970, as the show marked its first birthday; led the 1985 movie *Follow That Bird*; has a star on the Hollywood Walk of Fame; and appeared with Bob Hope in the first U.S. television special ever filmed in China. More to the point, it's hard to be excited about a 50th anniversary when you have trouble counting that high. “It's really hard to understand numbers like that,” Big Bird told *TIME* between shooting *Today* segments. “That must be really, really, really old.”

It is, to a child. And therein lies a paradox of Big Bird: he has been 6½ years old for half a century. So to interview Big Bird is an odd, irresistible proposition. It only begins with the imagination required of any human addressing a Muppet. This one remembers things that happened decades ago, even as he has remained the child to whom his friends in the neighborhood and out there in TV land can relate. Meanwhile, the human adults who live alongside the monsters of *Sesame Street* have aged, and many of the children who watched the early years of *Sesame* have grown kids of their own.

### BIG BIRD QUICK FACTS

#### Birthdays presents

A New York City intersection was renamed after *Sesame Street* in May, and in December it will be the first TV show to receive a Kennedy Center Honor.

#### Teaching moment

Each season has a curriculum focus. Season 50's is “Oops and Aha!: Embracing the Power of Possibilities.”

#### Eat like a bird

Among Big Bird's favorites: birdseed with yogurt, birdseed in a shake, seven-layer birdseed dip, birdseed burritos ...

When he sees them out in the world, Big Bird says, “they say things like, ‘I grew up playing with you’—and that makes me feel good. But I never thought about the other thing, about them growing up, like really growing up. I kind of see we're all growing up together.”

The kids he meets today are pretty much the same as the kids he met in the past. The stuff they want to talk about is essentially the same, the feelings they feel are the same, and the qualities that made Big Bird so beloved—kindness, friendliness, open-mindedness—are as valuable as ever.

“I think all the kids I've met, they've always just been friendly and kind,” he says. “They're looking for a friend, for somebody to play with. I think kids have been like that for all the time I've known them, for all my 6½ years.”

**OF COURSE**, some things *have* changed in 50 years. The Vietnam War ended. The Berlin Wall fell. The first email was sent. When *Today* staffers—who you'd think would be used to all this—snap pictures of Big Bird out on Rockefeller Plaza, their cameras are iPhones. Big Bird has changed too. Carroll Spinney, the veteran puppeteer who originated Big Bird, retired in October 2018 at 84; his final recorded voice segments will air in the new season. Matt Vogel, 49, who began apprenticing with Spinney in 1996, has taken over the role.

Some changes on *Sesame* have come in response to data about early-childhood learning. Always meant as an educational tool, the show has been the subject of scores of studies. Some psychologists have criticized it, and even *Sesame Street* is not exempt from medical precautions about screen time, but other research shows educational benefits. After studies showed kids wanted more cohesive stories, *Sesame Street* began to shed its *Saturday Night Live*-like sketch structure, moving toward longer segments.

Other changes have less lofty origins. Even beyond the recurring political debates over taxpayer money going to PBS and the show—a very small fraction of its funding—the same factors that have changed the TV landscape have affected *Sesame*. There are more offerings on more channels, and fewer home-video



sales to lean on. In 2014, Sesame Workshop, the nonprofit organization that makes the show, operated at a loss of just over \$11 million; PBS children's shows were competing for ratings with channels like Disney Junior, and even within the public-television ecosystem, shows like *Curious George* were beating it.

This situation contributed to what has perhaps been the biggest recent change in *Sesame* land: in 2015, HBO reached a deal with Sesame Workshop, for an undisclosed amount of money, to air episodes nine months earlier than they'd appear on PBS. For the fiscal year that ended in June, Sesame Workshop

**'I think kids have been like that for all the time I've known them, for all my 6½ years.'**

BIG BIRD, on the kindness of children

took in about \$22.3 million in operating income, and ratings were up too. This October, it was announced that starting next season, episodes will debut on the new HBO Max streaming service.

After the 2015 deal, the set got a revamp—which critics derided as gentrification but Big Bird says he appreciated, as moving his nest into a tree made sense considering his natural habitat. The theme song got a new arrangement. The number of new episodes per year grew, and each shrank from an hour to 30 minutes, with a core arc broken into fewer pieces. In the course of that shift, Big Bird, the first nonhuman to appear on Episode 1, has become more of a side character. “I don’t really notice it because I’m always where I am,” Big Bird says, in his typical kids-say-the-Zen-est-things mode. “Wherever I happen to be, I’m always there, so it doesn’t seem like I’m ever missing.”

The newness that Big Bird is aware of has more to do with new characters on the show. In keeping with *Sesame Street*'s tradition of representing the more complicated sides of life, recent additions to his neighborhood include a Muppet experiencing hunger (Lily, in 2011), a Muppet with autism (Julia, in 2015) and one whose parent was struggling with addiction (Karli, in 2019). “Meeting Julia and meeting all my other friends, I can kind of see what the world is like through their eyes and maybe feel something for them,” Big Bird says. “I’m not really sure what the word is. Empathy, maybe? I might feel empathy for somebody, and know what they feel like. I think that’s important.”

Who else might show up on *Sesame Street* in the future, bringing the baggage of the world, even as Big Bird remains stuck in time? Life is full of reasons a person might need empathy, and it can feel, at least for us grownups, as if the number is only growing. Sometimes, Big Bird says, kids he meets out in the world do want to talk about the scary stuff they hear grownups saying. He always has the same advice: talk to a trusted adult. But though Big Bird is only 6½, he’s often the one they want to talk to instead. “Maybe people see big 8-ft. birds a lot and they just feel comfortable,” he says. “I don’t know. I think it’s just because I’m a friendly bird.” □

## Iraqis in the streets

A teargassed protester receives help on Oct. 28 in Baghdad's Tahrir Square, the epicenter of Iraq's largest antigovernment protests since the 2003 U.S.-led invasion. First called to decry high unemployment and corruption, the demonstrations swelled after government forces killed nearly 150 marchers in early October. The larger crowds chanted against the political system put in place under the U.S. occupation and the heavy influence of Iran in governance since. As Prime Minister Adel Abdul-Mahdi reportedly promised to step down and the death count passed 250, the protests continued.

*Photograph by Ivor Prickett—The New York Times/Redux*  
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# The View

SOCIETY

## PUT YOUR FAITH IN SCIENCE

By Naomi Oreskes

Are genetically modified crops safe to eat? Is climate change an emergency? Why are vaccinations necessary? Every day we face questions that implicate scientific claims. Many of these issues have become politically polarized, with people rejecting scientific evidence that doesn't align with their political preferences. ▶

INSIDE

THE TRADE DEAL THAT WILL  
RESHAPE ASIA

WHY LUNG CANCER IS NOW  
AFFECTING MORE WOMEN

DRAWINGS FROM KIDS STUCK AT  
THE U.S.-MEXICO BORDER

# TheView Opener

For several decades, there has been an extensive and organized campaign intended to generate distrust in science, funded by regulated industries and libertarian think tanks whose interests and ideologies are threatened by the findings of modern science. In response, scientists have tended to stress the success of science. After all, scientists have been right about most things, from the structure of the universe (the earth does revolve around the sun) to the relativity of time and space (relativistic corrections are needed to make global positioning systems work).

Citing successes isn't wrong, but for many people it's not persuasive. An alternative answer to the question "Why trust science?" is that scientists use the so-called scientific method. If you've got a high school science textbook lying around, you'll probably find that answer in it. But what is typically asserted to be the scientific method—develop a hypothesis, then design an experiment to test it—isn't what scientists actually do. Science is dynamic: new methods get invented; old ones get abandoned; and at any particular juncture, scientists can be found doing many different things. That's good, because the scientific method doesn't work. False theories can yield true results, so even if an experiment works, it doesn't prove that the theory it was designed to test is true.

If there is no identifiable scientific method, then what is the warrant for trust in science? How can we justify using scientific knowledge in making difficult decisions?

The answer is the methods by which those claims are evaluated. The common element in modern science, regardless of the specific field or the particular methods being used, is the critical scrutiny of claims. It's this process—that tough, sustained scrutiny—that works to ensure that faulty claims are rejected.

A scientific claim is never accepted as true until it has gone through a lengthy

process of examination by fellow scientists. This process begins when scientists discuss their data and preliminary conclusions. Then the claim is shopped around at conferences and workshops. This may result in the collection of additional data or revision of the preliminary interpretation. Then the scientist writes up the results and sends the preliminary write-up to colleagues.

Until this point, scientific feedback is typically fairly friendly. But the next step is different: once the paper is ready, it is submitted to a scientific journal, where things get a whole lot tougher. Editors deliberately send scientific papers to people who are not friends or colleagues of the authors, and the job of the reviewer is to find errors or other inadequacies. We call this process



“peer review” because the reviewers are scientific peers—experts in the same field—but they act in the role of a superior who has both the right and the obligation to find fault. It is only after the reviewers and the editor are satisfied that any problems have been fixed that the paper is accepted for publication and enters the body of “science.”

**A KEY ASPECT** of scientific judgment is that it is done collectively. It's a cliché that two heads are better than one: in modern science, no claim gets accepted until it has been vetted by dozens, if not hundreds, of heads. In areas that have been contested, like climate science

and vaccine safety, it's thousands. This is why we are generally justified in not worrying too much if a single scientist, even a very famous one, dissents from the consensus. The odds that the lone dissenter is right, and everyone else is wrong, are probably in most cases close to zero. This is why diversity in science—the more people looking at a claim from different angles—is important.

In a way, science is like a trial, in which both sides get to ask tough questions in the hope that the truth becomes clear, and it is the jury that makes that call. But there are important differences: one, the jurors are not common citizens but experts who have the specialized training required to evaluate technical claims; two, the judges are all the other members of the expert community; three, double jeopardy is allowed, because there is always the possibility of reopening the case on the basis of new evidence.

Does this process ever go wrong? Of course. Scientists are human. But if we look carefully at historical cases where science went awry, typically there was no consensus.

Some people argue that we should not trust science because scientists are “always changing their minds.” While examples of truly settled science being overturned are far fewer than is sometimes

claimed, they do exist. But the beauty of this scientific process is that it explains what might otherwise appear paradoxical: that science produces both novelty and stability. New observations, ideas, interpretations and attempts to reconcile competing claims introduce novelty; transformative interrogation leads to collective decisions and the stability of scientific knowledge. Scientists do change their minds in the face of new evidence, but this is a strength of science, not a weakness.

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*Oreskes, a professor of the history of science at Harvard, is the author of Why Trust Science?*

THE RISK REPORT

## How Trump gave China a win on trade in Southeast Asia

By Ian Bremmer



YET ANOTHER MAJOR trade deal is on the cusp of being completed, and no one deserves more credit for that than President Donald Trump ... whether he

likes it or not.

On Nov. 4, it was announced that the 10 countries that make up the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) will join with Australia, New Zealand, Japan, South Korea and China to sign a new free-trade agreement called the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP). China took a major interest in RCEP after Washington began championing the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) trade deal in 2013. Under President Barack Obama, TPP was envisioned as a way of reining in China's ambitions by offering Asian countries an economic alternative to signing up with Beijing. Trump withdrew the U.S. from the trade pact just three days into office. The rest of the remaining signatories went ahead and signed the deal, but without the U.S. on board, TPP lost much of its weight.

If the Belt and Road Initiative—a Beijing-funded series of infrastructure projects throughout Asia and Europe—is the hardware of China's ambitious global plan, RCEP is the software much of it is supposed to run on. But compared with TPP, RCEP is much less demanding of its signatories, opting to bypass environment, technology and labor standards as part of the deal, and has fewer regulatory requirements of its members. It also provides less market access to those that have signed up.

**OVER THE SHORT TERM**, these omissions will limit the economic boost RCEP provides its member states, but more economic gains will be realized over the long term, reducing most tariffs between members as well as many of the trade barriers that currently

exist. It will also go a long way toward strengthening regional supply chains among the participating countries.

It wasn't easy getting to this point. Plenty of countries were hesitant about stronger alignment with Beijing, even if there were economic gains to be made. In a last-minute twist, India opted out of the deal, fearing that it would be inundated by Chinese imports that would hurt it over the long run and explode its deficit with China. Beijing had offered to address these concerns with longer time frames for phasing out tariffs, but New Delhi hoped to extract even more concessions before it dropped out. Member states like Australia maintain that India

**The biggest loser of all is the U.S., which is now letting China and others define new rules of trade while it just sits on the sidelines**

is welcome to rejoin at any time (which is certainly understandable from their perspective—adding another billion-plus consumer market to the trade pact could prove a critical counterweight to Chinese influence going forward). But the escalating trade war between the U.S. and China, the former's lurch toward protectionist trade policy more broadly, and recent data suggesting the global economy is headed for a slowdown all provided the momentum needed for the remaining players to get the deal over the finish line.

This is a major geopolitical victory for China and helps further Beijing's argument that in 2019, China is the one defending globalization instead of taking advantage of it. It could also help China accelerate its ongoing trade talks with Japan and South Korea, which have struggled to overcome historical animosity and mistrust.

Overall, though, this is a worrying hit to global trade, threatening to fracture a global economy already coming apart at the seams. Asia, and foreign companies in Asia, will now have to grapple with two multilateral trade agreements that boast different standards and include different members. And the biggest loser of all is the U.S., which is now letting China and others define new rules of trade while it just sits on the sidelines. □

QUICK TALK

### Steven L. Reed

*Reed, a former probate judge, will be inaugurated on Nov. 12 as the first African-American mayor of Montgomery, Ala., a birthplace of civil rights activism.*

#### What does your election victory mean to you?

The significance will be measured over time. Are we able to attract investments, improve our schools, our neighborhoods? Can we [be the] city that we want to be, as opposed to a city that we have been?

