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TIME

Fashioning Change

British Vogue's **Edward Enninful** shows the power of inclusion

BY DIANA EVANS

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TIME
VOL. 196, NOS. 11–12 | 2020

Features

Time Off

What to watch, read, see and do

The Ismael siblings in Troy, Mich., lost both parents to COVID-19 within weeks of each other

Photograph by Salwan Georges—The Washington Post/Getty Images

ON THE COVER: *Photograph by Campbell Addy for TIME*

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The ATEM Mini Pro model has a built in hardware streaming engine for live streaming via its ethernet connection. This means you can live stream to YouTube, Facebook and Teams in much better quality and with perfectly smooth motion. You can even connect a hard disk or flash storage to the USB connection and record your stream for upload later!

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From the Editor

A devastating milestone

IN MARCH, AS THE GLOBAL PANDEMIC hit New York, my colleague Kat Moon decided—wisely, it turned out, given what was ahead for the U.S.—to decamp to her childhood home, Taipei. Despite its proximity to mainland China, where the outbreak originated, Taiwan has seen only 495 cases and seven deaths among its more than 23 million people, making its response to the coronavirus one of the most successful in the world. So successful, in fact, that last month it was able to host one of the largest public gatherings reported since social distancing began: a 10,000-person live arena concert, which Moon and photographer An Rong Xu attended and covered for TIME. As one U.S. reader put it on Twitter, "An arena concert taking place with corona restrictions honestly seems like it's happening on another planet considering what's going on here in the U.S."

While a great many mysteries remain around COVID-19, the most effective ways to curb its spread are not among them. That is the theme of this week's U.S. cover story by Alex Fitzpatrick and Elijah Wolfson, echoing what scientists around the world have made clear now for many months. "Not testing alone. Not physical distancing alone. Not contact tracing alone. Not masks alone. Do it all," says World Health Organization director-general Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus. "Countries that have adopted this comprehensive approach have suppressed transmission and saved lives."

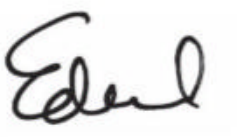
And then there is the U.S., which will soon cross a devastating marker: 200,000 deaths caused by COVID-19. That death toll—equivalent to U.S. deaths in more than three Vietnams, or the entire population of Salt Lake City—is the world's largest by far and more deaths per capita than in all but 12 other countries.

I spoke this week to Tom Ridge, the former Republican governor of Pennsylvania who later served as the first Secretary of the Department of Homeland Security—a role created after Sept. 11, 2001, out of the recognition that the threat of terrorist attacks on American soil would forever be part of the nation's reality. There are clear parallels not only with the continuing threat of COVID-19 but also with the likelihood of future pandemics that virologists predict may well be worse. "We see in a painful and dramatic way the globalization of disease, and it's incumbent on us to make some rather substantive changes," Ridge says. "If we don't, then shame on us and shame on our leadership."

FOR THIS WEEK'S U.S. COVER, we turned to artist John Mavroudis, who—using data from the Johns Hopkins Coronavirus Resource Center—handwrote the death counts in America on every one of the 193 days between Feb. 29, the first confirmation of a COVID-related death in the U.S., and Sept. 8, as it neared time to go to press. Out of that data, the illustration reveals the coming grim milestone of 200,000. Creative director D.W. Pine then placed the illustration within a black border—only the second time in our history we have done so, the first being after 9/11. "I really hope this cover is a wake-up call for those who are numbed to this catastrophe," says Mavroudis. "Science and common sense are the answers to this crisis."

Audience members at an Eric Chou concert on Aug. 8 in Taipei

THERE IS SOME GOOD NEWS. The data suggest that we are reducing the death rate in America among people who contract the virus. And as TIME's Alice Park notes elsewhere in this issue, it's possible that at least one vaccine may be available by the time 2020 comes to an end, although distribution will create many new questions and challenges. In the meantime, it is not too late to do better.



Edward Felsenthal,
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF & CEO
@EFELSENTHAL

AN RONG XU FOR TIME

Conversation

TEARING IT ALL DOWN

RE "THE PLAGUE ELECTION" [Aug. 17/Aug. 24]: Pandemic or not, the Trump base is intent on bringing down the system, which they see as corrupt and elitist under the liberal left, they of the deep state. They did not benefit under Democratic presidencies, so they might as well get a wrecking ball of a President to sink all and drown all.

Horng Ginn Wong, SINGAPORE

WHAT TEMPERS TECHNOLOGY

RE "FEWER JOBS, MORE MACHINES" [Aug. 17/Aug. 24]: We must not fear technological and scientific progress or hold it back in any way. History tells us that technological progress has created more, not fewer, jobs, albeit at higher skill levels. Herein lies the secret: as societies advance technologically, they must also meet the challenge of providing better and broader education to all levels of their respective societies, become more cooperative, more inclusive and more sharing of the spoils of progress. Unfortunately, so far, too much of that progress appears to get stuck on the upper branches of the tree.

Margit Alm, ELTHAM, AUSTRALIA

HOLDING WOMEN BACK

RE "AMERICA IS FAILING Moms. Let's Start Over" [Aug. 17/Aug. 24]: How long have I waited for someone to point out the disparities between what men can do and what women have been allowed to do. In her commentary, Lyz Lenz lays it all out in all its annoying complexity. I was born in 1938 into a comfortable white culture that gave all its support to boys and ignored girls, who were expected to give their parents grandchildren and stick around to care for aging parents. Somehow I managed two degrees and a professorship, all paid for by scholarship and fellowship. It is amazing that I ever achieved anything with so little support from family.

Anne M. Culver, DENVER

THE GLOOM THAT DOOMS

RE "A NEW GLOBAL DEPRESSION Is Coming" [Aug. 17/Aug. 24]: Ian Bremmer's predictions are as dangerous to the economy as not wearing a mask is to public health. His idea that "what's true in the U.S. will be true everywhere else" is his most basic mistake. Add overestimating the role of China and underestimating Japan, confusing COVID 19 and lockdown, implicitly assuming that Trump will be re-elected, and ignoring the fact that the future is far too complicated to be predicted right now, and not much is left of his two pages of text. Investment professionals know how a recession ends: with the return of confidence. What Bremmer is doing is undermining confidence. This is not just unnecessary, it is dangerous for the economy and the unemployed.

Peter Kraneveld, EPINAY-SUR-ORGE, FRANCE

WAKE UP TO THE TRUTH

RE "HOW TO SLEEP BETTER" [Aug. 17/Aug. 24]: I'm 71 and have a very effective sleep-inducing method that requires no drugs: I simply focus on breathing into my belly. It's easy, can be done very relaxedly and works well. When I do this, I'm almost unable to think of other things.

Oscar Mann, NAIROBI

RE "SELLING SWEET Dreams" [Aug. 17/Aug. 24]: This whole article could have been summed up in one sentence: "I spent a lot of money on various sleep remedies; none of them really worked." As far as I can tell, when it comes to finding better sleep, it's a matter of trial and error, and we're all on our own.

Brad Call, STRASBURG, OHIO

IN DEFENSE OF GOOD COPS

RE "IT'S TIME TO RADICALLY Rethink Public Safety in America" [Aug. 17/Aug. 24]: The idea shouldn't be "defund the police" but "redirect the police." Redirect funding, but don't leave the upstanding officers behind. There is a place for the ones who care about the neighborhoods they patrol.

Renee Carlson, AUSTIN

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT ▸ In the Aug. 17/Aug. 24 story about the future of American policing, we misstated when Joseph Wysocki became police chief in Camden, N.J. It was in 2019.

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‘CHANGE YOUR LIVES OUT THERE.’

JACOB BLAKE,
who was shot seven times by police in Kenosha, Wis.,
speaking to the public from his hospital bed in a Sept. 5 video statement

‘Health care workers in India are already exhausted.’

HARJIT SINGH BHATTI,
a physician in the COVID-19 ward of Delhi’s Manipal hospital, speaking to the *Guardian* as India on Sept. 7 passed Brazil as the country with the second-highest number of COVID-19 cases

93%

Proportion of U.S. racial-justice protests from May 24 to Aug. 22 that went forward peacefully, according to a Sept. 3 report from the nonprofit Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project

‘Yes, this does break international law, in a very specific and limited way.’

BRANDON LEWIS,
U.K. Northern Ireland Secretary, responding to a question in Parliament on Sept. 8 about a proposal to make cross-border trade-rule changes that would override the Brexit agreement between the E.U. and the U.K.

‘People say, “Teachers aren’t working.” We’re working harder than ever.’

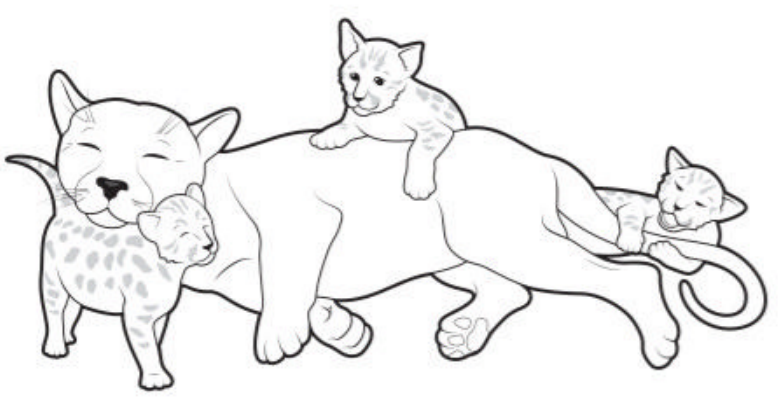
JESSYCA MATHEWS,
an English teacher at Carman-Ainsworth High School in Flint, Mich.; the school is set to conduct classes remotely through September

‘He wasn’t a sucker.’

JOE BIDEN,
Democratic Party presidential nominee, speaking on Sept. 4 of his late son Beau—an Army officer who died of cancer in 2015—after the *Atlantic* reported that President Donald Trump had referred to fallen American soldiers as “losers” and “suckers”

5

Number of mountain lion dens, home to a total of 13 kittens, found by researchers this summer in the Santa Monica Mountains and Simi Hills near Los Angeles—a record for such a short period, the National Park Service reported Sept. 2



GOOD NEWS *of the week*

A young girl, her father and a family dog were rescued Sept. 3 after spending more than two days trapped in a ravine in Oregon’s Mount Hood National Forest

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

SOURCES: REUTERS, CNBC, THE GUARDIAN, AP

The Brief

OFF THE GRID Power lines in Lancaster, Calif., earlier this year; utility customers across the U.S. now face the risk of shutoffs

INSIDE

PHOTOGRAPH BY KYLE GRILLOT

The Brief is reported by Alejandro de la Garza, Mélissa Godin, Amy Gunia, Suyin Haynes, Ciara Nugent, Madeline Roache and Olivia B. Waxman

NATION

After job losses, power cuts loom for millions

By Alana Semuels

AFTER COVID-19 HIT, BRANDY WILCOXSON, A single mother in Atlanta, saw her weekly hours cut from 40 to around 13. Now, because she has to be home to supervise her two kids' virtual learning, she can't pick up more shifts at her job as a security guard, so she struggles to cover rent and food—and she also owes about $1,000 in electric bills. When she contacted her power company about entering into a payment plan, she says she was told she would need to pay $192 a month just to catch up, on top of whatever she will owe going forward. That's money Wilcoxson, 42, does not have. "It would be robbing Peter to pay Paul," she says.

The stakes for people in Wilcoxson's situation are about to get even higher. In September, after a pandemic-prompted pause, power companies serving tens of millions of Americans will resume service shutoffs to customers who are behind on their bills. In some states, moratoriums are ending; in others, utility companies' pledges to keep customers connected are winding down. "We're facing a tidal wave of terminations," says Charlie Harak, senior attorney for energy and utilities issues at the National Consumer Law Center.

There's no national account of how many customers could lose power, but there are certainly millions who risk disconnection at a time when people need their utilities the most. Stuck at home, families are depending on their utilities to power the Internet and lights for virtual school and to keep on the air-conditioning in areas facing sweltering heat. Carbon Switch, an energy efficiency startup, estimates that 34.5 million people will lose shutoff protections in 14 states in the next month. On the basis of data from Massachusetts, Harak estimates that as many as 10% of U.S. households are so far behind on bills they are at risk of termination when moratoriums end.

Duke Energy, which serves 7.8 million customers across seven states in the Southeast and Midwest, tells TIME that as of Aug. 30, roughly 300,000 of its customers were 60 days or more behind on their gas or electric bills. In early August, Florida Power & Light Company said 258,000 customers were behind on payments; Tampa Electric Company said 92,000 of its customers were late. A public-interest group said in June that 800,000 Pennsylvanians were at risk of service termination. Data filed with Minnesota's Public Utilities Commission shows that more than 300,000 households in Minnesota were past due by the end of July.

300,000

Number of utility customers in Massachusetts who were 60 or more days behind on their gas or electric bills as of Aug. 27

$117.65

Average monthly residential electric bill in the U.S. in 2018

22%

Share of low-income Americans who have had to forgo basic household needs like food and medicine to pay an energy bill during the pandemic

The threat of shutoffs is another sign of how measures to help Americans during the pandemic have fallen short. There were still 29 million Americans receiving unemployment benefits the week ending Aug. 15, according to Commerce Department data. State unemployment offices, slammed with a surge in applications and running on outdated systems, are still trying to catch up. One in 3 families struggles to pay utility bills in normal times; more are falling behind because of the sudden loss of income.

By Oct. 1, only 14 states will still prohibit power shutoffs, according to the Carbon Switch report. Utility companies defend their decisions to resume shutoffs, saying customers who know their power won't be cut stop trying to make payments. They've already lost billions of dollars from nonresidential customers as a result of business closures; the American Public Power Association, which represents 2,000 public power utilities serving 49 million people, estimates that member revenues are down $5 billion in 2020. "At some point, you do have to return to normal billing operations for business reasons," says Neil Nissan, a spokesman for Duke Energy. (In August, Duke reported $1.1 billion in income for the three months ending June 30.)

WITH REVENUES DOWN, many utility companies may try to raise rates on everyone. Citing "the threat posed by the coronavirus pandemic" and volatility in capital markets, Appalachian Power in Virginia has asked regulators to let it raise rates 6.5%. (The request has not yet been approved; the Virginia attorney general's office said in a filing it would be "unconscionable" to approve.) Indiana's utility regulatory agency approved Duke Energy's request for a rate increase in June. Rate hikes would be especially hard on low-income families, who devote three times as much of their income to energy costs as higher-income households.

While some states are continuing to prevent shutoffs—regulators in Wisconsin, Maryland and Massachusetts extended their moratoriums, for example—consumer advocates have urged Congress to impose a national moratorium on utility shutoffs. They've cited health concerns if people affected by cutoffs move in with friends or family members, increasing the risk of transmitting the coronavirus.

But the mounting shutoffs have already forced Americans struggling to pay bills to consider something that seemed unthinkable a year ago: life without basic services like electricity or water. Tanya Barie, 36, who lives near Philadelphia, experienced this when her water was shut off in August after she fell behind on payments following a pandemic-related job loss. She couldn't mix formula for her baby or give her children baths. "You don't realize how much you need it," she says, "until you don't have it." ◻

PREVIOUS PAGE: BLOOMBERG/GETTY IMAGES; GREECE: ELIAS MARCOU—REUTERS

STATISTICS SOURCES: NATIONAL CONSUMER LAW CENTER; U.S. ENERGY INFORMATION ADMINISTRATION; INDIANA UNIVERSITY

NO PLACE TO GO A migrant woman surveys the wreckage after a fire destroyed the Moria refugee camp on the Greek island of Lesbos—the largest such facility in Europe—on Sept. 9. Aid workers have long condemned the poor conditions in the camp, which was built for 3,000 people but housed more than 12,000, who have now been left homeless. Greek authorities allege that the blaze was started by residents angry over a COVID-19 quarantine imposed on the camp earlier in the week.

THE BULLETIN

After poisoning, Germany threatens $11.2 billion pipeline with Russia

THE FUTURE OF A 765-MILE PIPELINE being built to carry gas directly to Germany from Russia is now in question, as Berlin ramps up pressure on Moscow to investigate the poisoning of Russian opposition leader Alexei Navalny. The Nord Stream 2 project would help Europe ensure a constant supply of natural gas as domestic production is expected to drop, but German Foreign Minister Heiko Maas warned Sept. 6 that the country might "change [its] stance" on the $11.2 billion pipeline if Russia fails to cooperate in looking into an attack for which Moscow has denied responsibility.

PIPE DREAMS Owned by Russian state-controlled energy giant Gazprom, Nord Stream 2 is 94% complete and due to open in early 2021. Some European countries and the U.S. oppose it, fearing it could become a tool of political leverage for the Kremlin. But German Chancellor Angela Merkel has been adamant that the pipeline go ahead, saying political considerations should be separate from business decisions.

POISON Since Berlin detected Novichok, an internationally banned nerve agent, in Navalny's body on Sept. 2, pressure has mounted on the Chancellor to scrap the pipeline. (Navalny emerged from his medically induced coma on Sept. 7 and has shown signs of recovery.) Norbert Röttgen, a lawmaker in Merkel's CDU party, said, "We must respond with the only language [Russian President Vladimir] Putin understands—that is gas sales." Merkel's chief spokesperson said on Sept. 7 that it's "too early" to determine how Germany will respond.

MESSAGE TO MOSCOW The international response to previous Russian transgressions has not made much of an impact, analysts say. But halting Nord Stream 2 would be a "huge setback for Russia," says Nigel Gould-Davies, a senior fellow at the U.K.-based International Institute for Strategic Studies. Doing nothing, on the other hand, "will show a lack of resolve and will likely encourage Russia to probe and test its limits in the future." —MADELINE ROACHE

NEWS TICKER

COVID-19 spike linked to biker rally

A San Diego State University study linked August's 10-day **Sturgis Motorcycle Rally in South Dakota to more than a quarter-million COVID-19 cases** and about $12.2 billion in public-health costs. The event attracted nearly 500,000 people, many of whom packed into bars and restaurants without face coverings.

Duterte pardons U.S. Marine

Philippine President Rodrigo Duterte **pardoned a U.S. Marine** on Sept. 7, in a surprise move swiftly condemned by human-rights groups. Lance Cpl. Joseph Scott Pemberton was convicted of homicide in the 2014 killing of transgender Filipina woman Jennifer Laude in a motel northwest of the capital, Manila.

Judge halts Census rollbacks

In a Sept. 5 restraining order, a federal judge in California instructed the Census Bureau to **temporarily stop winding down in-person counting** for the 2020 population tally. Plaintiffs are suing to stop the bureau's plan to cut the count short by a month, from its original Oct. 31 end date.

NEWS TICKER

DOJ seeks to defend Trump in Carroll suit

The Justice Department asked on Sept. 8 to **take over President Trump's defense** in a defamation suit by writer E. Jean Carroll, who has claimed he raped her in the 1990s. The DOJ argues it should be involved because Trump was acting as President when denying Carroll's charge.

Tensions rise at China-India border

China and India accused each other's troops of **firing shots on Sept. 7 at their disputed Himalayan border.** Indo-Chinese relations have deteriorated in recent months; the alleged violations of a bilateral agreement (which both sides deny) would mark the first confirmed shots fired at the border since 1975.

Police chief in Rochester out after protests

The Rochester, N.Y., police chief and other top department officials stepped down on Sept. 8, following **protests over the treatment of Daniel Prude,** who died in March after police covered Prude's head and held him down. The chief, La'Ron Singletary, accused outside groups of trying to "destroy my character."

GOOD QUESTION

How many young adults moved home amid the pandemic?

THIS YEAR, MILLIONS OF YOUNG ADULTS have retreated to familiar territory: living at home with Mom and Dad. About 2.6 million 18- to 29-year-old Americans started living with at least one of their parents since February, bringing the total to 26.6 million in July—or about 52% of all young adults in the country, according to a Pew Research Center analysis, released Sept. 4, of Census Bureau data. This number shattered the previous record of 48%, set during the Great Depression.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the trend is inextricably linked to the COVID-19 pandemic, but that's not the whole story.

Among that wave of Americans moving back home was Mieka Van Scoyoc, a 27-year-old ad copywriter. While she loved living in New York City, she also had credit-card debt and limited savings and, once the pandemic closed offices, she didn't want to work from home with a roommate in a small apartment. Now living with her parents in the suburbs of North Carolina, she feels lucky to be close to family, and to have fresh air and open space. "[My] room is comparable to my entire apartment in New York," she says.

But Van Scoyoc is also following a trend that began well before the novel coronavirus struck. The number of young adults living with their parents rose from a low of 29% in 1960 to 44% in 2010, as Americans stayed in school longer and put off milestones like getting married. However, this year's increase is notably sharp and tracks with the pandemic's timing. While 46% or 47% of Americans in that age group lived with a parent through 2019, the number jumped to 49% in March and then to 52% from May through July. In 88% of those situations, the young adult lives in the parent's house.

Young adults were also the age group most likely to move as a result of the outbreak—with 9% moving because of COVID-19, compared with 3% for the overall population, according to Pew polling in June—though people of all ages hit the road for virus-related reasons. Among all adults who moved because of the pandemic, 28% said they did so to avoid its spread, 23% because their college campus closed and 20% to be closer to family.

Money also seems to have played a big part in young people's decisions, as young Americans have shouldered some of the worst financial impacts of the pandemic. In April and May, 40% of workers ages 18 to 29 reported that they'd lost their jobs or taken pay cuts. According to the June poll, about 18% of all adults who moved because of COVID-19 said the biggest reason was related to money or losing their jobs.

Van Scoyoc has been able to keep working, but given the unpredictability of the pandemic, she's still not sure when she'll move out of her parents' house. "It does seem like it's not really worthwhile to try to make plans in the face of this, just because there's so much that's so uncertain," she says. "I'm just kind of taking it as it comes." —TARA LAW

DESIGN

More-than-one-hit wonders

Most spacecraft are made for onetime use, but on Sept. 6, China successfully recovered a reusable one after it spent two days in orbit. Here, more multiuse innovations. —*Mélissa Godin*

MASK CRUSADE
Amid COVID-19 supply shortages, researchers at MIT and Brigham and Women's Hospital in Boston designed a **sterilizable mask for health workers,** made of silicone rubber that can stop viral particles.

ADAM WENTWORTH—MIT

HAVING A BLAST
Fireworks are fun, but they also produce trash and emit pollutants. An alternative called Rammaxx uses LED lights and reusable rockets to create sustainable light shows more than 300 ft. high.

WASH AND GO
Yes, reusable cloth toilet paper exists, and has for years. Its proponents see it as eco-friendly and cost-effective; health experts, however, caution that using it safely requires taking special precautions with your laundry.

DROPPED
Charges against **Curtis Flowers,** 50, a Black man accused of a 1996 quadruple homicide in Mississippi, on Sept. 4, after six trials and 23 years behind bars.

HALTED
Press-credential renewals for foreign journalists with U.S. media outlets, by the Chinese government. The Foreign Ministry said the action was a response to the Trump Administration's visa restrictions on Chinese media workers in the U.S.

KILLED
Michael Reinoehl, 48, a **suspect in the Aug. 29 death of a far-right activist** in Portland, Ore., by police on Sept. 3. Officials allege he threatened them as they attempted to arrest him.

SUNK
Five boats in a **boat parade** in support of President Trump on Lake Travis near Austin on Sept. 5. The local sheriff blamed the combined wakes of hundreds of vessels circling the lake.

ORDERED
An end to **racial-sensitivity training** by federal agencies, on topics such as critical race theory and white privilege, by the Trump Administration on Sept. 4.

WON
The 2020 **Kentucky Derby**—which was run Sept. 5 after being postponed from May—by Authentic and jockey John Velazquez, beating out favorite Tiz the Law.

CALIFORNIA: ERIC PAUL ZAMORA—THE FRESNO BEE/AP; BROCK: FILE PHOTO/HULTON ARCHIVES/MLB PHOTOS/GETTY IMAGES

The Creek Fire—one of several blazing across California in early September—burns near Huntington Lake, Calif., on Sept. 5

SET

A record for California's fire season

2.2 million acres burned—and counting

FOR THE PAST FEW YEARS, FALL IN CALIFORNIA HAS GIVEN residents a glimpse of the apocalypse. Fires burn around us, the air smells like a campfire, and the sharp edges of landmarks like Alcatraz and the Golden Gate Bridge blur in the hazy air. We close our windows to avoid breathing smoke, stop going outside and wear N95 masks even without a pandemic. But if the past few years have been alarming, 2020 has felt impossible. More than 2.2 million acres have burned so far this season, a record announced by Cal Fire on Sept. 8—and fire season often lasts into November.

Before the pandemic, San Francisco was one of the most prosperous cities in the world, but this year's fire season has made one thing clear: no amount of prosperity can save us from climate change that is sending temperatures soaring and fueling fires. Hardware stores across the region are sold out of AC units, and the smoke has spread so far that driving to cleaner air is no solution. People without means, like San Francisco's homeless, can't heed warnings to limit outdoor activities, and air quality in more affordable inland areas was so hazardous on Sept. 8 that one meteorologist labeled it the worst he'd ever seen in the U.S.

I love California. From the first year I lived in the state, in 2006, I could not believe that there was a place of such natural beauty, where people grew lemons in their backyards and I could jump in the ocean in December. But this year, the worst in a string of catastrophic years, the smoke is projected to hover for months, and it's hard to imagine an optimistic future for a state that once looked like paradise. —ALANA SEMUELS/SAN FRANCISCO

DIED

Lou Brock

Base-stealing star

By Tim Raines

I WAS ALWAYS A SPORTS FAN, and when it came to baseball, guys like Lou Brock, who for years held the league record for career stolen bases, were my favorite players. Not because my game was like theirs but, being the player I was, I was more similar to them. And Lou, who died Sept. 6 at 81, was one of those players people could not stop.

When I first got called up to the big leagues in 1979, I was in Montreal with the Expos, and Lou, who would retire at the end of that season, was on a trip with the St. Louis Cardinals. We ended up taking a picture together. Lou was a guy who no one really knew at first, and he became one of the best players in the game. But what made Lou special was how great a guy he was; he was someone anyone could approach. He seemed like he always had a smile on his face, and he just enjoyed playing the game. —*As told to* ANNA PURNA KAMBHAMPATY

***Raines** was inducted into the Baseball Hall of Fame in 2017*

Brock was inducted into the Baseball Hall of Fame in 1985

As America approaches raw truths about race, **Claudia Rankine** is ready to guide us

By Andrew R. Chow

THE AUTHOR AND POET CLAUDIA RANKINE witnessed the collective muted response after James Byrd Jr. was dragged to death along an asphalt road in Texas in 1998. She watched widespread resistance rise against the nascent Black Lives Matter movement in 2013 and 2014 following the murder of Trayvon Martin. Whenever she wrote books or essays about white privilege or racism, she expected to receive waves of denial or personal attacks, because she knew how white people deny white privilege and Black death.

So she was surprised when in late May, white people stormed the streets alongside people of color across the world to protest racial violence and injustice following the murder of George Floyd. "That was the most hope I've felt in a long time," Rankine says in a phone interview. "I think we are suddenly seeing the same reality."

Rankine's life's work has been driven by getting people to understand these grim realities. In searing works like *Don't Let Me Be Lonely* and *Citizen*—which was a National Book Award finalist—she has explored how anti-Black racism has manifested in ways both mundane and tragic. For many years, it seemed as if Rankine was screaming into the void, laying bare a version of America that many people refused to accept. But *Just Us,* her new work of poetry, personal essays and historical documents, arrives into a changed climate, in which many people are finally coming to grips with uncomfortable truths.

Still, Rankine argues in the book that Americans have a long way to go toward understanding how deeply anti-Black racism is embedded into nearly every aspect of our society, from corporate culture to classrooms to even hair color. "It's really a moment for us to slow down and understand that a white-supremacist orientation has determined almost everything in this country," Rankine says. "For us to reroute, we have to ask more questions and really be uncomfortable."

RANKINE WAS BORN in Kingston, Jamaica, and immigrated at the age of 7 with her parents to the Bronx, where she says racism was palpable but mostly latent. While Rankine was an acclaimed poet in the early '90s, her work took on increased urgency and focus after she learned of Byrd's lynching: "I just thought, Who are these people we live among?" she says.

I first met her on a frigid day back in February, when the world was buzzing about as usual, and she was preparing for the premiere of her play *Help* at the Shed in Manhattan, which portrays fraught encounters with white men around the world. While I had many lofty questions prepared for her, Rankine initially just wanted to talk about my hair. I had recently dyed it bleach blond, inspired by Frank Ocean, BTS's RM, and an unholy mixture of curiosity and boredom. Rankine, smirking slightly, took pictures of my desiccated strands, saying she had written an essay about "whether people consider blondness in terms of whiteness."

I was startled by the sentence and, frankly, a little defensive. What did my dyeing my hair, on a whim and inspired by artists of color, have to do with whiteness or reinforcing racist systems?

I didn't press the issue, and any chance for a follow-up conversation evaporated when COVID-19 quickly began spreading across the U.S. *Help* closed after two previews; Rankine went back home to New Haven, Conn., where she is a professor of poetry at Yale. She was staying at home—a previous bout with cancer made her a higher risk for severe illness from COVID-19—when in May, new videos showing threats or violence against Black people began to spread across the Internet. These videos were grief-inducing to Rankine. "For all of these deaths, you feel the same depth of devastation," she says.

But she also recognized that they revealed, to a captive world, the array of indignities and dangers that Black people can face on a daily basis. "The Amy Cooper video was, to me, a real gift to society, with her performance of fear, her uses of civility," she says. "I hope it gets taught in classes. This kind of white woman who weaponizes her fear in an attempt to have Black people murdered: we've seen it again and again."

Over the next few months, Rankine watched in amazement as rhetoric about whiteness and racism that might have previously been perceived as radical now began to receive support in mainstream discourse. She celebrated as books about racism and antiracism, from Robin DiAngelo's *White Fragility* to Ibram X. Kendi's *How to Be an Antiracist,* surged to the top of the best-seller lists.

"White men and women are beginning to have a shared understanding and a shared vocabulary for what's going on," she says. "I don't feel like I'm starting at the beginning in these conversations." Despite this progress, however, Rankine knows that the country still has miles to go in terms of fully confronting its racist past, especially with a current leadership that often defends white supremacists. "For some people, it is a PR moment," she says. "We'll see whether people will follow up

RANKINE QUICK FACTS

Formative voices
Early in Rankine's career as a young writer and poet, her influences included Fyodor Dostoyevsky, César Vallejo, Toni Morrison, bell hooks and W.B. Yeats.

30,000
Number of copies shipped this summer of *Citizen,* her book of poetry

Thoughts on Hamilton
"It's really, really good. It just doesn't do anything to problematize the real problems of the period that it represents."

NATHAN BAJAR FOR TIME

this initial response with more sustained inquiries and modes of shifting within their own organizations, corporations and institutions."

Rankine hopes that *Just Us* will encourage readers to have these deeper and more difficult conversations. While she finished the book before the current moment of unrest, its themes have made it prescient. "I feel as if the book is addressing everything that lives below that," she says of the pandemic and the protests. "The circumstances that *Just Us* addresses haven't changed."

The book includes uncomfortable vignettes from dinner parties, racist writings from Thomas Jefferson, and data elucidating the wealth gap between Black and white families. It shows how anti-Black racism haunts preschools, college campuses, police precincts and everywhere in between.

But the part of the book that struck me most was the essay on blondness that Rankine had mentioned months back. In it, she traces the preference for blondness, from Italian Renaissance writers through Nazi Germany through to the Trump family. She points out that many of the most famous blondes, from Marilyn Monroe to Princess Diana, weren't actually natural blondes but were just following beauty standards.

'That was the most hope I've felt in a long time.'

CLAUDIA RANKINE, on watching the global protests following the murder of George Floyd

"If white supremacy and anti-Black racism remain fundamental structural modes of violence by which countries continue to govern," Rankine writes, "blondness might be one of our most passive and fluid modes of complicity. It points to white power and its values as desirable, whether the thought enters one's head or not."

Reading the chapter, my pitch-black roots having once again assumed control of my scalp, I felt a gut punch. So many seemingly trivial matters are tied to centuries of oppression—and all of us as individuals are complicit in many of those systems.

But for Rankine, the point isn't so-called cancellation, but interrogation and growth. When I mention my shame to her, she laughs it off and then widens the scope of the conversation. "Do whatever you want," she says. "But one of the things I'm trying to say in *Just Us* is there is a history behind all of our decisions—and we should make them with the full consciousness of what that history is." ☐

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT:

COLE MCNAIR, 18, Freshman
"It's just hard to go out and do things with the virus, but you gotta do what you gotta do till the virus is done. You just have to respect the guidelines."

KLAUDIA BAK, 18, Sophomore
"What really is the most frustrating part is the administration is not doing much to break up gatherings. I would prefer to stay on campus, but I feel like the measures are not strong enough."

MICHELLE VU, 19, Sophomore
"There are a lot of people here on the weekends doing their part quarantining, but there are other people going downtown to parties. It's kind of crazy. Coronavirus, when it doesn't affect you, feels like it's not really here. When you know someone who has it, suddenly it becomes real."

INAYAH JOHNSON, 19, Sophomore
"I'm more of a hands-on learner, so learning through a screen isn't really that helpful, and I don't like talking over Zoom, so I don't ask questions. Most of my interactions with professors are over email, so I'm not really building a relationship."

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PHOTOGRAPHS BY EVA O'LEARY FOR TIME

EDUCATION

College is open, but life is shut down

THE TYPICALLY BUSTLING MAIN CAMPUS OF Pennsylvania State University is quieter than normal. Many students are tuning in to classes online from their dorm rooms. A town ban on gatherings of more than 10 people limits social life off campus. Mask requirements make recognizing faces and making friends more challenging.

"I can tell that the university is trying their best to give returning and new students the full experience that Penn State has the potential to bring," says Sophia Melocchi, 20, a junior. "It's just not the same."

Across the country, colleges have taken a range of approaches to the fall semester. A *Chronicle of Higher Education* tracker of nearly 3,000 colleges found that of those with firm plans, 19% are opening primarily in person; 27% are primarily online; and 16% are, like Penn State, a mix.

But all are facing a semester unlike any other.

Schools that brought students back to campus quickly have run into problems controlling their behavior. Some have criticized universities for shifting blame for coronavirus outbreaks onto the returning students. Penn State recently suspended a fraternity that threw a party with about 70 people, and it reprimanded other students for gathering, without masks and close together, in large crowds outside a residence hall. "I ask students flouting the university's health and safety expectations a simple question: Do you want to be the person responsible for sending everyone home?" Penn State president Eric Barron said in a statement. As of Sept. 4, more than 200 students at Penn State's University Park campus had tested positive for COVID-19 since Aug. 21, and Barron said that trend could force a shift to fully online classes.

That's already happened at other colleges. Several clusters of coronavirus cases in dorms at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill led the school to cancel in-person classes and move to a fully remote model on Aug. 19, a week after classes began. At the University of Alabama's Tuscaloosa campus, more than 1,800 students have tested positive for COVID-19 since returning to school.

The 40,000 undergraduates at Penn State's University Park campus are hoping their institution does better. "I originally thought that we would be sent home or moved completely online within the first two weeks of school, but we'll see how it goes, because it seems like the school has it under control," says CJ Scoffone, 20, a junior. "I hope it gets better and goes back to normal." —KATIE REILLY, *with reporting by* PAUL MOAKLEY/NEW YORK

TOP ROW, FROM LEFT:

PARKER GOULD, 18, Freshman
"In high school, I liked being able to ask teachers questions and talk to them at the end of class and get to know them, and that's really hard to do now."

SOPHIA MELOCCHI, 20, Junior
"I'm thankful that I get to experience Penn State, even if it's only a percentage of the Penn State that I knew in the years previous."

MICHELLE MARIETTE, 21, Senior
LIZA VECCHIARELLO, 21, Senior
JORDAN KALFON, 22, Senior
"I'm personally kind of worried for my future and everyone else's," Vecchiarello says. "I'm a microbiology major, and I want to go into the medical research side of things. COVID is preventing me from attending a lot of these hands-on courses."

NICHOLE JIANG, 19, Junior
"Honestly, I'm expecting to do worse this year, grades-wise, because it's kind of different with everything being online."

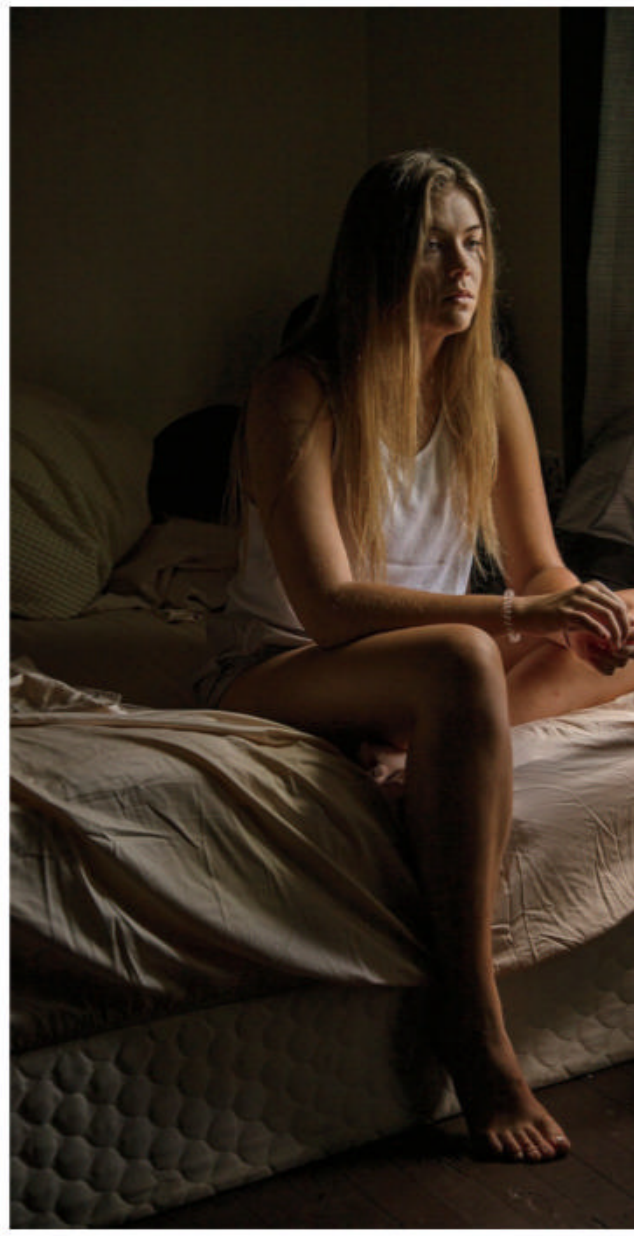
BOTTOM ROW, FROM LEFT:

AIDAN BRANDT, 18, Freshman
"There is kind of a general fear of going home because people choose not to wear the masks, and there have been block parties and stuff."

KALEIGH QUINNAN, 21, Senior
"I'm staying an extra semester because the economy just crashed, so I'm going to take some business classes. I'm hoping by the time I graduate, the dust will have settled a little, but mostly it's a lot of anxiety."

TAJAH GREEN, 19, Sophomore
"I have a dry-erase board with a calendar built into it. I got index cards to put reminders on, and I put everything in my phone so you don't get sidetracked when you're doing remote learning and you can focus."

GRANT DAVIS, 21, Junior
"You honestly don't feel as if you're in school. You simply feel like you're watching videos and you're not part of the class."




Coca-Cola

Wuhan strives to return to normal, but coronavirus scars run deep

By Charlie Campbell/ Wuhan, China

After school on Sept. 2 in Wuhan, where life's normal rhythms have resumed

EVERY YEAR, ON AUG. 25, CHINA CELEbrates the Qixi Festival, the nation's equivalent of Valentine's Day. Rooted in a mythical romance between an oxherd and a weaver girl, it's when romance blooms and gooey-eyed sweethearts exchange overpriced trinkets.

In the central city of Wuhan, where the COVID-19 pandemic first emerged in December, couples relished this year's festivities more than most. Ding Hui, 33, contracted the virus in mid-January and only survived after being intubated in an intensive-care unit. Now fully recovered, Ding threw a party to celebrate Qixi with friends in a penthouse overlooking the Han River. Hearts were painted on the windows; black, white and gold balloons added a touch of glamour, plus entertainment for her son Niu Niu, 7. Her sickness lent perspective to her own romantic situation. "In the past, I wanted to divorce my husband every time we quarreled," says Ding. "But after I was discharged from the hospital, I told my husband that … I would never mention divorce again."

The coronavirus pandemic continues to rage across every continent, with more than 25 million cases reported globally. On Sept. 7, India set a world record for daily infections with 90,802 new cases. Yet China reported just 12 that same day, all imported. Here, the pandemic feels like old news.

When this reporter was last in Wuhan in January, it was just hours before authorities enforced a draconian 76-day lockdown and the streets were already desolate. When I returned in August, my cabdriver didn't even wear a face mask. Traffic was either snarled or terrifyingly fast.

And love was in the air. At Fatty Fatty Crawfish Restaurant, couples gazed into each other's eyes over steaming piles of desecrated crustacean shells, crimson grease dripping from gloved hands onto plastic tablecloths. Outside, young lovers crammed into karaoke booths and browsed jewelry at teeming night markets, grateful to plan for the future once again.

YET WUHAN REMAINS a nervy, contradictory place, desperate to banish bad memories that it cannot afford to forget. At her party, between joshing with friends from behind comical pink sunglasses, Ding makes sure to spray the takeaway food containers with sterilizing ethanol. In the building's lobby, a vending machine sponsored by U.S. conglomerate 3M sells masks, hand sanitizer and other plague sundries. The economy is still suffering; the latest data, from May, suggests factory output, retail sales, and exports in Wuhan are a long way from returning to normal, while many shops and businesses have closed for good. "Wuhan is a badly injured child, still slowly recovering," says Ding.

Wuhan's recovery has become a propaganda tussle. While President Trump has described the pandemic as the "Wuhan virus," Chinese officials have seized on the city's resurgence as vindication of the country's autocratic political system. When photographs of thousands of young people crammed into a pool-party rave in Wuhan went viral in mid-August, many in the U.S. criticized their revelry as insensitive, given the spiraling death toll elsewhere.

76

Consecutive days Wuhan was locked down, from Jan. 23

But China's jingoistic state media were unrepentant, brushing off objections as "sour grapes."

Only time will tell whether there will be more trouble ahead. The source of the outbreak still has not been established, though the working hypothesis is that it leaped from an unknown animal to a human connected to Wuhan's Huanan seafood market, which was known to stock various exotic species. That market remains closed today, but throughout the city TIME saw street-side stalls selling butchered meat alongside live crayfish, eels and huge pulsing bullfrogs. The fear is that confidence bleeds into complacency.

"China is very strong," Ding says. "I am grateful that I have been in China [during the pandemic]. Had I caught the virus in a different country, I probably would not be alive today." □

GETTY IMAGES

The View

NATION

IS AMERICA COMING APART?

By David French

For the first time in my adult life, it's easy for me to foresee the possibility of a genuine constitutional crisis in the United States of America. The scenario is simple. Imagine that either Joe Biden or Donald Trump wins the 2020 election in a close race. There is a surge in voter-suppression claims and mail-in ballot controversies.

INSIDE

The View is reported by Mélissa Godin and Anna Purna Kambhampaty

Partisans refuse to concede, and they declare the election illegitimate. President Trump himself has indicated he may not accept the outcome.

What happens then? Well, according to a scenario planning exercise at the Transition Integrity Project, a bipartisan coalition of former officials concerned about the disruptions to the 2020 election, the result in every scenario except a Biden landslide would be "street-level violence and political crisis." But what kind of political crisis? Could we ever again reach the point where American polarization could trigger "massive resistance" to federal authority or even outright national division?

For the past several years, I've been watching the increase in partisan enmity in the U.S. with growing alarm. Multiple social, cultural and religious factors are converging to create a particularly toxic political stew. America is being pulled apart. This phenomenon is geographic, ideological and spiritual.

Thanks to the decades-long "big sort"—a phenomenon outlined by Bill Bishop in his excellent 2009 book—Americans are increasingly clustering in like-minded communities, and surrounding yourself with people who think like you think has a profound effect. As Cass Sunstein articulated, when like-minded people gather, they tend to grow more extreme.

His "law of group polarization" holds that people who agree with each other grow more enthusiastic in their beliefs and agreement. If like-minded Second Amendment advocates gather, they grow more opposed to gun control. If like-minded environmental activists gather, they grow more committed to fighting climate change. As geographic separation increases, ideological divisions are magnified.

America is becoming extremely efficient at creating superclusters of like-minded citizens. White evangelicals famously delivered 81% of their 2016 votes to Donald Trump. Manhattan gave 87% of its vote to Hillary Clinton. She won 91% of the vote in Washington, D.C., and 84% of the vote in San Francisco.

Almost 80% of Americans live under unified, one-party rule. A total of 36 states—15 Democratic and 21 Republican—have "trifecta" governments where one party controls the upper house, the lower house and the governor's mansion. Minnesota is the only divided legislature in the entire U.S.

Moreover, states where red and blue dominate are not scattered randomly across the map. The West Coast and New England are bastions of blue rule. The South and large sections of the upper Midwest represent the red heartland.

Now, let's throw in another ingredient—enmity. It is clear that partisan Americans dislike each other a great deal. We live separately, snarling at each other across a growing divide. The result is a politics of fear and rage, where policy differences often take a back seat to the list of grievances that red possesses against blue and blue against red.

Far-right protesters clash with left-wing counterprotesters at the Justice Center in Portland, Ore., on Aug. 22

BROOKE HERBERT—THE OREGONIAN/AP

Nothing I'm outlining here is new. Commentators have called our dysfunctional politics a form of "cold civil war," and the assumption is that one side or the other will win, dominate the opposition and rule a united country.

That's certainly a possibility, but it's not a certainty. When immense geographic regions share a common culture, believe their most fundamental values are under attack and lose confidence that the Democratic process will protect their interests, unity is not always the result. Just ask the colonists who sought to secure liberty in 1776. Just ask the Confederates who sought to secure slavery in the 1860s.

Over the past decade, I've heard committed partisans say out loud that they would be "happy" to be rid of states like California. I've heard (and read) men fantasizing and theorizing about a second Civil War. Right-wing insurrectionist groups have even formed for the purpose of fomenting civil strife. Look at the smoke drifting from U.S. cities from coast to coast. Watch far-right and far-left protesters square off in street battles. There is a crackling tension in the air.

MY PROPOSITION IS SIMPLE: In an atmosphere of increasing negative polarization and geographic separation, we can no longer take our nation for granted. We must intentionally care for the state of our union.

In "Federalist No. 10," James Madison wrestled with the challenge of "the violence of faction." How does a nation deal with competing factions? Not through oppression and not through uniformity but rather through pluralism—by letting many different political flowers bloom. A broad diversity of interests and groups helps prevent any interest or group from attaining dangerous dominance. In his words, "the increased variety of parties comprised within the Union, increase this security."

Why do we rightly worry that a contested election would result in far more tension and even violence than 2000's battle between George W. Bush and Al Gore? In part because our competing sides do not trust that if they lose they will still be free and secure in the land that they love. They fear domination. They do not trust the possibility of accommodation.

I've been writing and speaking about national polarization and division since before the Trump election. Two years ago, I began writing a book describing our challenge, outlining how we could divide and how we can heal. The prescription isn't easy. We have to flip the script on the present political narrative. We have to prioritize accommodation.

That means revitalizing the Bill of Rights. America's worst sins have always included denying fundamental

constitutional rights to America's most vulnerable citizens, those without electoral power. While progress has been made, doctrines like qualified immunity leave countless citizens without recourse when they face state abuse. It alienates citizens from the state and drains confidence in the American republic.

That means diminishing presidential power. A principal reason presidential politics is so toxic is that the diminishing power of states and Congress means that every four years we elect the most powerful peacetime ruler in the history of the U.S. No one person should have so much authority over an increasingly diverse and divided nation.

The increasing stakes of each presidential election increase political tension and heighten public anxiety. Americans should not see their individual liberty or the autonomy of their churches and communities as so dependent on the identity of the President.

But beyond the political changes—more local control, less centralization—Americans need a change of heart. Defending the Bill of Rights requires commitment and effort, and it requires citizens to think of others beyond their partisan tribe. Defending the Bill of Rights means that you must fight for others to have the rights that you would like to exercise yourself. The goal is simple yet elusive. Every American—regardless of race, ethnicity, sex, religion or sexual orientation—can and should have a home in this land.

Yes, many of our founders had profound flaws. But their aspirations can still be our aspirations. In the musical *Hamilton,* Lin-Manuel Miranda referred to a biblical verse that George Washington used almost 50 times in his personal and political correspondence. It comes from the Book of Micah, it's a promise of both autonomy and peace that Washington used, for example, to include Jewish Americans within the American promise, and its words echo today—"Every one shall sit in safety under his own vine and fig tree, and there shall be none to make him afraid."

French, a TIME columnist, is the author of the new book Divided We Fall: America's Secession Threat and How to Restore Our Nation

THE RISK REPORT

The world will miss Abe's defense of the global order

By Ian Bremmer

A SURPRISE ANnouncement that poor health was forcing his resignation has brought the Shinzo Abe era of Japanese politics to a close. The race to succeed the country's longest-serving Prime Minister is on. A front runner has emerged as the dominant Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) chooses a new leader. Chief Cabinet Secretary Yoshihide Suga looks like the man who will get the job. If so, he'll hold it until Abe's elected term ends in September 2021 or he calls early elections and earns a fresh mandate. Suga is not the most dynamic candidate, but he's a longtime Abe ally and broadly popular within the party.

Inheriting a ship during a storm, Suga insists he'll maintain Abe's course on both foreign and domestic policy. Job one is to steady Japan's economy and stimulate growth. He'll work to draw more foreign investment, and he'll promote policies designed to buoy stock prices and investor confidence.

Suga is an accomplished bureaucratic infighter who appears more committed than Abe to some degree of economic reform, and he has a track record of taking on deeply entrenched domestic interest groups. Most notably, he outmuscled Japan's powerful agricultural lobby to secure passage of the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement of Trans-Pacific Partnership, a massive trade deal abandoned by the Trump Administration but completed with Japanese leadership.

But the biggest change created by this transition will be in relations with other governments. For all his grand ambitions, Abe was never able to boost Japan's place in the international order. He failed in his bid to rewrite Japan's constitution. He resolved none of his inherited long-standing territorial disputes with other countries. Japan's relations with South Korea remain deeply troubled, and China represents as great a threat as ever.

IF ABE WAS NOT a transformative leader, he has been far from a failed one. On his watch, Japan's economy continued to grow modestly from the depths of the global financial crisis a decade ago, until the COVID-19 pandemic hit. His policy of "Abenomics" helped pull the country out of a deflationary funk, even if public debt remains at an eye-popping 251.91% of GDP (2020 projections). Abe also made real progress toward opening up Japan's economy to foreign investment and drawing more women into the workforce.

It's in his role as Japan's international strategist in chief that the world will miss Abe most

It's in his role as Japan's international strategist in chief that the world will miss Abe most. Abe managed to make Japan a more influential international player by engaging in frequent, face-to-face interaction with foreign leaders. His relationship with Donald Trump helped Japan avoid much of the fire that the U.S. President directed toward other allies. His outreach to Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi bolstered prospects for an Indo-Pacific security framework. Abe even managed to build pragmatic baseline relations with China's Xi Jinping.

Among G-7 leaders, only Angela Merkel has more experience. It has been Merkel, making her exit soon, and Abe who have fought in their different ways to defend a multilateral international system under assault from populists. At a time when the world's leading democracies are looking to coordinate economic recovery efforts and longer-term strategy to China, experience is a vital asset. □

PROTESTS

The games force change

By Sean Gregory

ON AUG. 23, POLICE SHOT JACOB BLAKE SEVEN TIMES IN the back, leaving him paralyzed from the waist down. Three days later, the Milwaukee Bucks declined to take the court against the Orlando Magic, and the NBA playoffs came to a halt. Games in the WNBA, Major League Baseball, Major League Soccer and the National Hockey League were postponed. Tennis star Naomi Osaka announced she would not play her semifinal match in the Western & Southern Open; soon, the tournament went on temporary hiatus.

The message was clear: sports are no longer some pleasurable distraction in tough times. It's no longer acceptable to use Black Americans as entertainment but do little to demonstrate that their lives matter.

Though the strikes were short-lived—the NBA playoffs resumed a few days later—they showed what athletes can accomplish through collective action. The basketball players returned only after their bosses pledged to work with officials to turn arenas into voting locations for the general election.

"I respect the hell out of them for doing that," says John Carlos, the American sprinter who famously raised his fist along with Tommie Smith on the medal stand at the 1968 Olympics. "Because you have to squeeze the toothpaste tube to get people to respond."

THE SPORTS STRIKES marked the latest leap in modern-day athlete activism, which can be traced to the 2012 death of Trayvon Martin, the unarmed Black teen from Florida gunned down by a neighborhood watchman. In response, LeBron James posted a picture of himself and his Miami Heat teammates in hooded sweatshirts; Martin was wearing a hoodie when he was killed.

As the decade progressed and violent incidents against Black people were captured on video, the demonstrations grew more pronounced. Players wore I CAN'T BREATHE warm-up shirts; in 2016, James and fellow NBA stars opened the ESPYs, typically a feel-good awards show, by denouncing police violence. Then a few weeks later, Colin Kaepernick began sitting, then kneeling, during the national anthem. As the country's divisions, stoked by President Trump, grew starker, athletes in NFL stadiums and on Pop Warner fields across the nation began following Kaepernick's lead and taking a knee.

Such gestures were powerful conversation starters, but they were largely symbolic. Kaepernick was effectively banished from the NFL. Owners tried to shut down protests during the anthem. George Floyd died under the knee of a police officer.

This year, however, it has become harder than ever to deny systemic racism, though many—including the President—still do. And it's not just a few players taking a stand. After Floyd's death, the NBA painted BLACK LIVES MATTER on its courts at Walt Disney World.

Jacob Blake's shooting shook Anthony Lynn, coach of the Los Angeles Chargers, one of only three Black head coaches in the NFL (around 60% of the league's players are Black). The Chargers, whose season starts Sept. 13, canceled practice after other sports teams declined to play. And while Lynn has previously tried to keep political discussions out of his locker room lest they become a distraction—"We can talk about that sh-t in February, in late February, hopefully," he says of his usual philosophy—it's not so this year. "If I was to suppress this, I think it would hurt their passion and I don't think they would play the game that they love well."

> ***'I'm going to stand up for what's right. I'm going to speak out when I have to.'***
>
> **ANTHONY LYNN,** coach of the Los Angeles Chargers

Lynn hopes the recent action taken by sports figures will help spark change, in NFL hiring practices and beyond. "I played in this league for eight years, and a player knows a head coach when he sees one. There were African-American coaches that could have been head coaches but just never got the opportunity," he says. He also believes he'll have less time to prove himself than his white counterparts. "I know I've got to turn this damn thing around, soon. But at the same time, I'm going to stand up for what's right. I'm going to speak out when I have to. I'm not going to let that scare me from doing that as a human being."

What happens next remains in question: If players walked out for Blake, will they do so after future horrific episodes of police violence? And what will it take to bring them back the next time? A new bar for athlete activism has been set. Players have shown the leverage they have and their willingness to use it. Kaepernick and others who joined him in protest couldn't effect change on their own. But together athletes have the opportunity to demand meaningful action.

Taking a knee was once a bold move. Now it's not enough. ◻

AL SEIB—SHUTTERSTOCK

TIME 100

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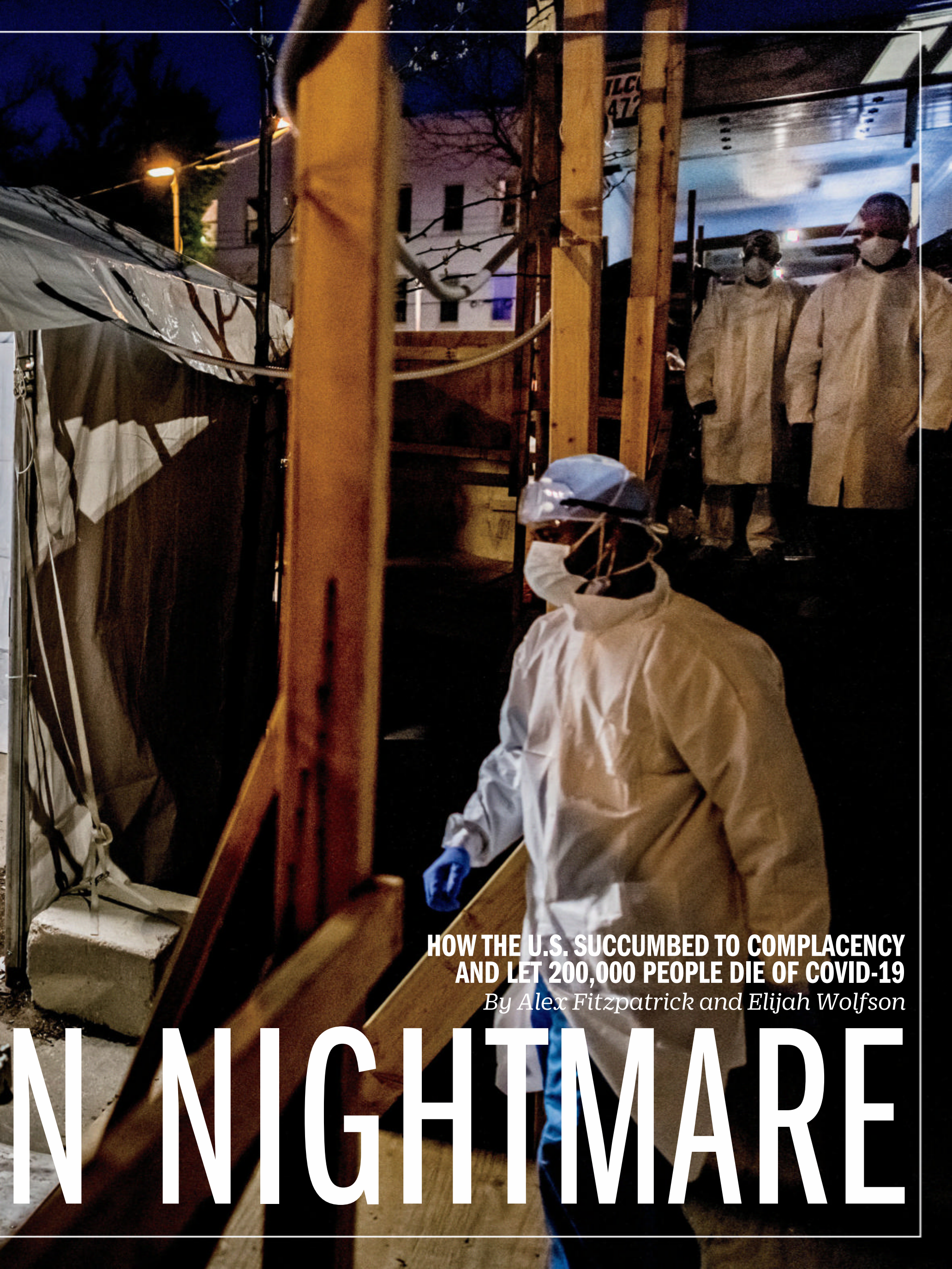
Health

An overflow morgue for deceased COVID-19 patients at Wyckoff Heights Medical Center in Brooklyn on April 7

PHOTOGRAPH BY MERIDITH KOHUT FOR TIME

THE AMERICA



HOW THE U.S. SUCCUMBED TO COMPLACENCY AND LET 200,000 PEOPLE DIE OF COVID-19

By Alex Fitzpatrick and Elijah Wolfson

N NIGHTMARE

FORTY-FIVE DAYS BEFORE THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF the first suspected case of what would become known as COVID-19, the Global Health Security Index was published. The project—led by the Nuclear Threat Initiative and the Johns Hopkins Center for Health Security—assessed 195 countries on their perceived ability to handle a major disease outbreak. The U.S. ranked first.

It's clear the report was wildly overconfident in the U.S., failing to account for social ills that had accumulated in the country over the past few years, rendering it unprepared for what was about to hit. At some point in mid-September—perhaps by the time you are reading this—the number of confirmed coronavirus-related deaths in the U.S. will have passed 200,000, more than in any other country by far.

If, early in the spring, the U.S. had mobilized its ample resources and expertise in a coherent national effort to prepare for the virus, things might have turned out differently. If, in midsummer, the country had doubled down on the measures (masks, social-distancing rules, restricted indoor activities and public gatherings) that seemed to be working, instead of prematurely declaring victory, things might have turned out differently. The tragedy is that if science and common sense solutions were united in a national, coordinated response, the U.S. could have avoided many thousands of more deaths this summer.

Indeed, many other countries in similar situations were able to face this challenge where the U.S. apparently could not. Italy, for example, had a similar per capita case rate as the U.S. in April. By emerging slowly from lockdowns, limiting domestic and foreign travel, and allowing its government response to be largely guided by scientists, Italy has kept COVID-19 almost entirely at bay. In that same time period, U.S. daily cases doubled, before they started to fall in late summer.

Among the world's wealthy nations, only the U.S. has an outbreak that continues to spin out of control. Of the 10 worst-hit countries, the U.S. has the seventh-highest number of deaths per 100,000 population; the other nine countries in the top 10 have an average per capita GDP of $10,195, compared to $65,281 for the U.S. Some countries, like New Zealand, have even come close to eradicating COVID-19 entirely. Vietnam, where officials implemented particularly intense lockdown measures, didn't record a single virus-related death until July 31.

There is nothing auspicious about watching the summer turn to autumn; all the new season brings are more hard choices. At every level—from elected officials responsible for the lives of millions to parents responsible for the lives of one or two children—Americans will continue to have to make nearly impossible decisions, despite the fact that after months of watching their country fail, many are now profoundly distrustful, uneasy and confused.

Friends and family mourn the death of Conrad Coleman Jr. on July 3 in New Rochelle, N.Y. Coleman, 39, died of COVID-19 on June 20, just over two months after his father also died of the disease

AT THIS POINT, we can start to see why the U.S. foundered: a failure of leadership at many levels and across parties; a distrust of scientists, the media and expertise in general; and deeply ingrained cultural attitudes about individuality and how we value human lives have all combined to result in a horrifically inadequate pandemic response. COVID-19 has weakened the U.S. and exposed the systemic fractures in the country, and the gulf between what this nation promises its citizens and what it actually delivers.

Although America's problems were widespread, they start at the top. A complete catalog of President Donald Trump's failures to address the pandemic

200,000
EXPECTED U.S. COVID-19 DEATH TOLL BY MID-SEPTEMBER

261,000
AMERICANS WHO DIED IN WORLD WAR I, THE VIETNAM WAR AND THE KOREAN WAR, COMBINED

JOHN MOORE—GETTY IMAGES

will be fodder for history books. There were weeks wasted early on stubbornly clinging to a fantastical belief that the virus would simply "disappear"; testing and contact tracing programs were inadequate; states were encouraged to reopen ahead of his own Administration's guidelines; and statistics were repeatedly cherry-picked to make the U.S. situation look far better than it was, while undermining scientists who said otherwise. "I wanted to always play it down," Trump told the journalist Bob Woodward on March 19 in a newly revealed conversation. "I still like playing it down, because I don't want to create a panic."

Common-sense solutions like face masks were undercut or ignored. Research shows that wearing a facial covering significantly reduces the spread of COVID-19, and a pre-existing culture of mask wearing in East Asia is often cited as one reason countries in that region were able to control their outbreaks. In the U.S., Trump did not wear a mask in public until July 11, more than three months after the CDC recommended facial coverings, transforming what ought to have been a scientific issue into a partisan one. A Pew Research Center survey published on June 25 found that 63% of Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents said masks should always be worn in public, compared with 29% of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents.

By far the government's most glaring failure was a lack of adequate testing infrastructure from the beginning. Testing is key to a pandemic response—the more data officials have about an outbreak, the better equipped they are to respond. Rather than call for more testing, Trump has instead suggested that maybe the U.S. should be testing less. He has repeatedly, and incorrectly, blamed increases in new cases on more testing. "If we didn't do testing, we'd have no cases," the President said in June, later suggesting he was being sarcastic. But less testing only means fewer cases are detected, not that they don't exist. In the U.S. the percentage of tests coming back positive increased from about 4.5% in mid-June to about 5.7% as of early September, evidence the virus was spreading regardless of whether we tested for it. (By comparison, Germany's overall daily positivity rate is under 3% and in Italy it's about 2%.)