**What do people get wrong about Montgomery?** People tend to think of Montgomery and parts of the South as being a place that is still in the '50s and '60s. We've been at an origination standpoint, and now we want to be a destination, a place that people come to finish things.

#### How will you acknowledge the city's history during your term?

We're always looking to do that. But we want to make sure we're not just a museum for the rest of the country. It is not enough if we are just commemorating things that have happened in the past. We have to invest in the future of citizens who live here now so we can be a part of the New South.

—Olivia B. Waxman



Montgomery elected Reed on Oct. 8





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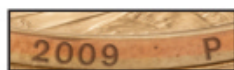
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## The puzzle of lung cancer in women

By Jamie Ducharme

GINA HOLLENBECK SAID SHE DID “EVERYTHING RIGHT.” The Tennessee nurse and mother of two avoided cigarettes all her life. She ate organic food. She ran half marathons and played competitive tennis. But in 2015, she developed a persistent cough and rapidly lost weight. She didn’t have a primary-care doctor, so she consulted several specialists. For months, none could identify what was wrong. Finally, she paid out of pocket for chest X-rays and took them to an emergency room, where she was referred to a pulmonologist who diagnosed her with advanced lung cancer.

“I was like, ‘This is a cruel joke,’” says Hollenbeck, who is now 42 and still not in remission. “Everybody kept saying, ‘There’s no way that you could possibly have lung cancer.’” Hollenbeck represents a worrying caveat to what is otherwise a great success for the U.S. medical system. Overall lung-cancer rates have fallen significantly in recent decades—but women, who have traditionally smoked less than men and thus developed and died from lung cancer less often, now account for a disproportionately high number of diagnoses.

Lung cancer is the deadliest form of cancer in the U.S. But mortality rates have been falling for decades, driven by medical advances and historic decreases in cigarette smoking. The benefits, however, have not been shared equally. What was historically a men’s disease is now disproportionately affecting women. A 2018 study in the *New England Journal of Medicine* showed that rates of lung-cancer incidence actually rose over the past 20 years among women born around either 1950 or 1960; in younger women, diagnoses fell, but not as much as among men.

Perhaps more puzzling, Dr. Ahmedin Jemal, co-author of the study, says smoking habits cannot totally explain the demographic shift in lung cancer. But for a few historical blips, U.S. smoking rates have been higher among men than women, continuing to the present day, Jemal says. As of 2017, almost 16% of adult men smoked, compared with about 12% of women, according to federal data. What’s more, though nonsmokers account for about 15% of all lung-cancer diagnoses, 24% of the U.S. women diagnosed in 2016 were nonsmokers like Hollenbeck. That means other factors are contributing to the troubling trend. “It’s completely unknown right now,” says Alice Berger, who researches genetics and cancer at Seattle’s Fred Hutchinson Cancer Research Center.

**SCIENTISTS ARE BEGINNING** to zero in on some clues.

Research shows that the type of lung cancer most common among nonsmokers disproportionately affects women, and young women are more likely to have a gene mutation often found in the tumors of nonsmokers. (A silver lining, Berger says, is that the mutation responds well to newer targeted cancer therapies.) Quirks of female sex hormones or women’s immune systems could be responsible, Berger says. But research is ongoing, so for now those ideas remain theories.

Other hypotheses focus on how cigarettes affect women



who do smoke. Jemal says something about female biology could make women more susceptible than men to genetic mutations caused by carcinogens in cigarettes. If so, a higher percentage of women who pick up the habit could develop cancer, relative to men. But that, too, remains a theory requiring deeper investigation.

Without firm answers about the risks women face, doctors, patients and advocates are spreading the word about lung cancer among women and nonsmokers. About 1,400 people have joined a Facebook support group Hollenbeck helped start, and she’s working to push through a federal bill that would further research into women and lung cancer. “Our society believes that lung cancer is a smoking disease,” she says. But for young women like Hollenbeck, that’s increasingly untrue. She hopes her story teaches women that lung cancer doesn’t discriminate and that they shouldn’t hesitate to get help. “If you feel like something might be wrong,” she says, “always go with that intuition.” □

**15%**

Share of total number of Americans diagnosed with lung cancer who are nonsmokers

**24%**

Share of U.S. women diagnosed with lung cancer who are nonsmokers

**110,000**

Approximate number of new lung-cancer diagnoses among U.S. women in 2019

## In kids' drawings, a look at migrant life

By Jasmine Aguilera

"AMERICA, WHERE THEY DIDN'T LET ME IN," 11-year-old Jose wrote in Spanish next to a picture of mountains and trees in blue, green and brown. He also drew a river—the Rio Grande, which separates him from Brownsville, Texas, where his family hopes to claim asylum. "*La tierra prometida*," he wrote. "The promised land."

Jose, who is from Honduras, is one of at least 1,450 migrants living in a tent encampment on the streets of Matamoros, Mexico, as a result of the Trump Administration's Migrant Protection Protocols (MPP). Also known as the "Remain in Mexico" policy, the MPP requires asylum seekers to stay south of the border while their cases work their way through the legal system.

Dozens of children in Matamoros drew their experiences as part of an art project, photos of which were provided exclusively to TIME by Belinda Arriaga, an associate professor at the University of San Francisco who specializes in child trauma and Latino mental health. Arriaga visited Matamoros from Oct. 19 to 25 as part of a group of volunteers from Bay Area Border Relief, an organization that provided aid and psychological care to migrant children and their families.

The drawings depict family members separated by the Rio Grande, children inside cages and images of the U.S. In one, by 9-year-old Genesis, crocodiles swim in a river near a vehicle she labeled *POLICÍA*. Her family, in tears, stand in Mexico, while her *tía*, or aunt, cries for them in the U.S. "*Quiero irme de aquí porque no puedo ser feliz y no puedo dormir*," she wrote. "I want to leave from here because I can't be happy and I can't sleep."

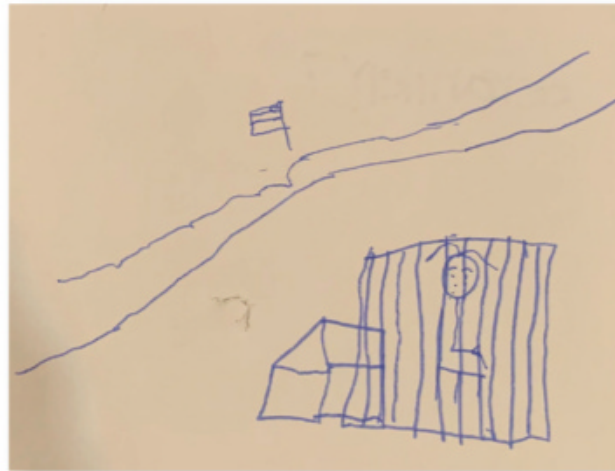
"Their drawings become their voice," Arriaga says. "When they started handing me one by one their pieces, it was really jolting to see what they were drawing."

Customs and Border Protection says it has enrolled more than 55,000 people in MPP since it was implemented in January to prevent migrants from disappearing into the U.S. while their asylum applications are pending. Critics say the policy also prevents migrants from getting legal help and violates the principle of asylum by marooning them in a violent country.

Seven-year-old Ivone drew a picture of herself inside a cage near the river. An unidentified 7-year-old drew a similar picture. "What they're living with and what they're enduring is something that is going to emotionally impact them for a long time," Arriaga says. □



A young girl holds up her drawing of the Matamoros tent encampment, where she lives under the "Remain in Mexico" policy

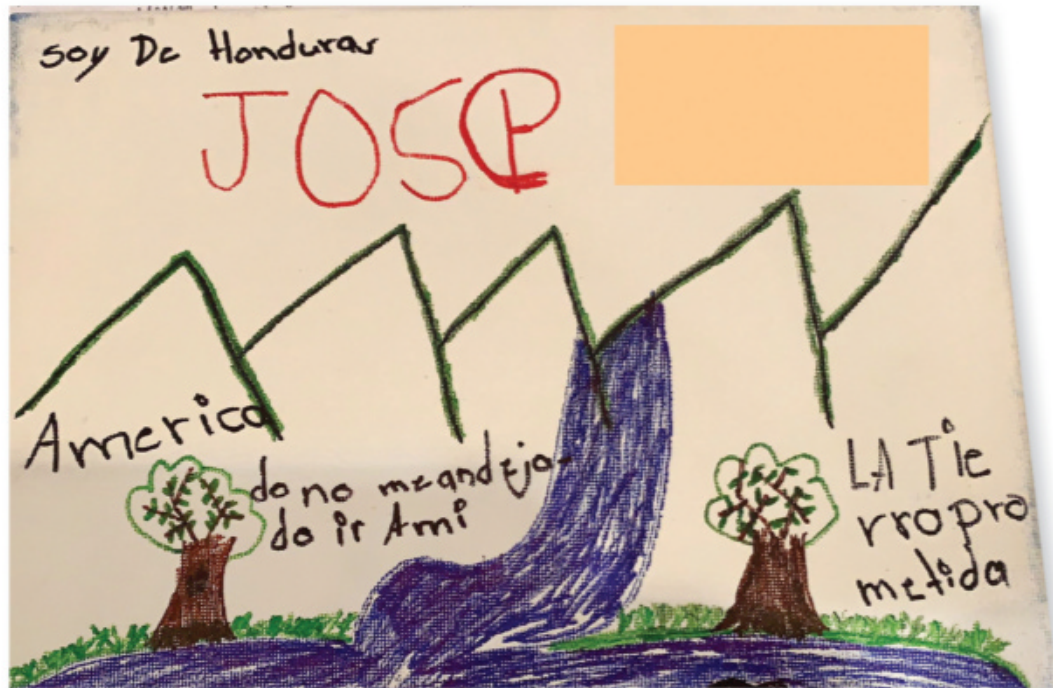


Ivone, 7, drew herself in a cage, right, as did another, unidentified 7-year-old; both live at a tent encampment in Matamoros





Jose, 11, drew the U.S. and the Rio Grande; he wrote, "America, where they didn't let me in" and "The promised land"



Genesis, 9, drew her family in Matamoros while her aunt is in Brownsville, Texas; "I want to leave from here because I can't be happy and I can't sleep," she wrote

To protect the identity of the children, TIME has covered some identifying information in the drawings.

# A NATION

*The U.S. Capitol  
in Washington  
on Nov. 6*

PHOTOGRAPH BY  
GABRIELLA DEMCZUK  
FOR TIME



# ANNUAL TEST

The possible impeachment of Donald Trump is about more than one man. It is a singular moment in American democracy that will try our capacity for reason over passion, fact over faith and principle over tribe

**By Jon Meacham**



Nearly half a century after Alexis de Tocqueville's classic *Democracy in America*, another European observer crossed the Atlantic to assess the state of the American experiment.

James Bryce, the English historian and statesman, arrived in America for an extended tour in the middle of the 1880s, at a time not unlike our own. It was the height of the Gilded Age, and the country was grappling with inequalities of wealth, rising levels of immigration, rapid economic transition and questions about the United States' role in the world. An astute chronicler—he was a practicing politician, a venerable professor of civil law at Oxford, and would later serve as the British ambassador to the U.S.—Bryce published his reflections in a two-volume work, *The American Commonwealth*.

Among his insights was a warning of the dangers of a renegade President. To Bryce, the real threat to the Constitution came as much from the people as from the White House. Disaster would strike American democracy, Bryce believed, at the hands of a demagogic President with an enthusiastic public base. “A bold President who knew himself to be supported by a majority in the country, might be tempted to override the law,” Bryce wrote. “He might be a tyrant, not against the masses, but with the masses.”

Now, at the end of the second decade of the 21st century, Bryce's prophecy has come true. This is not hyperbole. The rise of Donald Trump, and the reflexive resilience of his public support, has produced a singular American moment. The start of public impeachment hearings in Congress on Nov. 13 marks the beginning of a test for the country. As the debate over impeachment and



removal unfolds, the nation's immediate and long-term future depends on whether Americans will be guided by reason rather than passion, fact rather than faith, evidence rather than tribe.

And the facts keep piling up. The U.S. ambassador to the European Union, Gordon Sondland, has now revised his congressional testimony to say that he was involved with a quid pro quo regarding Ukraine: the nation was to publicly announce an investigation into the family of Trump's political rival Joe Biden, or the U.S. would hold up congressionally appropriated military aid. Other previously closed transcripts from key players are emerging, and even those who have refused to testify have shed light on the Administration's dealings. Mick Mulvaney, the acting White House chief of staff who has so far refused to answer a congressional subpoena, has already publicly framed perhaps the largest question of the moment when he told reporters that they should "get over" the Administration's pressuring Ukraine. Mulvaney later tried to walk back these remarks, but the initial comments had all the hallmarks of the Trumpian vision of the world: do what you want, and dare anyone to do anything about it.

Here we are, then, trapped in a time of demagoguery, reflexive partisanship and a Hobbesian world of constant and total political warfare. We know all the factors: the return of the kind of partisan media that shaped us in the 18th and 19th centuries;

*Democratic  
leaders  
address  
reporters  
after the  
House  
approved  
rules for the  
impeachment  
inquiry*

*The  
President  
on Oct. 25*

*Republicans  
criticize the  
impeachment  
process  
outside the  
secure site of  
the closed-  
door hearings*

relentless gerrymandering that has produced few swing congressional districts; the allure of reality-TV programming that has blurred lines between entertainment and governance.