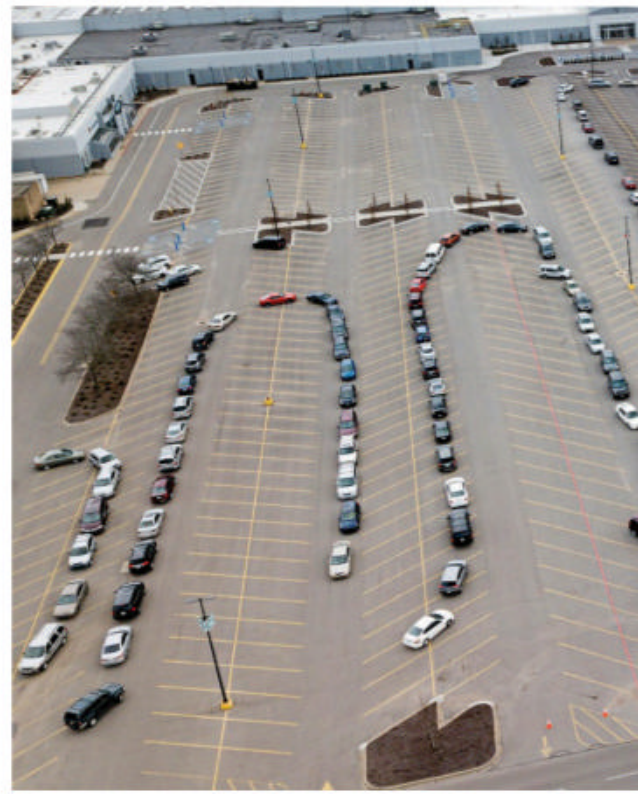
Testing in the U.S. peaked in July, at about 820,000 new tests administered per day, according to the COVID Tracking Project, but as of this writing has fallen to about 740,000. Some Americans now say they are waiting more than two weeks for their test results, a delay that makes the outcome all but worthless, as people can be infected in the window between when they get tested and when they receive their results.

Most experts believe that early on, we did not understand the full scale of the spread of the virus because we were testing only those who got sick. But now we know 30% to 45% of infected people who contract the virus show no symptoms whatsoever and can pass it on. When there's a robust and accessible testing system, even asymptomatic cases can be discovered and isolated. But as soon as testing becomes inaccessible again, we're back to where we were before: probably missing many cases.

SEVEN MONTHS AFTER the coronavirus was found on American soil, we're still suffering hundreds, sometimes more than a thousand, deaths every day. An American Nurses Association survey from late July and early August found that of 21,000 U.S. nurses polled, 42% reported either widespread or intermittent shortages in personal protective equipment (PPE) like masks, gloves and medical gowns. Schools and colleges are attempting to open for in-person learning only to suffer major outbreaks and send students home; some of them will likely spread the virus in their communities. More than 13 million Americans remain unemployed as of August, according to Bureau of Labor Statistics data published Sept. 4.

U.S. leaders have largely eschewed short- and medium-term unflashy solutions in favor of perceived silver bullets, like a vaccine—hence the Administra-

SOURCES: CDC; DEPARTMENT OF VETERANS AFFAIRS



tion's "Operation Warp Speed," an effort to accelerate vaccine development. The logic of focusing so heavily on magic-wand solutions fails to account for the many people who will suffer and die in the meantime even while effective strategies to fight COVID-19 already exist.

We're also struggling because of the U.S. health care system. The country spends nearly 17% of annual GDP on health care—far more than any other nation in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. Yet it has one of the lowest life expectancies, at 78.6 years, comparable to those in countries like Estonia and Turkey, which spend only 6.4% and 4.2% of their GDP on health care, respectively. Even the government's decision to cover coronavirus-related treatment costs has ended up in confusion and fear among lower income patients thanks to our dysfunctional medical billing system.

The coronavirus has laid bare the inequalities of American public health. Black Americans are nearly three times as likely as white Americans to get COVID-19, nearly five times as likely to be hospitalized and twice as likely to die. As the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) notes, being Black in the U.S. is a marker of risk for underlying conditions that make COVID-19 more dangerous, "including socioeconomic status, access to health care and increased exposure to the virus due to occupation (e.g., frontline, essential and critical infrastructure workers)." In other words, COVID-19 is more dangerous for Black Americans because of generations of systemic racism and discrimination. The same is true to a lesser extent for Native American and Latino communities, according to CDC data.

COVID-19, like any virus, is mindless; it doesn't discriminate based on the color of a person's skin or the figure in their checking account. But precisely because it attacks blindly, the virus has given further evidence for the truth that was made clear this summer in response to another of the country's epidemics, racially motivated police violence: the U.S. has not adequately addressed its legacy of racism.

AMERICANS TODAY TEND TO VALUE the individual over the collective. A 2011 Pew survey found that 58% of Americans said "freedom to pursue life's goals without interference from the state" is more important than the state guaranteeing "nobody is in need." It's easy to view that trait as a root cause of the country's struggles with COVID-19; a pandemic requires people to make temporary sacrifices for the benefit of the group, whether it's wearing a mask or skipping a visit to their local bar.

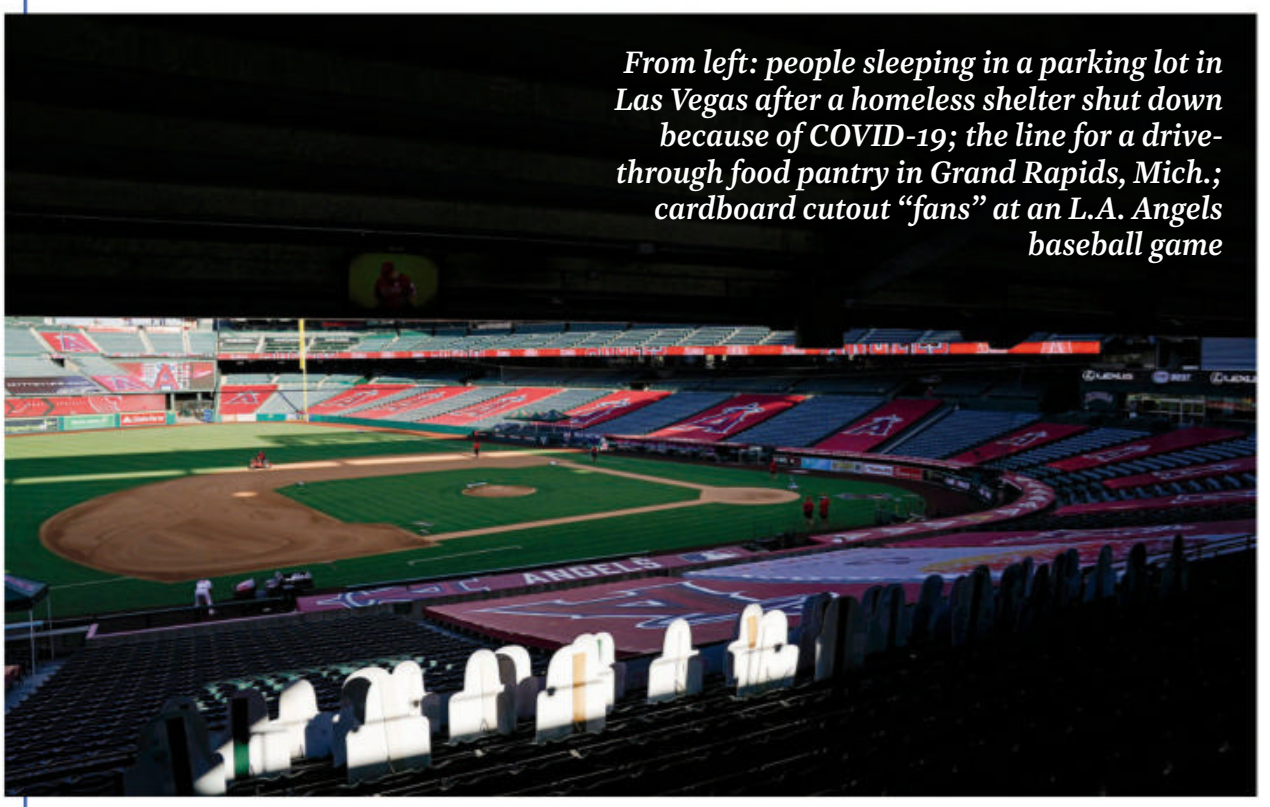
Americans have banded together in times of crisis before, but we need to be led there. "We take our cues from leaders," says Dr. David Rosner, a professor at Columbia University. Trump and other leaders on the right, including Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida and Gov. Tate Reeves of Mississippi, respectively, have disparaged public-health officials, criticizing their calls for shutting down businesses and other drastic but necessary measures. Many public-health experts, meanwhile, are concerned that the White House is pressuring agencies like the Food and Drug Administration to approve treatments such as convalescent plasma despite a lack of supportive data. Governors, left largely on their own, have been a mixed bag, and even those who've been praised, like New York's Andrew Cuomo, could likely have taken more aggressive action to protect public health.

Absent adequate leadership, it's been up to everyday Americans to band together in the fight against COVID-19. To some extent, that's been happening—doctors, nurses, bus drivers and other essential workers have been rightfully celebrated as heroes, and many have paid a price for their bravery. But at least some Americans still refuse to take such a simple step as wearing a mask.

Why? Because we're also in the midst of an epistemic crisis. Republicans and Democrats today don't just disagree on issues; they disagree on the basic truths that structure their respective realities. Half the country gets its news from places that parrot whatever the Administration says, true or not; half does not. This politicization manifests in myriad ways, but the most vital is this: in early June (at which point more than 100,000 Americans had already died of COVID-19), fewer than half of Republican voters polled said the outbreak was a major threat to the health of the U.S. population as a whole. Throughout July and August, the White House's Coronavirus Task Force was sending private messages to states about the severity of the outbreak, while President Trump and Vice President Mike Pence publicly stated that everything was under control.

Some incredulity about the virus and public-health recommendations is understandable given the reality that scientific understanding of the newly emergent virus is evolving in real time. The ever shifting advice from health officials doesn't instill public confidence, espe-

NEVADA: TOD SEELIE—THE GUARDIAN; MICHIGAN: NEIL BLAKE—THE GRAND RAPIDS PRESS/AP; CALIFORNIA: JAE C. HONG—AP



From left: people sleeping in a parking lot in Las Vegas after a homeless shelter shut down because of COVID-19; the line for a drive-through food pantry in Grand Rapids, Mich.; cardboard cutout "fans" at an L.A. Angels baseball game

cially in those already primed to be skeptical of experts. "Because this is a new infectious disease, a new virus, we don't have all the answers scientifically," says Colleen Barry, chair of the department of health policy and management at Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health. "I think that creates an environment that could potentially erode trust even further over time." But the trust fractures on partisan lines. While 43% of Democrats told Pew in 2019 that they had a "great deal" of trust in scientists, only 27% of Republicans said the same.

Truly worrying are the numbers of Americans who already say they are hesitant to receive an eventual COVID-19 vaccination. Mass vaccination will work only with enough buy-in from the public; the damage the President and others are doing to Americans' trust in science could have significant consequences for the country's ability to get past this pandemic.

There's another disturbing undercurrent to Americans' attitude toward the pandemic thus far: a seeming willingness to accept mass death. As a nation we may have become dull to horrors that come our way as news, from gun violence to the seemingly never-ending incidents of police brutality to the water crises in Flint, Mich., and elsewhere. Americans seem to have already been inured to the idea that other Americans will die regularly, when they do not need to.

It is difficult to quantify apathy. But what else could explain that nearly half a year in, we still haven't figured out how to equip the frontline workers who, in trying to save the lives of others, are putting their own lives at risk? What else could explain why 66% of Americans—roughly 217.5 million people—still aren't always wearing masks in public?

Despite all that, it seems the U.S. is finally beginning to make some progress again: daily cases have fallen from a high of 20.5 per capita in July to around 12 in early September. But we're still well above the springtime numbers—the curve may be flattening, but it's leveling out at a point that's pretty frightening. Furthermore, experts worry that yet another wave could come this winter, exacerbated by the annual flu season.

99
DAYS BEFORE PRESIDENT TRUMP PUBLICLY WORE A MASK PER CDC GUIDANCE

66%
AMERICANS WHO DO NOT ALWAYS WEAR A MASK OUTSIDE THEIR HOMES

THERE ARE REASONS for optimism. Efforts to create a vaccine continue at breakneck speed; it's possible at least one will be available by the end of the year. Doctors are getting better at treating severe cases, in part because of new research on treatments like steroids (although some patients are suffering far longer than expected, a phenomenon known as "long-haul COVID"). As the virus rages, perhaps more Americans will follow public-health measures.

But there is plenty of room for improvement. At the very least, every American should have access to adequate PPE—especially those in health care, education, food service and other high-risk fields. We need a major investment in testing and tracing, as other countries have done. Our leaders need to listen to experts and let policy be driven by science. And for the time being, all of us need to accept that there are certain things we cannot, or should not, do, like go to the movies or host an indoor wedding.

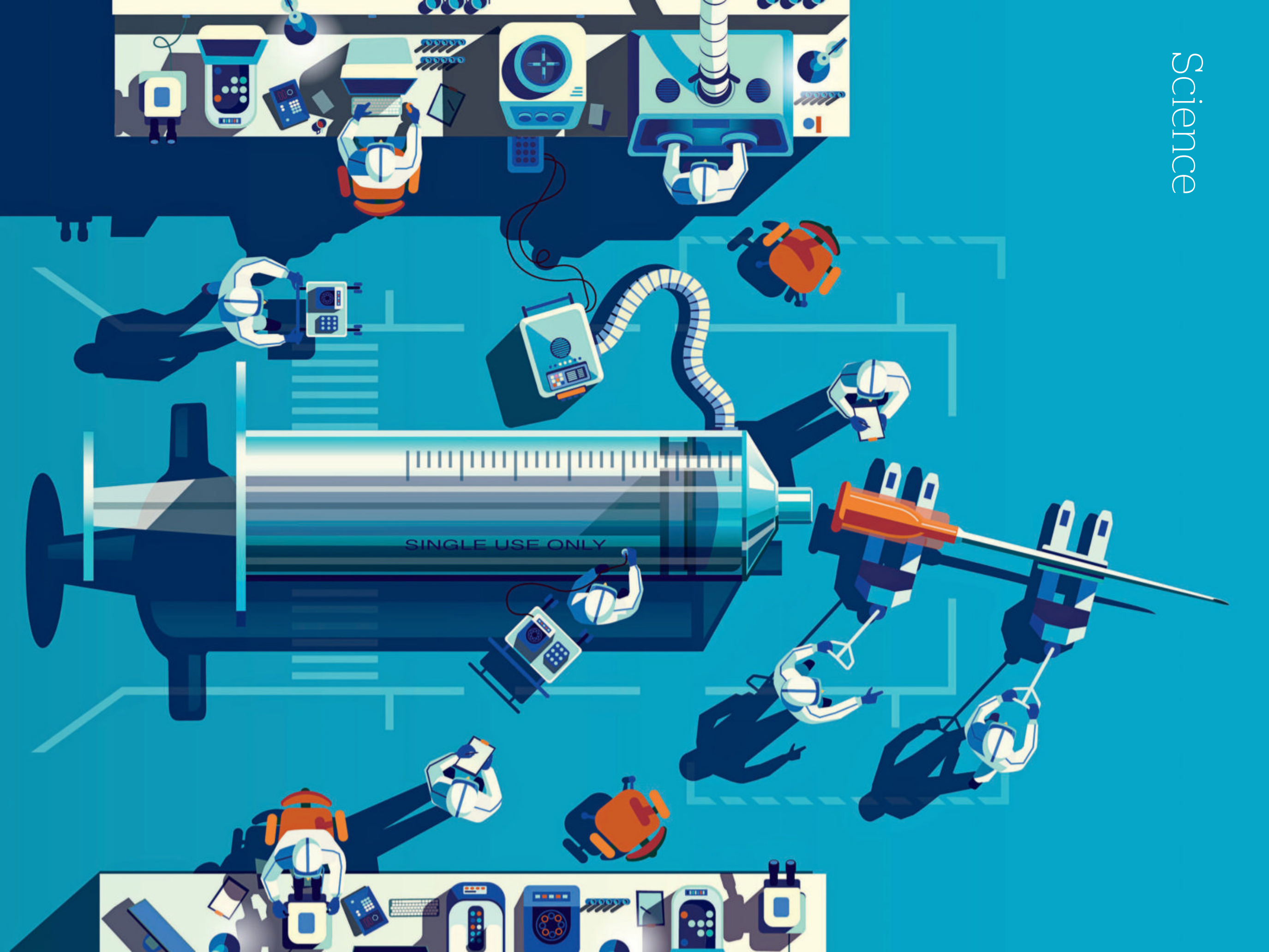
"Americans [may] start to say, 'If everyone's not wearing masks, if everyone's not social distancing, if people are having family parties inside with lots of people together, if we're flouting the public-health recommendations, we're going to keep seeing transmission,'" says Ann Keller, an associate professor at the UC Berkeley School of Public Health.

The U.S. is no longer the epicenter of the global pandemic; that unfortunate torch has been passed to countries like India, Argentina and Brazil. And in the coming months there might yet be a vaccine, or more likely a cadre of vaccines, that finally halts the march of COVID-19 through the country. But even so, some 200,000 Americans have already died, and many more may do so before a vaccine emerges unless America starts to implement and invest in the science-based solutions already available to us. Each one of those lives lost represents an entire world, not only of those individuals but also of their family, friends, colleagues and loved ones. This is humbling—and it should be. The only path forward is one of humility, of recognition that if America is exceptional with regard to COVID-19, it's in a way most people would not celebrate.

—With reporting by EMILY BARONE *and* JULIA ZORTHIAN/NEW YORK

SOURCES: NEWS REPORTS; GALLUP

Science



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WHAT IS AVAXHOME?

AVAXHOME-

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Cheap constant access to piping hot media
Protect your downloadings from Big brother
Safer, than torrent-trackers

18 years of seamless operation and our users' satisfaction

All languages
Brand new content
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AVXLIVE.ICU

AvaxHome - Your End Place

We have everything for all of your needs. Just open https://avxlive.icu

INSIDE THE RACE TO DEVELOP AND DISTRIBUTE THE DRUGS THAT WILL END THE CORONAVIRUS EPIDEMIC

By Alice Park

WHEN WILL WE GET A VACCINE?

THE CLEVEREST OF ENEMIES THRIVE ON SURPRISE attacks. Viruses—and coronaviruses in particular—know this well. Remaining hidden in animal hosts for decades, they mutate steadily, sometimes serendipitously morphing into more effective and efficient infectious agents. When a strain with just the right combination of genetic codes that spell trouble for people makes the leap from animal to human, the ambush begins.

Such was the case with SARS-CoV-2, the coronavirus behind COVID-19, and the attack was mostly silent and insidious at first. Many people infected with SARS-CoV-2 remained oblivious as they served as the virus's new home and allowed it to establish a foothold in the global human population. These hosts were the perfect base camp for launching the attack that has upended social norms, economies, political systems and more all across the world.

The best hope for confronting this onslaught is a vaccine—if the furious research efforts under way yield effective shots, if manufacturers can distribute them to enough people and if enough of those people actually get immunized.

Vaccines rely on the idea of herd immunity, a type of biological fortress in which the vast majority of the population is protected against infection. One way to get there is via natural infection, which involves enough people getting infected and recovering without serious consequences. But many public-health experts say pushing to open businesses and schools, so healthy people who might not get seriously ill if infected can develop this immunity, is a dangerous strategy that leaves too much to chance; there is no way to predict how much time it will take, and along the way the virus will keep harming and killing people until enough people become immune.

Vaccines have been the scientific detour around natural immunity—offering the benefits of protection without the suffering and unpredictability—since Edward Jenner, in

ILLUSTRATION BY PETER GREENWOOD FOR TIME

the 1790s, discovered that exposing people to small amounts of the smallpox virus could give them immunity to the disease. Today, pharmaceutical and biotech companies are developing or testing more than 100 COVID-19 vaccine candidates and governments are pumping billions of dollars into a massive global effort the likes of which we haven't seen since the polio epidemic of the 1950s. Everything about this vaccine endeavor could be history-making, from the speed with which shots are developed, to the way they are tested and authorized, to how they are doled out to people around the world. Months after scientists first identified the new coronavirus, Chinese teams are already testing nearly 10 potential vaccines. Fueled by President Donald Trump's Operation Warp Speed, which will provide at least $10 billion in federal funding for research and testing of promising COVID-19 vaccine candidates, the U.S. is conducting three late-stage trials in healthy volunteers. Other countries—including Italy, Russia, Japan, Singapore, South Korea, Australia and India—have all launched human tests of their own vaccines.

Operation Warp Speed promises to deliver an ambitious 300 million doses by January 2021; to do so, manufacturers including Moderna, AstraZeneca, Pfizer, Sanofi and Johnson & Johnson have already begun to produce their vaccine candidates, before ongoing studies show they are effective. And the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) alerted governors in early September of the government's plan for how initial doses can be ordered and shipped when they are available.

These are all calculated risks, made more fraught by growing tensions between the political need to restart economies and educational institutions, and the requirements of the rigorous scientific and regulatory process that mandates a threshold of data proving that a new vaccine is safe and effective before it can be released to the public. Russia's announcement in August that its Ministry of Health had approved a vaccine developed by scientists in Moscow that was still being tested was widely criticized by the scientific community as premature and potentially dangerous to the high-risk groups that would receive it first. In September, soon after major vaccine makers pledged in an unusual show of solidarity to conduct full safety studies on their vaccines before submitting them for regulatory review, AstraZeneca put its trial on hold so researchers could investigate an unexplained illness in one of the study participants.

These actions serve as reminders that the development and testing period for these vaccines is already strained to the stretching point. Massachusetts-based Moderna Therapeutics, along with scientists from the government's National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases (NIAID), already set records by developing and readying one candidate for human testing in 42 days—a process that in the past has taken years.

And that's why the accelerated schedule must come with a dose of humility. The quest to develop a vaccine for a new infectious disease is a gamble at best; nearly four decades after HIV was discovered, there is still no effective vaccine against that virus. SARS-CoV-2 is so new to the scientific community that it's not even clear yet what the human body needs to prevent infection—or if such a thing is even possible. The urgency of the pandemic means doctors will have only about a month's worth of information from studies on how long the immunity from the shots might last. Given that, some experts, including those developing the vaccine candidates, say we should at best expect a vaccine that can minimize the effects of the disease, rather than provide the "sterilizing immunity" that would protect people from infection entirely. "For many respiratory pathogens, it's a challenge to achieve a sterilizing immune response," says Dr. Evan Anderson, associate professor of medicine at Emory University School of Medicine and the lead researcher on one of the Moderna trials. "We don't know whether that will be the case with SARS-CoV-2."

'THIS IS A GLOBAL PROBLEM, AND NO ONE COMPANY IS GOING TO HAVE THE SOLUTION.'

Another challenge: just one vaccine likely won't be enough. From a manufacturing and distribution perspective, immunizing the world's population will take several different vaccines and probably contributions from all of the companies currently pushing to produce a product. "This is a global problem, and no one company is going to have the solution," says John Shiver, senior vice president for global vaccine research and development at Sanofi, a French pharmaceutical company. "Because we don't know what will work, what will work best or what will best serve the need in really, really stopping the pandemic, more shots on goal are important."

Even with multiple vaccines, it won't be easy to ensure they get to the right people at the right time. Nearly all of the candidates require two shots, spaced up to a month or so apart. Some vaccines need to be maintained at below-freezing temperatures from the manufacturing plant until close to when they're injected into a person's arm. And once the vaccines are shipped to hospitals and medical clinics, who should get immunized first? The most aggressive manufacturing schedules still won't produce enough vaccines to inoculate everyone, especially in the first few months. Health experts will have to make tough decisions about how to distribute those first precious doses, and are turning to ethical principles such as risk and social utility. These put health care workers, people with existing health conditions and the elderly in group living facilities toward the top of the list, as well as first responders and others working in essential occupations such as teachers, law-enforcement officers and those in waste management.

But, notes Dr. Ezekiel Emanuel, vice provost for global initiatives at the University of Pennsylvania, such discussions haven't addressed the practicalities. Up to 40% of the U.S. population have existing health conditions that would qualify them for priority vaccination—far more than the number of doses that will likely be available in the first manufacturing runs. "We haven't really thought it through because it's a hard problem and therefore we've avoided it," he says. As several of the most promising vaccines barrel toward the final stages of testing, however, avoidance won't be possible, and decisions will have to be made about

‘PEOPLE WANT TO BE ETHICAL BUT DON’T KNOW WHAT [IT] MEANS IN THIS CONTEXT.’

the global lottery for this prized resource, choices that could mean the difference between allowing the pandemic to continue its deadly and tragic assault on human life, and finally slowing it down.

AT THE BROADEST LEVEL, the distribution question starts with how much vaccine each country should receive. Any hope of benefiting from herd immunity conferred by vaccines dissolves if not enough of the world’s population—the “herd”—is immunized and protected against infection. Researchers at CUNY Graduate School of Public Health and Health Policy used a computer simulation to calculate that if 75% of the world’s population were immunized, the vaccines would need to be 70% effective in protecting against infection in order to control the ongoing pandemic. If only 60% were vaccinated, then that efficacy threshold would jump to 80%.

And manufacturing a safe and effective batch of vaccines, even by deeply experienced pharmaceutical companies with a track record of producing millions of doses of other vaccines, isn’t a slam dunk. “In making vaccines, there is research, development, then implementation,” says Dr. Paul Offit, director of the vaccine-education center at Children’s Hospital of Philadelphia, who serves on the U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) committee that will advise the agency’s director on COVID-19 vaccine approvals. “The hardest of those three is implementation. Mass production is not trivial; mistakes get made, and you learn as you go.” During the U.S. polio-immunization campaign in the 1950s, he notes, one manufacturer failed to properly inactivate the polio virus used in the vaccines and 40,000 children became infected.

The challenges to achieving such widespread immunization aren’t just about reaching manufacturing targets. Dozens of nations are investing in or developing their own vaccines, and there are nationalist arguments for funneling the end products of these investments back to those who financed them, which would lock out countries with fewer health resources from the doses they need. Even in industrialized nations that may produce enough vaccines, uptake could be difficult, given antivaccine sentiment in general (stemming largely from unsubstantiated links between certain vaccines and autism) and concerns about the safety of any COVID-19 vaccines in particular. In a recent Ipsos poll commissioned by the World Economic Forum, one-third of Americans said they would not get vaccinated if a COVID-19 shot became available.

While some degree of nationalism is reasonable from a social-justice perspective, says Emanuel, in a global health crisis, allowing the virus to percolate anywhere poses a threat to people everywhere. To stress the need for international unity, the World Health Organization partnered with the vaccine-focused public-private alliance Gavi and the Coalition for Epidemic Preparedness Innovations, a group of philanthropists and governments focused on providing resources needed to respond to infectious-disease threats, to form the COVAX Facility, a mechanism that would allow nations to purchase vaccines at reduced prices by pooling their buying power. The initiative is helping to fund nine vaccine candidates, and countries can sign up to make commitments to buy the shots that end up being effective at volume discounts.

So far, 172 countries have expressed interest in joining, including 80 developed nations and 92 lower- and middle-income countries. The Trump Administration has declined to join COVAX, citing ongoing tensions with the WHO, but even without the U.S., COVAX now represents 70% of the world’s population. International experts have proposed two broad strategies for deciding how much vaccine countries should receive—one that relies on a country’s population and another that uses the proportion of health care workers as a guide—both of which Emanuel believes will fall short of equitable allocation. “People want to be ethical but don’t know what ethical means in this context,” he says. In his view, it involves principles such as reducing harm, premature death and economic hardship, as well as limiting community spread of disease that would put more people in harm’s way.

Even once countries receive their allotted doses, deciding which people should be immunized first raises additional ethical and practical challenges. In the U.S., the National Academies of Sciences, Engineering and Medicine released a draft of prioritization guidelines in September, proposing four tiers of vaccination groups. The first wave of vaccinations would be for high-risk populations including health care workers, people with existing health conditions such as obesity, asthma and heart disease, and the elderly in group living conditions. Next come “critical risk” workers, teachers, older adults, people in group homes, and the incarcerated; then young adults and children; and finally, the rest of the nation. A final draft reflecting public comments on these proposals will be given to the CDC committee responsible for making immunization recommendations for COVID-19 vaccines.

In anticipation, Dr. Nancy Messonnier, director of the National Center for Immunization and Respiratory Diseases at the CDC, in early August informed the health departments of four states (North Dakota, Florida, California and Minnesota) and one city (Philadelphia) that they would be part of a pilot program for rolling out vaccines. The CDC and Operation

$10 BILLION
OPERATION WARP SPEED’S INITIAL INVESTMENT

6
NUMBER OF VACCINE CANDIDATES THAT HAVE RECEIVED FUNDING

300 MILLION
NUMBER OF DOSES PROJECTED TO BE AVAILABLE BY JANUARY 2021

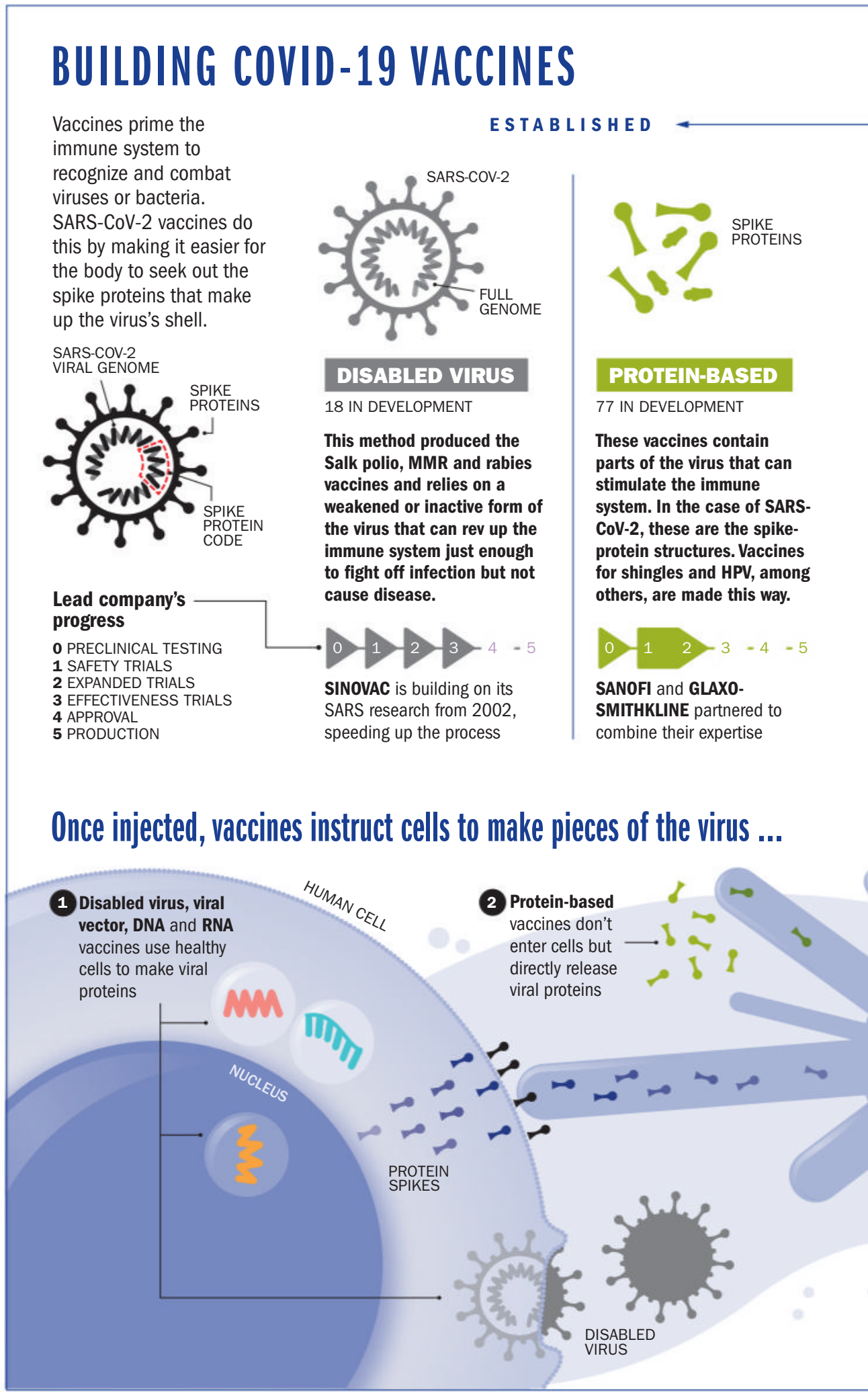
SOURCES: WHITE HOUSE; HHS

Warp Speed would collect data from the pilot sites to refine plans for allocating vaccines to the rest of the country. "Our goal," said CDC director Dr. Robert Redfield in August, "is to ensure no delay in the handoff between FDA authorizing a vaccine and implementation of vaccination programs nationwide." That all depends, of course, on whether the tens of thousands of volunteers receiving COVID-19 vaccine candidates in current studies develop strong immune responses to SARS-CoV-2 without serious side effects.