**SO WHAT TO DO?** A grasp of the past can be orienting. "When the mariner has been tossed for many days in thick weather, and on an unknown sea," Daniel Webster said, "he naturally avails himself of the first pause in the storm, the earliest glance of the sun, to take his latitude and ascertain how far the elements have driven him from his true course." The fate of this presidency, of the ensuing elections and of our true course lies in two sets of hands. The first is the House and the Senate, the second the electorate that will determine the outcome of the 2020 campaign. The past and the present tell us that a demagogue can thrive only when a substantial portion of the demos—the people—want him to.

A tragic element of history is that every advance must contend with forces of reaction. In the years after Abraham Lincoln, the America that emancipated its enslaved population endured Reconstruction and a century of institutionalized white supremacy. Under Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, the America that was rapidly industrializing and embracing many progressive reforms was plagued by theories of racial superiority and fears of the "other" that kept us from acting on the



# Nation

implications of the promise of the country. In the age of Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman, the America that rescued capitalism, redefined the role of the state to lift up the weakest among us, and defeated fascism fell victim to racial hysteria and interned innocent Americans of Japanese descent. Truman and Dwight Eisenhower played critical roles in building an America of broadening wealth, and there was incremental progress on civil rights, in roughly the same years the country was roiled by McCarthyism and right-wing conspiracy theories. And the age of Barack Obama gave way to the age of the incumbent.

The only way to make sense of this eternal struggle is to understand that it is just that: an eternal struggle. We are now grappling with a new chapter in that struggle, one that includes the salience of the Constitution, the sovereignty of our elections and the possible impeachment of a President. At the Constitutional Convention, George Mason of Virginia asked, “Shall any man be above justice? Above all, shall that man be above it who can commit the most extensive injustice?” The answer was no; no man shall be above justice. What will determine that?

We will—We the People. The people matter, for politicians are far more often mirrors of who we are rather than molders. And we are all on trial. In his speech at American University in June 1963 proposing a ban on nuclear testing, President John F. Kennedy said, “Man can be as big as he wants.”

Or as small. The risk we face often grows out of the anger of crowds—literal and, now, also virtual—of the alienated and the emboldened. The better Presidents, the better citizens, do not cater to such forces; they conquer them with a breadth of vision that speaks to the best parts of our soul.

Divisions of opinion are inherent to democracy. There was never a once-upon-a-time in American life, and there will never be a happily-ever-after. The world doesn’t work that way. Andrew Johnson survived impeachment; Richard Nixon’s support held until the very last moment of Watergate; Joe McCarthy’s red-baiting reign lasted not a season or a single cycle but four long years—and even when he’d fallen into disgrace, 34% of the country still supported him.

The cheering news is that hope is not lost. “The people have often made mistakes,” Truman said, “but given time and the facts, they will make the corrections.” This isn’t a Republican point or a Democratic point. It’s not a red point or a blue point. It’s just a true point, drawn from any fair-minded reading of the American experience. Think about it: we honor liberators, not captors. From Seneca Falls to Fort Sumter; from Omaha Beach to the Edmund Pettus Bridge; from Soviet-occupied Berlin to Stonewall, Americans have sought to perfect our union and to nudge the world toward an ethos of liberty rather than tyranny.

It’s true, of course, that at times of heightened conflict, those motivated by what they see as extremism on the other side are likely to see politics not as a mediation of difference but as existential warfare in which no quarter can be given. The country has worked best, however, when we’ve resisted such impulses. Eleanor Roosevelt offered a prescription to guard against tribal self-certitude. “It is not only important but mentally invigorating to discuss political matters with people whose opinions differ radically from one’s own,” she wrote. “For the same reason, I believe it is a sound idea to attend not only the meetings of one’s own party but of the opposition. Find out what people are saying, what they are thinking, what they believe. This is an invaluable check on one’s own ideas . . . If we are to cope intelligently with a changing world, we must be flexible and willing to relinquish opinions that no longer have any bearing on existing conditions.” If Mrs. Roosevelt were writing today, she might put it this way: don’t let any single cable network or Twitter feed tell you what to think.

**WISDOM GENERALLY COMES** from a free exchange of ideas and an acknowledgment that your team might be wrong and the other team might be right. To reflexively resist one side or the other without weighing the merits of a given issue is all too common—and all too regrettable. To elect to be impervious to argument is to pre-emptively surrender the capacity of reason to guide us in our public lives. Of course, it may be that you believe, after consideration, that the other side is wrong—but at least take a minute to make sure.

History may well turn on what happens in that minute. In that minute we might truly consider what this witness or that transcript is truly telling us. In that minute we might truly begin to see events in a different light. In that minute we might truly rethink our predispositions and, with Mrs. Roosevelt, arrive at a conclusion that requires us to relinquish an opinion we believed unassailable. That’s one of the reasons “hearings” are called “hearings.” We’d do well to remember that in the coming weeks and months.

In *The American Commonwealth*, James Bryce included a chapter titled “Why Great Men Are Not Chosen Presidents.” He was writing in an especially unremarkable era for the American presidency, the age of Hayes, Garfield, Arthur, Cleveland and Harrison. The future proved Bryce wrong here; the ensuing century gave us both Roosevelts, Truman, Eisenhower, Reagan. “We the People” rose to the occasion and made good and important decisions. Now we face the test anew.

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*Meacham, a Pulitzer Prize-winning historian, is the author of The Soul of America: The Battle for Our Better Angels*

VIEWPOINT

# THE CASE FOR IMPEACHMENT

By Neal Katyal

With Sam Koppelman

IMAGINE IF IT HAD WORKED.

Imagine if our President had leveraged his role as Commander in Chief to persuade a foreign power to open an investigation into his political opponent.

Imagine if the President's rival lost the primary because news broke that he was under investigation.

Imagine if that meant the President faced a weaker candidate in November 2020—and won re-election as a result.

Imagine if our President owed his victory to a foreign power and we never found out.

Imagine how much influence the leaders of that country would have on our foreign policy decisions.

Imagine how easily they could blackmail our Commander in Chief.

Imagine what our President would do next, knowing he could subvert our democracy without paying a price.

Now, imagine if, eventually, we did find out. But it was too late—because he had already won.

Imagine what that would do to our faith in elections, to our trust in government, to our belief that we live in a democracy.

If President Trump's efforts to coerce Ukraine into interfering with American democracy had stayed a secret until the 2020 election—if a whistle-blower hadn't spoken out—we would have fundamentally, perhaps irrevocably, lost faith in the legitimacy of our republic.

That is why there is no choice but to impeach and remove Trump: because he was willing to undermine our democracy to help his prospects of re-election; because he has stated, unapologetically, that he would do it again; and most important, because he wielded the powers of his office for personal benefit instead of for the benefit of the people. And a President like that—a President who puts himself over his country—is exactly the kind of Commander in Chief our founders included impeachment in our Constitution to remove.

Article II, Section 4, of our Constitution delineates what offenses warrant the removal of a President: “The President . . . shall be removed from office on impeachment for . . . treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.”

This raises the question: What, exactly, is a high

crime or misdemeanor?

The answer isn't what you'd expect. High crimes and misdemeanors are not necessarily crimes as defined by criminal codes. (After all, if the President decided to nuke Canada unprovoked, that would technically be within his rights as Commander in Chief but would nonetheless be grounds for impeachment.)

Nor do all crimes listed in criminal codes qualify as high crimes and misdemeanors. (One of the two high crimes enumerated by our founders, bribery, wasn't even in criminal codes when the Constitution was written.)

But while our founders never explicitly defined the term, a consensus has emerged as to what a high crime and misdemeanor is.

As none other than Vice President Mike Pence said in response to witness testimony in 2008, back when he was a member of Congress: “This business of high crimes and misdemeanors goes to the question of whether or not the person serving as President of the United States put their own interests . . . ahead of public service.” Pence's definition echoed Alexander Hamilton's characterization of an impeachable offense as an “abuse or violation of some public trust.”

And in his conduct related to Ukraine alone, Trump is guilty of three such abuses of trust.

**TRUMP'S FIRST ABUSE** of trust is the one our founders feared most: inviting a foreign power to interfere with our democracy. As George Washington said in his farewell address: “Foreign

influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government.” James Madison, meanwhile, proposed including impeachment in the Constitution for the explicit purpose of ensuring that no President could “betray his trust to foreign powers.”

So Trump isn't only guilty of an impeachable offense; his efforts to encourage Ukraine to investigate Vice President Joe Biden constitute a paradigmatic impeachable offense—one of the very high crimes that impeachment was included in our Constitution to protect against.

He's also guilty of a second paradigmatic impeachable offense: bribery. And all of the evidence we need to prove Trump partook in quid pro quo (“something for something”) exchanges is in the edited summary of the phone call released by his own White House—in which our Commander in Chief offers up Javelin antitank missiles and a White House meeting in exchange for the “favor” of Ukraine's opening investigations into Biden and the 2016 election.

Trump Administration officials have testified that the President also held back \$391 million in security

All three  
of those  
impeachable  
offenses boil  
down to one  
truth

assistance from Ukraine, which Congress had already appropriated, as part of his effort to pressure President Volodymyr Zelensky into announcing an investigation of Biden. Most strikingly, Trump ambassador Gordon Sondland, a donor whom the President has referred to as “a great American,” reversed his testimony this month and told Congress there was a quid pro quo.

Of course, quid pro quo arrangements are aboveboard when the President is asking for a favor on behalf of the people. If, for instance, Trump asked England to share intelligence on a terrorist organization with the CIA in exchange for U.S. intelligence, that would be allowed.

The problem arises when the President asks a foreign power for a personal favor—one that doesn’t align with the interests of those he represents. Because when a President abdicates his duty witnessed by another country, he leaves himself vulnerable to blackmail.

Think about the leverage he gave Ukraine. “If you don’t triple our aid or quadruple it,” Zelensky could’ve later said, “then I’ll tell the American people you sought to obtain foreign assistance in your election.”

So perhaps it’s no surprise Trump has done everything he can to cover up these two high crimes. Which brings us to his third offense, obstruction of justice—which clearly falls under the category of an impeachable offense. After all, it’s the very high crime that served as the key basis for President Richard Nixon’s impeachment. Remember, Nixon may not have even known about the break-in at the Watergate. He was impeached solely for covering it up. And Trump has done the same thing. He’s refused to cooperate with the impeachment inquiry; blocked witnesses from testifying; and ignored subpoenas—all after trying to hide the whistle-blower report and the transcript from Congress in the first place.

All three of these impeachable offenses boil down to one truth: with Trump, it’s not Ask what you can do for your country; it’s Ask what a foreign country can do for you, your own country be damned.

**WHY, SOME ASK,** shouldn’t we let Trump’s fate be determined on Election Day?

Because Trump has demonstrated, over and over again, that he is willing to manipulate the results of the election in his favor, even if that means working with a foreign power to undermine our democracy. Asking Americans to wait until the election is like asking to resolve a dispute with a game of Monopoly—when the very thing you’ve been accused of is cheating on Monopoly.

This is why Congress must remove Trump from office.

But while this is an open-and-shut case, there’s also no guarantee he will be impeached. Because the words in the Constitution are, as Madison said, mere “parchment.” Which means Trump will be removed

not by Article II, Section 4, but by human beings—members of Congress who are as courageous and as flawed as each and every one of us. And they need voters to fill them with the courage they need to do the right thing.

So remind your representatives that this isn’t about impeaching a President. It’s about coming together around our shared belief that no one is above the law—and making sure our democracy is never this vulnerable to attack again. It’s about putting aside our differences, and not only holding out America’s motto as a goal to which we aspire but working every day to make it a reality.

*E pluribus unum.*

Out of many, one.

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*Katyal, a professor of law at Georgetown Law, is a former acting Solicitor General of the United States. Koppelman is a senior speechwriter at Fenway Strategies. This essay is adapted from their forthcoming book *Impeach: The Case Against Donald Trump*, to be published on Nov. 26 by Houghton Mifflin Harcourt*

## VIEWPOINT

# YOU CAN’T IMPEACH IF THERE IS NO CRIME

By Robert Ray

AS THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES HURTTLES toward impeachment ahead of the holidays, it is appropriate to consider, in as dispassionate a way as possible, what really is at issue for the country to decide. One must begin with the words of the Constitution. The removal of the President from office necessarily proceeds only with a determination, through House impeachment and upon conviction by a two-thirds majority in the Senate following trial, that “treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors” have been proved. What constitutes a “high” crime? Alexander Hamilton provided the answer in the *Federalist* papers: only those offenses within Congress’s appropriate jurisdiction that constitute “the abuse or violation of some public trust.”

So while it is fashionable at the moment for some to argue that President Trump is removable from office simply if it is proved that he abused the power of his office during his July 25 call with Ukrainian President Zelensky, the Constitution requires more. To ignore the requirement of proving that a crime was committed is to sidestep the constitutional design as well as the lessons of history. A well-founded article of impeachment therefore must allege both that a crime has been committed and that such crime

constitutes an abuse of the President's office.

The problem for those pushing impeachment is that there appears to be insufficient evidence to prove that Trump committed a crime. Half the country at present does seem prepared to conclude, on the basis of the summary of the Trump-Zelensky call released by the White House on Sept. 25, that Trump at least raised the prospect of an unlawful quid pro quo. The theory seems to be that Trump proposed an exchange of something of personal benefit to himself in return for an official act by the U.S. government. On one side of that alleged quid pro quo would be the public announcement of an investigation by Ukraine into a rival presidential candidate, former Vice President Joe Biden, and a member of Biden's family. On the other: the release of temporarily withheld foreign aid, including military assistance.

The problem with this legal theory is that an unlawful quid pro quo is limited to those arrangements that are "corrupt"—that is to say, only those that are clearly and unmistakably improper and therefore illegal. But in the eyes of the law, the specific, measurable benefit that an investigation against the Bidens might bring Trump is nebulous. There is a serious question as to whether it could ever constitute a criminally illegal foreign campaign contribution of personal benefit to President Trump. Indeed, the Office of Legal Counsel and the Criminal Division at the Justice Department apparently have already concluded it couldn't. Just as important, the U.S. Supreme Court and lower federal courts have struggled since at least the early 1990s with application of the federal anticorruption laws to situations like this, where an "in kind" benefit in the form of campaign interference or assistance is alleged to be illegal.

**IN MY VIEW**, a fair and better legal argument can be made in this context that only an explicit, as opposed to an implied, quid pro quo would be sufficient to find criminal illegality as the result of President Trump's words on the call with President Zelensky. What's the difference? Instead of President Trump saying to his counterpart in Ukraine in words or substance, "Do me a favor ..." he would have to have said, "Here's the deal ..." and followed up by explicitly linking an investigation of the Bidens to the provision of U.S. military assistance. None of that, of course, is what was said.

Importantly, we have also learned in a little-noted aside to the widely reported Oct. 17 press conference by acting White House chief of staff Mick Mulvaney that the Administration recognized that it had no authority through the Office of Management and Budget to permanently withhold congressional appropriation of aid to Ukraine beyond

the 2019 fiscal year, which ended Sept. 30.

Taken together, these facts mean that whatever your view of whether the President's call was, in his words, "perfect" or not, the race to impeachment is moving forward on an arguably flawed legal theory of an implied quid pro quo of temporarily withholding foreign aid. It doesn't help those arguing that the implied and temporary attempt at a quid pro quo necessitates impeachment that the aid was eventually released and disbursed on Sept. 11. Nor does it help them that Ukraine never publicly announced an investigation of the Bidens.

An investigation into the origins of the probe into Russia's 2016 election meddling, including any Ukrainian matters relating to it, is under way. It is being handled through appropriate channels and with built-in independence by a career prosecutor, John Durham, the U.S. Attorney in Connecticut, and presumably outside of political interference at Main Justice in Washington. If Durham finds actual evidence warranting investigation of the Bidens, that would be entirely appropriate, unless one is prepared to argue, speciously, that a presidential candidate enjoys

absolute immunity from investigation during the course of a campaign. So things are finally in the right hands.

That is not to say that the "no harm, no foul" argument excuses the evident lack of judgment exhibited by the White House in attempting to spur action by a foreign government outside of proper channels to investigate a political rival. But it is another thing altogether to claim that such conduct is clearly and unmistakably impeachable. If recent polls are any guide, many fair-minded Americans seem prepared to accept that even if such conduct was wrong, it was not so seriously wrong as to warrant removal from office.

At this point nothing appears to stand in the way of the House's intemperate and unreasonable vote to impeach. In Hamilton's words, events are proceeding "more by the comparative strength of parties than by the real demonstrations of innocence or guilt." It will be left instead to the U.S. Senate sitting as a court of impeachment with the "requisite neutrality" and the nation's best interests in mind to render judgment and put a stop to what is an undeniably, and all but exclusively, partisan effort to remove this President from office. Only then can the country return to the business at hand, which is the fast-approaching 2020 election, now less than a year away, and the other important and pressing matters before the nation.

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*Ray is a partner at Thompson & Knight LLP and, as independent counsel from 1999 to 2002, issued the final report in the Whitewater investigation*

## Impeachment is moving forward on an arguably flawed legal theory

The Guardians

ONE YEAR AFTER A GUNMAN  
ENTERED THE OFFICE  
OF A LOCAL NEWSPAPER AND  
KILLED FIVE PEOPLE,

# THE NEWS GETS TO MOVE ON

THE JOURNALISTS WHO  
REMAINED ALIVE ARE DOING  
THEIR BEST TO HEAL—  
AND COMMUNICATE A NEW  
AMERICAN REALITY

BY SEAN GREGORY/ANNAPOLIS



*The staff of the  
Capital Gazette,  
including survivors  
of the shooting,  
on Dec. 9, 2018,  
in Washington*

**SEE THE VIDEO**

To watch the new  
TIME Studios  
documentary on the  
Capital Gazette, go to  
[time.com/capital-gazette](https://time.com/capital-gazette)

PHOTOGRAPHS BY MOISES SAMAN FOR TIME

## RACHAEL PACELLA HAD BEEN DOING BETTER. NO LONGER DID ANY LITTLE SOUND—THE BUZZ OF A CELL PHONE, A DOOR OPENING—CAUSE HER TO TWITCH. SHE WASN'T FREEZING IN CROSSWALKS.

The therapy and medication helped. So did a pottery class. Anything to take her mind off that day.

Then Pacella retraumatized herself. In February, she testified before a state legislative committee in support of a bill that would regulate rifles and shotguns. It was an unusual situation for an environment reporter, but then Pacella works for the *Capital* newspaper of Annapolis, Md. She related how on June 28, 2018, she was in the newspaper's office, heard a pop and saw a glass door shatter. How she crouched under her desk. How she made a run for it, but slipped and slammed her face into a door. The shooter had barricaded that exit, so Pacella, 28, hid between two filing cabinets. She tried to control her heavy breathing. She hoped the shooter wouldn't notice the blood from her forehead, streaked on a partition above her hiding spot. The shots were getting closer. Pacella whimpered. Dear God, she thought. What if he heard me?

She clamped her hand over her mouth.

Pacella told the lawmakers how everything fell silent until the police escorted her, and colleagues who had also survived, out of the building and into a life that will never be the same. "They instructed us to keep our eyes forward," she said, "and step over Wendi's body."

Journalists, as a species, generally despise being the subjects of the news. We sign up to see our names in the bylines, not the headlines. But events put the staff of the *Capital Gazette* in a new place. As journalists, they were a new addition to the expanding annals of American gun violence—uniquely positioned to register all its impacts, from the initial moments so horrifying they draw the attention of the entire world, through the far longer period when that attention has moved on, and they don't get to.

"There are people all around the country and all around the world who are just sitting with these massive

amounts of PTSD, and we need to know how to get through it," says *Capital Gazette* reporter Selene San Felice, 24, who hid under a desk to survive the rampage. "We're having a national conversation about mental health and anxiety, but we've got to do something to talk about what happens after."

The shooter that Thursday afternoon was a man named Jarrod Ramos, nurser of a years-long grudge against the *Capital* because of a 2011 column about his guilty plea for harassing a former high school classmate. After blasting his way into the newsroom, he fatally shot five people: Wendi Winters, the features writer who charged at Ramos with a trash can and recycling bin; editorial writer Gerald Fischman; deputy editor Rob Hiaasen; longtime sportswriter John McNamara; and sales assistant Rebecca Smith. Pacella was one of the six people in the newsroom as it happened who survived the shooting.

On Oct. 28, Ramos admitted to the





killings in an Annapolis court. But he has also pleaded that he's not criminally responsible for his actions, Maryland's version of the insanity defense. A trial will determine whether he'll be sentenced to a state prison or to a maximum-security psychiatric hospital.

**TIME HAS SPENT** the past year chronicling the aftermath of the Capital Gazette shooting. We've trailed editors and reporters on the job and in their homes. The staff was featured in our 2018 Person of the Year package on journalists who serve as "The Guardians" of truth while their work is under attack around the world. A new TIME Studios film, directed by photojournalist Moises Saman, provides an intimate look at how staffers continued to soldier on after witnessing tragedy in their workplace and losing beloved colleagues and friends. The *Capital* covered its own trauma, putting out the next morning's paper written and edited by grieving staffers on the day of the murders. The work earned the Capital Gazette a special citation from the Pulitzer Prize board in April.

While coping with posttraumatic stress—not to mention the economic pressures that have gutted vital local journalism outlets around America—reporters like Pacella continued to pound their beats, covering the zoning meetings and spelling bees that form the fabric of any American community. When it is scheduled, they will also cover Ramos' trial. "This person obviously wanted to silence us," says *Capital* assistant editor Chase Cook, lead writer on the deadline story about the murders. "That's never going to happen."

The *Capital* has emerged a symbol: of press freedom, of the vitality of community journalism, of the fight against gun violence. "People have interpreted us," says *Capital* editor Rick Hutzell, "how they see fit."

There is a pattern after mass shootings, which Pacella's statehouse testimony fit in only too well: a moving plea for change from a mass-shooting survivor, followed by ... no real change. The gun-regulation bill stalled. Meanwhile, shootings elsewhere made headlines: Virginia Beach; El Paso, Texas; Dayton, Ohio. None of it damped the resolve of the newsroom. The staff has promised



Editor Rick Hutzell, facing camera in bottom photo, and staff on June 5 of this year. It was their first day in the new office the Capital found after the shooting



# The Guardians

itself that what happened to the *Capital* won't be in vain.

"With each [mass shooting], we all become a little number. Our souls are a little dead. What it means to be American is a little cheaper, a little less valuable," says Hutzell. "That's why it's up to us as journalists to figure out a way to make it matter for readers ... That's our job. And if it's hard because we are becoming numb to mass violence, too bad. Figure it out."

**PHOTOGRAPHER** Joshua McKerrow wasn't in the newsroom that Thursday. But his survivor's guilt is still intense. McKerrow arrived at the nearby U.S. Naval Academy 15 minutes before sunrise on June 28, 2018, for one of his favorite assignments: snapping pictures of induction day for incoming plebes. Afterward, instead of returning to the office, he made what was likely a lifesaving decision: he drove toward Baltimore to pick up his daughter. He planned to take her out for her birthday.

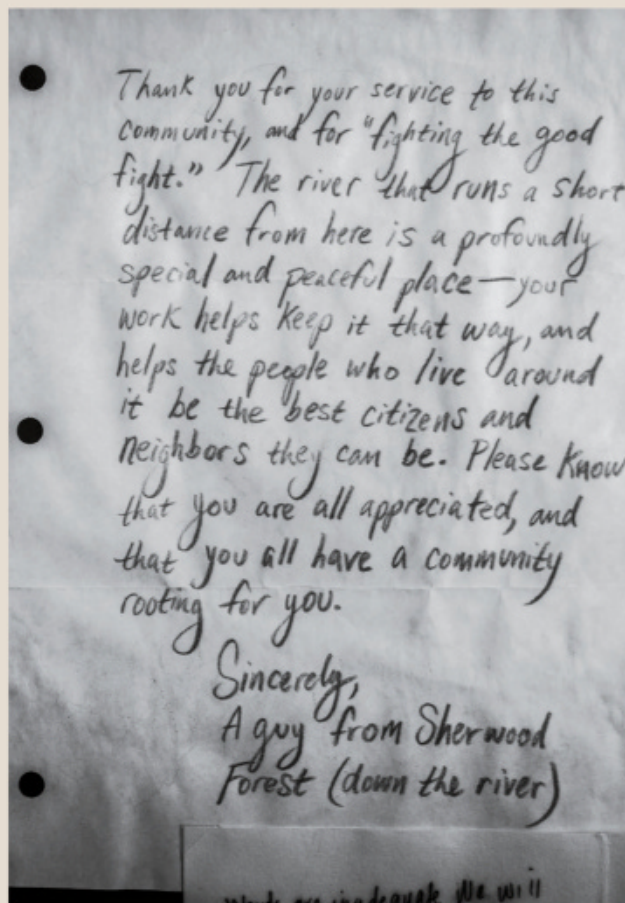
Then he spotted a call from Hutzell, the boss, on his cell phone. Never good. "It means something really bad happened that you have to go cover," he says, "or you f-cked something up."

The news proved worse than McKerrow could ever imagine: Hutzell said he'd heard about a shooting at the newsroom. McKerrow turned his car around and started driving toward the office. "I felt like I was kind of just leaving the vestiges of myself behind," he says.

Through the afternoon and into the evening, McKerrow toiled at the scene of the crime, gathering photos of his deceased friends from the *Capital's* archives for the next day's edition. He says that working on the story worsened his trauma but that he had no choice—there was a kind of imperative. "I knew as soon as I turned my car around that this was going to be sticking my hand into a fire," McKerrow says. "And if you ask me whether it was worth it, it was ab-

## APPRECIATIONS

After the shooting, the *Capital Gazette* newsroom was showered with supportive letters; the paper's front page on June 29, 2018, the day after the attack



solutely worth it. As hard as it is to live with myself now, I don't know if I could have lived with myself at all if I'd done the wrong thing."

McKerrow opens up about his post-traumatic stress to emphasize that these shootings leave so many in their wake. Survivors need to seek help. He's still seeing a therapist. He's had suicidal thoughts. "I don't get the joy from a cup of coffee that I used to," says McKerrow. "You don't get the joy from anything you taste, frankly. I've had moments

in the past year with my kids and we're playing in the leaves and there's shrieking of joy and laughter, and I'm thinking about the shooting and there's a part of me going, What the f-ck? This is what you're alive for, to experience these moments. Why are you not experiencing this? Why aren't you feeling the joy of this that you should? You're alive. You survived.

"I'd like the coffee to taste the way it used to taste."