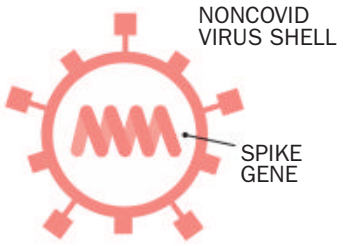
WHEN CAROL KELLY, an associate nutrition director at Emory University Student Health, saw a request on her NextDoor app in April seeking volunteers to participate in a nearby study for a COVID-19 vaccine candidate, she was immediately intrigued. She called up and found out that this particular study would test a vaccine based on a new genetic technology. No vaccine using this technology has been approved, although a handful, for diseases like respiratory syncytial virus and influenza, are in trials. "They said that it contains the genetic code of the virus. That kind of gave me pause," Kelly says. But she signed up anyway. "I felt helpless seeing the health care providers working so hard … I thought, If there is one little thing I can do to hurry and help the advancement of a solution, why not?"

The Emory study is testing a vaccine co-developed by scientists from NIAID and Moderna. If successful, it could pioneer a new way of churning out vaccines that would be the fastest in history. Some existing vaccines, including shots for influenza, require manufacturers to grow, over a period of weeks, massive amounts of virus or bacteria, then disable them in the lab so they can't cause disease but are still foreign enough to alert and activate human immune systems to mount defenses against them.

A major reason Moderna has been able to move so fast is that it bypasses this process and relies instead on mRNA, the genetic material that codes for proteins. On Jan. 10, Chinese scientists posted the first complete genome sequence of SARS-CoV-2; just 42 days later, the Moderna and NIAID teams had used that code to identify which parts of the viral genome would make good targets for building a vaccine—specifically, the code for the spike protein that defines SARS-CoV-2. Encircling the virus's outer shell like a crown, the spike protein also serves as the lock-picker for breaking into healthy human cells. Once inside, SARS-CoV-2 hijacks those cells' machinery to pump out more copies of itself to spread throughout the body and continue its mission of infecting and replicating. The way Dr. Stephen Hoge, president of Moderna, sees it, "mRNA is really like a software molecule in biology. So our vaccine is like the software program to the body, which then goes and makes the [viral] proteins that can generate an immune response." Moderna produced and shipped its first vial of vaccine



INNOVATIVE



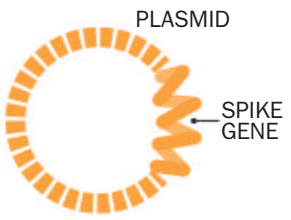
VIRAL VECTOR

44 IN DEVELOPMENT

A weakened form of the common cold virus, loaded with the genes for the SARS-CoV-2 spike protein, infects cells that then churn out the protein, alerting the immune system, which activates to fight the infection.

0 1 2 3 4 - 5

ASTRAZENECA halted its Phase 3 study after a report of an illness on Sept. 9



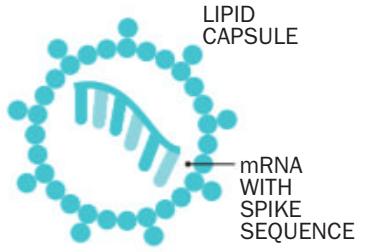
DNA PLASMID

16 IN DEVELOPMENT

Snippets of coronavirus DNA that code for the spike protein are formed into a circular structure called a plasmid. Once inside human cells, plasmids can make copies of the spike protein to alert immune cells.

0 1 2 3 - 4 - 5

INOVIO has worked on DNA vaccines for a decade, but none have gone to market yet



RNA

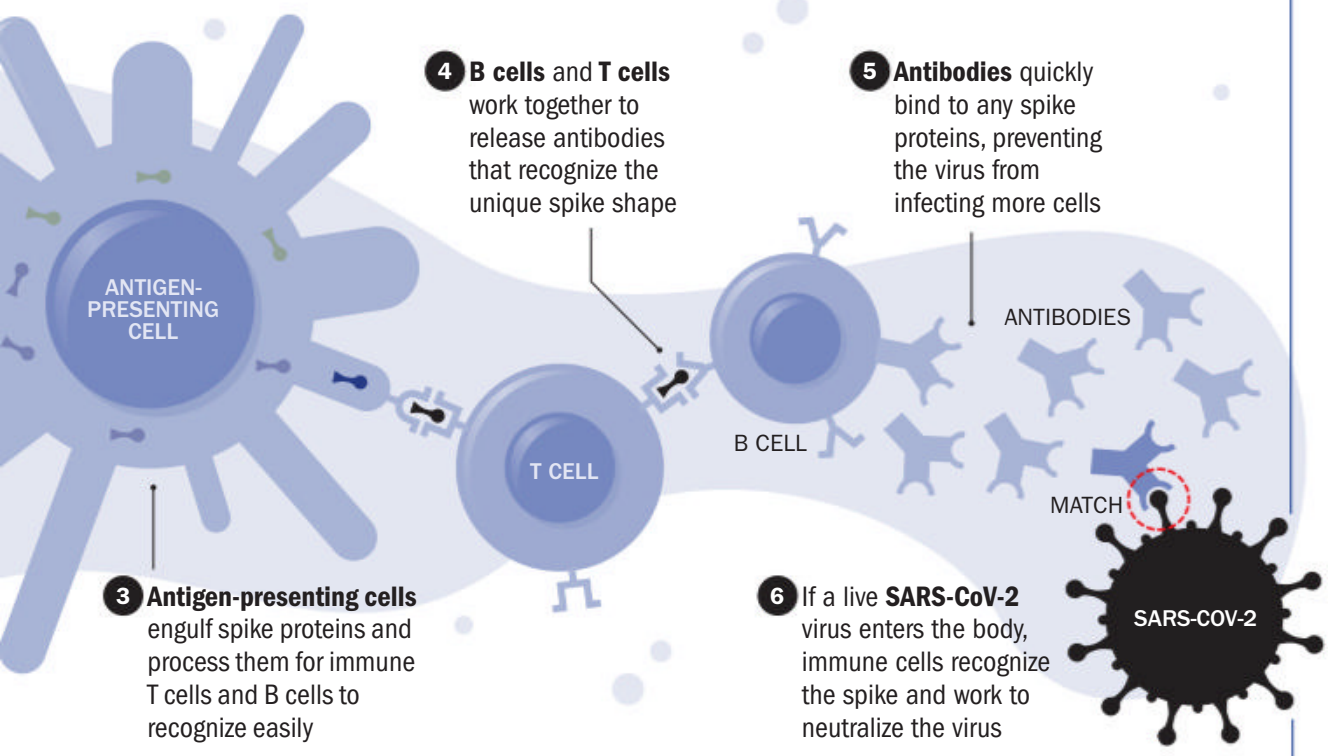
23 IN DEVELOPMENT

This approach is similar to the DNA method but uses a different form of the virus's genetic code, called mRNA. Once the delivery system gets it into human cells, it starts to make copies of the spike protein.

0 1 2 3 4 - 5

MODERNA was the first to start human testing, but its vaccine must be stored frozen

... and the body's defenses do the rest



NOTE: BLENDED ARROWS INDICATE COMBINED TRIAL STAGES. DISABLED-VIRUS VACCINES INCLUDE KILLED AND LIVE ATTENUATED VIRUSES.
SOURCES: WHO, CLINICALTRIALS.GOV, CDC, NIH, SANOFI, ASTRAZENECA, INOVIO, MODERNA. TIME GRAPHIC BY EMILY BARONE AND LON TWEETEN

for human testing at the end of February. Three months later, it had its first batch of data from a few dozen healthy volunteers in a small, early-stage trial. The vaccine appeared safe and seemed to prompt the immune system to generate antibodies against SARS-CoV-2 in amounts similar to those found in people who had recovered from COVID-19. Kelly kept a diary of her temperature and any unusual symptoms for seven days after the first shot, which she says didn't affect her much, and the research team took weekly blood samples until her second shot around three weeks later. That injection hit her harder; "Oh my golly, the next day I was exhausted," she says. "I was just wiped out, had a little bit of vertigo and had a headache, and I never have headaches. I also had a little fever. But the next day I was fine."

Kelly takes her symptoms as a sign that the vaccine did its job and that her immune system is now primed to defend against SARS-CoV-2. Data from a subset of volunteers in the first phase of the studies seem to support that: the new antibodies they formed after getting vaccinated appeared to neutralize lab-based versions of SARS-CoV-2. Buoyed by these early studies, Moderna began a study in June to identify the ideal dosage, and at the end of July it launched the final stage of testing, which will include 30,000 volunteers who will receive either that dose or a placebo.

The speed with which Moderna was able to develop and start testing was a tantalizing lesson in possibility for other vaccine developers. Major players in the pharmaceutical industry began prioritizing mRNA programs they had been developing with smaller biotech firms with expertise in the technology. For example, Pfizer, the New York–based pharma giant, took advantage of a two-year collaboration with German immunotherapy company BioNTech and, in April, poured $185 million into a joint effort to explore four potential mRNA-based vaccines. The two companies had been working on using mRNA to create a flu vaccine, and when COVID-19 struck, says Philip Dormitzer, vice president and chief scientific officer for viral vaccines at Pfizer, "it was relatively straightforward to swap out the influenza-coding antigens in the vaccine candidate and put in COVID-19 antigens instead."

Such substitutions are one of the mRNA technology's strongest features; rather than requiring copious amounts of live virus, all researchers need is the virus's genetic sequence, which they can then edit to find the right code for antigens to alert the immune system of the virus's intrusion. Pfizer and BioNTech scientists exploited this and quickly developed four promising candidates for testing; early studies identified one, containing the entire genetic sequence of the virus's spike protein, as producing the fewest side effects with the most robust immune response. At the end of July, the companies started a combined

Phase 2 and Phase 3 trial of this candidate with 30,000 people.

Pfizer isn't the only company to fast-track stakes in the mRNA technology. In June, Sanofi increased its investment in Translate Bio, which could total up to $1.9 billion and give Sanofi access to the technology and manufacturing know-how to develop mRNA-based vaccines against infectious diseases—with COVID-19 the obvious priority. The companies are working on starting clinical trials in people sometime this year.

But while the mRNA platform may give vaccine makers a jump-start in development, more familiar vaccine approaches have well-established manufacturing and storage methods behind them. For one thing, mRNA is notoriously unstable and sensitive to temperature, so vaccines made with this technology need to be stored and shipped at anywhere from −94°F (−70°C) to −4°F (−20°C), far below temperatures required for most existing vaccines. That's why companies like Sanofi, Johnson & Johnson and AstraZeneca are relying on their experience with another innovative but promising vaccine-making method to solve that problem—one that involves another virus.

Because viruses are adept at infecting cells, they can be a useful vehicle for transporting other viruses to prime the body's immune cells, as long as they are disabled first. Drug companies are building and testing vaccines against Ebola, influenza and RSV, among others, by Trojan-horsing genetic material from one virus inside the shell of another that isn't able to cause disease, but questions remain about how safe such double-virus vaccines might be.

At Johnson & Johnson, based in New Brunswick, N.J., scientists are counting on a weakened form of adenovirus, which is responsible for the common cold, to deliver COVID-19 material. Its team hopes that its shot, unlike many of the other COVID-19 vaccine candidates, will require just one dose. The company plans to test both single and double doses of its vaccine in beginning in September.

In the U.K., scientists at the University of Oxford are using a similar approach for their vaccine, which will be developed, manufactured and distributed by AstraZeneca. They inserted the genetic code for SARS-CoV-2's spike protein into a weakened cold-virus vector that

PUBLIC-HEALTH SYSTEMS NEEDED GUIDANCE 'YESTERDAY' ON VACCINE PLANNING

normally infects chimpanzees. The cold virus transports the viral genetic material to human cells and "infects" them in the same way SARS-CoV-2 would, and therefore prepares the immune system to attack it in much the same way a natural infection does. In early human studies, the vaccine produced good immune responses against SARS-CoV-2.

The Oxford-AstraZeneca team believes its manufacturing process for this sort of shot will make it easy to scale up production. "Hopefully, if it's successful, this vaccine will be relatively inexpensive to make in terms of dollars per dose, and it'll be relatively easy to do at scale," says Mene Pangalos, executive vice president of biopharmaceutical research and development at AstraZeneca.

There may be a price for that manufacturing ease, though: relying on vectors like the one for the common cold can cause problems down the road. First, the exposure to two viruses, even if one is weakened, could trigger an excessive immune response that ends up causing more inflammation that could be harmful rather than helpful. Second, while cold viruses are, at first, adept at infecting cells, human immune systems are also adept at learning to rebuff them. So while a cold-virus-based vaccine may be effective at initially generating an immune response against SARS-CoV-2, if someone is exposed again, that immune response might not be as robust the second time. This is a real public-health concern, since most officials are bracing for a wave of new cases in the fall and winter when flu cases also peak.

The trial, which AstraZeneca was expanding to include 50,000 people in the U.S., U.K., Brazil and South Africa, is currently suspended as researchers investigate whether an illness experienced by one of the study volunteers is related to the vaccine. The unexplained illness was reported as part of routine safety monitoring done by independent review boards that are part of each major vaccine trial to ensure that the new vaccines don't cause more harm than good.

IN SOME WAYS, the pause in the trial may also serve as a testament to the value in sticking with more proven strategies that have a legacy of success. Researchers also know from experience that another gene-based approach, one that relies on DNA, can generate not only antibodies against a virus like SARS-CoV-2 but also T cells and B cells, which help the body establish a longer-lasting memory of previous infections and better prepare it to recognize and target viruses and bacteria should they invade again. While antibodies generated against SARS-CoV-2 proteins are likely to be an important ingredient in the ultimate alchemy of immunity, there are hints from recovered COVID-19 patients that those antibodies may not always be enough. Recent analysis of convalescent plasma from recovered COVID-19 patients in New York, for example, shows that their levels of antibodies vary widely and that most of these antibodies have only moderate powers to neutralize SARS-CoV-2, at least in the lab. In addition, some studies suggest that the level of antibodies can wane as quickly as three months after infection.

For a more durable and lasting protection against future infections, the body needs to enlist the help of its cell-mediated immune response, including T and B cells, which have the ability to remember, recognize and reactivate against previous foes. While Moderna has reported that its mRNA vaccine generated good T-cell responses, DNA-based vaccines against other diseases have already proven adept at this job.

In part, that's what attracted Sanofi to partner with GlaxoSmithKline (GSK) for another potential COVID-19 shot called a recombinant protein-based vaccine. The approach involves taking the genetic code for parts of SARS-CoV-2's spike protein and, in Sanofi's and GSK's case, inserting them into insect cells that then serve as the factory for producing the viral protein. Researchers then extract and purify this protein and combine it with a GSK compound that, when injected, prompts the human immune system to generate defenses, specifically antibodies, against it. It's a reliable technique, and responsible

for the HPV and hepatitis-B vaccines that were approved in 2006 and 1986, respectively. It's also the technology that Sanofi uses to make Flublok, its influenza vaccine, which means that if its COVID-19 vaccine made with this method is safe and effective, the company could ramp up production quickly. The companies began human testing in September and anticipate providing up to 1 billion doses annually if their vaccine is effective. Australian scientists at Novavax are also using an insect-cell-based system to deliver the genetic code of the SARS-CoV-2 spike protein in its vaccine, and reported encouraging results in September.

Meanwhile, at Inovio, based in Pennsylvania, researchers have conducted studies on primates using an experimental DNA-based vaccine for MERS, and the results suggest that animals with strong T-cell responses were better able to neutralize the MERS virus. "I believe that the level of T-cell response is going to be very important in providing protection [against SARS-CoV-2]," says Dr. J. Joseph Kim, president and CEO of Inovio. The company vaccinated the first of 40 volunteers in a Phase 1 trial for its COVID-19 vaccine in April and reported in June, without providing deeper details, that 94% of participants generated an immune response. Inovio plans to continue testing its vaccine into the fall.

EVEN IF VACCINE MANUFACTURERS are able to find just the right viral sparks to catalyze an immune response against SARS-CoV-2, they face another, equally daunting task: manufacturing enough of these vaccines in a short amount of time to throw the brakes on the runaway pandemic. AstraZeneca's CEO has pledged to produce 2 billion doses of the vaccine by year's end—an ambitious timeline. But even typically circumspect experts note that there is a chance, however remote, that ongoing tests of the vaccines could show dramatic effectiveness and be stopped early, by the end of the year. Whether that's possible will depend in large part on how widespread COVID-19 is as more of the vaccines reach the last stages of testing. Such studies are focused more on efficacy than on safety and require tens of thousands of participants. If there aren't enough cases of COVID-19 still circulating by the time these final trials begin, scientists won't have the statistical power they need to compare, among those exposed to the virus, the people who were vaccinated with those receiving a placebo, and quickly see if the vaccine is working.

Such was the fate of the SARS and MERS vaccine programs governments and pharmaceutical companies launched in 2003 and 2012, respectively. As soon as cases waned, the urgency for vaccines did as well, along with investments in research and testing. Some public-health experts believe that if that work had continued, what researchers would have learned about coronaviruses and how to protect against them might have given scientists a jump start on a vaccine against SARS-CoV-2.

To avoid losing that momentum again, some epidemiologists have floated the idea of intentionally infecting volunteers for COVID-19 vaccine trials. Known as "human-challenge" research, it's a controversial strategy and has been done only with diseases like flu and malaria for which there are good safety-net treatments that people can take if they get severely ill after getting intentionally exposed to the disease. For now, the ethical questions such an approach raises aren't urgent, as new hot spots continue to emerge around the world.

The bigger and more immediate problem, if vaccines are authorized, is how they will make it to the people who need them most. In the U.S., public-health systems are already overwhelmed with testing for cases and tracking the pandemic, and desperately need guidance "yesterday," according to one state health official, on how to plan for a massive immunization campaign, how many doses they can expect and how they should decide who gets those first doses. "Our public-health system is highly fragmented, underresourced, overlooked and underappreciated," says Dr. Howard Koh, a professor at Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health and former assistant secretary for health and human services. "To make this happen, the local and state public-health infrastructure has got to be very strong, and right now it's not." The situation is similarly dire in lower-resource countries like India, where a lack of hospital beds and medical equipment amplifies the burden and toll of the disease.

No matter which vaccines are successful in trials, coverage will be key to achieving herd immunity. A linchpin of coverage is access, and access hinges on price. Moderna has said its vaccine will be priced depending on the volume of doses ordered, with smaller volumes costing at most around $32 to $37 per dose, while AstraZeneca says its collaborative vaccine with Oxford will be developed and distributed at cost to meet the needs in lower-resource countries. Ahead of final results from its trials, AstraZeneca signed agreements with companies in South Korea, Japan and Brazil to manufacture and provide up to 3 billion doses of its vaccine. "This isn't about us winning and somebody else losing. It's about us making a difference on this disease," says Pangalos from AstraZeneca.

Even if the COVID-19 vaccines don't provide 100% protection against infection, they could provide a huge boost toward that return to normality. But how quickly that happens will depend as much on the science behind them as on the humanity that determines where those vaccines go. What's being tested is more than the new technologies and the latest virus-fighting strategies encased in each injection. It's also our willingness to be blind to the physical as well as social and economic borders that divide us to combat a virus that holds no such biases. "With COVID-19, there is a chronic fear," says Kelly. "To be relieved of that is so important. It's so important to trust that the vaccine is going to help us have a healthier society that's not fear-based, so we can enjoy our lives again."

—With reporting by CIARA NUGENT/LONDON, LESLIE DICKSTEIN, MARIAH ESPADA *and* SIMMONE SHAH

179
NUMBER OF VACCINES IN DEVELOPMENT GLOBALLY

144
NUMBER IN PRECLINICAL EVALUATION

35
NUMBER IN CLINICAL PHASES THAT INVOLVE HUMAN TESTING

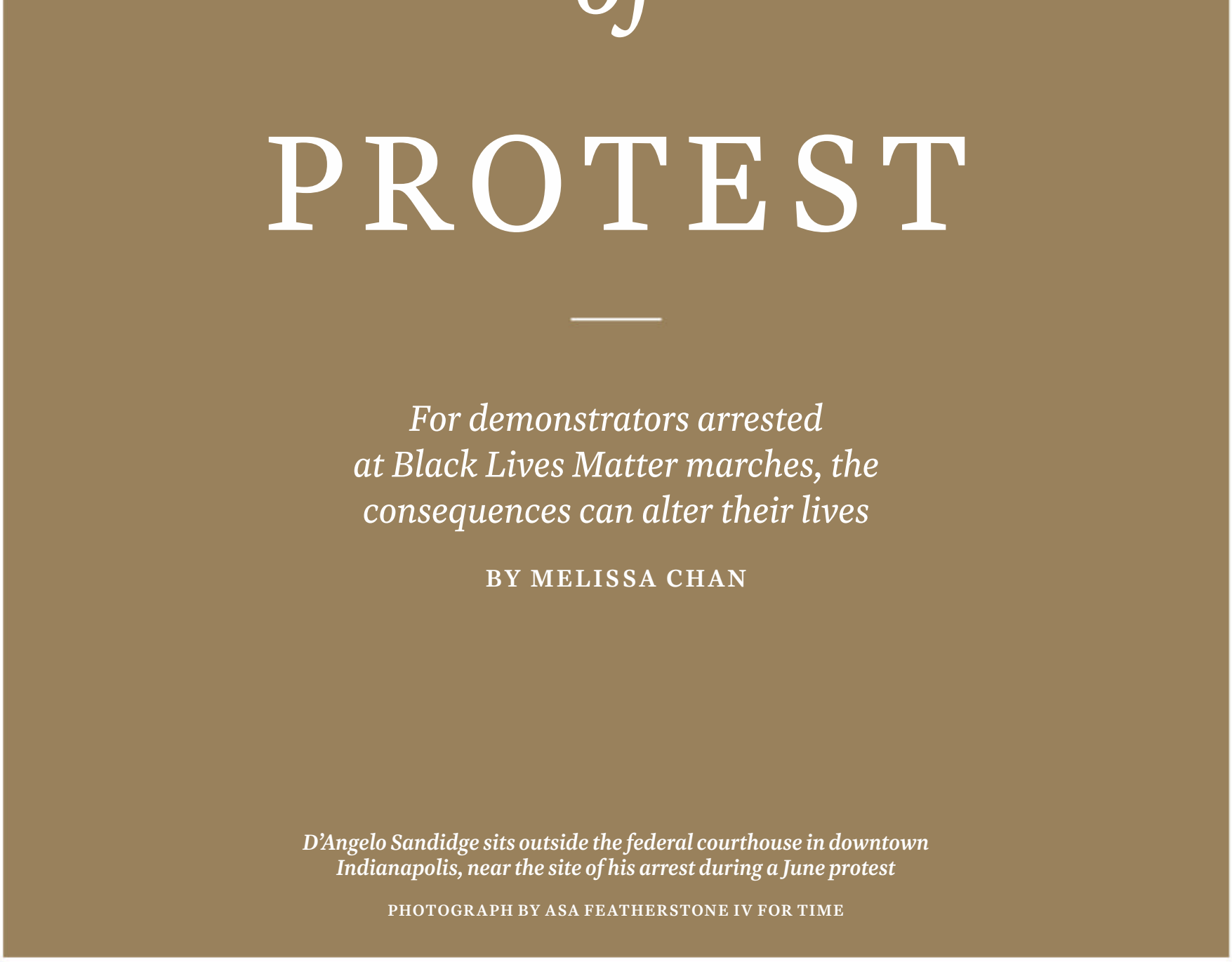
SOURCE: WHO

Nation

The PRICE *of* PROTEST

For demonstrators arrested at Black Lives Matter marches, the consequences can alter their lives

BY MELISSA CHAN



D'Angelo Sandidge sits outside the federal courthouse in downtown Indianapolis, near the site of his arrest during a June protest

PHOTOGRAPH BY ASA FEATHERSTONE IV FOR TIME

D'Angelo Sandidge was lying in bed and scrolling through Instagram on June 1,

thinking about the ground sausage he was about to fry for breakfast, when he stumbled upon a video that he'd heard about but not yet seen. His anger intensified as he watched the footage of George Floyd begging for his life while a white Minneapolis police officer knelt on his neck. By the time the video ended, after he'd watched Floyd, who was Black, call out for his mother and eventually fall silent, Sandidge had lost his appetite. "I felt sick to my stomach," he says.

Until that moment, Sandidge, who is also Black, had not been one to hit the streets in protest. But this was different. At 6 ft. 4 in. and 280 lb., he is about the same height and substantially heavier than Floyd, and that video was a reminder of how quick people are to judge those who look like him. So the next day, Sandidge bought a poster board and some markers and made a sign wider and taller than his torso that read, NO JUSTICE, NO PEACE, NO CALMNESS IN THE STREET. Sparked by a sense of urgency to take a stand as a Black man in America and by a desire to find camaraderie among people who could relate to his pain, the 24-year-old set out to join a Black Lives Matter protest in downtown Indianapolis.

By the end of the night, he was in jail, accused of violating curfew and resisting arrest by fleeing. Police say that as he fled, Sandidge was trying to reach into his backpack, where they found a taser and a can of bear spray—items Sandidge says he normally carries for self-protection. He was not charged with the curfew violation, but Sandidge faces up to a year in prison and a fine of up to $5,000 if convicted of resisting arrest. Even though it's a misdemeanor, the charge will show up on background checks even if he's acquitted or the case is dismissed, an outcome that particularly concerns Sandidge.

"I've never dealt with anything like this," says Sandidge, who didn't have a smudge on his driving record, much less a criminal history, when he was arrested. "I don't know what I'm going to do now."

Demonstrations against racism and police violence led to more than 7,800 arrests in the U.S. in May and June, according to the Crowd Counting Consortium, which collects data from news reports. An Associated Press tally found more than 10,000 protesters were arrested in just the first 10 days after Floyd's death on May 25. Amid the ongoing protests, many of those jailed, however briefly, are coming to terms with the repercussions of their decisions to take part in a major moment in history. Young protesters, particularly those of color, face chilling consequences on top of prosecution, including costly fines; loss of employment; and a stigma that legal experts say could affect their ability to obtain housing, jobs, education and occupational licenses.

"My confidence and my faith that I'll get everything back on track is shattered," Sandidge says.

IN WHAT EXPERTS CALL the largest sustained mobilization in modern history, some 23 million people across the U.S. have attended demonstrations since Floyd's death, a Civis poll from mid-June suggests. According to a national Pew Research survey of more than 600 people who say they attended a recent protest focused on race, about 41% were younger than 30. Of those who attended protests, 17% were Black, 22% were Hispanic, and 46% were white. A smaller survey looking at protest demographics in Washington, New York City and Los Angeles found that the median age of protesters was 29, according to Dana Fisher, a University of Maryland sociology professor whose team conducted surveys in the three cities in June. About 25% of those polled were 24 or younger, Fisher says, and white protesters made up about 54% of the crowds.

But when it came to arrests, the faces were less diverse. While there is no racial breakdown of protest arrests nationwide, some analyses of city and county arrest records the first weekend after Floyd's death show that many who were jailed were Black. Of the 2,172 people the Chicago police department arrested from May 29 to May 31, more than 70% were Black and 10% were white, according to an analysis of department records by the Chicago *Reader*. In Atlanta, 48 of the 82 people processed through the Fulton County jail that same weekend were Black, Georgia Public Broadcasting found.

When Sandidge was sitting on the sidewalk in handcuffs, he says, white bystanders walked past him without being stopped by police, even though they were also out after the 9 p.m. curfew. At one point in the night, he says, all 25 inmates in his jail cell were Black. He often wonders why authorities stopped him in the first place. Each time, he comes to the same conclusion. "One hundred percent it was because I was Black," he says. The Indianapolis metro police declined to comment.

Coricia Campbell, a Marine veteran who is Black, also believes race played a significant role in her arrest. On May 30, during a peaceful demonstration in Jacksonville, Fla., Campbell was sitting on the ground beside a white friend who was also protesting. Video shows police officers shoving Campbell's friend aside while pulling Campbell into their midst and handcuffing her. "In that entire line of people, I was the only one who was arrested," she says. In her holding cell, one woman out of eight was white, Campbell adds. "It's really hard not to think it was racial profiling," she says.

Orlando criminal-defense lawyer James Smith says the racial disparity in protest arrests is not surprising. Black

ASHLEY N WHITMER

Americans in general are more likely than white Americans to be arrested, convicted and given lengthy prison sentences, according to a 2018 report by the Sentencing Project, a nonprofit focused on reforming the U.S. criminal-justice system. There are many reasons for the disparity, the report found, including racial biases at every level of the justice system, including among police officers, prosecutors, judges, jurors and parole boards. Black and Hispanic defendants are more likely than white defendants to be denied bail, according to the report, and they're more likely to accept plea deals—even if they protest their innocence—because they're less likely to be able to afford costly legal battles. The recent round of arrests "highlights the racial double standard here in this nation," says Smith, who represents seven arrested protesters, all of them Black or Hispanic.

Police arrest Coricia Campbell during a Black Lives Matter protest in Jacksonville, Fla., on May 30

The disparities go beyond arrests. When it comes to employment, an arrest or conviction can decrease the likelihood of getting a callback for jobs, especially if an applicant is a person of color, says Beth Avery, a senior staff attorney with the National Employment Law Project (NELP). That means Black and Hispanic protesters will be most affected in the long term if they're arrested at demonstrations. "These protests going on all around the country are all about racial inequities and bias in our criminal legal system, and it doesn't stop with the police," Avery says. "It permeates throughout all these other aspects of life."

If a young protester who was recently arrested applies now for a job or a student loan, the pending criminal case will likely pop up. Criminal-history questions also appear in the majority of undergraduate college applications. National surveys have shown that 60% to 80% of private institutions and 55% of public institutions require prospective students to answer questions about their criminal past during the admission process, according to a Brookings Institution report. "One thing I don't think the average American realizes is just how devastating even an initial contact with the criminal-justice system can be," Smith says. "The perfect storm is for that college-aged student who is trying to get their lives started."

Even for someone like Campbell, who is 31 and has a job, the results of her arrest have been devastating. Prosecutors dropped Campbell's unlawful-assembly charge, but while she was in jail, she missed a surgery scheduled to remove her gallbladder. "It's a really stressful situation," says Campbell, who suffers from irritable bowel syndrome and gastroesophageal reflux disease. Because of COVID-19, she doesn't know when she can reschedule the operation. But Campbell says she felt a duty to protest

and doesn't question her decision. In fact, she's participated in three more demonstrations since her arrest. "Regret implies that if you had a choice to do it over again, you'd make a different decision," says Campbell. "I would still be there."

Lawyers representing protesters fear many are marching under the mistaken impression that minor cases disappear from criminal records once charges are cleared. Sandidge and Campbell walked into protests with that mindset. But in reality, arrests remain on criminal records in most states' court systems, threatening a person's ability to find work and housing for years. At least 28 states, including where Sandidge and Campbell were arrested, require an individual to take often onerous court actions to seal or expunge an arrest record, even if they've been acquitted or a charge has been dismissed, according to the nonprofit Collateral Consequences Resource Center. Even then, many states allow only one expungement in a lifetime, says John Phillips, a Florida civil rights lawyer who helped get Campbell's unlawful-assembly charge dismissed. "Right now, you think you're invincible," Phillips says. "But this may stick, and it can add up. It's a snowball going down the mountain."

Records of arrests and even mug shots also live on in public and private databases, which employers, college-admissions boards and some loan issuers can access. "All someone has to do is Google your name, and information will come up showing what you're arrested for," Smith says. "The arrest record could, frankly, be around for most of your productive life." This has long been a problem in a nation where nearly 1 in 3 adults, or 70 million, have an arrest or conviction record and where, according to the Brennan Center for Justice, as many Americans have criminal records as college diplomas. "Employers are not supposed to rely on arrest records alone," says Avery, the NELP attorney. "But the truth is that if it shows up on a background check, it's going to affect an employer's view of the applicant."

'The arrest record could, frankly, be around for most of your productive life.'

—James Smith, lawyer

A MOVEMENT to prevent this has made progress. Thirty-five states since 1998 have adopted so-called Ban the Box laws or policies that require public-sector employers to consider job candidates' qualifications before asking them to disclose arrest or conviction records. Fourteen of those states have gone further, barring private employers from including questions about criminal convictions on job applications.

"We're coming around to everyone recognizing that perhaps people with an arrest or conviction record shouldn't be perpetually punished," Avery says.

SERGIO FLORES—GETTY IMAGES

People arrested in Houston during a protest on June 2 wait to board a bus for the Harris County jail

But the change may not be happening quickly enough to save today's protesters from years of setbacks.

ON THE AFTERNOON of June 2, Sandidge took his homemade sign and joined dozens of demonstrators at the Soldiers and Sailors Monument in downtown Indianapolis. He left for a while, then decided to return with a friend at about 10 p.m. As he got near the rally after parking his car, Sandidge says, he heard shouts and saw figures charging toward him in the dark. He says he ran, not knowing the figures were police.

According to a probable-cause affidavit obtained by TIME, police said they spotted Sandidge and another man trying to duck behind flower beds. The men began running as one officer shouted, "Stop. Police," sparking a foot chase that ended with the two being captured and handcuffed.

The county prosecutor cleared more than 100 people arrested that first weekend in June for nonviolent offenses. But because police allege Sandidge had been trying to reach into his bag, possibly for a weapon, before he was apprehended, a spokesman for the prosecutor's office told TIME his charge was warranted. He declined to comment further on the case. Sandidge denies trying to get into his bag and says he had no intention of using anything inside it as a weapon. The spray was sealed, and the taser was in a secured pouch, says Sandidge. Indiana law permits the carrying of both without a permit.

"For me to be another statistic, it terrifies me," Sandidge says of his arrest. "I've never, never, never had to worry about having anxiety or fear, because I've always had a clean track record."

After a little over 24 hours in jail, Sandidge was released a few hours before he was due to attend an orientation for a new job at a security company. Because he was concerned about being exposed to COVID-19 and because his wallet, which had his driver's license, had been confiscated and not yet returned, Sandidge missed the orientation. The company offered him the option of completing his training online instead, but Sandidge says he was too preoccupied and felt his life was too much "in shambles" to continue pursuing the job. "I was just going through so much mentally that I wouldn't have been any good to anyone in a work environment," he says.

Sandidge's first court appearance is scheduled for Sept. 16. Until then, all he can do is wait. If he applies for a job now, his pending criminal case may hinder his chances. He's filled with fear thinking about the outcome of his case, his next possible encounter with police and whether he has sabotaged his future, derailing his plan of saving enough money to afford college. "It did something different to me," he says of his arrest. "It changed me." ◻

Society

Seventy years after the Rosewood massacre, survivors and descendants were awarded $2.1 million. ***Is this a model for reparations in the U.S.?***

BY VICTOR LUCKERSON

A home burns on Jan. 9, 1923, during a white mob's attacks on the Black community of Rosewood, Fla.

PHOTOGRAPH BY BETTMANN ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

M

MARY HALL DANIELS ERECTED HER FINAL HOME in Hilliard, Fla., just the way she liked it. Three bedrooms, two baths, encased in light brown brick with a miniature palm tree out front. There was a metal carport in the back for her sturdy Dodge Intrepid and plush red carpet on the inside, evoking a cozy church like the one she attended every Sunday and Wednesday two miles down the road. She watched her soaps on a small TV in the laundry room next to the kitchen and collected stuffed animals in one of the guest rooms. She tended the yard herself, manning a riding lawn mower in weathered work boots and a bright green baseball cap until she was 90 years old. The house was hers, and no one could take it from her. Not again.

She'd built it in a one-stoplight town near Jacksonville at a cost of nearly $100,000. It was a hefty price for a woman who was living off a modest retirement from her job as a nursing assistant and from Social Security payments. But by the time the thick red carpet indoors was laid in the year 2000, Daniels had already paid off the entire bill. Six years earlier, she was awarded $150,000 by the state of Florida because of what had happened to her very first house, in an obscure rural hamlet called Rosewood.

In 1923, when Daniels was 3 years old, a white mob burned down the mostly Black enclave after a white woman in a nearby town of Sumner said she had been assaulted by a Black assailant. On a cold January night, Daniels and dozens of other Black Rosewood residents fled their homes into the central Florida swamps as armed white men bore down on their community. "We didn't have no clothes, no shoes, no nothing," Daniels recalled decades later. From the time she was whisked from her bed until she died in 2018 as the last known survivor of the attack, Daniels never again stepped foot in Rosewood.

The story of the Rosewood massacre would lie dormant for decades, until a small group of living witnesses, aided by their media-savvy descendants and a powerful law firm, persuaded the Florida state legislature to award direct cash payments to nine survivors of the event. Descendants of those survivors also received money, in the form of small cash sums and college scholarships. Though politicians carefully avoided using the term *reparations,* the legislation represented the first time in modern U.S. history that a government not only acknowledged its

PHOTOGRAPHS BY RAHIM FORTUNE FOR TIME

'We can sit our kids down and explain to them how we came to live on this property. It wasn't just handed to us.'

—Carlous Hall, grandson of Rosewood massacre survivor Mary Hall Daniels, with his wife and sons in the house his grandmother bought with her settlement, left. Portraits and remembrances of Daniels at the Hall home, right

role in the centuries of systemic racism, violence and economic harm toward African Americans, but also compensated them for it. "I remember Mama saying, 'Finally, we're going to get something for our property that my mom and dad had that they took from us,'" says Daniels' daughter, Alzada Harrell.

Rosewood was one of many incidents in which white mobs, from Washington, D.C., to Tulsa, Okla., violently attacked and destroyed Black communities in the years after World War I. Such vicious acts of terrorism have never fit neatly into the arc of racial progress that America markets as history. But the usual order of things has been upended by the killing of George Floyd and the summer of fiery protest that followed. People have taken to the streets demanding not only the end of police violence that steals Black lives but also the beginning of economic policies that restore Black livelihoods. Calls for reparations have extended across long distances and targeted injustices across even longer time frames: from the arrival of enslaved people on colonial shores in 1619 Virginia to the unfair treatment of Black homeowners seeking mortgages in 2018 Chicago. The collective memory of the people is finally catching up to the institutional memory of the state. And greater historical knowledge is driving more Americans toward a simple conclusion: there's a debt to be paid.

The Rosewood case was a single, arduous effort to repay a sliver of that debt. The surprising success of the Florida case could offer a model for a new generation seeking justice for historical wrongs—though that assumes a consensus exists about the best way such an effort might proceed. Among people who support reparations, many want Congress to enact a comprehensive federal policy. A patchwork of state reparation laws and initiatives could distract from that approach. And some communities are seeking redress through the courts rather than legislation—perhaps discouraged by the politics of the issue: nationally, support for reparations is starkly divided along racial lines. While 72% of African Americans believe the federal government should compensate Black people whose ancestors were enslaved, only 14% of whites support such a measure, according to an ABC News/Ipsos poll.

But paying the Rosewood victims was itself seen as a radical long shot before it actually happened. When the Florida state senate finally passed the bill in the spring of 1994, the survivors didn't thank the lawyers or the legislators first—they thanked God. Their stories of childhood terror and lost opportunities as adults had moved the government to try to atone, however late. This is the basic calculus of any reparation claim, which must feed the deeply personal traumas of America's racist past into the grinding bureaucracy of present-day courtrooms, capitol buildings and city-council chambers. Mary Hall Daniels and the other Rosewood families have already done the work; the rest of the nation may finally be ready to follow their lead.

ROSEWOOD WAS A SMALL GLIMMER of Black independence in the shadow of the Jim Crow South. In the 1910s, Black entrepreneurs there operated a sugarcane mill, a turpentine distillery and at least two general stores. By 1923, the community had seen better days but was still a peaceful enclave of about 120 people. Many residents were employed at the sawmill in the nearby town of Sumner or served as domestic workers for its white residents. Others farmed or trapped, catching and selling wild animals. Though their homes spread out far among the dense pine trees and Spanish moss of rural Florida, Rosewood residents took pride in their three churches, school, Masonic lodge and amateur baseball team.

It was in Sumner that the trouble started. On the morning of Jan. 1, 1923, a white woman named Fannie Taylor came running out of her house in a panic, claiming that she had just been assaulted by an unknown Black man who'd escaped through her back door. News emerged that a Black convict was on the loose. White men of Sumner quickly formed an armed search party with bloodhounds and set out for Rosewood.

Over the course of the next week, an ebb and flow of intense violence would rack Rosewood as white people sought Fannie Taylor's alleged assailant. When an African-American blacksmith named Sam Carter couldn't answer the white men's questions to their satisfaction, the posse shot Carter at point-blank range and hanged him from a tree. Another Black Rosewood resident, Aaron Carrier, barely escaped a lynching. As rumors of a mysterious Black attacker spread, white people from surrounding towns poured into the region, forming a lawless mob that numbered more than 100. Ku Klux Klan members were likely in their ranks—the hate group had held a large rally in nearby Gainesville on New Year's Day.

The manhunt reached a crescendo on the night of Jan. 4, when members of the mob attempted to forcibly enter the home of Sarah Carrier, a Rosewood matriarch who worked as a domestic servant in Sumner. Sarah's son Sylvester, armed with a shotgun, was protecting the house. When men attempted to kick down the front door, Sylvester shot and killed two.

The Carrier house was burned to the ground, and Sarah and Sylvester were later found dead inside. The pretense of seeking justice for Fannie Taylor was replaced with a wrathful desire for revenge for the killing of two white men. Over the next two days, the churches, the Mason hall and the houses of Rosewood would all be enveloped in flames. A woman named Lexie Gordon, who was trying to escape her burning home, was shot to death by white attackers. All told,

the Rosewood atrocity would end with an official count of at least six Black people and two white people dead, though descendants of Rosewood families have claimed as many as 37 people were killed or missing.

The Black folks who survived were left with battered souls and shattered livelihoods. Mary Hall Daniels' family moved to Gainesville, where her mother cooked in white people's kitchens. The abundance of their Rosewood farm was gone forever—Mary had to put aside an interest in music because the family couldn't afford the 25¢ lessons. Her older brother Wilson recalled the three-room shack they crammed into in Gainesville, a far cry from their former two-story home. But it was more than financial security that had been taken. Mary's older sister Margie was skittish around white people the rest of her life. And Mary, whose father died when she was a baby, always ached for the pictures of him that had been lost in the blaze. "I don't know my daddy," she said decades later. "I don't even know how he looked."

While Daniels' family eventually migrated to Hilliard, many of the Rosewood survivors ended up in Lacoochee, a small town near Tampa where the mill that had employed many Black workers in Sumner was relocated. There, a rigid set of rules emerged dictating that the horrors of Rosewood could be discussed only at the discretion of family elders. "It was fear and protection," Arnett Doctor, a great-grandson of Sarah Carrier's, would later recall. "That mob that ravaged Rosewood as they did, many of those people were still alive, and my mother was aware of them by name."

Doctor learned about what had happened in Rosewood from relatives as a small boy in the late 1940s. For Alzada Harrell, in Hilliard, her aunt Margie broached the topic when she was a teenager in the 1970s. No one who had experienced the terror wanted to dwell on it. But in the 1980s, Doctor began quietly compiling information about Rosewood—not just the stories passed down by his elders but also land deeds, birth certificates and tax records. In 1982, an investigative journalist named Gary Moore published the first modern account of the Rosewood incident in the St. Petersburg *Times*. (Moore in 2015 published *Rosewood: The Full Story,* an exhaustive account of the many uncovered facts and myths tied to the massacre.) The next year, the story of Rosewood was beamed into homes nationwide on *60 Minutes*. The prominent news coverage helped push the families to start organizing an annual reunion in Lacoochee.

Rosewood was no longer a secret. Eventually, its victims would advocate for something their counterparts in Tulsa, Washington and dozens of other sites of racial horror never received: justice.

THE ARGUMENT for Rosewood reparations hinged not on the reckless acts of a nameless mob, but on the government officials who refused to stop it. On New Year's Day, 1923, when Sam Carter was being lynched, Levy County deputy sheriff Clarence Williams did nothing to intervene. The coroner ruled Carter's killing "death by unknown hands," though a crowd of at least two dozen men had been present to witness the murder. Sheriff Robert Walker declined to request that Florida Governor Cary Hardee send in the National Guard as violence escalated. After the killing was over, a grand jury returned no indictments.

"The state did nothing, even after Rosewood burned, to go in and protect that property for the owners," says Martha Barnett, one of the lawyers who represented the Rosewood families in the reparations push. "We made the argument that the obligation of the state to do that existed the night Rosewood burned, it existed the week after Rosewood burned, and it existed 70 years later."

In 1992, when the law firm Holland and Knight took up the Rosewood case as a signature effort of its pro bono division, Barnett was a corporate lobbyist well known in the halls of the Florida statehouse. Her typical clients included IBM and Pepsi. But Holland and Knight quickly realized that a case advocating for the Rosewood survivors would be much easier to build in the capitol building than in the courthouse. In a civil trial against the state, witness memories might be dismissed as hearsay. The statute of limitations would also make it difficult for the law to reach so far back in time. This was a cruel wrinkle of a justice system that was only beginning to grapple with the human-rights violations it had legally sanctioned before the civil rights movement. "We had death and injury, but we didn't have a judgment," Barnett says.

In the legislature, there was a clearer path to restitution. Holland and Knight could file an equitable-claims bill, arguing that the state government had injured the families of Rosewood and had a moral obligation to compensate them, regardless of whether there was an explicit legal one. If enough legislators agreed, a hearing would be convened. Holland and Knight would be able to call witnesses and present evidence. The state, represented by the attorney general, would be able to cross-examine them. An official known as the special master, similar to a judge, would advise the legislature on whether the bill should be passed. "It's kind of like a minitrial in a legislative arena," Barnett says.

At first, there was little appetite among legislators for a bill that was seen as politically risky and racially divisive. Even among Black members of the state government, there was skepticism. Eventually, the Rosewood families found key allies in Al Lawson and Miguel de Grandy. The bill's two co-sponsors brought together several factions that might traditionally be at odds: Democrats and Republicans, African Americans and Hispanics, North Floridians and South Floridians.

The initial version of the bill leaned heavily on

the moral imperative to atone for the sins of the past, remarking that "the inhabitants of Rosewood were hunted like animals." It called for an unspecified sum of money for an unspecified number of massacre victims. The bill was never heard on the floor of the Florida house of representatives. "It was a huge flop," recalls Barnett, who tracked down nearly every legislator to pitch the bill face-to-face. "Most people said, 'It's been 70 years. It's a terrible story. It's an awful chapter in the history of our state, but we didn't do it.'"

There, again, was the cruel wrinkle of a flawed justice system. Because the state had waited so long to answer for Rosewood, legislators argued that any debt owed to survivors should simply be wiped from the moral ledger. It was hardly a new talking point. When enslaved people were freed after the Civil War, they had reason to expect that the government would grant them land as delayed payment for generations of labor exploitation. The phrase *40 acres and a mule* derives from General William T. Sherman's 1865 field order to distribute 400,000 acres of land to newly freed Black families in 40-acre plots. Instead, government officials insisted that compensating Black people was a practical impossibility. After a formerly enslaved woman named Callie House helped launch a national campaign demanding pensions for her fellow freedmen, the commissioner of the U.S. Bureau of Pensions said in 1902 that "reparation for historical wrongs" was a false hope that would be "followed by inevitable disappointment, and probably distrust of the dominant race and of the Government."

In Florida, the lawyers and legislators hoped additional facts and a sharper legal argument would overcome a century's worth of antireparation rhetoric. The bill's backers persuaded the legislature to commission a report from several prominent Florida academics that would provide a factual account of the events at Rosewood. In the meantime, Doctor was talking up their story in the press.

Everyone involved carefully avoided using the word *reparations,* even though both Doctor and Holland and Knight had closely examined a reparation law from 1988, in which Congress awarded $20,000 to each Japanese American who was forced into an internment camp during World War II. Instead, the key concept became property rights, the notion that the government has a duty to protect any citizen's land, regardless of race. The framing struck a chord with some Republicans and provided some amount of political cover for legislators who feared wading into the reparations debate. "They would ask me, 'Al, does this have anything to do with race?'" says Lawson, now a Congressman representing North Florida. "I said, 'No, it's about property value. You can vote for this.'"

Lawson and de Grandy brought a revised bill in 1994, which dialed back the language decrying racism. It called for $7 million in payments to a specific list of Rosewood victims and their descendants, including $270,000 for each person who had survived the attack itself. With skeptical legislators at least somewhat convinced, and press coverage around the globe, a special legislative hearing was organized in February and March of 1994.

One after another, Rosewood's elderly survivors traveled to the Florida capitol in order to paint vivid pictures of the trauma they'd endured as children. Arnett Goins recalled seeing the bodies of the two white men who had tried to enter Sarah Carrier's home splayed out in the living room. From the second floor of his home, Wilson Hall could see the flames dancing from other houses in the area before his family were forced to flee their own. Minnie Lee Langley, the lead witness, recalled how bitterly cold it was in the swamps as they huddled by a fire, waiting for a train that would rescue women and children (but not men). "We stayed out there three days and three nights out there in the woods," she said at the hearing. "It hurt me."

Crucially, the Rosewood case had something investigations into Jim Crow crimes often don't. Earnest Parham, a white man who had been an 18-year-old store clerk at the time of the massacre, testified that he had witnessed the killing of Sam Carter. "It was almost as if the state needed a white person to corroborate what the Black residents of Rosewood were saying," says Maxine Jones, a history professor at Florida State University who led research for the state legislature's report.

Special master Richard Hixson, acknowledging that the Rosewood case wouldn't pass muster in a court of law, appealed to the "moral obligations of the state." He recommended that the legislature award $150,000 to each survivor. The legislature quickly abided, passing the bill in both chambers by comfortable margins. Rosewood family members hugged and wept. A 10-year-old descendant named Benea Ousley read a family poem, "The Rosewood Story," on the capitol steps. Within five months the Office of the Comptroller in the state of Florida began issuing checks to Minnie Lee Langley, the Hall siblings and the other survivors. Reparations were real.

The Rosewood money was divided into three pots: the $150,000 lump sum for each of the nine survivors; a $500,000 pool of funds for their descendants; and individual $4,000 scholarships for the youngest generation of Rosewood family members. The total payment was $2.1 million, significantly less than the initial request of $7 million—but, crucially, something to build on.

For many Black households, financial precarity is a way of life, especially for those who don't own homes that can be borrowed against. In the U.S., for every dollar of wealth held by a median white family, a Black family has just 10¢. This wealth gap was

One of the oldest living descendants of the Rosewood massacre, Altamese Wrispus, with three generations of family members

formed by the beams and trusses of structural racism over the course of centuries. Black people were barred from accessing the best jobs after Reconstruction, refused bank loans for suburban homes after the New Deal, and in particularly vivid cases, run off their own property by unruly white mobs throughout the early 20th century. The chasm in prosperity that emerged from these acts naturally argues for material recompense.

Generational wealth, however, is easier to start building early in life rather than at its end. While Mary Hall Daniels was able to buy a new home, for many of the Rosewood survivors, the money offered small comforts in life's twilight: a sturdier roof, a new car, a big-screen TV. Much of the money was eaten up by unforeseen expenses: higher medical bills because the boost in income disqualified a survivor from Medicaid, or a new home-security system to guard against the perpetual fear that someone would try to finish what the mob in Rosewood had started. What was left arrived too late to be properly enjoyed by people whose lives had been transformed by white violence. "They didn't get a chance to go on any big cruises and enjoy and have fun," says Sherry DuPree, a historian for the Rosewood Heritage Foundation. "They had to pay money out to take care of their needs."

The money for descendants was divided among a number of sprawling family trees drafted by the attorney general's office. It didn't go far. Fewer than half of the claimants received more than $2,000, and

some received only a few hundred dollars. The money offered opportunities for moments of joy—Altamese Wrispus, one of the oldest descendants still living, spent her $3,000 on her niece's wedding—but hardly enough to transform a life. However, it did establish a precedent for providing direct cash payments to descendants of people who suffered property loss due to acts of racial terror.

The Rosewood legacy lives on today primarily through the scholarships. So far, 297 descendants have received help paying for school, according to the Washington *Post*. If not for the Rosewood bill, Carlous Hall might not have finished college. A grandson of Mary Hall Daniels', who now lives in her three-bedroom house in Hilliard with his wife and two sons, he doesn't know if he would have had the money or motivation to complete a four-year degree on his own. But Hall enrolled at Bethune-Cookman University in 1997, using scholarship money allocated in the bill. "Without the scholarship, it would have been very hard for me to go to any four-year college," he says. "There was no way I was gonna blow that chance, given the fact that I got a scholarship based on what happened to my grandmother back in the '20s. That was a huge impact on my life." He now teaches special education and history at Hilliard's high school.

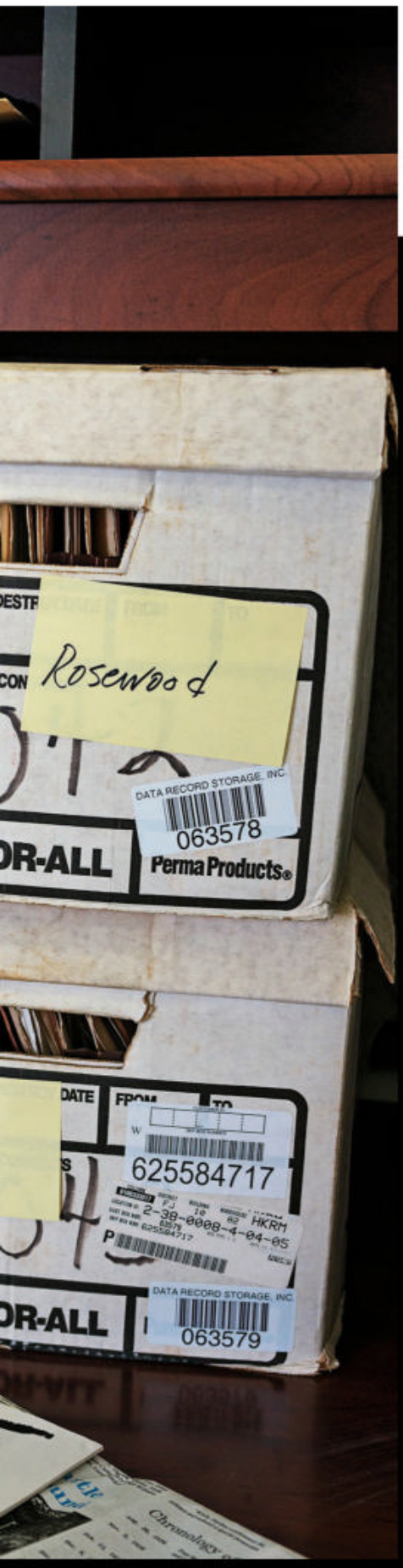
Ebony Pickett, another early scholarship recipient, was already in college at Florida A&M University when the reparation law was passed. The scholarship money gave Pickett the confidence and financial security to switch majors to occupational therapy during college. "I may have just settled for something I can do, not necessarily where my passion lies," she says. "In that aspect, I'm truly grateful."

Pickett's two younger sisters—Benea Denson, who sang on the capitol steps when the Rosewood bill was passed, and Keri Miller—followed in her footsteps at Florida A&M, earning degrees in pharmacy and elementary education. While all three sisters appreciate the financial freedom the scholarship afforded them, they also recognize the opportunities lost by their ancestors. When I asked what form reparations might take in the future, Denson's response was immediate: "Land. Building generational wealth. That's what we lost with Rosewood."

LAST SUMMER, Randolph Bracy, a Florida state senator, watched the U.S. congressional hearing on reparations from his district in Ocoee, Fla. Reparations had quickly gone from a moribund political topic to an issue advocated by Democratic presidential candidates. The debate was no longer just about slavery but also the misdeeds that came during and after the Jim Crow era. Maybe it's time, Bracy thought.

Ocoee had its own buried history of shocking racial violence. On Election Day in 1920, a Black

Former Holland and Knight attorney Martha Barnett retains thousands of Rosewood files at her office in Tallahassee



'They didn't get a chance to go on any big cruises and enjoy and have fun. They had to pay money out to take care of their needs.'

—Sherry DuPree, historian, near the site of Rosewood

resident named Moses Norman had a confrontation with several white men when he protested being turned away at the polls. Norman fled to the home of a friend, July Perry, for safety, and in self-defense they killed two members of the white mob coming after them. Incensed white people proceeded to lynch Perry and burn 20 buildings in the Black district, possibly killing as many as 60 Black people. Soon every Black resident was run out of town.

"Rosewood set a precedent," Bracy says. "How it was done in '92 is what I tried to do." He commissioned a study to establish the facts, began drumming up media attention and introduced a bill last fall that would provide up to $150,000 for descendants of former Ocoee residents.

Without the influence of well-heeled lobbyists or a Republican co-sponsor for his bill, Bracy's measure stalled in Florida's senate committees and was ultimately turned into an Ocoee education bill rather than a reparation one. His plans to start rallying public support for another reparation effort next year were scuttled by the onslaught of the coronavirus in March. But then the George Floyd protests erupted, and a dam holding back generations' worth of frustration with American racism burst open.

Protesters took to the streets calling for the arrest of killer cops, the defunding of police departments, and reparations for Black people. "We have been taught in direct ways and in indirect ways to disregard, disrespect and to not value Black life," says Shirley Weber, an assembly member in the California state legislature. "The Floyd case makes people sit up and say, 'O.K., I know I may have been resistant to some of this stuff in the past, but maybe my resistance was uncalled-for.'"

In June, the California state assembly passed a bill that would assemble a reparations task force to study the impact of slavery and later forms of discrimination on Black people in the state. The city council in Asheville, N.C., passed a similar ordinance in July, and the mayor of Providence, R.I., backed reparations the same month. Bracy now believes the drastic shift in the political environment will help financial reparations come to pass in Ocoee when he reintroduces the initiative next year.

Communities are also turning to the courts in order to seek redress. On Sept. 1, survivors of the 1921 Tulsa race massacre and their descendants filed a lawsuit against the city of Tulsa, which has never compensated victims of the brutal event in which white mobs burned down more than 1,200 homes and killed as many as 300 people. The case argues that local and state officials created a public nuisance by allowing the massacre to happen, sustained that nuisance over the course of generations through disinvestment from the Greenwood business district, and must now restore the neighborhood to the financial position it would have been in if not for the massacre. If successful, the case could set a new precedent for how the historical impacts of systemic racism are adjudicated. "We must have repair. We must have reparations. And we must have respect," lead lawyer Damario Solomon-Simmons said.

THESE DISPARATE INITIATIVES compelled professors at Columbia University and Howard University to form the African American Redress Network in June. The organization hopes to provide opportunities for local leaders nationwide to share strategies in current reparation campaigns. In the long term, the group may offer the logistical and financial resources that are necessary to grease the wheels of effective political movements, according to Justin Hansford, the director of the Thurgood Marshall Civil Rights Center at Howard. "At the end of the day, it was power and politics that got the bill across the finish line," Hansford said, referring to Rosewood. "People have known reparations was the right thing to do for a long time, and nothing's happened. But when the power dynamics shift, things happen."

Sandy Darity, a public-policy professor at Duke University, argues that people should reject piecemeal reparations as a matter of principle, since there's no way they could come close to accounting for the economic harms brought on by enslavement, Jim Crow and modern racist practices. In a new book, *From Here to Equality,* he and co-author A. Kirsten Mullen propose that Congress enact a reparation program that would eliminate the racial wealth gap between Black people and white people. Such a program would cost $10 trillion to $12 trillion, which Darity and Mullen believe could be allocated over the course of 10 years. That would amount to slightly less than the Social Security Administration's $1.2 trillion in annual spending, the largest line item in the federal budget. But the status quo also costs money—between $1 trillion and $1.5 trillion from 2019 to 2028, the global consulting leader McKinsey estimated last year, citing, apart from the human toll of the wealth gap, its dampening effect on consumption and investment. Joe Biden, the Democratic nominee for President, has said in the past he supports the congressional bill to study reparations, but did not include the concept in his racial-equity plan, released in July.

Much of the skepticism about reparations is framed as a problem of logistics. How would we pay for it? Who would get the money? What is the legal argument for prosecuting decades-old crimes? But these are really deflections from the core moral question at the heart of the argument: Do we, as a society, owe a debt for the injustices of the past—injustices that our own government could have addressed long ago but chose not to? In Florida, in one instance, the answer was yes.

Mary Hall Daniels built a three-bedroom home in Hilliard, Fla., after receiving $150,000 from the state as a Rosewood survivor

Darity's proposal would result in direct payments of $250,000 to every African-American descendant of enslaved people in the U.S.—or about the same amount of money Mary Hall Daniels received, adjusting for inflation. That money is still providing a roof over her family's head and allowing them to derive something besides anger, fear and bitterness from a trauma that may never fully heal. "Of course it makes me upset, but I'm proud of the fact that the people back then were resilient," her grandson Carlous Hall says.

Last year, Hall's two sons visited Rosewood for the first time. Every Black home erected before 1923 is gone, and only a weathered historical marker on the side of State Road 24 denotes what happened there. The former Hall land is privately owned. But from the road that abuts it, you can see an American flag draped across a wooden gate, taking proud ownership of a certain version of history.

Though Hall's family no longer owns a piece of Rosewood, he still believes it's important that his children know where they came from. "We can sit our kids down and explain to them how we came to live on this property," he says. "It wasn't just handed to us. Some people worked hard and sacrificed. There's lessons involved in all of that."

Luckerson is a journalist who writes a biweekly newsletter about neglected Black history called Run It Back at runitback.substack.com

Politics

DOWN THE RABBIT HOLE

How conspiracy theories are shaping the 2020 election—and shaking the foundation of American democracy

BY CHARLOTTE ALTER/MILWAUKEE

KELLY FERRO IS A BUSY MOM ON HER WAY TO the post office: leather mini-backpack, brunet topknot, turquoise pedicure with a matching ombré manicure. A hairdresser from Kenosha, Wis., Ferro didn't vote in 2016 but has since become a strong supporter of Donald Trump. "Why does the news hate the President so much?" she says. "I went down the rabbit hole. I started doing a lot of research."

When I ask what she means by research, something shifts. Her voice has the same honey tone as before, and her face is as friendly as ever. But there's an uncanny flash as she says, "This is where I don't know what I can say, because what's integrated into our system, it stems deep. And it has to do with really corrupt, evil, dark things that have been hidden from the public. Child sex trafficking is one of them."

Ferro may not have even realized it, but she was parroting elements of the QAnon conspiracy theory, a pro-Trump viral delusion that began in 2017 and has spread widely over recent months, migrating from far-right corners of the Internet to infect ordinary voters in the suburbs. Its followers believe President Trump is a hero safeguarding the world from a "deep state" cabal of Satan-worshipping pedophiles, Democratic politicians and Hollywood celebrities who run a global sex-trafficking ring, harvesting the blood of children for life-sustaining chemicals.

At an Aug. 22 "Save the Children" rally in St. Paul, Minn., protesters trumpet elements of the QAnon conspiracy theory

PHOTOGRAPH BY STEPHEN MATUREN—GETTY IMAGES

None of this is even remotely true. But an alarming number of Americans have been exposed to these wild ideas. There are thousands of QAnon groups and pages on Facebook, with millions of members, according to an internal company document reviewed by NBC News. Dozens of QAnon-friendly candidates have run for Congress, and at least three have won GOP primaries. Trump has called its adherents "people that love our country."

In more than seven dozen interviews conducted in Wisconsin in early September, from the suburbs around Milwaukee to the scarred streets of Kenosha in the aftermath of the Jacob Blake shooting, about 1 in 5 voters volunteered ideas that veered into the realm of conspiracy theory, ranging from QAnon to the notion that COVID-19 is a hoax. Two women in Ozaukee County calmly informed me that an evil cabal operates tunnels under the U.S. in order to rape and torture children and drink their blood. A Joe Biden supporter near a Kenosha church told me votes don't matter, because "the elites" will decide the outcome of the election anyway. A woman on a Kenosha street corner explained that Democrats were planning to bring in U.N. troops before the election to prevent a Trump win.

It's hard to know exactly why people believe what they believe. Some had clearly been exposed to QAnon conspiracy theorists online. Others seemed to be repeating false ideas espoused in *Plandemic,* a pair of conspiracy videos featuring a discredited former medical researcher that went viral, spreading the notion that COVID-19 is a hoax across social media. (COVID-19 is not a hoax.) When asked where they found their information, almost all these voters were cryptic: "Go online," one woman said. "Dig deep," added another. They seemed to share a collective disdain for the mainstream media—a skepticism that has only gotten stronger and deeper since 2016. The truth wasn't reported, they said, and what was reported wasn't true.