*Capital Gazette* staffers have learned all too many lessons about grief. When people check in on him, McKerrow often doesn't respond. Then people get mad at him. There's a reason, however, for his silence. Lying—by telling people he's O.K.—saps his energy. But he doesn't want to pass on his pain to others. "If you know someone going through trauma, you can help them by reaching out but letting them know it's O.K. if they don't reach back," McKerrow advises. "They don't know how to talk to you. They don't know how to love you the way they did. They don't know how to laugh with you the way they did."

For some, antidepressants have helped. So has the free therapy offered by Tribune Publishing and Baltimore Sun Media, owners of the *Capital*, and local mental-health providers. Hutzell is flexible with time off. The journalists are quick to point out their good fortune, and wish others similarly impacted by these incidents received comparable support. "I'm the most privileged shooting survivor in this state," Pacella says.

Staffers also turned to all sorts of distractions. Danielle Ohl, an investigative reporter, cooks. McKerrow has taken up production design for the Annapolis Shakespeare Company. San Felice took Wendi Winters' ashes to Istanbul, where the late journalist grew up. Winters' son spread them in a park there.

Pacella found pottery. Her projects can take weeks to complete, which gives her goals, something to look forward to. In the weeks after the shootings, Pacella

carried a notebook wherever she went, writing down observations, sketching the buildings and trees that she was seeing. The habit gave her a sense of power and control.

After her testimony, Pacella took a few days off to recover. Her healing, while by no means complete, is progressing. Like McKerrow, she reported from the Naval Academy induction the morning of the shooting: unlike McKerrow, she returned to the office right after. But in June, Pacella went back to the Naval Academy for this year's induction. Her piece ran in the newspaper on the one-year commemoration of the shooting. RETURNING TO THE SCENE OF AN OATH INTERRUPTED, read the headline. The process offered some sense of closure.

"There is also an element of just being like, well, look at me," says Pacella. "Look what I'm still doing."

Photographer Paul Gillespie, a fellow survivor, poured his energy into creating portraits of *Capital* staffers and family members of the five employees who died. His exhibit, "Journalists Matter: Faces of the Capital Gazette," launched at an Annapolis art studio in early October. "These missing people are holes in our humanity," Andrea Chamblee, the widow of John McNamara, said at the opening. The occasion, somber as it was at one level, gave the extended Capital Gazette family a rare chance to gather and smile over a few drinks. In her portrait, Chamblee, who also testified before the Maryland General Assembly in support of tighter gun laws, clutched one of McNamara's press passes.

"For so many weeks and months, I really wanted to hold up a mirror to myself to see if that would give me a clue as to what was happening inside me," she says, through tears. "And when I look at the picture, I see clues that I was looking for. I see anguish and bewilderment and love that I felt for my husband. And focus, vicious focus, on what I have to do now."



In her photo, San Felice stares straight into Gillespie's camera. With a slight, empowered smile, she holds out a notebook and pen. "I don't want every picture of me to be the sad picture of the night of the vigil, or me hugging someone at someone's funeral," says San Felice. "I want to wear a f-cking cape. I want to go to the Pulitzers, and I want people to know that I'm worth something. I'm more than this."

**AFTER THE SHOOTING**, the Capital Gazette did not return to its old offices. The

paper set up shop at a temporary home, sharing space with the University of Maryland's Capital News Service before moving to a new space in early June. There, the first pot of office coffee felt like a minor triumph, a small but important part of moving on.

The legal process, on the other hand, still carries elements of trepidation. Hutzell hired a new reporter to cover Ramos' trial. He's setting him up in a conference room, away from the other staff, so the reporter can ask questions without risking upsetting his colleagues.

And while Ramos' guilty plea has likely spared the newsroom from hearing the most gruesome details of the killings or seeing footage of the rampage in court, the trial focused on the murderer's mental state will still be difficult.

"After the shooting, I set three milestones," says Hutzell. "Keep the paper going. Get us into a new office. And get through the trial."

"Two down."

*Capital* journalists are attempting to embrace the good things. The world—particularly the Annapolis community—continues to show an outpouring of love. New opportunities, small solace that they are, have arisen from the tragedy. The Pulitzer Prize board awarded the *Capital* a \$100,000 grant; the extra money enabled, for example, San Felice to take on in-depth, high-impact projects. The *Capital* has partnered with the nonprofit ProPublica, a leading investiga-

tive newsroom, to examine public housing in Annapolis.

"Putting out the paper has value besides what's in the paper," Hutzell says in a room in the *Capital's* new space. "Every day you're here is another day farther away from what happened. Every day you're here is another day when you're alive. And we have friends who are not. Every day here is another day we can honor their memories, and do the work we love." —*With reporting by* PAUL MOAKLEY/ANNAPOLIS □

# **DIMMING THE LIGHTS**

Can Amsterdam's mayor remake the historic red-light district for the 21st century?

**BY CIARA NUGENT**

EVERYONE HAS AN OPINION ABOUT WHERE Felicia Anna works. For the past nine years, the 33-year-old Romanian sex worker has attracted clients by standing in the glowing windows of the world's most famous red-light district. The area's reputation, she says over a coffee on one of Amsterdam's cobbled, canalside streets, means it attracts more controversy than any other form of prostitution. "We're always in the public eye, literally," she says, laughing. (TIME has used pseudonyms for sex workers interviewed for this piece.)

Nicknamed "De Wallen" in Dutch for its position near the old city walls, the red-light district's medieval buildings have hosted sex workers since the 15th century—long before the Netherlands began regulating and taxing prostitution in October 2000. Today, escort services and sex clubs make up a significant part of Amsterdam's sex-work sector. But De Wallen's window brothels, popularized in the 1960s, remain iconic: the literal manifestation of the clear-eyed Dutch approach to activities that other countries would rather sweep under the rug.

In recent years, though, a crisis has been building that leaves the fate of the red-light district uncertain. Budget tourists have flooded the streets, snapping unauthorized photos of sex workers and crowding out residents. The increasing numbers of migrant workers from Eastern Europe and further afield since the late 20th century—now making up around 80% of window workers—have fueled concerns among lawmakers over sex trafficking. On an international level, a growing crowd of countries now see a 1999



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*The red-light district,  
De Wallen, as seen  
from a brothel office in  
Amsterdam on Sept. 20*

PHOTOGRAPH BY ILVY  
NJIOKIKTJIEN FOR TIME

# World

Swedish law, which criminalizes the buying but not the selling of sex in order to drive down demand, as a better way to confront prostitution.

Femke Halsema, Amsterdam's first female mayor, says she is determined to see Dutch pragmatism prevail in her city, despite De Wallen's problems. "I don't have to like sex work. It's irrelevant. Because there's a market," she says. Halsema has ruled out a citywide ban on sex work but says the red-light district must fundamentally change. In July, she set out four options for reform—including the end of all prostitution in the area. That idea has angered sex workers and their unions, who say it would drive them into vulnerable conditions and damage the livelihoods of taxpaying workers. "We are a part of Amsterdam," Felicia says. "Do we always have to move away, just because some people don't like it?" To solve the red-light district's crisis, Amsterdam must decide where the world's oldest profession fits in the 21st century city.

**JUST HALF A MILE** from De Wallen lies the mayor's office, in a sleek city hall. Gazing through wide windows over a canal, Halsema considers the red-light district's role in her city's fame. "Amsterdam has a very long tradition of protecting freedom, and being a tolerant city. And I really want to protect that," she says; as a lawmaker in Parliament in 1999, she voted in favor of legalization. "But we do not want to be famous because of sex and drugs. We want to be famous for our cultural heritage."

But Amsterdam's rowdy reputation likely helped to draw many of the 18 million tourists who visited in 2018—four times the number of annual visitors a decade ago, before the budget-air-travel boom. On a Friday evening in the red-light district this fall, they are out in force, streaming out of karaoke bars and cannabis coffee shops, wandering over canal bridges with open bottles and snapping souvenir photos of sex workers—ignoring signs that say cameras are not allowed.

Since Halsema took office in July 2018, the city has hired extra security workers and announced a ban on organized tour groups in the district, starting April 2020. Soon, she plans to go further. To alleviate overcrowding and combat sex trafficking, she has four proposals: the closure of window-brothel curtains to discour-

age gawking tourists; a reduction in the number of windows; the addition of more windows to relieve sidewalk crowding; or the end of all sex work in De Wallen. In the latter scenario, Halsema says she would create a new workspace for the roughly 400 sex workers who use the window brothels, either by relocating them or by creating a prostitution hotel where authorities could screen visitors.

Some argue that the city government is to blame for De Wallen's problems. Starting in 2007, a city-run gentrification project called 1012 (for the area's ZIP code) bought up brothels and cannabis shops, and, over the next decade, replaced them with upscale boutiques and restaurants. Some 125 brothel windows closed, increasing the concentration of tourists around the 330 that remained. In the meantime, new minimarkets and tourist shops popped up, counteracting the city's aim of drawing more locals to the area. In 2018, the public audit office ruled that the project had largely failed.

Sex workers say the damage of 1012 was far-reaching, clogging up the streets of the red-light district with a new demographic of tourists who come to gawk but not pay for sexual services. Mariska Majoor, a Dutch sex-workers'-rights activist who worked in the windows in the



*Halsema, mayor of Amsterdam, poses for a photograph in her office on Nov. 30, 2018*

1980s, says Project 1012 "completely destroyed" trust between sex workers and the authorities. Ostensibly done in the name of reducing human trafficking and crime in the red-light district, "it felt very obvious that it was about buying up valuable land for rich people," Majoor says.

This time, Halsema says the well-being of sex workers is a priority. "Most Dutch people have a sentimental image in their heads of the red-light district as a nice, intimate part of town, where sailors come, where strong Dutch women invite them in," she says. "But the atmosphere there today is different." Halsema claims that the surge in women from poorer Eastern European countries, such as Romania and Bulgaria, as well as from Latin America and Africa, increases the risk of exploitation. While not all of them were trafficked, she says, "you can question their free will, because there is a huge need for them to feed families elsewhere."

Halsema says closing some windows or shifting everything to a contained, city-run workspace would make it easier to monitor exploitation than in the



porous borders of De Wallen. In the long run, quashing Amsterdam's image as a sex-work hub could also put off traffickers. Halsema says she worries about "the relationship between being internationally known as a place of prostitution, and the attraction for traffickers."

Dutch figures show a striking increase in the number of human trafficking victims in the Netherlands since the legalization of brothels, from 228 in 1998, to a peak of 1,711 in 2012. In 2018, 72% of the reported 742 victims were working in prostitution; the national rapporteur on trafficking says the actual number of victims is likely five times as large. The fluctuation may be explained by factors like the changing resources allocated to research and the rise of the Internet, which has given traffickers new ways to work outside the view of law enforcement, according to CoMensha, a nonprofit that collects trafficking data. It's also unclear if trafficking rates are worse in the Netherlands than in the rest of Europe, because different countries use different measures to define victims.

Halsema concedes the figures are unreliable, but says she feels obligated to do something to address any trafficking in her city. "Even if only [a small fraction] are trafficked, the stories you hear are so

horrible." The websites of Dutch anti-trafficking organizations brim with stories of victims who were tricked by boyfriends and forced to work for months or years as sex slaves. "We cannot accept it," Halsema says.

**DESPITE CONCERNS** from authorities, some sex workers say the window brothels are actually the most empowering place to do their job. Jade, 29, who moved to Amsterdam three years ago from outside the E.U., notes that the windows are the only place she can work in Amsterdam without giving a cut of her money to a brothel owner or escort agency, thanks to a quirk in the prostitution-licensing system. She pays a fixed rent of roughly €90 for a day shift and €170 for a night shift, and keeps the rest of what she makes. She also has the option to turn clients away whenever she likes. "We're all seen as vulnerable foreign women now because we're migrants," she says. "But I'm very much an agent of my own life." Last year, Felicia started a new pressure group, Red Light United, to represent the window workers. Of 170 surveyed, she says, 93% oppose plans to close or move the windows.

Few deny that trafficking exists in Amsterdam. Many sex workers and advocates argue, though, that the red-light district is one of the safest places in the city to do sex work, partly because there's a community. Heleen Driessen, a counselor at a health clinic in De Wallen for sex workers, says the number of police, local lawmakers and social workers who visit the area makes it difficult for traffickers to put women to work there. While there are sometimes victims of human trafficking, Driessen says they are often "happy that they worked in the red-light area, because they could find us and ask us for help."

Though the mayor is clear she backs legalized sex work, sex-worker unions claim her proposed reforms reflect a wider pattern of allowing sex work in theory, but discouraging it in practice. Velvet December, a coordinator at one union, PROUD, cites an existing ban on Amsterdam's sex workers' working from home, and on

window workers using the Internet to find clients. If the window brothels are closed, Velvet says the city's already tight rules governing sex work will make it hard to find new space for the industry to thrive. "There's so much discouragement hidden in the rules that it's virtually impossible to be innovative in this sector," she says. She points to the example of nearby Utrecht, which closed its historic red-light area in 2013 and around 100 prostitution windows on canal boats, promising to look for new sites for window work. Six years later, the plans remain stalled because of a lack of financial backing and resistance from the city council.

**WHEREVER SEX WORK** ends up in the city, replacing the red-light district would mark the end of a centuries-old landmark. "To have the sex industry integrated with so-called normal life, among churches and restaurants and a kindergarten and the Salvation Army shop—that's pretty special," Majoor says, adding that it would be tough to re-create that atmosphere elsewhere. "If we get rid of the sex work, Amsterdam's city center will be like any other old European capital."