This matters not just because of what these voters believe but also because of what they don't. The facts that should anchor a sense of shared reality are meaningless to them; the news developments that might ordinarily inform their vote fall on deaf ears. They will not be swayed by data on coronavirus deaths, they won't be persuaded by job losses or stock market gains, and they won't care if Trump called America's fallen soldiers "losers" or "suckers," as the *Atlantic* reported, because they won't believe it. They are impervious to messaging, advertising or data. They aren't just infected with conspiracy; they appear to be inoculated against reality.

Democracy relies on an informed and engaged public responding in rational ways to the real-life facts and challenges before us. But a growing number of Americans are untethered from that. "They're not on the same epistemological grounding, they're not living in the same worlds," says Whitney Phillips, a professor at Syracuse who studies online disinformation. "You cannot have a functioning democracy when people are not at the very least occupying the same solar system."

AMERICAN POLITICS HAS always been prone to spasms of conspiracy. The historian Richard Hofstadter famously called it "an arena for angry minds." In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, Americans were convinced that the Masons were an antigovernment conspiracy; populists in the 1890s warned of the "secret cabals" controlling the price of gold; in the 20th century, McCarthyism and the John Birch Society fueled a wave of anti-Communist delusions that animated the right. More recently, Trump helped seed a racist lie that President Barack Obama was not born in the U.S.

As a candidate in 2016, Trump seemed to promote a new wild conspiracy every week, from linking Ted Cruz's father to the Kennedy assassination to suggesting Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia was murdered. In interviews at Trump rallies that year, I heard voters espouse all manner of delusions: that the government was run by drug cartels; that Obama was a foreign-born Muslim running for a third term; that Hillary Clinton had Vince Foster killed. But after four years of a Trump presidency, the paranoia is no longer relegated to the margins of society. According to the Pew Research Center, 25% of Americans say there is some truth to the conspiracy theory that the COVID-19 pandemic was intentionally planned. (Virologists, global health officials and U.S. intelligence and national-security officials have all dismissed the idea that the pandemic was human-engineered, although Trump Administration officials have said they have not ruled out the possibility that it was the result of an accident in a lab.) In a recent poll of nearly 1,400 people by left-leaning Civiqs/Daily Kos, more than half of Republican respondents believed some part of QAnon: 33% said they believed the conspiracy was "mostly true," while 26% said "some parts" are true.

Over a week of interviews in early September, I heard baseless conspiracies from ordinary Americans in parking lots and boutiques and strip malls from Racine to Cedarburg to Wauwatosa, Wis. Shaletha Mayfield, a Biden supporter from Racine, says she thinks Trump created COVID-19 and will bring it back again in the fall. Courtney Bjorn, a Kenosha resident who voted for Clinton in 2016 and plans to vote for Biden, lowered her voice as she speculated about the forces behind the destruction in her city. "No rich people lost their buildings," she says. "Who benefits when neighborhoods burn down?"

But by far the greatest delusions I heard came from voters on the right. More than a third of the Trump supporters I spoke with voiced some kind of conspiratorial thinking. "COVID could have been released by communist China to bring down our economy," says John Poulos, loading groceries into his car outside Sendik's grocery store in the Milwaukee suburb of Wauwatosa. "COVID was manufactured," says Maureen Bloedorn, walking into a Dollar Tree in Kenosha. She did not vote for Trump in 2016 but plans to support him in November, in part because "he sent Obama a bill for all of his vacations he took on the American dime." This idea was popularized by a fake news story that originated on a satirical website and went viral.

On a cigarette break outside their small business in Ozaukee County, Tina Arthur and Marcella Frank told me they plan to vote for Trump again because they are deeply alarmed by "the cabal." They've heard "numerous reports" that the COVID-19 tents set up in New York and California were actually for children who had been rescued from underground sex-trafficking tunnels.

Arthur and Frank explained they're not followers of QAnon. Frank says she spends most of her free time researching child sex trafficking, while Arthur adds that she often finds this information on

PREVIOUS SPREAD: GETTY IMAGES; THIS PAGE: SINNA NASSERI

the Russian-owned search engine Yandex. Frank's eyes fill with tears as she describes what she's found: children who are being raped and tortured so that "the cabal" can "extract their blood and drink it." She says Trump has seized the blood on the black market as part of his fight against the cabal. "I think if Biden wins, the world is over, basically," adds Arthur. "I would honestly try to leave the country. And if that wasn't an option, I would probably take my children and sit in the garage and turn my car on and it would be over."

THE RISE IN conspiratorial thinking is the product of several interrelated trends: declining trust in institutions; demise of local news; a social-media environment that makes rumor easy to spread and difficult to debunk; a President who latches onto anything and anyone he thinks will help his political fortunes. It's also a part of our wiring. "The brain likes crazy," says Nicco Mele, the former director of Harvard's Shorenstein Center, who studies the spread of online disinformation and conspiracies. Because of this, experts say,

A man in a QAnon shirt appears outside a Trump rally in Tulsa, Okla., on June 20

algorithms on platforms like Facebook and YouTube are designed to serve up content that reinforces existing beliefs—learning what users search for and feeding them more and more extreme content in an attempt to keep them on their sites.

All this madness contributes to a political imbalance. On the right, conspiracy theories make Trump voters even more loyal to the President, whom many see as a warrior against enemies in the "deep state." It also protects him against an October surprise, as no matter what news emerges about Trump, a growing group of U.S. voters simply won't believe it. On the left, however, conspiracy theories often weaken voters' allegiance to Biden by making them less likely to trust the voting process. If they believe their votes won't matter because shadowy elites are pulling the country's strings, why bother going through the trouble of casting a ballot?

Experts who follow disinformation say nothing will change until Facebook and YouTube shift their business model away from the algorithms that reward conspiracies. "We are not anywhere near peak crazy," says Mele. Phillips, the professor from Syracuse, agrees that things will get weirder. "We're in trouble," she adds. "Words sort of fail to capture what a nightmare scenario this is."

But to voters like Kelly Ferro, the mass delusion seems more like a mass awakening. Trump "is revealing these things," she says serenely, gesturing with her turquoise-tipped fingernails. Americans' "eyes are being opened to the darkness that was once hidden."

After yoga in the morning, Ferro says, she often spends hours watching videos, immersing herself in a world she believes is bringing her ever closer to the truth. "You can't stop, because it's so addicting to have this knowledge of what kind of world we're living in," she says. "We're living in an alternate reality." —*With reporting by* LESLIE DICKSTEIN *and* SIMMONE SHAH

HOMEGROWN THREAT

Misinformation about voting has eroded Americans' faith in a fair election

BY VERA BERGENGRUEN AND LISSANDRA VILLA

AFTER MONTHS OF WATCHING COMMENTERS FLOOD his office's social-media posts with voting myths and fielding calls about election conspiracies from constituents, Brian Corley finally got fed up. In July, the supervisor of elections in Florida's Pasco County decided to shut down his office's Facebook and Twitter accounts to stop false claims from spreading. "I just got tired of the misinformation and the partisan bickering back and forth," says Corley, a Republican with 13 years on the job. "I saw no value in it as an election administrator."

If 2016 showed how foreign operatives were exploiting social media to influence the U.S. election, the lesson of 2020 is already clear and even more worrisome: the greatest threat to a credible vote is homegrown. From the White House on down, Americans have taken a page from the Kremlin's playbook by weaponizing misinformation online to advance their political goals. Election officials like Corley are struggling to break through an avalanche of falsehoods about mail-in ballots, doubts about the integrity of voting systems and skepticism about the validity of the results.

No one has done more to sow suspicion or spread lies than President Donald Trump, whose aggressive attacks on mail-in voting and false allegations of widespread voter fraud have capitalized on fear and uncertainty about holding a presidential election in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic. On television, at rallies and on Twitter, Trump has falsely claimed that mail-in ballots "lead to massive corruption and fraud," that foreign powers will "forge ballots" and that the "only way we're going to lose this election is if the election is rigged." He has falsely implied that ballots are being sent to undocumented immigrants in California and even suggested delaying the election, which he has no authority to do, until Americans can safely vote in person.

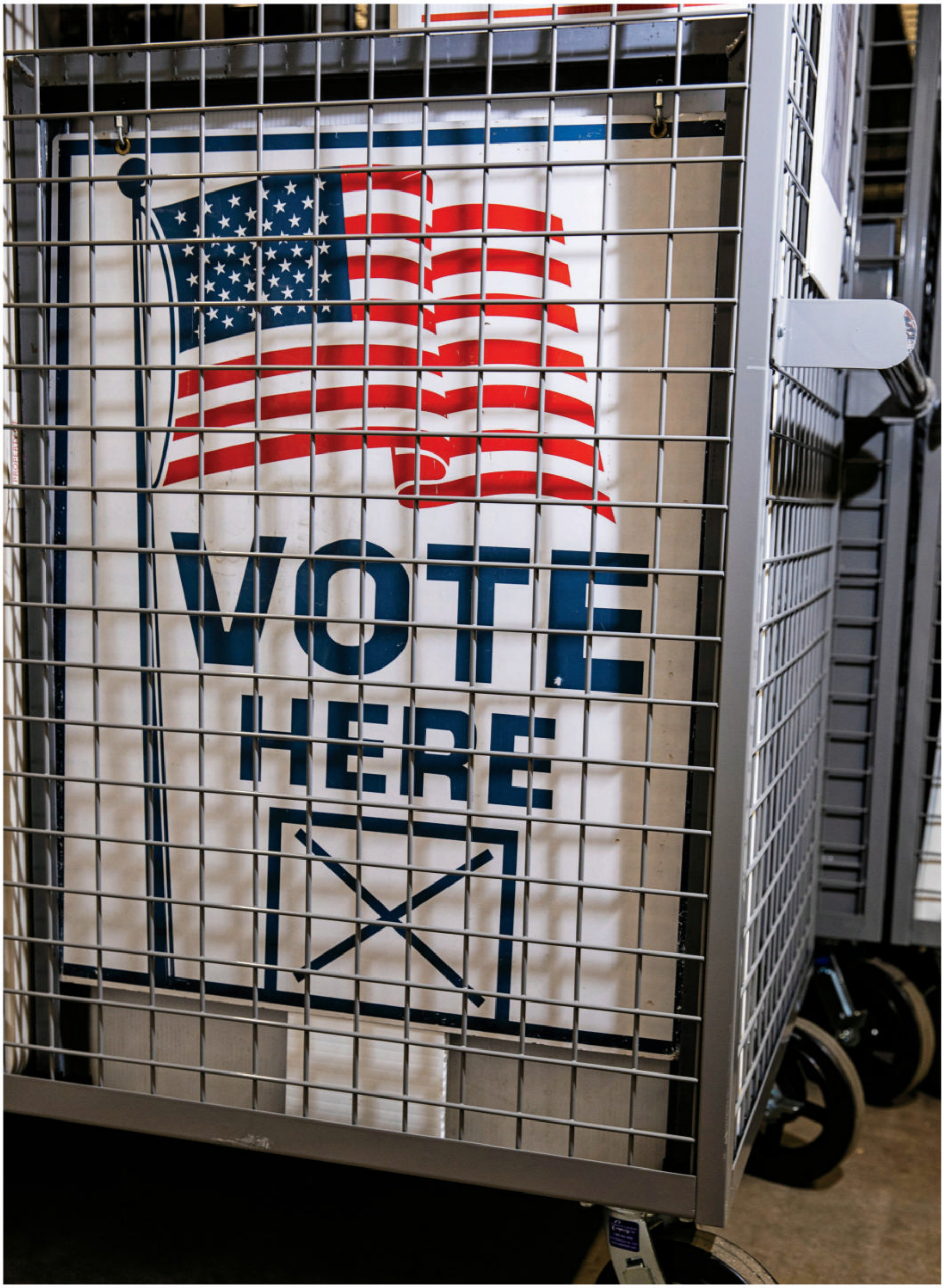
None of this is new, exactly. As a candidate in 2016, Trump pushed baseless claims of voter fraud, including that hordes of dead people and noncitizens would vote for Democrats. Now, with the weight of the most powerful office in the world, his allegations are being parroted by federal and state officials, GOP activists, local campaigns, small-town radio shows and national media outlets. Vice President Mike Pence has backed up his unfounded claims, and Attorney General William Barr has alleged that mail voting "opens the floodgates to fraud."

Election administrators from both parties, as well as nonpartisan officials in Trump's own government, insist voting by mail is safe. The FBI says it has found no evidence of coordinated fraud with mail-in ballots and emphasized such a scenario would be very unlikely. "It would be extraordinarily difficult to change a federal election outcome through this type of fraud alone," a senior FBI official told reporters in an Aug. 26 briefing.

But a claim doesn't have to be true to affect an election. U.S. national-security agencies and social-media companies, which spent the past four years working to weed out false claims perpetuated by foreign adversaries, say the domestic disinformation this year presents a new challenge. Because of the constitutional right to free speech, it can be nearly impossible to police bad-faith claims, whether the speaker is an Internet troll or the Commander in Chief.

The result threatens not only the perceived legitimacy of this election but also Americans' broader faith in U.S. democracy. "We have seen already that the President's rhetoric is affecting the confidence that voters have in vote-by-mail, particularly, and also in elections in general," Sylvia Albert, director of voting and elections

PHOTOGRAPH BY DAVID GUTTENFELDER FOR TIME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at Common Cause, testified to Congress on Aug. 4. Gallup found last year that 59% of Americans are not confident in the honesty of the nation's elections, third worst among the world's wealthy democracies. While Trump and his allies have propagated misinformation about voting, the Gallup poll found that Trump's critics are most distrustful: 74% of those opposed to the U.S. leadership reported a lack of confidence in the honesty of American elections. The Trump Administration's attacks on the Postal Service exacerbated the problem, raising the question of whether the agency is capable of delivering ballots before state deadlines.

Even as officials scramble to fight back by explaining that voting by mail is secure, they worry about the stakes for the nation. The prospect of misinformation drowning out credible facts and eroding voters' faith in elections "keeps me up at night," says Corley, the Pasco County Republican. "It's tough to put the genie back in the bottle."

THE THREAT IS an order of magnitude greater now than four years ago. In 2016, a hostile foreign adversary tried to sway Americans to vote for one candidate over another; this year, that candidate is calling into question the integrity of the vote itself.

Roxanna Moritz, auditor,
Scott County, Iowa (Democrat)

'THE WAY YOU DISENFRANCHISE VOTERS IS BY CONFUSING THEM.'

Trump's fearmongering about the need to fight voter fraud has given new life to decades-old tactics like voter-roll purges, stringent voter-ID laws, "poll watchers" who try to intimidate people from casting ballots, and other measures that reduce turnout. "2016 was the 'fake news' election, but 2020 makes it look like nothing in comparison," says Samuel Woolley, project director for propaganda research at the Center for Media Engagement at the University of Texas at Austin. "This infrastructure that has been scaled up since politicians started figuring out social media has now become concretized under Donald Trump down to the state level, the city level. It's the democratization of propaganda."

Last month, former Nevada Republican Senator Dean Heller claimed without evidence that a new state law, which would send every registered voter a ballot in the mail, would allow Nevadans to vote twice. "They're going to allow anonymous people to walk into any home, any facility, to help you fill out your ballot and take it with them," Heller said, echoing arguments made by the Trump campaign in a suit seeking to block the law. Heller's claims were repeated in television interviews and widely shared on social media, even as the state's Republican secretary of state, Barbara Cegavske, tried to reassure voters such claims weren't true.

Trump's rhetoric has also been adopted by Republican candidates. "Election fraud should concern each and every voter in this country," wrote Margaret Streicker, a Republican running in Connecticut's Third Congressional District, in a post shared more than 100 times on Facebook. Nicole Malliotakis, a Republican running in New York, took it up a notch, paying for Facebook ads claiming she had "stopped the liberal Democrats' plan to automatically register illegal aliens to vote in our elections."

The purpose of such claims is hardly subtle. In early April, Georgia state speaker of the house David Ralston said the quiet part out loud when he argued that if the state allows mail-in ballots, it "will be extremely devastating to Republicans and conservatives" because it "will certainly drive up turnout."

This combination of disinformation, uncertainty and valid concerns over the

Brian Corley, supervisor of elections,
Pasco County, Florida (Republican)

'IT'S TOUGH TO PUT THE GENIE BACK IN THE BOTTLE.'

logistics of holding an election during a pandemic also has many Democrats on edge. "The Trump Administration is a corrupt Administration," Berthilde Dufrene said on Aug. 28 at a racial-justice protest on the anniversary of the 1963 March on Washington. "I see what they are doing with the post office and voter suppression, so I am concerned that they will cheat, they will steal, they will lie to keep this man in power."

These fears were worsened by Trump's recent promise to send law enforcement to the polls to monitor for voter fraud. "We're going to have sheriffs, and we're going to have law enforcement, and we're going to have hopefully U.S. Attorneys," Trump said on Fox News on Aug. 20. The President has no control over local law enforcement, yet the mere threat could depress turnout if voters believe it.

VOTER FRAUD IS exceedingly rare in the U.S., according to a 2017 Brennan Center for Justice review of more than a dozen studies. A Trump-appointed commission disbanded in 2018 after it was unable to find evidence of widespread voter fraud. "The truth is that after decades of looking for illegal voting, there's no proof of widespread fraud. At most, there are isolated incidents—by both Democrats and Republicans," veteran GOP election lawyer Benjamin Ginsberg wrote in the Washington *Post* on Sept. 8.

Yet Trump's claims have found a willing audience in his party. The GOP has long promoted the idea that fraud is ubiquitous in order to support legal efforts to restrict ballot access, which disproportionately affect voters of color who tend to vote Democratic, and to justify a need for close election monitoring. While both parties regularly use poll watchers, this year will mark the first presidential election in decades in which Republicans will have the freedom to pursue their poll-monitoring plans without prior approval from a court, after a federal consent decree that limited the Republican National Committee's operations ended two years ago. The consent decree had its roots in voter intimidation. It was put in place by a federal court when the party was accused of menacing minority voters in the 1980s with a "National Ballot Security Task Force" in New Jersey. "We were really operating with one hand tied behind our back," Trump deputy campaign manager Justin Clark told the Conservative Political Action Conference this year, detailing how Republicans planned to leverage an army of 50,000 volunteer poll watchers in 2020."There's all kinds of ways people can steal votes," said Clark. "We are going to have scale this year. We're going to be out there protecting our votes and our voters."

The misleading claims promoted by Trump and other politicians have dominated national headlines. But their effect at the grassroots level is no less important.

In Davenport, Iowa, Roxanna Moritz, a Democrat who serves as the Scott County auditor, has decided not to bother with social media as a primary method of communicating information to voters. Misinformation is too rampant. In one Facebook post, a man shared a photo of an address with seven absentee-ballot requests, claiming this was "their plan to rig the election" and calling the applications a "danger" to democracy. Moritz looked up the address and found a simple explanation: there were seven voters registered to that address.

"Ten years ago, perhaps your normal citizen would get a lot of their information from their local news channel, but

MORITZ: DAVID GUTTENFELDER FOR TIME; CORLEY: CHRISTOPHER MORRIS—VII FOR TIME

now they get most of their information from cable news channels," says Moritz. "Whatever the narrative is from the national level is how they're driven to receive their information."

The constant onslaught of misinformation about mail-in ballots led to a trend this summer where users who said they were Trump supporters posted videos of themselves throwing their absentee or mail-in ballot requests in the trash and encouraged others to do the same. This was especially frustrating for election officials in states that have long offered mail-in voting, like Colorado, where counties began using it for some elections in 1993. "I can no longer listen to the rhetoric that Colorado's mail ballot system is at risk in the upcoming general election," Fremont County clerk Justin Grantham, a Republican, wrote in an op-ed. "I feel it is my duty to assure you that your right to vote is protected and secured."

According to an August *WSJ*/NBC poll, just 11% of Trump supporters said they planned to vote by mail, compared with 47% of supporters of Democratic nominee Joe Biden. State and local officials are trying to explain to Republican voters that mail-in ballots are safe and legitimate, often contradicting the President's words. In one case, a mailer sent to GOP voters in North Carolina by the Trump Victory Fund featured Trump's face and a partial quote from one of his tweets asserting, incorrectly, that voting absentee is secure, while voting by mail is not. The mailer included the part of Trump's tweet declaring that "absentee Ballots are fine" but blurred out the rest of it, which read, "Not so with Mail-Ins. Rigged Election!!! 20% fraudulent ballots?" The confusion forced Darryl Mitchell, chairman of the Johnston County Republican Party, to post on Facebook, reassuring voters that the mailer was real. But in the comments section below, voters insisted they'd vote in person.

A LOT OF THE CANARDS and falsehoods being spread about 2020 have targeted Black and Latino communities. That was true in 2016 as well: according to a Senate Intelligence Committee investigation into Russia's Internet Research Agency released last year, "no single group of Americans was targeted by IRA information operatives more than African-Americans." Foreign operatives stoked anger over police brutality and economic inequity, often pretending to be Black Lives Matter activists.

These tactics are still in use today. Far-right Republican Laura Loomer's "Twitter army" used messaging that was "squarely targeting Black and Latino voters," according to an analysis shared with TIME by Win Black/Pa'lante, a group that focuses on combatting disinformation targeting these communities. Accounts supporting Loomer, a congressional candidate in Florida, did so by seeding false claims using the hashtags #JohnLewis, #JimCrowJoe and #BlackLivesMatter. Misinformation is "the next major barrier to the right to vote for Black and Latino people. We see it in the same trajectory as a poll tax or a literacy tax," says Andre Banks, a co-founder of Win Black/Pa'lante. "There's a sustained campaign around the election now where you have all the bad actors—foreign agents, trolls, all the way to the U.S. President at the top—drowning out all of the attempts to help people get the real information."

JUST 11% OF TRUMP SUPPORTERS SAY THEY PLAN TO VOTE BY MAIL, COMPARED WITH 47% OF BIDEN SUPPORTERS

Targeted misinformation campaigns have proved effective. More than 35% of registered voters say they are not confident the election will be fair, according to an August Monmouth University poll. Republicans say the problem is voter fraud; Democrats say it's voter suppression. And while there are reasons to worry that every American will not have access to the polls, both concerns underscore the task that election officials now face. "If the perception is there, then people believe that it's a fraudulent election," Kim Wyman, the Republican secretary of state in Washington, told TIME in June.

Officials are countering with the facts. The National Association of Secretaries of State launched a social-media campaign with the hashtag #TrustedInfo2020 to amplify credible sources of voting information. The Center for Internet Security, a nonprofit that helps governments share information on cyberthreats, is working with the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) and other U.S. agencies on a "Misinformation Reporting Portal" where election officials can flag suspected false claims and get a quick response from social-media platforms. "Perhaps the biggest challenge that we face as a nation going forward," the group's president, John Gilligan, told lawmakers on Aug. 4, "is how we address the impact of mis- and disinformation on elections."

Social-media companies have belatedly begun to address the problem, with Twitter taking the most aggressive actions. On Aug. 23, after the President tweeted multiple false claims about mail-drop boxes, including that they would make it possible for people to vote multiple times, Twitter obscured his tweet and added a label saying that it had violated Twitter's rules on "civic and election integrity." To read the presidential tweet, users had to click on the message.

Facebook says it is labeling voting-related posts so users are warned before sharing potentially misleading information. It also announced that it will block new political ads the week before the election, which critics say is too little, too late. This comes after a scathing civil rights audit of the company's policies in July. "Ironically, Facebook has no qualms about … limiting misinformation about COVID-19," the report found, "but when it comes to voting, Facebook has been far too reluctant to adopt strong rules to limit misinformation and voter suppression."

Ultimately, whether Americans believe November's election to be free, fair and valid is being challenged by one of the two men on the ballot. Four years ago, Russia subverted American democracy with a campaign to elect Donald Trump. This year, the Kremlin is taking its cues from him. On Sept. 3, DHS issued an intelligence bulletin warning that Russia is once again seeking to undermine faith in the U.S. electoral process. Among its methods? "Amplifying criticisms" of "the integrity of expanded and universal vote-by-mail, claiming ineligible voters could receive ballots due to out-of-date voter rolls, leaving a vast amount of ballots … vulnerable to tampering." Not much question where the Kremlin came up with that.

—With reporting by BRIAN BENNETT, MARIAH ESPADA *and* ABBY VESOULIS ◻

Photo: Amory Ross/11th Hour Racing

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THE THIRD AMIGO

Inside Rick Perry's billion-dollar energy deals that helped friends and donors

BY SIMON SHUSTER
WITH ILYA MARRITZ/WNYC-PROPUBLICA

RICK PERRY CAME TO WASHINGTON LOOKING FOR A DEAL, AND less than two months into his tenure as Energy Secretary, he found a hot prospect. It was April 19, 2017, and Perry, the former Texas governor, failed presidential candidate and contestant on *Dancing With the Stars,* was sitting in his office on Independence Avenue with two influential Ukrainians. "He said, 'Look, I'm a new guy, I'm a dealmaker, I'm a Texan,'" recalls one of them, Yuriy Vitrenko, then Ukraine's chief energy negotiator. "We're ready to do deals," he remembers Perry saying.

The deals they discussed that day became central to Ukraine's complex relationship with the Trump Administration, a relationship that culminated in December with the House vote to impeach President Donald Trump. Perry was a leading figure in the impeachment inquiry last fall. He was among the officials, known as the "three amigos," who ran a shadow foreign policy in Ukraine on Trump's behalf. Their aim, according to the findings of the impeachment inquiry in the House, was to embarrass Trump's main political rival, Joe Biden.

Alongside this political mission, Perry and his staff at the Energy Department worked to advance energy deals that were potentially worth billions of dollars to Perry's friends and political donors, a six-month investigation by reporters from TIME, WNYC and ProPublica shows. Two of these deals seemed set to benefit Energy Transfer, the Texas company on whose board Perry served immediately before and after his stint in Washington. The biggest

PHOTO-ILLUSTRATION BY PETER HORVATH FOR TIME

Trump and Perry embrace after a June 2017 event in Washington

was worth an estimated $20 billion, according to U.S. and Ukrainian energy executives involved in negotiating them. If this long discussed deal succeeds, Perry himself could stand to benefit: in March, three months after leaving government, he owned Energy Transfer shares currently worth around $800,000, according to his most recent filing with the Securities and Exchange Commission.

Perry appears to have stayed on the right side of the law in pursuing the Ukraine ventures. Federal prosecutors in the Southern District of New York (SDNY) questioned at least four people about the deals over the past year, according to five people who are familiar with the conversations and discussed them with our reporting team on condition of anonymity. "As far back as last year, they were already interested in events that had taken place in Ukraine around Rick Perry," including allegations that Perry "was trying to get deals for his buddies," says one of the people who spoke to the Manhattan prosecutors. Perry is not a target of their investigation, according to two sources familiar with the probes.

But two ethics experts say Perry's efforts were violations of federal regulations. Administration officials are not allowed to participate in matters directly relating to companies on whose board they have recently served. Other experts say Perry and his aides may have broken a federal rule that prohibits officials from advocating for companies that have not been vetted by the Commerce Department. "Even if it skirts the criminal statute, it's still unethical," says Richard Painter, the top ethics lawyer in the White House of President George W. Bush, with whom we shared our findings.

Through a spokesman, Perry said he "never connected or facilitated discussions" between Energy Transfer and Ukraine's state energy firm in one of the deals we uncovered. The spokesman declined to comment on the other ventures Perry advanced while in government, including the $20 billion deal, or on the federal probe. In response to written questions for this article, Energy Transfer said, "We are not aware of any contact between Secretary Perry and Ukrainian officials on Energy Transfer's behalf."

Our investigation shows how the hunt for energy profits in Ukraine mixed money and politics at the highest levels of the Trump Administration. Perry, in and out of office, advanced the business interests of his friends and political allies. The Ukrainians, in turn, sought to exploit Perry's agenda to advance their national interests. Now the success of Perry's deals may depend on the outcome of the November elections, according to Ukrainian officials involved in the negotiations. That means the presidential race will not only set the conduct of American foreign policy. It could also reshape billions of dollars' worth of business deals whose fate is closely tied to who is in power.

This account is based on interviews with more than two dozen current and former government officials and energy executives in the U.S. and Ukraine. Our reporting team has pursued leads and sources in Miami, Houston, New York, Kyiv and Washington, D.C., and reviewed hundreds of pages of legal documents, lobbying records, corporate emails and internal government communications. Many of the details the team uncovered have not previously been reported, and together they reveal another side of the events that set the stage for the impeachment of the U.S. President.

THE UKRAINIANS WERE never naive in their overtures to the Trump team. They realized that Trump was a businessman. "We studied his psychological profile," says Konstantin Eliseev, who advised Ukraine's President on foreign policy when Trump took office in 2017. Their strategy, says Vitrenko, was "to lure or to seduce" the Trump Administration by offering deals to its officials. "It was typical for Ukrainian politicians," says the energy negotiator. "They thought that if they could, to some extent, corrupt the U.S. government, or get them interested commercially or personally, it would help."

The Ukrainians desperately needed that help. Since 2014, they have been at war with Russia, and their country relies on U.S. support for its very survival. The first offer they dangled in that April 2017 meeting with Perry was indeed seductive: they were looking for a Western partner to take a 49% stake in the country's gas-pipeline network. "It's a classic cash cow," says Oleksandr Kharchenko, one of the Ukrainian energy experts involved in trying to sell a stake in the company. Its annual profits, he says, are close to $2 billion.

The Ukrainians apparently got Perry's attention. From the outset, Perry's focus on Ukraine had puzzled his colleagues in government, who say that he took a personal interest in the country's affairs. Those affairs would normally fall under the purview of the State Department, not the Energy Department.

PREVIOUS PAGES: GETTY IMAGES (6); BLEYZER: VADYM GULIUK; THESE PAGES: KEVIN DIETSCH—UPI/REUTERS

But at the U.S. embassy in Kyiv, officials felt that Perry's office had taken the lead on Ukraine policy. "Secretary Perry's staff was very aggressive in terms of promoting an agenda and excluding embassy personnel from meetings without giving explanations," David Holmes, a senior embassy official, said in a deposition to Congress during the impeachment inquiry last year.

Some of the voices driving that agenda were not members of the Energy Department but private businessmen, usually from Texas. The most visible was Michael Bleyzer, an old friend and political donor of Perry's. Known for his long mane of silver hair and a passion for scuba diving, Bleyzer was born in the Ukrainian city of Kharkiv and had immigrated to the U.S. in 1978. As Bleyzer explained in a series of emails and phone interviews, he shares an interest in photography with Perry, and they have taken trips together to shoot pictures in Colorado and Israel. "He considers me to be Mr. Ukraine," says Bleyzer. "Whenever he had questions about Ukraine, he would turn to me."

So did the Energy Department. In July 2017, three months after Perry's first Ukraine meeting, his staff invited Bleyzer to discuss Ukraine policy at their office in Washington, according to their internal emails. (The emails were released in February in response to a Freedom of Information Act request from American Oversight, a good-governance watchdog.) Over the following year, Bleyzer became a steady presence at the U.S. embassy in Kyiv, often requesting meetings with U.S. Ambassador Marie "Masha" Yovanovitch. "Bleyzer came to the embassy once a month," says a person familiar with the meetings. The embassy staff were deeply concerned about the dual role Bleyzer appeared to be playing, both as a private businessman in search of oil and gas deals in Ukraine, and as an informal adviser to Perry. "We always tried to convince Masha not to take the meeting," says a person familiar with these visits. "But she said, 'I can't. He's Perry's buddy.'" (Yovanovitch declined to comment for this article.)

FROM THE OUTSET, PERRY TOOK A PERSONAL INTEREST IN UKRAINE, COLLEAGUES SAY

Bleyzer also had contacts at Energy Transfer, the company where Perry used to be a director. Its CEO, Kelcy Warren, gave $6 million to super PACs behind Perry's 2016 presidential race. In mid-June 2018, Bleyzer organized a trip to Kyiv for one of the company's executives. "I brought Energy Transfer to Ukraine," Bleyzer says of that trip. Their interest, he says, had to do with Ukraine's gas-pipeline network, which the country had opened to foreign investment. It was the same deal the Ukrainians had pitched in Perry's office a year earlier, in April 2017. "Bleyzer told me, when he came to visit me, that this [company] was blessed by Perry," says one of the Ukrainian executives he met with. "The company was called Energy Transfer." (Bleyer denies saying this and says he "never discussed Energy Transfer with Perry.")