## **'AMSTERDAM HAS A VERY LONG TRADITION OF BEING A TOLERANT CITY.'**

—FEMKE HALSEMA,  
mayor of Amsterdam

To better understand the concerns of the many parties that have a stake in De Wallen, Halsema has held public meetings on the proposed reforms, inviting local residents and sex workers to weigh in—a move that many say sets her apart from previous city authorities. The city council will debate her ideas, offering opinions on potential risks and benefits of each one. But Halsema will make the final choice and implement it, likely some time next year. "I want to create a process where a lot of people feel heard—which is not the same as having it their way. We all have to compromise in the end."

The shape of that compromise will likely determine what comes to mind when you hear the name Amsterdam, or even the term *sex work*, 10 years from now. For a few months though, the windows and their curtains remain open. The red lights continue to glow. And the debate rages on. □





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# Time Off

Star Wars: The Rise  
of Skywalker actor *Billie  
Lourd* remembers her  
mom *Carrie Fisher*

MOVIES

## Princess Leia was my keeper. Now, I'm hers

By **Billie Lourd**

INSIDE

OLIVIA COLMAN GETS REGAL  
(AGAIN) IN THE CROWN

WHICH STREAMING SERVICES  
ARE RIGHT FOR YOU?

KANYE WEST PLAYS IT SAFE ON A  
GOSPEL-INSPIRED ALBUM

PHOTOGRAPH BY RYAN JAMES CARUTHERS FOR TIME

# TimeOff Opener

**I** GREW UP WITH THREE PARENTS: a mom, a dad and Princess Leia. I guess Princess Leia was kind of like my stepmom—technically family, but deep down I didn't really like her. She literally and metaphorically lived on a planet I had never been to. When Leia was around, there wasn't as much room for my mom—for Carrie. As a child, I couldn't understand why people loved Leia as much as they did. I didn't want to watch her movie, I didn't want to dress up like her, I didn't even want to talk about her. I just wanted my mom—the one who lived on Earth, not Tatooine.

I didn't watch *Star Wars* until I was about 6 years old. (And I technically didn't finish it until I was 9 or 10. I'm sorry! Don't judge me!) My mom used to love to tell people that every time she tried to put it on, I would cover my ears and yell, "It's too loud, Mommy! Turn it off!"—or fearfully question, "Is that lady in the TV you?" It wasn't until middle school that I finally decided to watch it of my own accord—not because I suddenly developed a keen interest in '70s sci-fi, but because boys started coming up to me and saying they fantasized about my mom. My mom? The lady who wore glitter makeup like it was lotion and didn't wear a bra to support her much-support-needed DD/F's? They couldn't be talking about her! I had to investigate who this person was they were talking about.

So I went home and watched the movie I had forever considered too loud and finally figured out what all the fuss was about the lady in the TV. I'd wanted to hate it so I could tell her how lame she was. Like any kid, I didn't want my mom to be "hot" or "cool"—she was my mom. I was supposed to be the "cool," "hot" one—not her! But staring at the screen that day, I realized no one is, or ever will be, as hot or as cool as Princess F-cking Leia. (Excuse my language. She's just that cool!)

Later that year, I went to Comic-Con with my mom. It was the first time I realized how widespread and deep people's love for Leia was, even after so many years. It was surreal: people of all ages from all over the world were dressed up like my mom, the lady who sang me to sleep at night and held me when I was scared. Watching the amount of joy it brought to people when

she hugged them or threw glitter in their faces was incredible to witness. People waited in line for hours just to meet her. People had tattoos of her. People named their children after her. People had stories of how Leia saved their lives. It was a side of my mom I had never seen before. And it was magical.

I realized then that Leia is more than just a character. She's a feeling. She is strength. She is grace. She is wit. She is femininity at its finest. She knows what she wants, and she gets it. She doesn't need anyone to defend her, because she defends herself. And no one could have played her like my mother. Princess Leia is Carrie Fisher. Carrie Fisher is Princess Leia. The two go hand in hand.

**WHEN I GRADUATED** from college, like most folks, I was trying to figure out what the hell to do with my life. I went to school planning to throw music festivals, but always had this little sliver of me that wanted to do what my parents pushed me so hard not to do—act. I was embarrassed to admit I was even slightly interested. So when my mom called me and told me they wanted me to come in to audition for *Star Wars*, I pretended it wasn't a big deal—I even laughed at the concept—but inside I couldn't think of anything that would make me happier. A couple weeks later I went in for my audition. I probably had never been more nervous in my life. I was terrified and most likely made a fool of myself, but I kind of had a great time doing it. I assumed they would never call me, but after that audition, I realized I wanted to give the whole acting thing a shot. I was definitely afraid, but as a wise woman once said, "Stay afraid, but do it anyway ... The confidence will follow."

About a month later, they somehow ended up calling. And there I was, on my way to be in motherf-cking *Star Wars*. Whoa. Growing up, my parents treated film sets like a house full of people with the flu: they kept me away from them at all costs. So on that fateful first day driving up to Pinewood, I was like a doe-eyed child. I couldn't tell my mom, but

little sassy, sarcastic, postcollege me felt like a giddy, grateful middle schooler showing up to a fancy new school.

On that first day, my mom and I sat next to each other in the hair and makeup trailer. (Actually, she wasn't really one for sitting, so she paced up and down and around me, occasionally reapplying her already overapplied glitter makeup and feeding Gary, her French bulldog.) Between glitterings, the hairstylist crafted what was to become General Leia's hairstyle, then it was on to me: little Lieutenant Connix. Fun-nyly enough, my mom had more to say about my hairstyle than her own. Even though she complained for years about how the iconic Leia buns "further widened my already wide face," she desperately wanted me to carry on the face-widening family tradition! Some people carry on their family name, some people carry on holiday traditions—I was going

to carry on the family hairstyle. So after we tested a few other space-appropriate hairstyles, we decided to embrace the weird galactic nepotism of it all and went with the mini-Leia buns. She stood in the mirror behind me and smiled

like we had gotten matching tattoos. Our secret-handshake hairstyle.

On the first day of this thing I could now call "work," I walked into the Resistance Base set for rehearsal and J.J. Abrams, the director, told me where to stand and what to do—basically just press some pretty real-looking fake buttons. But I have to say, just pressing those buttons and observing the rest of the scene was one of the most fun things I had ever done. I had no lines in the scene, but my mom kept checking on me like I was delivering a Shakespearean monologue. "Are you O.K.?" she asked. "Do you need anything?" I scoffed at her maternal questions like a child embarrassed by her mother yelling goodbye too loud in a carpool line: "Mommy, go away! I'm fine. Focus on you, not me!" In the moment, I was humiliated that my mom was mom-ing me on my first day of work, on the *Star Wars* set, of all places. But now I realize she was just

**Princess Leia  
is Carrie Fisher.  
Carrie Fisher is  
Princess Leia.  
The two go hand  
in hand**



^  
Lourd with her mother on the set of *Star Wars: The Force Awakens*

being protective. Sets are extremely intimidating—I was too green at the time to know that—and she assumed I would be scared as hell. But weirdly, I wasn't. At risk of sounding insane, something about this bizarre new world made me feel right at home. I had found a place with an empty puzzle slot that perfectly matched my weird-shaped puzzle piece.

That night, on the long London-traffic-filled ride back from set, she turned to me and smiled. "Bits," she said. "You know, most people aren't as comfortable on sets as you were today. Especially on the f-cking *Star Wars* set, of all places!" (Excuse my language, but that was her language.) "This might be something you should think about doing." At first I laughed, assuming she was kidding. But she continued to look me straight in the eye with no inkling of irony in sight. My mom was telling me I should act—my mom? The lady who spent my entire life convincing me acting was the last thing I should do? It couldn't be true. But it was. I haven't had many moments like this in my life—those aha moments everyone talks about. This was my first real one. My mom wanted me to be an actress. That was when I realized I had to give it a shot.

She used to sarcastically quip that she knew all along what a massive hit *Star Wars* would be. As with most things, she was kidding. She was absolutely and totally beyond shocked by the massive global phenomenon that was the first

*Star Wars* trilogy. It changed her life forever. Then, when it happened again almost 40 years later, she was even more absolutely and totally beyond shocked. It changed her life yet again. But that time, it changed my life too. I thought getting to make one *Star Wars* movie with her was a once-in-a-lifetime thing; then they asked me to come do the next movie and I got to do my once-in-a-lifetime twice. On our second movie together, I really tried to take a step back and appreciate what I was doing. I couldn't tell her because she'd think I was lame, but getting to watch her be Leia this time made me feel like the proud mom.

Watching the original *Star Wars* movies as a kid in my mom's bed, I never imagined the lady in the TV would get older and get back in the TV. And I definitely never imagined we would end up in the TV together. But that's where we ended up. Two little ladies in the TV together—Leia and little Lieutenant Connix.

We wrapped *The Last Jedi* a little less than six months before she died. I went back to L.A. to film the show I was on, and she stayed in London to film the show she was on. One of the last times we spoke on the phone, she talked about how excited she was that the next movie in the trilogy was going to be Leia's movie. Her movie.

She used to say that in the original movies, she got to be "the only girl in an all-boys fantasy." But with each new

*Star Wars* movie, the all-boys fantasy started to become a boys-and-girls fantasy. She was no longer a part of a fantasy, but the fantasy herself. Leia was not just a sidekick one of the male leads had on his arm, or a damsel in distress. She was the hero herself. The princess became the general.

**MY MOM DIED** on Dec. 27, 2016. Two days after Christmas, four days before New Year's and about a year before she was supposed to appear in her final *Star Wars* film. Losing my mom is the hardest thing I've ever been through. I lost my best friend. My little lady in the TV. My Mommy. And I inherited this weird, intimidating thing called her legacy. Suddenly I was in charge of what would come of her books, her movies and a bunch of other overwhelming things. I was now the keeper of Leia.

About a year later, J.J. called me into his office to talk about the plans for Leia. We both agreed she was too important to be written off in the classic *Star Wars* introductory scroll. This last movie was supposed to be Leia's movie, and we wanted it to remain that, as much as possible. What I hadn't known—and what J.J. told me that day—was that there was footage of my mom that they had collected over the years that hadn't made it into the movies, footage that J.J. told me would be enough to write an entire movie around. It was like she had left us a gift that would allow Leia's story to be completed. I was speechless. (Anyone who knows me knows that doesn't happen very often.)

J.J. asked me if I would want to come back as Lieutenant Connix. I knew it would be one of the most painful, difficult things I would ever do, but I said yes for her—for my mom. For Leia. For everyone Leia means so much to. For everyone Leia gives strength to. For my future kids, so someday they'll have one more movie to watch that Mommy and Grandma were in together. So they can ask me about the lady—now ladies—in the TV and tell me to turn it down because it's too loud.

I grew up with three parents: a mom, a dad and Princess Leia. Initially, Princess Leia was kind of like my stepmom. Now she's my guardian angel. And I'm her keeper. □

## BOOKS

### A journey into the nature of sanity

By Naina Bajekal

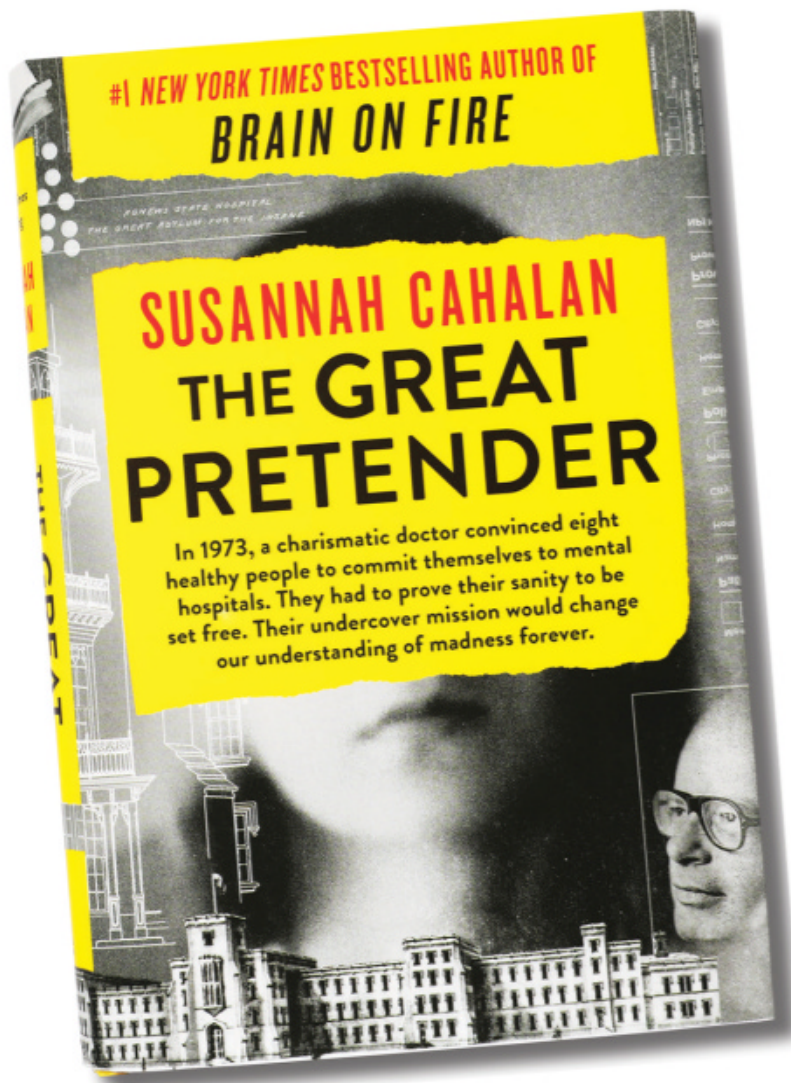
“IF SANITY AND INSANITY exist, how shall we know them?” So begins a landmark 1973 study by Stanford psychology professor David Rosenhan, who persuaded eight healthy people to feign hallucinations and commit themselves to mental asylums. Once inside, they would have to prove their sanity to get out. The study’s impact was explosive, demonstrating that even trained professionals struggled to tell the difference between the mentally ill and the mentally healthy. It was so pivotal in reshaping our understanding and diagnosis of madness that 46 years later, it is still taught widely.