The two sides did not make an obvious match. Energy Transfer has never done a major deal outside of North America. But the investment in Ukraine was enticing. The country's pipeline system is a reliable moneymaker, says Sergey Makogon, the head of the company that operates it. Russia pays more than a billion dollars a year to send its gas through Ukraine's pipelines to Europe. If Energy Transfer invested in that pipeline system, it could get a share of those profits. Vitrenko, who later led the negotiations with Energy Transfer, says they discussed an American investment of as much as $3 billion.

During his time in the Trump Administration, Perry had no formal ties to Energy Transfer. He had sold his shares in the company after Trump nominated him to his Cabinet, and stepped down from its board. At his confirmation hearing before the Senate in January 2017, Perry said under oath that he had no conflicts of interest in leading the U.S. Energy Department. But during his tenure, the Energy Department worked to advance a deal between Ukraine and Energy Transfer, according to three of the Ukrainian negotiators involved. "They support this deal 100%," says Kharchenko, one of the Ukrainian negotiators. The Energy Department says it did not encourage or advance these talks. The company says it never got enough information from the Ukrainians to determine the value of a potential investment.

But the pipeline system was hardly the biggest project Ukraine had to offer the Americans. Far more valuable was the prospect of selling American gas in Europe. At the end of 2015, while Perry was serving on the company's board, Energy Transfer received a federal permit to build a gas-export terminal in Lake Charles, in southern Louisiana. A few

months later, the company signed a deal with Shell, the Dutch energy giant, to jointly develop the terminal at an estimated cost of about $11 billion.

This new export venture had left one big question unanswered: Where would Energy Transfer ship its gas? The global market for liquefied natural gas, or LNG, has plenty of suppliers, with shipments pouring out of Qatar, Australia and other major exporters. To make this project succeed, Energy Transfer needed a major buyer for its gas, ideally a buyer that would commit to a long-term supply deal. By 2019, an opportunity like that had emerged in Ukraine.

PERRY WASN'T COY about his agenda in Ukraine. When he first visited Kyiv in November 2018, he told a gathering of businessmen about a complex way to get American gas to Europe. It would involve shipping the gas to Poland on giant tankers, then stashing it underground in Ukraine before selling it back, westward, into the European Union. "The potential for Ukraine is stunning," Perry told the business roundtable. Soon after, officials at the Energy Department began to coin new terms for American LNG, calling it "freedom gas" and "molecules of freedom" as they sought to market it around the world.

While the Obama Administration also sought to undercut Russian energy influence by exporting American LNG to Europe, some of Perry's colleagues in the Trump Administration were surprised, and often frustrated, by the Secretary's focus on selling gas. "He was a fierce advocate for LNG exports around the globe," said Tom Pyle, who headed the Trump transition team at the Department of Energy. "But he failed to restart the nuclear-waste program or initiate the much needed reforms at the agency, which are major disappointments," Pyle told the energy-focused publication E&E News.

Perry ultimately went straight to the top in Ukraine with his energy evangelism—and his favored disciples. In May 2019, President Trump sent him to Kyiv to attend the inauguration of Ukraine's new President, Volodymyr Zelensky. During a meeting that day, Perry did something his handlers at the U.S. embassy did not expect, despite their extensive planning for the talks. Perry handed a piece of paper to Zelensky and urged him to have a look. As he did so, Perry explained that the note contained a list of names of "people he trusts," according to Holmes, the U.S. diplomat, who was the official note taker at the event.

PERRY SLIPPED THE UKRAINIAN PRESIDENT A NOTE WITH NAMES OF 'PEOPLE HE TRUSTS'

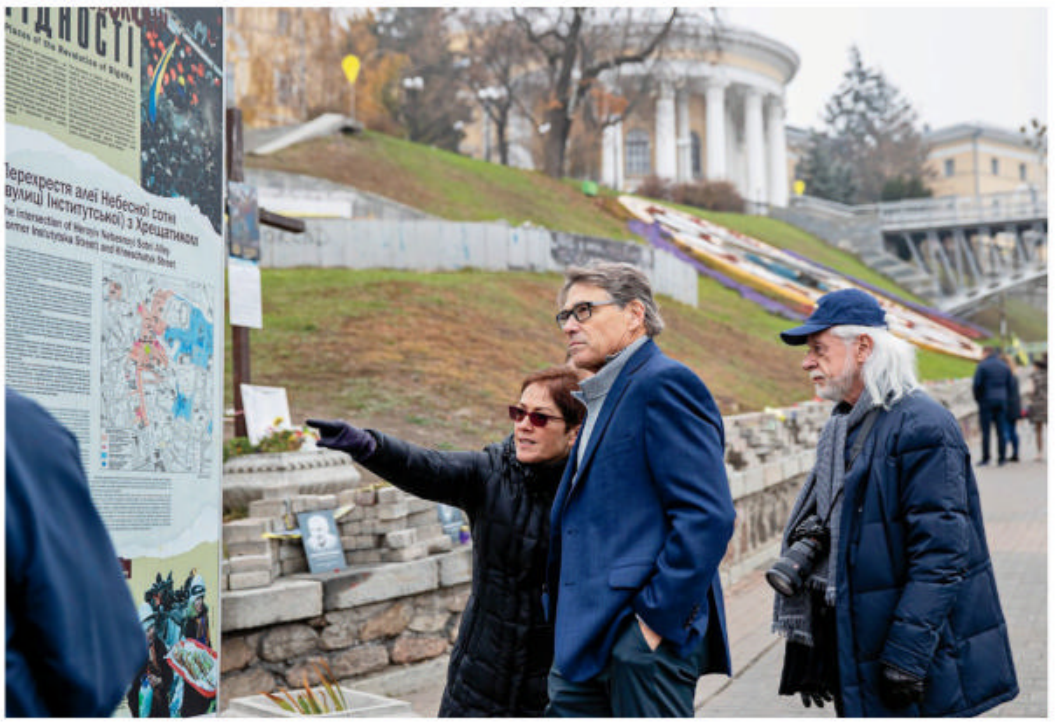
Among the names on the list was Bleyzer, Perry's old friend from Houston. The following month, June 2019, Bleyzer finally got the deal he wanted in Ukraine. In an auction of licenses to drill for oil and gas, the choicest license went to Bleyzer's company, which got the rights to develop some of Ukraine's biggest oil and gas fields over the next 50 years. The deal was first reported by the Associated Press in November. It is potentially worth billions of dollars.

There was another name on Perry's list, and it surprised the Ukrainians: Robert Bensh. A little-known oil and gas executive from Texas, Bensh had known Perry for only a few months by that point. Starting in the early 2000s, Bensh spent over a decade as one of the few American investors in Ukraine's oil and gas sector. His contacts in Kyiv included close associates of Ukraine's corrupt former President Viktor Yanukovych, who was ousted in a revolution in 2014. After that revolution, Bensh's business in Ukraine dried up, and he had returned to Houston. "I wanted nothing to do with Ukraine," Bensh told our reporting team in a series of interviews.

The Ukrainians soon understood at least one of the reasons for his return: Bensh was tied to Perry's dream of exporting American gas to Ukraine. Along with a group of investors from Louisiana, Bensh was promoting a company called Louisiana Natural Gas Exports Inc., better known among its founders as LNGE. Established in June 2018, the company had no deals or assets to its name. The man listed as its co-founder and director, Marsden Miller, is related to Bensh by marriage. In 1987, a jury in Louisiana found Miller guilty of corruption; his sentence was later overturned, and the government dropped the case against him after the U.S. Supreme Court narrowed the relevant statute in an unrelated case. LNGE owns no gas fields, no pipelines, no tankers and no export terminal. But its executives had connections in Ukraine and at the Energy Department. On July 10, 2019, those connections began to bear fruit.

That date marked a turning point in Ukraine's relations with the Trump Administration. It was that afternoon in the White House that two officials from Kyiv were pressured to open investigations into Trump's political rivals. National Security Adviser John Bolton memorably called the day's events a "drug deal."

But the Ukrainians had another date with the Trump Administration that evening. After the unsettling interaction at the White House, the two had a dinner meeting in a restaurant near the White House with two top Perry aides. Also there: Robert Bensh. As he sat down at the table, Oleksandr Danyliuk, then the national security adviser to Ukraine's President,



Key players in Perry's energy deals include Ukrainian negotiator Yuriv Vitrenko, gesturing at far left, and Perry friend Michael Bleyzer, below right, with Perry and Ambassador Yovanovitch. A tanker off-loads U.S. gas, left

remembers wondering why Bensh would be invited to a private dinner with senior government officials. "Smells like trouble," Danyliuk remembers thinking.

The deal Bensh and his partners had in mind was very similar to the one Perry had raised during his first trip to Kyiv eight months earlier. To them, at least, it seemed like a win all around. Shipping U.S. gas via Poland to Ukraine and then reselling it in the European Union would "make money for LNGE," Bensh explains. It could also make a lot of money for an American company like Energy Transfer that was looking for long-term buyers of gas from its export terminal. "To be able to build their terminals, they have to get orders," says Bensh. And of course the deal would also fit with Perry's agenda of selling American "freedom gas" to the world.

But from Ukraine's point of view, the plan had some critical flaws. One was the cost of transport: shipping American gas to Europe is expensive. And if Ukrainians agreed to buy that gas, they might get stuck paying a premium for many years to come. While prior governments in Kyiv had espoused the idea, the new administration there was skeptical. "It looks like it would be a big disaster," says Danyliuk, the national security adviser. In any case, during that dinner near the White House, he was too preoccupied with the day's "drug deal" to talk about any gas deals. Bensh could see it was the wrong time to push.

But Perry continued to promote his vision for American natural gas exports. That same month, July 2019, he was among the U.S. officials urging Trump to hold a phone call with Ukraine's new President. "The only reason I made the call was because Rick asked me to," the President later told a group of Republican lawmakers, according to a report in Axios that cited three of them. "Something about an LNG plant," Trump reportedly added. When the call took place on July 25, 2019, Trump urged the Ukrainian President to open investigations against the Biden family, famously asking Zelensky to "do us a favor." A rough transcript of the call would become Exhibit A of the impeachment inquiry.

The rough transcript makes no mention of Perry's gas agenda, but in the wake of the presidential shakedown, Perry pressed ahead. For much of that summer, his staff had been preparing to sign an international energy agreement during a summit in Warsaw. The aim of the summit, which began at the end of August 2019, was to pave the way for U.S. companies to ship gas to Ukraine via Poland. LNGE was angling to become one of those U.S. companies, and Perry's team had invited the company's chief executive to attend. The company had even written up a preliminary offer to Naftogaz, Ukraine's state energy firm.

Perry and his staff were urging Ukraine to sign it, according to three energy executives close to the ongoing negotiations. "They basically said: 'If you want us as friends, you've got to do this,'" one of them recalled. But the Ukrainians had bigger worries at the time. A few days before the summit, Politico had broken the news that the Trump Administration had frozen a package of military aid to Ukraine later revealed to be worth $400 million. The Kyiv delegation was desperate to get the freeze lifted. "The biggest priority for me was the military aid," says Danyliuk.

So he left it to Naftogaz, the state energy company, to consider the offer of a deal with LNGE. "We looked them up," says Andrew Favorov, the Naftogaz executive who vetted the potential partner. A Google search led them to the past legal woes of Miller, LNGE's co-founder and director. That was a red flag for the Ukrainians. Moreover, says Favorov, "The company has no real assets." So Naftogaz advised its government not to pursue a gas deal with the Louisiana company.

Soon the deal faced another problem. Three weeks after the Warsaw summit, news broke that a whistle-blower had raised the alarm over Trump's pressure campaign in Ukraine, and the White House released the rough transcript of Trump's phone call with Zelensky. Amid all the public attention, the discussions of a U.S.-Ukraine gas deal went quiet, according to energy executives involved on both sides. With the impeachment investigation gaining steam, and his name emerging as a central player in the Ukraine saga, Perry announced in October that he would resign from the Energy Department at the end of the year.

THE DEAL THAT PERRY and his allies pursued for three years while he was in Washington didn't die when he stepped down and returned to Texas. After Trump's acquittal in the Senate on Feb. 5, Perry's allies inside and outside of government revived the massive U.S. gas-export deal he had been

VITRENKO, TANKER: GETTY IMAGES; PERRY: COURTESY U.S. EMBASSY KYIV

advancing, and pushed forward. In early March, representatives of LNGE met with Perry's successor as Energy Secretary, Dan Brouillette, a veteran of Louisiana politics. "He told us they were still 100% behind the deal," says one of the LNGE representatives who was at that meeting. The Energy Department denies it supported the deal. The meeting with LNGE "was purely introductory and informational," says Shaylyn Hynes, a spokesperson for the department.

After that meeting, things in Ukraine began to move fast. On March 11, the Zelensky government issued a decree appointing Bensh to the board of Naftogaz. Two days later, Ukraine's deputy energy minister announced that Ukraine had agreed to a major LNG deal with the Americans. The U.S. partner on the deal: Louisiana Natural Gas Exports.

The details were not disclosed, but the way the deal came about raised eyebrows on both sides of the Atlantic. In the U.S., critics pointed out that the Energy Department's apparent support for the deal appears to have violated federal rules that bar U.S. officials from advocating for U.S. companies that have not been vetted by the Commerce Department. LNGE never went through that vetting process, according to its executives. "The vetting process is there to identify conflicts of interest, previous improper dealings, anything that might reflect poorly on the U.S. government as a whole," says Theo LeCompte, who was a deputy chief of staff at the Commerce Department during Barack Obama's second term. Brouillette's office confirmed that LNGE had not been vetted and denied that the department had advocated for the company.

On the Ukrainian side, things were even more curious: Ukraine had not invited any competition for the deal. But even with the U.S. Energy Department's apparent blessing, the deal still wasn't a lock. Naftogaz executives were still refusing to partner with the Louisiana company. As an alternative partner on the Ukrainian side, Kyiv's energy ministry proposed an obscure state entity called MGU, which holds the shares of Ukraine's gas-pipeline system.

But executives at that company also began to raise alarms, most notably the chairman of its supervisory board, Walter Boltz, a stately Austrian who had been brought in to help clean up the notoriously troubled Ukrainian gas industry. "Nobody wanted to tell the Americans, 'O.K., this is a silly idea, stop it,'" says Boltz of the Louisiana deal. "You need to keep your friends happy." And the Ukrainians, he added, "might even be willing to pay a little bit more, I guess, to make Trump happy and keep the military aid flowing."

AS TRUMP'S RE-ELECTION CHANCES WANED, PERRY'S ALLIES GOT THE COLD SHOULDER

By the end of May, the energy ministry had fired the skeptic Boltz and announced another preliminary agreement with the Louisiana company. In a 20-page document, known as a memorandum of intent, the two sides spelled out the rough terms of the deal. Ukraine would agree to take shipments of gas from Louisiana for the next 20 years, according to a copy obtained by our reporting team. The volumes involved were substantial, amounting to 5.5 billion cubic meters per year, more than the annual gas consumption of Slovakia, an E.U. member that borders Ukraine. Executives at the Louisiana company say they projected the total sales from the deal to be around $20 billion, or roughly a billion dollars per year over two decades.

Still, the agreement left one crucial question unanswered: Where was the Louisiana company going to get all that gas? In June, LNGE turned to Energy Transfer. By that point, Perry had reclaimed his seat on the board of Energy Transfer and acquired its stock. Once the Louisiana executives had their preliminary deal with Ukraine, they went to Energy Transfer in search of a gas terminal, says Miller, the co-founder of LNGE. In a statement, Energy Transfer played down these discussions, saying they amounted to "one introductory conference call" that did not go any further, and Miller insists they did not talk about a partnership in Ukraine at the time. Other executives at LNGE say it was just one step toward completing the $20 billion deal. "First we had to finalize the deal in Ukraine," one of them says. "Then we get the gas."

It was at this final stage in the negotiations that the deal ran into major trouble. The Ukrainians began to stall. According to one official involved in Ukraine's deliberations about the deal, the reason for the delay was in large part political. By then, the COVID-19 pandemic was raging, and Trump's approval ratings had gone into sharp decline amid his chaotic handling of the outbreak. His chances of winning re-election began to look less and less likely.

COURTESY U.S. EMBASSY KYIV

Perry held energy talks with Zelensky, left, in Kyiv on May 20, 2019

For the Ukrainians, that changed the political equation behind the deal. "If Biden is elected, I'd say Biden's [team] would be pretty curious, to say the least," about how the deal with LNGE came together, says the official involved in Ukraine's deliberations. "In terms of relationships, that would be very damaging," adds the official. "Given the latest [poll] numbers, that's simply a stupid thing to do," he says.

Perry's allies found themselves getting the cold shoulder. Six months after the Zelensky government named Bensh to the board of Naftogaz, he has yet to officially take up that post. Bleyzer, Perry's friend from Texas, hasn't fared much better. Soon after he won the licenses to develop oil and gas fields in Ukraine in June 2019, Naftogaz challenged the awarding of those licenses in court. Ukraine's government, which owns 100% of Naftogaz, has declined to interfere in the litigation, which has prevented Bleyzer's oil and gas projects from getting off the ground.

As for Energy Transfer, during the heat of the impeachment investigation in October 2019, the Ukrainian parliament decided that selling the country's gas pipelines wasn't such a great idea, and it voted to ban foreign ownership of those pipelines. The global collapse in gas prices during the COVID-19 pandemic, meanwhile, hit Energy Transfer hard. Its plans to build an LNG-export terminal in Louisiana took a blow at the end of March 2020, when Shell, its 50-50 partner in the project, decided to pull out, citing adverse market conditions.

Some of the executives in Louisiana are furious over the foot-dragging in Kyiv, and they put the blame on Naftogaz. In emails obtained by our reporting team, Miller, the director and co-founder of the Louisiana company, lashed out at Naftogaz for telling the government in Kyiv about Miller's overturned conviction on corruption charges. "This is the guy who went to the U.S. Attorney for the SDNY?" Miller wrote indignantly to his colleagues, referring to Andriy Kobolyev, the Naftogaz CEO. Indeed, the U.S. attorney's office for New York's Southern District had contacted Kobolyev in the fall of 2019, and he says he agreed to speak to its investigators. Those investigators have since questioned at least three other people about Perry's efforts to secure gas deals in Ukraine, according to the people familiar with what they told the investigators.

But earlier this year, prosecutors dropped that line of questioning, according to two people familiar with the questions they have posed since April. Noah Bookbinder, a former anti-corruption prosecutor with whom we shared our findings, says U.S. laws make prosecuting conflicts of interest difficult. "Criminal conflicts of interest are not charged all that frequently, because they can be hard to prove," he says. "It's got a relatively modest sentence. So often prosecutors will look at that and say, 'It's a lot of hard work to prove that, and it's not the biggest offense. So we're not going to take the time to go down that path.'"

Two years ago, some Democrats called for tighter restrictions on potential conflicts of interest, and they have pointed to Perry's relationship with Energy Transfer to justify new legislation. Senator Elizabeth Warren introduced a bill in 2018, known as the Anti-Corruption and Public Integrity Act, that would ban corporations from hiring or paying former heads of agencies they have lobbied. In a letter to Perry and Energy Transfer last January, Warren urged Perry to resign from Energy Transfer's board. "This is exactly the kind of unethical, revolving-door corruption that has made Americans cynical and distrustful of the federal government," Warren wrote. In a curt reply, the company told Warren it was "fully aware of our legal and ethical standards related to Secretary Perry rejoining our board."

So is the $20 billion deal dead? Not necessarily. The Ukrainians appear to be waiting to see which way the political winds turn in November. Should Trump win another term, some Ukrainians assume Perry's deal might come back to life. "Wait three months, and then see what happens," says the official involved in the deliberations in Kyiv. "This is obvious political stuff. You don't have to be a genius to understand this logic."

But for all the Ukrainian efforts to seduce the Americans, some at least are disappointed with the entire process. They had hoped, on some level, that the U.S. agenda was still driven by a shared set of goals and values, like strengthening alliances and pushing back against the influence of Russia. But over time, says Vitrenko, the energy negotiator, it became clear that the overarching aims were simpler and, to the Ukrainians, more familiar. "It was about making deals," he says. And making money. —*With reporting by* DORIS BURKE/PROPUBLICA, BARBARA MADDUX/TIME *and* KATHERINE SULLIVAN/WNYC ◻

I didn't assign a gender to my kid. It's up to them to decide what identity fits them best

BY KYL MYERS

"WHAT ARE YOU HAVING?" I'D be standing in line at the post office or a movie theater, and I'd realize a stranger was staring at my belly. The kind person thought they were asking me a simple question with a simple answer: Is it a boy or a girl?

If you want to get technical, my partner Brent and I had found out our child's sex chromosomes in the early stages of my pregnancy, and we had seen their genitals during the anatomy scan. But we didn't think that information told us anything about our kid's gender. The only things we really knew about our baby is that they were human, breech and going to be named Zoomer. We weren't going to assign a gender or disclose their reproductive anatomy to people who didn't need to know, and we were going to use the gender-neutral personal pronouns *they, them* and *their.* We imagined it could be years before our child would tell us, in their own way, if they were a boy, a girl, nonbinary or if another gender identity fit them best. Until then, we were committed to raising our child without the expectations or restrictions of the gender binary.

I have a gender-studies degree and a Ph.D. in sociology. In the decade before Zoomer was born, it was literally my job to study and educate others about gender. There was no shortage of gender-disparity statistics, but I felt confident that progress toward gender equity was gaining momentum. In my Sociology of Gender and Sexuality course, I would lecture on discrimination against queer people, the motherhood penalty, men's higher suicide rate, violence against transgender women of color, and the way intersex people—those born with biological traits that aren't typically male or female—are stigmatized or completely overlooked. But I also taught about the victory of same-sex marriage equality, more women running for office, fathers demanding family leave, the rising visibility of transgender actors in the media, and the movement to end intersex surgery.

With every new semester, the number of students asking me to call them by different names and use different pronouns than they were given at birth grew. Women confided that they were experiencing sexism from their chemistry professors. Men vented about the pressures of masculinity. These 18- to 20-something-year-olds were feeling crushed by gender stereotypes. I could relate. I was raised as a girl

PHOTOGRAPH BY LINDSAY D'ADDATO FOR TIME

Kyl, Zoomer and Brent in Liberty Park in Salt Lake City on Aug. 10

Essay

in the Mormon church, and it took a long time for me to untangle myself from the conditioning that the only things I should want (and could be good at) were marriage and motherhood.

I could see the trail of bread crumbs. How gender inequalities get their start in childhood. How girls do more chores than boys and are paid less allowance. How kids are dressed in shirts that say SORRY BOYS, DADDY SAYS I CAN'T DATE UNTIL I'M 30, yet when a child says they're gay, they're told they're too young to know that. How girls are discouraged from running for student government. How boys are discouraged from playing with dolls. How queer and trans youth are kicked out of their homes. People have asked me to prove that gender-creative parenting will have positive outcomes. I double-dog dare someone to prove that hypergendered childhood is a roaring success.

Kids fare better in environments where they are accepted for who they are. The negative outcomes that are often experienced by queer and trans youth are mitigated by supportive families and friends. Parents take precautions to keep their children healthy and safe by enrolling them in swim lessons, teaching them to stay away from fire and cutting food into tiny pieces. Holding space for the possibility a child might be trans or nonbinary or queer is also preventive care.

The goal of gender-creative parenting is not to eliminate gender—the goal is to eliminate gender-based oppression, disparities and violence. The aim isn't to create a genderless world; it's to contribute to a gender*full* one. We as a society have an opportunity to shake up childhood gender socialization in a way that creates more healthy and equitable adulthoods for everyone. What have we got to lose? The patriarchy? Good riddance.

THE SUMMER BEFORE I was pregnant, I noticed a YOUNG SPRINTS TRACK MEET banner fastened to the chain-link fence of the local high school. *I can't wait till I have a little one who can run in that!* I thought.

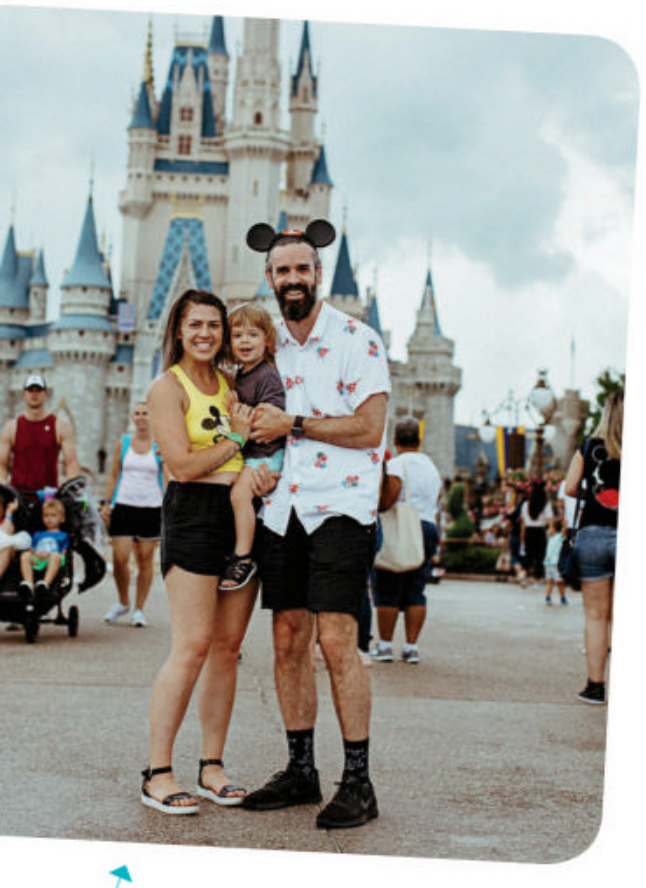
Three years later, I left that track meet in tears after I found out that despite assurances to the contrary, the 2- and 3-year-old girls would run in different heats than the boys. "I not running?" Zoomer asked as we drove away. I felt terrible for leaving. Zoomer just wanted to run. But I also would have felt terrible if I had stayed. It is these moments that plant the seeds that boys and girls are dramatically different, and in the case of track and field, that boys are better. I refused to have our family participate.

The experience was disappointing, if not unexpected. When I was pregnant, I would dream up hypothetical situations with cruel pediatricians refusing to use they/them pronouns and flight attendants treating Zoomer like a stereotype and anxiously think through how I would react to these circumstances. I was afraid that my family members might be so nervous about accidentally using a gendered pronoun for Zoomer, so nervous about offending me, that they would distance themselves from us.

But for the most part, the past four years have not been filled with tears and strife (at least no more tears than you'd find in any home of a young child and tired parents). Our life looks remarkably like a lot of other families' lives, filled with joy and affirmation. And color. Lots of color.

When people think of gender-neutral, their minds often go to a grayish beige, potato-hued color palette. But we don't dress Zoomer in burlap sacks, or only give them toys the color of Wheat Thins. We give them options, and they thoughtfully pick what they like the most. For a while, Zoomer's favorite color was pink;

COURTESY KYL MYERS (5)



June 2018

then it was orange. They picked the pink, purple and aqua bedsheets; the fire-truck socks; the outer-space sleeping bag; and the violet climbing shoes. They wanted the *Cars* Pull-Ups one time and the Minnie Mouse ones the next. Zoomer has a stuffed dog named Dante that goes everywhere with them and a baby doll that they named DeeDee. Zoomer loves Play-Doh and molds neon-colored animals and pretend food. They say, "I'm not going to eat it." Then I see that their teeth are bright blue, and they have, in fact, tried to eat it.

A common critique of gender-creative parenting is that "the kid will be confused," but Zoomer doesn't seem confused at all. In fact, they have a more nuanced understanding of sex and gender than a lot of adults. We teach them to use gender-neutral words until a person tells us about themself. We call kids *friends*. We have taught Zoomer about their own body without using boy-girl labels. Zoomer understands that some girls have penises and some boys have vulvas, and some intersex kids have vulvas and testes. Zoomer knows some daddies get pregnant and some nonbinary parents are called Zazas. At day care, I tell teachers, "Please snuggle them and wrestle with them. Please compliment their painted toenails and let them get muddy. Call them handsome and beautiful; sensitive and brave. Give them the opportunity to play with the Hot Wheels and the kitchen set." Because Zoomer has been raised with a focus on inclusivity, they have an instinct to make everyone feel welcome. When a character on a kids' show says, "Hello, boys and girls!" Zoomer adds, "And nonbinary pals!"

A friend of mine recently told me when she first found out how we were going to parent, she thought, That's going to be endless work for Kyl. "But now I actually think that you are so lucky and had some great foresight," she said. "I spend so much of my time tearing the walls down that people are trying to build around my daughters. People aren't trying to build walls around Zoomer because they don't know which walls to build."

I WANTED TO GIVE my child a gift. The gift of seeing people as more than just a gender. The gift of understanding gender as complex, beautiful and self-determined. I hadn't considered how much of a gift I'd also be giving myself. While curating an experience for Zoomer to come to their own identity, I inadvertently started taking a closer look at mine too.

One day, Zoomer and I were playing hide-and-seek. They cupped their eyes as I hid in the pantry, then walked around the house mimicking the words we use when we are trying to find them. "Mommy, you in the plant? No … Mommy, you under the couch? No." As they got closer, they called out, "Kyl! Where are you?"

Gender-creative parenting comes with a giant mirror and forces me to ask myself, "Kyl! Where are you?" I've examined my own gender identity and expression more in the past four years than I had in the three decades before becoming Zoomer's parent. As I've tried to create an environment where Zoomer is free from the chains of binary gender, I am working to figure out what about my gender is authentic and what was prescribed to me, and is it even possible to differentiate at this point? I love my body, but I don't love that I was assigned a specific gender role because of it. In my early 30s, I'm climbing out of the girl box I was placed in in 1986. I'm trying on new labels and pronouns, and giving myself the same encouragement to play with gender that I am giving my child.

Not everyone has the support that Brent and I have. We sprang gender-creative parenting on our families, and they decided to get on board. They shared in the emotional labor and took it upon themselves to educate our extended family and their co-workers, neighbors and friends. They are champions at using gender-neutral pronouns. Some of my friends have not been so lucky. They've lost touch with family members or have strained relationships because of their decision to do gender-creative parenting. I know of a grandparent who keeps a stash of clothing, so whenever their gender-creative grandchild comes over, they change them out of the outfit the child picked to put them in something more stereotypically associated with their sex. Some of my friends' family members have called child protective services, reporting their grandchild is being abused, simply because they weren't assigned a gender. This is also a reason I feel strongly about being a public advocate for parenting this way—many others don't have the safety, support and resources to talk openly about it.

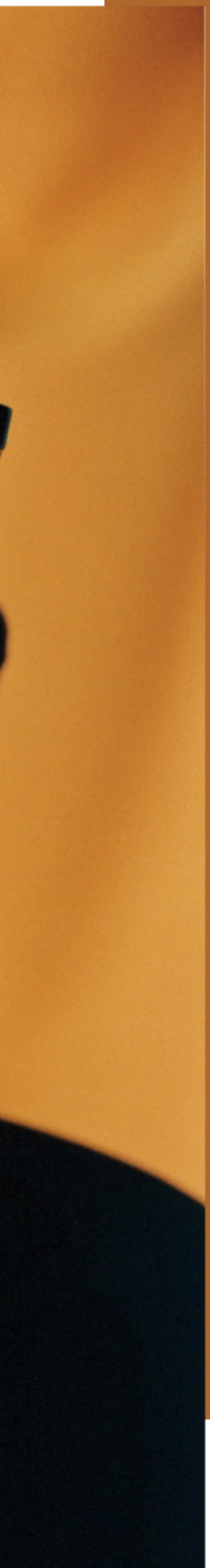
WHEN A CHARACTER SAYS, 'HELLO, BOYS AND GIRLS!' ZOOMER ADDS, 'AND NONBINARY PALS!'

Around their fourth birthday, Zoomer started declaring a gender identity and claiming some gendered pronouns . Brent and I are honoring Zoomer's identity and expression and answering all their questions in an age-appropriate and inclusive way. (I'm using *they* here because Zoomer is still exploring gender and I want them to have some autonomy over how they share their identity with the world.)

I'm witnessing my child create their own gender—and who Zoomer has become is greater than anything I could have imagined or assigned. Instead of us telling the children who they should be, maybe it's the children who will teach us how to be. We just have to get out of their way.