In *The Great Pretender*, journalist Susannah Cahalan turns her investigative skills to this famous experiment. Her interest in the trauma of being labeled insane is personal: at 24, she was hospitalized with symptoms including seizures, hallucinations and psychosis—an experience she recounted in her 2013 best seller, *Brain on Fire*. She was misdiagnosed with bipolar disorder before it emerged that she had a rare autoimmune disease of the brain. “For every miracle like me, there are ... a thousand rotting away in jails or abandoned on the streets for the sin of being mentally ill,” she writes, “a million told that it’s all in their heads, as if our brains aren’t inside those heads.”

A gripping, insightful read, *The Great Pretender* probes the gaps that medical science has yet to fill when it comes to understanding mental illness. After recovering from her own condition, Cahalan spent five years exploring psychiatry. Rosenhan died in 2012, but Cahalan gained access to his notes. As she delved into them and searched for participants from the study, she discovered troubling inconsistencies in the work.

**‘If sanity and insanity exist, how shall we know them?’**

**DAVID ROSENHAN,**  
psychology professor at  
Stanford University



Cahalan’s second book, *The Great Pretender*

Even so, the accuracy of Rosenhan’s study comes to matter less than its consequences. After its publication, psychiatric hospitals all over the U.S. closed down. In tracing the history of psychiatric care in America, Cahalan charts how prisons have become the primary replacement for asylums—what she calls the “shadow mental-health care system”—and reminds us of the worrying influence of Big Pharma on the way we diagnose certain conditions.

The book has the urgency of a call to action: the U.S. is at least 95,000 public psychiatric beds short of need, and at least 20% of people in jails fit the criteria for serious mental illness. Having described the horrors of 19th century asylums, Cahalan delivers a bold verdict: “Today, it’s worse,” she writes. “We don’t even pretend the places we’re putting sick people aren’t hellholes.” □

## BOOKS

### Dark dreams

In the first pages of her new memoir, Carmen Maria Machado confesses she never reads prologues. If the text is so important, she asks, why include it before the story begins? But turn the page, and she’s titled her next chapter “Dream House as Prologue.”

Each section of *In the Dream House* uses a different narrative trope to explore a toxic relationship in the home Machado shared with a past partner, one she paints as explosive and fearsome. Through the book’s sections—“Erotica,” “Choose Your Own Adventure” and so on—Machado describes the trauma she endured. She blends examples from history and academia into the work, pointing to a larger problem about the lack of attention paid to abuse in same-sex relationships.

This structure could easily feel forced, but Machado, a 2017 National Book Award finalist, is a nimble writer. Her prose is clean and urgent, written primarily in the second person as she asks a younger version of herself questions that have haunted her for years. But the “you” serves another purpose too, placing readers directly into the discomfort of the story.

—Annabel Gutterman





LaBeouf, below, plays his own father in the semiautobiographical *Honey Boy*

MOVIES

## Moviemaking as therapy

By Stephanie Zacharek

MOVIES BASED ON REAL-LIFE CHILDHOOD trauma are always dicey. How is the audience supposed to know how to react to them? If you don't buy the kid's suffering, you just feel heartless, as if someone has spilled his deepest secrets and all you can muster is a shrug.

But *Honey Boy*, written by and starring Shia LaBeouf and based on his own life as a child performer, never paints its audience into that corner. LaBeouf wrote the script during his time in court-mandated rehab for substance abuse, following a 2017 arrest. The director, a documentarian making her feature debut, is Alma Har'el. LaBeouf emailed her a draft of the script from rehab, as if sending out a message in a bottle. The film the two have made together is entertaining and wrenching.

LaBeouf's stand-in character is Otis, whom we first meet as an adult, played by Lucas Hedges. He's a Famous Actor, cocky and overbearing but also a model of proficiency when the cameras are rolling. Yet he's lost when they stop: he drinks, he drives, he does crazy stuff. During a drunken spree, he crashes a car and talks back to the arresting officer. Soon he's in rehab.



It's there that a psychologist (Linda Fiorentino) urges him to revisit his childhood, and as the details of his life as a child actor emerge in flashback, you begin to understand why he's not just an alcoholic but also kind of a jerk: the young Otis (played, by Noah Jupe, with just the right amount of precociousness) is being raised in a depressing housing complex by his father James (LaBeouf), a former rodeo clown with a receding hairline and low self-esteem.

What makes *Honey Boy* work is that Otis never wallows in his circumstances; like many kids raised in abusive households, he becomes a caretaker of sorts, intuiting that in the end he'll be O.K. But it's LaBeouf's performance as his father that haunts the movie. He's hateful, but even within the context of this upbringing-as-horror-show, LaBeouf locates crystalline reflections of the better man his father might have been. His performance both exorcises a demon and makes peace with it, which may be a better gift than his father deserves. But then, it's the giving that counts.

**HONEY BOY** opens in theaters Nov. 8

TELEVISION

## Charli's angels

Charli XCX is your favorite pop star's favorite pop star—a 27-year-old English musician and songwriter who's already racked up three studio albums; a slew of singles, EPs and mixtapes; and over a decade in the music industry. She's a sought-after collaborator with a futuristic, avant-pop sensibility; even if you don't know her biggest hit, 2014's "Boom Clap," you've almost certainly heard her on smashes like Iggy Azalea's "Fancy" and Icona Pop's "I Love It." Now, Charli expands into TV.

Netflix's reality series *I'm With the Band: Nasty Cherry* has the singer playing mentor and impresario to an all-female rock group apparently culled from her personal contacts. The (atrociously named) four-piece moves into a cheeky-chic home in Los Angeles, where the women are tasked with building a local reputation through wild house parties as much as through their performances. There's ample intraband drama as two experienced musicians and two novices struggle to get on the same page; the guitarist is torn between her old band and Nasty Cherry. Yet beyond providing Charli's no-nonsense advice, the show is a pleasure to watch, because it breaks from the competitive structure of forerunners like *Making the Band*, bearing witness to the joyous, rarely documented sight of women making music together. —Judy Berman

**I'M WITH THE BAND: NASTY CHERRY** premieres on Netflix Nov. 15





Jules (Dennings), plus feline pal

## REVIEW

### Kat Dennings meets Cat Lady

*Dollface*'s genesis is a Peak TV Cinderella story. Conceived as a writing sample by Jordan Weiss, the script about a woman recovering from a bad breakup found its way to Margot Robbie's production company. Now it's a Hulu comedy series.

You can see why the idea made an impression. Swerving between fantasy and reality, the show follows a freshly dumped Jules (Kat Dennings) as she boards a bus driven by a cat-headed humanoid and filled with crying women. After years of sharing her ex's life, she's en route to the land of sisterhood. Outside the window, "guys' girls" roam the desert mumbling about video games. Yet when Jules reaches the terminal where she's to reunite with her girlfriends, no one is waiting for her. Eventually, Jules locates her pals (Brenda Song and Shay Mitchell), whom she has long neglected.

*Dollface* remains exuberantly weird as the season progresses; the Cat Lady is a regular. If only the show stayed consistent once other writers enter the mix. Instead, Weiss's original vision becomes as fragmented as Jules' heart. —Judy Berman

**DOLLFACE** premieres Nov. 15 on Hulu

## REVIEW

### Olivia Colman dons *The Crown*

IN THE 1960S, AS THE BRITISH ECONOMY stagnated and youth movements raged against the establishment, the royal family started to worry. How long could a largely ornamental monarchy keep justifying its tax-supported existence to its broke, disaffected subjects? Queen Elizabeth II dodged these questions by granting a BBC crew limited access to her family in an effort to make the House of Windsor relatable. But when *Royal Family* aired, in June 1969, the Queen found its "Royals, they're just like us!" tone humiliating. It hasn't been screened in full since the '70s.

That debacle is recounted in Season 3 of Netflix's *The Crown*—a drama that similarly seeks common ground between regular proles and the notoriously aloof Elizabeth. As was always the plan, new episodes swap out an original cast led by Claire Foy for an older cohort built around *The Favourite* Oscar winner Olivia Colman. In terms of performances, *The Crown* 2.0 marks an improvement over its fine predecessor. The versatile Colman makes a more complex Elizabeth, one who isn't brittle so much as ill at ease in her own exalted skin. While Matt Smith's Prince Philip felt like stunt casting, Tobias Menzies disappears into the role. Helena Bonham

Carter as Princess Margaret is just as fun as you'd hope, though Matthew Goode's roguish Lord Snowdon will be missed.

It helps that by placing new actors in a centuries-old, frozen-in-time palace, creator Peter Morgan highlights how difficult it must be for humans who age and evolve to occupy such rigid, dated roles. This has been *The Crown*'s main theme since Season 1, yet watching different bodies persist through new Prime Ministers, PR nightmares and photo ops deepens the emotional impact.

Sadly, the story itself is getting old. The same aura of mystery that Elizabeth defends in the documentary episode also limits the mostly reverent Morgan's insight into his characters, to the extent that their conflicts get repetitive. Elizabeth and Margaret keep resenting each other, as when the princess charms LBJ with dirty limericks. The moon landing makes Philip long for one more adventure, while Charles (Josh O'Connor) is sent off to another remote school for political reasons. Morgan has made his point that it isn't easy being royal. But like Elizabeth, he avoids asking whether such rarefied problems are worth the price so many pay. —J.B.

**THE CROWN** premieres Nov. 17 on Netflix



Colman's Elizabeth, with a palace employee, prepares to enter the spotlight

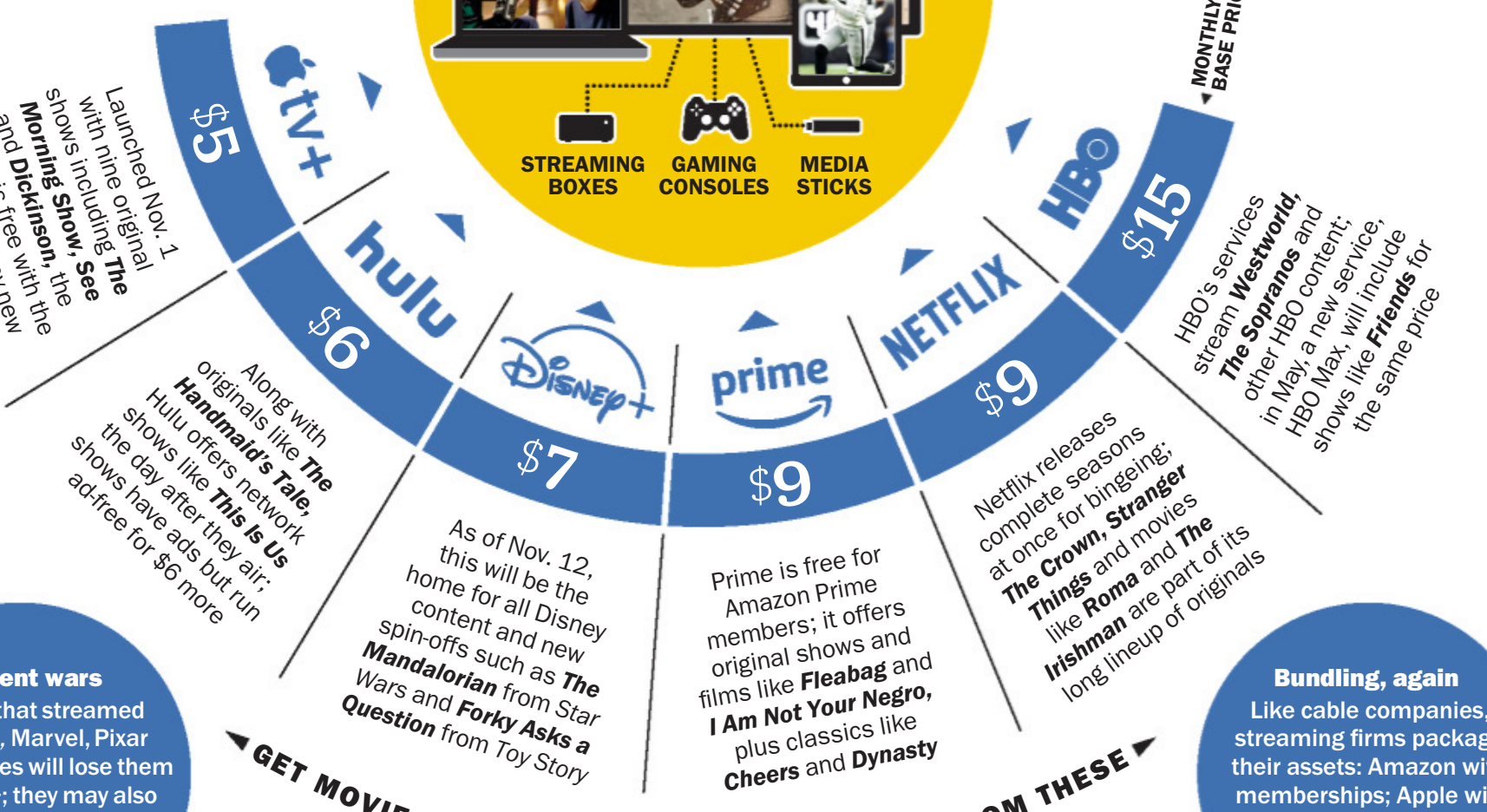
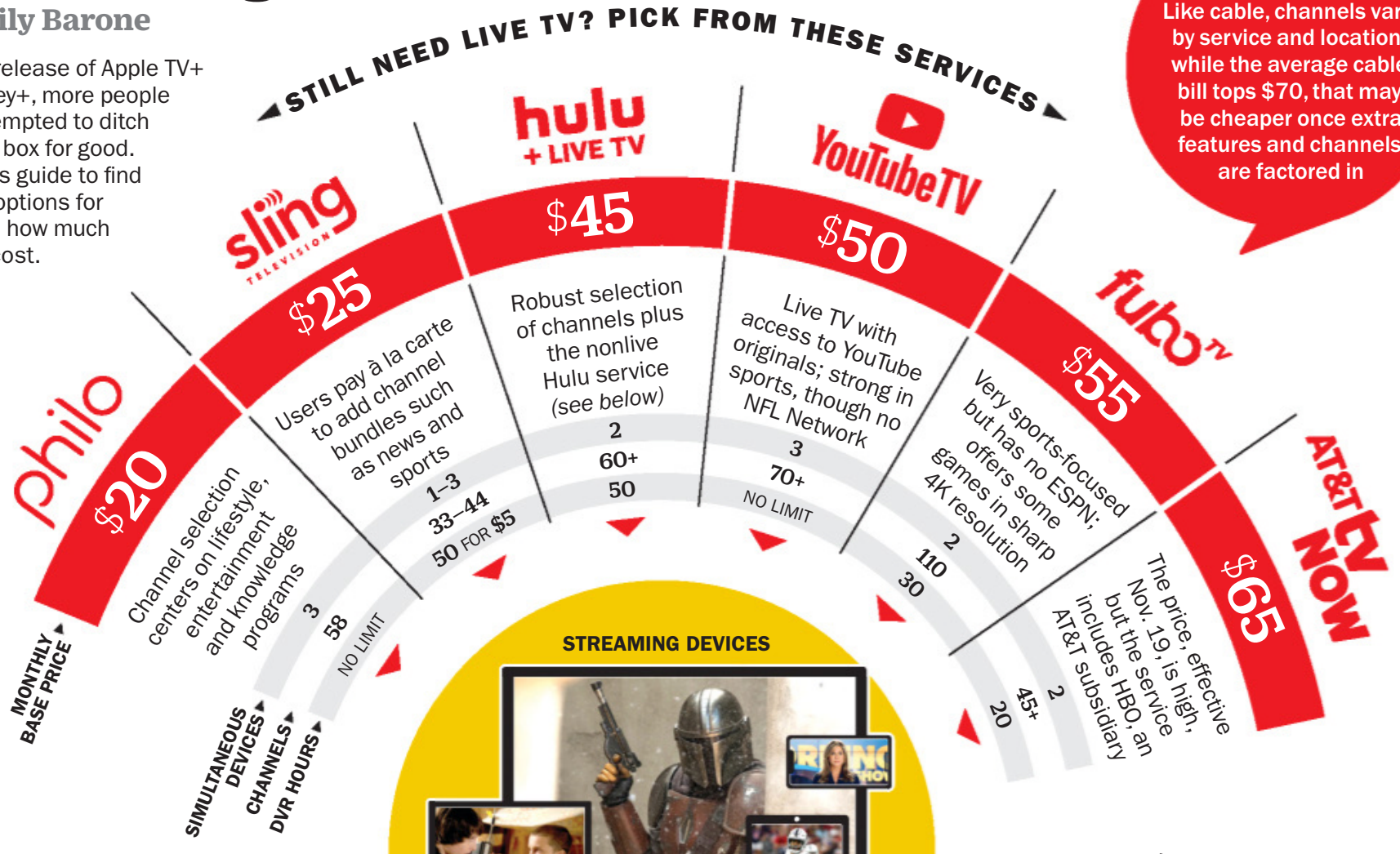
STREAMING

# How to navigate the cord-cutting world

By Emily Barone

With the release of Apple TV+ and Disney+, more people may be tempted to ditch the cable box for good. Follow this guide to find the best options for you—and how much they will cost.

**Doing the math**  
Like cable, channels vary by service and location; while the average cable bill tops \$70, that may be cheaper once extra features and channels are factored in



**Content wars**  
Services that streamed *Star Wars*, Marvel, Pixar and Fox series will lose them to Disney+; they may also lose NBC shows when the network launches its stream

**Bundling, again**  
Like cable companies, streaming firms package their assets: Amazon with memberships; Apple with products; and Disney with Disney+, ESPN+ and Hulu for \$13

STRANGER THINGS: NETFLIX; STAR WARS: LUCASFILM; THE MORNING SHOW: APPLE; FOOTBALL: GETTY IMAGES

SOURCES: THE COMPANIES



REVIEW

## Kanye West seeks salvation

By Andrew R. Chow

“THE MOST BEAUTIFUL THOUGHTS ARE ALWAYS beside the darkest,” Kanye West intoned on his 2018 album *Ye*. The line more or less summed up West’s career: he’s consistently excelled while wrestling with dualities—of faith and temptation, high art and smut, love and heartbreak. But over the past couple of years, the conversation around the rapper has gotten bleaker. He was hospitalized for stress and exhaustion, battled opioid addiction, and drew widespread blowback for comments on Donald Trump and slavery. West has always been a provocateur, but to many of his fans, his support of Trumpian ideologies was particularly shocking given how poignantly he had previously rapped about racial and economic injustice.

On *JESUS IS KING*, West’s latest album, he attempts to exorcise his darkness. The record was released on Oct. 25 after several delays and months of Sunday Service choral performances, weekly Christian gatherings hosted by West in locations from Calabasas, Calif., to Wyoming. With its declarative all-caps title, gospel influences and almost exclusively religious material, *JESUS IS KING* promises reinvention and reinvigoration; it’s West’s opportunity to turn the other cheek as a chastened, reformed preacher for the hip-hop age.

But while the album’s concept might be lofty, it’s his least ambitious. *JESUS IS KING* clocks in at just 27 minutes and feels heavy on shortcuts and light on tension. The album is even-keeled, sedate and nothing we haven’t heard from West before: chopped-up soul samples, histrionic choirs, plenty of Auto-Tune. These retreads are frustrating particularly because West’s most impressive innovations have always been through sound. And while there are plenty of likable elements—impassioned melodies, slick production, motivated guest appearances—the album is dominated by generic worship lyricism and overfamiliar textures. By eschewing the paradoxes that have driven his best work, West has unwittingly put forward another one: he’s claimed God as his greatest inspiration but made the least inspired album of his career.

**GOSPEL MUSIC HAS GONE** through many evolutions over the years, but narratives of transformation have remained at its core. Classic spirituals like “There Is a Balm in Gilead” and “How I Got Over” are filled with conflict and hardship—sinners hitting rock bottom before receiving a glimmer of hope. West waves at this idea in



**JESUS IS KING** was accompanied by the release of a 35-minute documentary of the same name screened in Imax

“Hands On,” the strongest song on the record. “Told the devil that I’m going on a strike/ I’ve been working for you my whole life,” he raps. He integrates into the lyrics his own struggle with police brutality and America’s three-strikes law, which predominantly impacts communities of color.

But the lyrics on *JESUS IS KING* are otherwise limited, with West offering many variations on the same bland pledge: “Follow Jesus, listen and obey.” These declarations do little to convey why he has reinvented himself as a worship artist, or what’s at stake on a greater scale. On earlier faith-based songs like “Jesus Walks” and “Never Let Me Down,” West painted vivid narratives of reckoning with his own complicity as he sought salvation. Here, he complains about the IRS and not being accepted by other Christians. He rhymes *safe with safe* on “Water,” and repeats lines that are only remotely interesting, just in case we didn’t get them the first time: “I ain’t mean, I’m just focused,” he barks twice.

There are certainly moments of musical vitality, like the yearning melody on “Closed on Sunday” or the frenetic Auto-Tuned sermonizing by Fred Hammond on “Hands On.” But each part feels recycled from a previous project. While the best of West’s records are intensely personal and self-aware, *JESUS IS KING* has a glazed-over quality. He professes to be “so radical” on “Everything We Need,” but this album is strictly functional—and, ironically, weighed down by its lack of demons. □



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## Gathering dinner makes a comeback

By Wilder Davies

THISTLES, A KIND OF FLOWERING PLANT OFTEN covered in prickles, are probably not an ingredient in your go-to recipes. But Katrina Blair wants you to try eating them anyway. “I love to take the root, fresh or dry, and blend them into a chai,” she says. Blair, 50, is the founder of Turtle Lake Refuge, a nonprofit that advocates for foraging and eating weeds and other plants most people consider a nuisance, not lunch.

Foraging is having a renaissance, driven in part by people like Blair seeking to make better use of local natural resources. Foraging how-to videos have racked up hundreds of thousands of views on YouTube, while millions of foraging-related photos have been shared on Instagram. One public park in the U.K. reportedly had a 600% spike in unauthorized foraging incidents last year (many city parks departments ban the practice).

It’s tempting to dismiss foraging as an Internet-driven fad. But experts say there can be benefits to rethinking what we consider food. Just 103 crop varieties account for 90% of calories in the average human diet, by one estimate. Four—wheat, maize, rice and potatoes—provide 60%. “Our human diets have become more and more dependent on a very limited number of species,” says Ina Vandebroek, an ethnobotanist at the New York Botanical Garden. Diversifying our culinary portfolio could prevent disaster if disease or climate change reduces staples.

Still, foraging comes with risks. Some plants can trigger allergic reactions; others, like hemlock, are downright deadly. Fertilizers, pesticides and heavy-metal contamination can also be dangers. The growth in amateur foraging has underscored the risks: in 2018, a foraging cookbook was recalled because some ingredients were poisonous.

Vandebroek says foraging is safest with an expert. “Botanical identification is a skill you have to learn,” she says. And Matthew Polizzotto, a soil scientist at the University of Oregon, advises foragers to consult government soil reports. “I would be very cautious of any place where there has been a lot of human disturbance,” he says.

But people can expand the biodiversity of their diets without taking to the streets with trowel and pail. Weeds like purslane, epazote and amaranth can be found at local Caribbean and Latin American markets. “Sample what is available in other communities,” says Vandebroek. “Commerce is a very safe way to introduce yourself to many plants considered weeds.” □



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## For the win win



# 7 Questions

**Stephen King** The best-selling novelist on *Doctor Sleep*, Donald Trump and why he often writes about children

**W**hat did you think of the *Doctor Sleep* adaptation?

I like it a lot. He took my story, which was the sequel to *The Shining*, and basically did a seamless weld to Stanley Kubrick's film, which is probably one of the reasons why Warner Bros. was eager to do it. I always felt that the Kubrick film was rather cold, and director Mike Flanagan warmed it up.

**There have been seven adaptations of your work in 2019 alone. Have you had any thoughts to what it takes to make a successful adaptation?**

I think that in most cases, the shorter fiction has been more successful than the longer fiction. That way the filmmakers can stick to the story, pretty much. I think that the more that you stick to the story that I told, the more successful the films are. Does that sound conceited?

**What are some recent favorites on TV that you've been watching?**

The one network show that I'm watching right now is called *Emergence* on ABC, and I don't think the ratings are really terrific and I'm scared to death they're going to cancel it. I'm watching a show with Billy Bob Thornton called *Goliath*, which is terrific. The first two seasons are good; the third season is amazing because it's got that David Lynch vibe. There's a show on Netflix, a Spanish show called *Money Heist*—actually in Spanish, it's "The House of Paper"—and that's a lot of fun.

**Your new novel, *The Institute*, is about powerful children. What keeps you returning to that theme?** I don't know exactly, except that I'm interested in stories where people who are weak on their own join together and form something that's strong. Nobody is weaker than children, and when they get together, they can be fairly strong. I liked the idea of a caring adult who

**I'M INTERESTED IN STORIES WHERE PEOPLE WHO ARE WEAK ON THEIR OWN FORM SOMETHING THAT'S STRONG**



finds children who are in need, children who are in a desperate situation and act like real grownups. We have too many people in this country, in positions of power, who don't act like grownups and so—for me—that's very satisfying.

**Isn't that robbing them of childhood and turning them into adults?**

There's an element of that involved. It's that old, basic storytelling string: going from innocence to maturity. And all kids go through that anyway. You don't need to put them in that situation. Every kid faces, sooner or later, a situation where they have to act like a grownup or they have to discard their childish illusions. And that's the arc, when a kid finds out there's no f-cking Tooth Fairy or Santa Claus.

**How has your relationship with pop culture changed during the course of your career?**

I've separated a bit from pop culture. It's more of a strain than it used to be because I'm not where I was. I don't listen to a lot of current music. People talk about some of the current people like Jay-Z. I'm probably dating myself just talking about Jay-Z. Once I got a cell phone, I discovered that the cell phone is basically the cornerstone of today's popular culture. So it's much easier for me to deal with things like texting in stories. I used to get copyedited notes saying, "Wouldn't this person text?" and now that's there. You talk about a grasp on popular culture, I'll say my fingertips have gotten the tiniest bit numb.

**You've long been a critic of President Trump. What are your thoughts on the House's current impeachment inquiry?** Let's put it this way: if the Russians aren't paying him, they should have, because he's torn this country in two. I think that his 15 minutes are just about up. I think even his hardcore supporters have started to soften.

—PETER ALLEN CLARK

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