Myers is the author of Raising Them: Our Adventure in Gender Creative Parenting, *from which this essay is adapted*

British Vogue *editor in chief Enninful in Ladbroke Grove, London, on Aug. 31*



Profile

Fashioning Change

British Vogue's **Edward Enninful** shows the power of inclusion

BY DIANA EVANS/LONDON

AUGUST 2020 SAW NO SOCA FLOATS sliding along West London's Ladbroke Grove. No pink feathered wings or giant plumes of headwear. The Notting Hill Carnival was canceled, like all mass gatherings in late COVID lockdown, the streets still spare, the air still choked with grief. No curry goat or jerk pan smoke rose up into the city trees. And the music, the great churning music of the Caribbean islands, of Black Britain, of Africa and the Americas, did not thump to the foundations of the neighborhood terraces, making them tremble.

All of this would have been part of a normal summer for Edward Enninful while growing up in the area in the 1980s. His mother Grace might look out of the window of her sewing room in their house right on the Carnival route, and see some manifestation of Trinidad going by, or a reggae crew, wrapped in amazing sculptures of bikini and shiny hosiery. Edward, one of six siblings, would stay out late and take it in, all that sound and spectacle, which for decades has been the triumphant annual pinnacle of London's cultural and racial multiplicity.

It was this world that nurtured his creativity and helped shape the vision he has brought to the pages of *British Vogue* since being appointed editor in chief in 2017. "I was always othered," Enninful says on a nostalgic walk through the streets of Ladbroke Grove, a much gentrified, still bohemian part of London, where he moved with his family from Ghana at the age of 13, "you know, gay, working-class, Black. So for me it was very important with *Vogue* to normalize the marginalized, because if you don't see it, you don't think it's normal."

Today, Enninful is the most powerful Black man in his industry, sitting at the intersection of fashion and media, two fields that are undergoing long-overdue change and scrambling to make up for years of negligence and malpractice. Since becoming the only Black editor in history to head

PHOTOGRAPH BY CAMPBELL ADDY FOR TIME

any of the 26 *Vogue* magazines—the most influential publications in the multibillion-dollar global fashion trade—he has been tipped as the successor to Anna Wintour, the iconic editor of American *Vogue* and artistic director for Condé Nast. The privately held company is navigating, on top of an advertising market battered by the COVID-19 pandemic, public controversies around representation both in its offices and on its pages.

Enninful's vision for *British Vogue* comes at a critical moment for the international publisher. "I wanted to reflect what I saw here growing up, to show the world as this incredibly rich, cultured place. I wanted every woman to be able to find themselves in the magazine." He chose the British model Adwoa Aboah to front his first issue, in 2017: "When others took steps, Edward took massive strides, showing the importance of our visibility and stories," she says. Covers since have featured the likes of Oprah Winfrey, Rihanna, Judi Dench (at 85, *British Vogue*'s oldest cover star), Madonna and soccer player Marcus Rashford, photographed for this year's September issue by Misan Harriman, the first Black male photographer to shoot a *British Vogue* cover in its 104-year history. While other publications, including American *Vogue,* have reduced frequency during the pandemic, *British Vogue* has remained financially stable and is still producing 12 thick issues in 2020.

Under Enninful, *British Vogue* has morphed from a white-run glossy of the bourgeois oblivious into a diverse and inclusive on-point fashion platform, shaking up the imagery, tracking the contemporary pain. Its shelf presence is different—more substance, more political—and perhaps in part because of it, the shelf as a whole looks different. No more do Black women search mainstream newsstands in vain for visions of themselves. Now we are ubiquitous in my newsagent, in my corner shop, and it really wasn't that hard; all it took was to give a Black man some power, to give someone with a gift, a voice and a view from the margin a seat at the table.

"My Blackness has never been a hindrance to me," Enninful says. Yet he is no stranger to the passing abuses of systemic racism. On a Wednesday in mid-July, while entering *British Vogue*'s London headquarters, he was racially profiled by a security guard who told him to enter via the loading bay instead. "Just because our timelines and weekends are returning to normal, we cannot let the world return to how it was," he wrote on Twitter. This summer, in the wake of worldwide Black Lives Matter protests sparked by the killing of George Floyd, we are seeing a seismic reckoning across industries, scrutinizing who is doing what and who is not doing enough to bring about real change in equality and representation. "My problem is that there's a lot of virtue-signaling going on," he says. "But everyone's listening now, and we need to take advantage of that. This is not the time for tiptoeing."

WE MEET AT Ladbroke Grove tube station in a late-summer noon. When anticipating an interview with the leader of a historic luxury fashion bible, it's tempting to have inferior thoughts about your Nissan or your Clarks boot collection or your latest unlatest something, but Enninful, 48, is unassuming, arriving in a loose navy suit, pale blue shirt and shades, the only giveaway to his sartorial imperium the no socks with his brogues. He is warm and relaxed, bearing the close-shouldered tilt of the lifelong hard worker; he rises at 5 a.m. most days to meditate before work.

'I was always othered—you know, gay, working-class, Black. So for me it was very important with Vogue to normalize the marginalized, because if you don't see it, you don't think it's normal.'

These days he resides toward Lancaster Gate, on the posher side of Ladbroke Grove, with his long-term partner the filmmaker Alec Maxwell and their Boston terrier, Ru Enninful, who has his own Instagram account and whose daily walking was a saving grace during lockdown. But the London Underground is where Enninful's journey into fashion began, one day on the train in a pair of ripped blue jeans, when he was spotted by stylist Simon Foxton as a potential model for *i-D,* the avant-garde British fashion magazine. Being only 16, a shy, sheltered kid who grew up in a Ghanaian army barracks and who was less than four years in the U.K., of course he had to ask his mother. Albeit a clothes fanatic herself, a professional seamstress and regular rifler (with Edward) through the markets of Portobello and Brixton for fabrics, Grace was wary of the hedonistic London style vortex, the enormity of the new land, and reluctant to release her son into its mouth. He begged. He wore her down: "I knew I couldn't just walk away from this, that something special was going to come out of it."

He never had the knack for modeling, he says with characteristic humility. "I was terrible at it. I hated the castings, all that objectifying. But I loved the process and the craft of creating an image." He soon moved to the other side of the lens, assisting on shoots and assembling image concepts and

narratives, a particular approach to styling that impressed *i-D* enough to hire him as their youngest ever fashion director at only 18, a post he held for the next 20 years. Without the courtesy designer clothes later at his fingertips, he would customize, shred, dye and bargain for the right look, using the skills he'd developed at home in the sewing room. "I realized that I could say a lot with fashion," he says, "that it wasn't just about clothes, but could tell a story of the times we're in, about people's experiences in life. And that freedom to portray the world as you saw it."

What was innate to Enninful—this blend of skilled creativity with the perception of difference as normal, as both subject and audience—was relatively unique in an industry dominated by white, colonial notions of beauty and mainstream. Legendary Somali supermodel Iman remembers a 2014 *W* magazine shoot in which she, Naomi Campbell and Rihanna were cast by Enninful, the publication's then style director, wearing Balmain, designed by Olivier Rousteing. "Until Edward appeared, no one at the mainstream fashion magazines would have cared to commission a portrait exclusively featuring three women of color, and furthermore who were all wearing clothes designed by a person of color," she says. "He's an editor in vocation and a reformer at heart, compelled to spur woefully needed social change."

He shows me his various old haunts and abodes, the top-floor bedsit where he used to haul bags of styling gear up the stairs, the Lisboa and O'Porto cafés of Golborne Road—or "Little Morocco"—where he'd sit for hours chewing the fat with people like makeup artist Pat McGrath, Kate Moss, Nick Kamen and photographer David Sims. Name-drops fall from his lips like insignificant diamonds—stylists, photographers, celebrities—but he navigates his domain in a manner apparently uncommon among fashion's gatekeepers. Winfrey says of him, "I have never experienced in all my dealings with people in that world anyone who was more kind and generous of spirit. I mean, it just doesn't happen."

Her shoot for the August 2018 cover of *British Vogue* left Winfrey feeling "empress-like," and she ascribes his understanding of Black female beauty to his being raised by a Black mother. "Edward understands that images are political, that they say who and what matters," she adds. Enninful's father Crosby, a major in the Ghanaian army who was part of U.N. operations in Egypt and Lebanon, had thought that his bright, studious son would eventually grow out of his fascination with clothes and become a lawyer. But three months into an English literature degree at Goldsmiths, University of London, studying Hardy, Austen and the usual classics, thinking maybe he'd be a writer, or indeed a lawyer, Enninful quit to take up the position at *i-D.* His father did not speak to him for around 15 years, into the next century, until Grace suffered a stroke and entered a long illness. "Now that I'm older, I realize he just wanted to protect us. He's come to understand that I had to follow my heart and forge my own path."

He credits his parents for his strong work ethic—"drummed into you from a very early age by Black parents, that you have to work twice as hard"—and his Ghanaian heritage for his eye for color. His approach to fashion as narrative comes from the "childish games I would play with my mother," creating characters around the clothes, sketching them out. "I can't just shoot clothes off the runway," he says. "There always has to be a character, and that character has to have an inner life." Since Grace's death three years ago, his father has lived alone by the Grand Union Canal and is very proud of his son, particularly of the Order of the British Empire awarded to him by Queen Elizabeth II in 2016 for his services to diversity in fashion. The Queen, incidentally, is high on Enninful's list of *Vogue* cover dreams.

THE *BRITISH VOGUE* Enninful inherited from former editor in chief Alexandra Shulman three years ago was starkly different from today's rendition. During her 25 years in charge, only 12 covers out of 306 featured Black women, and she left behind an almost entirely white workforce. Now the editorial team is 25% people of color—"I needed certain lieutenants in place," he says—and similar shufflings are being called for over at Condé Nast in New York. Enninful is reluctant to tarnish names any further, maintaining that Shulman "represented her time, I represent mine," and declining to comment on the U.S. headquarters.

Enninful's rise is particularly meaningful to people like André Leon Talley, former editor at large of American *Vogue,* where Enninful also worked as a contributing editor. Talley describes the new *British Vogue* as "extraordinary," and was joyous at Enninful's appointment. "He speaks for the unsung heroes, particularly those outside the privileged white world that *Vogue* originally stood for. He has changed what a fashion magazine should be."

"I'm a custodian," Enninful says of his role, sitting in a sumptuous alcove of the club bar at Electric House. "*Vogue* existed before I came, and it will still exist when I leave, but I knew that I had to go in there and do what I really believed in. It's our responsibility as storytellers or image makers to try to disrupt the status quo." Ironically, though, he does not see himself as an activist, rather as someone who is unafraid to tackle political issues and educate others, while remaining firmly within the *Vogue* lens. "They said Black girls on the cover don't

From top: Train driver Narguis Horsford on British Vogue *in July; a January 1995 Fashion Week report by Enninful in* i-D; *Naomi Campbell on* Vogue Italia *in July 2008*

JAMIE HAWKESWORTH (BRITISH VOGUE, JULY 2020); NICK TOWERS (I-D, JANUARY 1995); STEVEN MEISEL (VOGUE ITALIA, JULY 2008)

Enninful at London Fashion Week on Feb. 16, 2019

WAYNE TIPPETTS—SHUTTERSTOCK

sell," he says. "People thought diversity equals down-market, but we've shown that it's just good for business." *British Vogue*'s digital traffic is up 51% since Enninful took over. He previously edited the 2008 Black issue of *Vogue Italia,* which featured only Black models and Black women and sold out in the U.S. and the U.K. in just 72 hours.

Since the incident with the security guard in July—which Enninful reveals was not isolated and had happened before (the culprit, a third-party employee, was dismissed from headquarters)—building staff have been added to the company's diversity-and-inclusion trainings. Enninful would also like to see financial aid put in place for middle management, "because we forget sometimes that the culture of a place does not allow you to go from being a student to the top." In 2013, he tweeted about another incident, where he was seated in the second row at a Paris couture show while his white counterparts were placed in front. "I get racially profiled all the time," he says, going right back to his first experience of being stopped and searched as a teenager, which "petrified" him. "When I was younger, I would've been hurt and withdrawn, but now I will let you know that this is not O.K. People tend to think that if you're successful it eliminates you, but it can happen any day. The difference now is that I have the platform to speak about it and point it out. The only way we can smash systemic racism is by doing it together."

Activism, then, is intrinsic. Fashion is altruism, as much as story and craft, as much as the will to capture beauty. For Enninful, there is no limitation to the radicalism possible through his line of work. Rather than the seemingly unattainable elements of style (the £350 zirconia ring, the £2,275 coat) obscuring the moral fiber of the message, the invitation to think and see more openly, the style instead leads you to it, perhaps even inviting you to assemble something similar within the boundaries of your real, more brutal, less elevated existence. "Relatable luxury," he calls it, and though it's difficult to imagine exactly how one might evoke a £2,275 coat without his customizing skills and magical thinking, I am inclined to accept the notion, partly because I saw soul singer Celeste in a £1,450 dress in the September issue and think I might give it a try. Anything is possible. "I still feel like I'm at the beginning," he says with palpable optimism. "I feel the fire of something new." —*With reporting by* CADY LANG/NEW YORK *and* MADELINE ROACHE/LONDON

Evans is the author of Ordinary People, The Wonder *and* 26a

TimeOff

SPOOKY SEASON
A new crop of women filmmakers release horror movies perfect for our summer of discontent

INSIDE

ILLUSTRATIONS BY FRANZISKA BARCZYK FOR TIME

Time Off is reported by Mariah Espada, Anna Purna Kambhampaty, Simmone Shah and Julia Zorthian

MOVIES

Women filmmakers capture the fear of 2020

By Stephanie Zacharek

SOMETIMES WOMEN REPRESENT FRAGILITY AND innocence in horror movies, symbols of purity worth saving; what would King Kong have been without his tiny captive inamorata Fay Wray? Other times they're sympathetic companions or spokespeople for misunderstood monsters. But their allure goes further and deeper than that—especially when it's women who are doing the looking.

Today the term *the male gaze* is thrown around more loosely than its originator, filmmaker and film theorist Laura Mulvey, intended. Even when there's a man behind the camera, the lens doesn't always simply cater to man's desires. Women love watching other women; we identify, we admire, and sometimes we feel a frisson (or more) of desire. Other times we recoil, though that may only intensify our fascination. So what happens when women filmmakers take control of the horror genre themselves?

The summer of 2020, a mini-epoch of isolation, has provided the perfect conditions to see. In the past two months, we've seen horror attuned to women's experiences in canny, unnerving ways. Most of the women in these movies (all available to rent or purchase on streaming platforms) aren't heroic in the superhero sense. But they're also not the girl who needs to be saved.

IN *AMULET,* the directorial debut from actor Romola Garai (who also wrote the script), an ex-soldier from Eastern Europe, Tomaz (Alec Secareanu), has taken refuge in London, working odd jobs and sleeping in a flophouse. He finds a temporary home in a decrepit house with a young woman, Magda (Carla Juri), who dutifully cares for her ailing mother, kept locked in a room upstairs.

Magda appears to be the trapped innocent, the woman who needs saving; she's also a fabulous cook—but what, exactly, is she serving up? Garai has some grim fun with notions of what men expect women to be vs. who they really are. The movie is marred by a confusing coda that muddies its ending, but it does feature one enduring image: a squirmy, newborn batlike thing that emerges from a womb with all its teeth. If that's not a childbirth-anxiety metaphor, I'm not sure what is.

Sometimes the scariest things we give birth to aren't, at least literally, living things. In *Shirley,* directed by Josephine Decker and based on a novel by Susan Scarf Merrell, Elisabeth Moss plays a fictionalized version of Shirley Jackson, the author of the elegantly chilling 1959 ghost novel *The Haunting of Hill House.* Moss's Shirley is married to a seemingly jovial Bennington academic (Michael Stuhlbarg) who actually exerts brutish control over her. He invites two young newlyweds, Rose and Fred (Odessa Young and Logan Lerman), to move into their comfortably ramshackle home, a cheap way of getting domestic help: incapacitated by neuroses—and drinking—Shirley can barely get out of bed, let alone make progress on her novel.

But when she's able to function, she's blazingly charismatic, with a knowledge of witchcraft, folklore and the tarot. Shirley isn't easy; like her husband, she can be manipulative to an almost monstrous degree. But her powers are finite and human. When she confronts a blank page, she's really staring down a demon. Her sexual currency has diminished too. Her husband has taken up with the ostensibly more attractive wife of a fellow academic. *Shirley* isn't strictly a horror movie, but it stirs up the murk of so many women's fears: If I can't create something of worth, does that mean I too am worthless? If I have a child, what part of myself do I lose—and do I ever get it back? *Shirley* has a strange, heady earthiness, like a perfume sourced from an enchanted, treacherous forest—one you enter at your own risk.

Many sources of anxiety defy categorization by gender: men must feel as much stress as women do when it comes

PREVIOUS PAGE AND THESE PAGES: SHIRLEY, SHE DIES TOMORROW: NEON; RELIC: IFC MIDNIGHT; AMULET: MAGNET RELEASING

to doing right by an elderly parent. But I'm not sure a man could have made *Relic*. Emily Mortimer and Bella Heathcote play Kay and Sam, a mother and daughter who become alarmed when they learn that Kay's mother Edna hasn't been seen for days. They drive to her remote house, where they poke around her things, tidying up and taking stock of all the place markers we use to track exactly where our parents are at as they age. There's some shriveled fruit in a bowl; little Post-it reminders are marked with phrases like TURN OFF THE STOVE.

The things that scare women the most are already inside them

The next morning, Edna—played by Australian actor Robyn Nevin—appears in the kitchen, as if she'd never gone missing. But something is very wrong. Edna is herself—yet not. One minute her eyes dance with warmth; the next they've gone cold, seeing her own family members as hostile strangers. Kay, meanwhile, is filled with guilt over the fact that her relationship with Edna hasn't been particularly amicable. She also thinks it's time to find a safer place for her mother to live. She visits a nursing home, where the manager says with businesslike cheerfulness, "Think of it as independent living with the edges taken off." It's the movie's most chilling line.

Director Natalie Erika James—who co-wrote the script with Christian White—uses horror-palette colors to explore tensions endemic to mothers and daughters. There's nothing supernatural about any of that. But anyone who has watched a parent age will recognize Kay's anguish as she traces the changes in Edna's behavior and bearing. *Relic*'s ending is an embrace of terror and tenderness. So many horror-film makers start out with great ideas and don't know how to wrap them up. James caps off her debut feature with an operatic flourish that feels earned.

IF OUR IMAGINATIONS are capable of conjuring great horrors as well as wonder, here's a question: Can we pass on our most acute fears, virus-style, to others? In her shivery, evocative and sometimes surprisingly funny existential thriller *She Dies Tomorrow,* writer-director Amy Seimetz burrows deep into some of our dumbest 3 a.m. fears, and wonders aloud, What if they're not so dumb? Kate Lyn Sheil plays Amy, a young woman who becomes seized with a fear she can't explain: she's certain she's going to die the next day. In a panic, she calls her closest friend, Jane (Jane Adams), begging her to come over. Jane shows up and tries to talk sense into her friend—only to return home, get into her pj's and suddenly feel paralyzed by the same fear. When Jane confesses her anxiety to others—to her brother (Chris Messina), to the doctor to whom she goes for treatment (Josh Lucas)—they too downplay her distress, only to find themselves captive to the same debilitating panic minutes later.

She Dies Tomorrow takes place in a world much like the one we're living in right now, one that feels untrustworthy. Yet what if it's not the greater world but ourselves we can't trust? Fear of death isn't specific to women, obviously—the male characters in Seimetz's movie are susceptible to it too. But maybe, given women's often complex relationship with aging, our fear of death has a slightly different tenor. In *Shirley,* the matronly, middle-aged protagonist is not only unable to write, which is her chief measure of her own self-worth, but her husband has also taken up with a supposedly superior woman—and isn't the moment we lose faith in our own magnetism a small death? Watching our parents age, as Kay does in *Relic,* is a test of our mettle when we see the traits that have calcified in our forebears begin to manifest themselves in us. In *Amulet,* the exhausted Magda has a different problem: she's simply waiting for her mother to die so she can be free.

All of these movies were conceived and made before we had any sense of how a worldwide pandemic would shape and circumscribe our lives. Yet all speak of constricted freedom, of carrying on with life until it decides it's through with us. They're about all the things we can't protect ourselves from, what we used to call, in more innocent times, fear of the unknown. Now we know what to fear—only to realize that knowing isn't necessarily better. □

Monáe carries the torch, and she knows how to use it

REVIEW

Slavery's horror, played out in the present

By Stephanie Zacharek

EVEN IF WE DIDN'T LIVE IN A COUNtry where a shockingly large fraction of people think Confederate monuments are A-O.K., Gerard Bush and Christopher Renz's *Antebellum* would resonate like the boom of a Union Army cannon. If you've seen the trailer, you already know the twist: Janelle Monáe plays a slave named Eden on a plantation somewhere, ostensibly, in the Civil War–era South. Escape from the property—overseen by a cruel Confederate general (Eric Lange)—is impossible. Worse yet, there's no escape from this life, which isn't Eden's real life at all. She's really Veronica Henley, a successful sociologist and writer with a loving husband and daughter. For reasons Veronica can't comprehend, she's been dropped into a nightmare that looks an awful lot like real-life American history.

Even if *Antebellum*'s trailer gives the game away, it still holds the movie's most effective secrets close. The opening is magisterial and chilling, a sweeping shot that captures both the grand beauty of the Southern landscape and the savage horror of these characters' altered lives. Bush and Renz keep careful control over the tone: this is a tense, thoughtful picture that seeks both to entertain and provoke, rather than to simply punish its audience. Some of *Antebellum*'s more brutal scenes are difficult to watch, but most of its violence is blunt, righteous and gratifying. And in the midst of the story's sobering ambience, Bush and Renz know the value of a well-placed joke: when a white restaurant hostess shows Veronica and her party to the worst table in the house, her best friend, played by Gabourey Sidibe, sets the woman straight and then fumes behind her back, "The caucasity!"

It's Monáe, though, always as electrifying an actor as she is a singer, who sets the film ablaze. Veronica's boldness doesn't vanish when she's forced into the role of Eden; it lies in wait, coiled like a cobra. "They're stuck in the past. We are the future," Veronica says to a group of Black women gathered to hear her speak, but the line belongs to all of history's Edens, too. Monáe speaks for them as well, in a story where ghosts triumph not just over the past, but also over an insidiously threatening present.

ANTEBELLUM *streams on various platforms beginning Sept. 18*

REVIEW

Dancing way too fast

IN FRENCH DIRECTOR Maïmouna Doucouré's *Cuties,* an 11-year-old French girl from an upright Senegalese Muslim family, Amy (Fathia Youssouf), becomes entranced with a group of girls who have formed a dance troupe, eager to show off their skills at an upcoming competition. They rebuff her at first—Amy is shy and retreating. Then she picks up some racy moves from grownup dancers in music videos, earning the group's dubious approval.

Cuties—originally titled *Mignonnes*—earned Doucouré a directing award at Sundance earlier this year, though it has since drawn controversy over fears that it sexualizes young girls. But that view of *Cuties* misses the point: eager impatience to become a woman is part of girlhood, a stage that Doucouré explores with honesty and integrity. For Amy, womanhood represents the promise of having some control over her life. Little wonder she's rushing toward it. Only grownups know how fleeting childhood really is. —s.z.

CUTIES *streams on Netflix beginning Sept. 9*

Youssouf, right, as Amy: rushing toward womanhood

ANTEBELLUM: MATT KENNEDY—LIONSGATE; CUTIES: NETFLIX

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Call her by his name: Caitlin (Seamón) and Fraser (Grazer) complete each other

REVIEW

Guadagnino tries TV in *We Are Who We Are*

By Judy Berman

FRASER IS AN ANGSTY 14-YEAR-OLD NEW YORKER WITH painted fingernails and a fuzzy upper lip. He reads William S. Burroughs, listens to androgynous '70s singer Klaus Nomi and twirls derisively through basketball games, as though mocking the very idea of sports. Caitlin, meanwhile, is part of a wild clique. She has a boyfriend but seems ambivalent about sex. A beautiful late bloomer, she's begun to have an effect on guys that incites fearsome outbursts from her older brother. Sometimes she puts on a loose button-down shirt, stuffs her long wavy hair into a cap and lets girls her age mistake her for a boy.

In *We Are Who We Are*—a sensual, immersive but weirdly inert HBO drama from *Call Me by Your Name* and *Suspiria* director Luca Guadagnino—the teens are interlocking puzzle pieces. They become neighbors when Fraser's (Jack Dylan Grazer) mom Sarah (Chloë Sevigny) is named commander of a U.S. Army base in Italy, uprooting him as well as her wife Maggie (Alice Braga). After Fraser catches Caitlin (Jordan Kristine Seamón) in drag, accepting what her MAGA-hat-wearing dad would surely not, Fraser introduces her to the concept of nonbinary gender identity. She helps him feel less alone in a strange land. They make each other make sense.

The show develops characters and relationships to the near exclusion of plot, with the first two episodes covering Fraser's arrival at the base from his perspective, then again from Caitlin's. When the story finally starts to move, what emerges isn't a galvanizing problem so much as a sense that each character, no matter how seemingly clear, will come to surprise us. Sarah is dominant at work and in her marriage but absorbs violent attacks from her emotionally disturbed son. Characters are more flexible in their identities than meets the eye. Guadagnino lingers on blurred binaries—straight and gay, Black and white, adolescence and adulthood, love and hate. The base is, itself, a liminal space: a tiny American dot on the map of Italy.

'This is about the bodies and souls of now.'

LUCA GUADAGNINO, to IndieWire, on what differentiates his TV debut from *Call Me by Your Name*

IT'S A LOVELY, if increasingly common, theme—one that is fleshed out in languid scenes of beach trips, street festivals, all-night parties. When Caitlin, Fraser and their friends get swept up in collective ecstasy, still shots freeze the action, as if to commemorate the brief fusion of so many consciousnesses. The cultural references, from Frank Ocean on the soundtrack to a peach pie that sent me back to the, er, juiciest scene of Guadagnino's own masterpiece, serve a real, emotional purpose. When an intoxicated Black boy tries to prove to a rival that he has depth, what comes out is a line from Kendrick Lamar's "Alright" (which itself quotes Alice Walker's *The Color Purple*): "Alls my life I has to fight." An inscrutable character suddenly becomes slightly more legible.

Such moments, when time dilates and an audiovisual medium achieves almost tactile vividness, are Guadagnino's trademark. Yet his sensibility doesn't fully translate to TV. While a movie is self-contained, *We Are Who We Are* doesn't generate enough narrative momentum in early episodes to either hook weekly viewers or fuel an eight-hour binge. The distinction between film and TV has been whittled down to near nonexistence, now that the pandemic has made all video into home video. Auteurs from David Lynch to Paolo Sorrentino to Jane Campion have adapted their signature styles to a serialized format. But that doesn't mean every transition to serialized storytelling will be seamless. Guadagnino, for one, might have to settle for being a master filmmaker.

WE ARE WHO WE ARE *debuts Sept. 14 on HBO*

Keef's (Morris) mighty pen

REVIEW

Rude awokening

Keef is on a winning streak. The comic he draws, starring an anthropomorphic slice of toast and pat of butter, has just secured syndication. He's leaving his roommates behind to share a fancy apartment with his lawyer girlfriend. But one day, he's minding his own business when cops surround him with guns drawn. One tackles him. They've mistaken him for a mugger on the loose. While the confusion is quickly cleared up, Keef (Lamorne Morris, who played *New Girl*'s wonderfully weird Winston) is a changed man. No longer an apolitical cartoonist who happens to be Black, he's suddenly a Black cartoonist whose pen has a mind of its own. (Literally—it's voiced by J.B. Smoove.) When he fulminates over racism at a comics convention, it upends his career. "*Broke,*" a pal warns him, "rhymes with *woke.*"

Co-created by *The K Chronicles* cartoonist Keith Knight, Hulu's *Woke* traces Keef's rough path to consciousness. Morris makes an endearing lead, with Sasheer Zamata and Blake Anderson rounding out the funny cast. And despite a title freighted with baggage, the show approaches thorny issues—from race in general to the experiences of Black artists—with a light touch. —*J.B.*

WOKE *is streaming now on Hulu*

WE ARE WHO WE ARE: YANNIS DRAKOULIDIS—HBO; WOKE: LIANE HENTSCHER—HULU; A WILDERNESS OF ERROR: FX (3)

REVIEW

A murder case that won't die

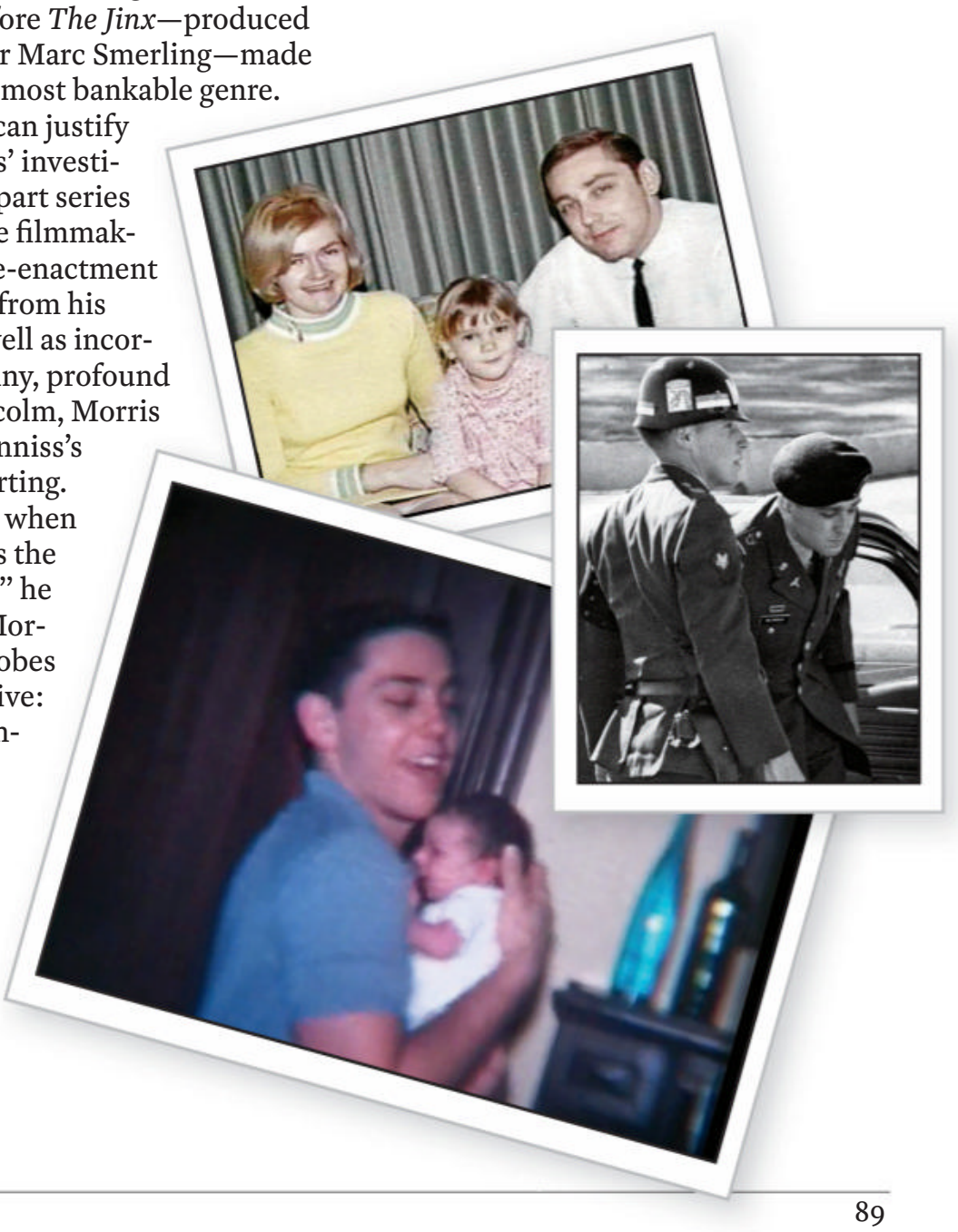
ERROL MORRIS ... IN FRONT OF THE camera? The jarring sight of the iconic documentarian sitting for an interview is the first hint that FX's *A Wilderness of Error* isn't typical true-crime fare.

The next clue is that the series revisits the case of Jeffrey MacDonald, a former Army physician convicted in the 1970 murders of his pregnant wife and two daughters. One of the toughest homicide cases in history, it has preoccupied such A-list writers as Joe McGinniss, whose 1983 best seller *Fatal Vision* was adapted into a hit miniseries, and Janet Malcolm—who, in *The Journalist and the Murderer,* used McGinniss's close relationship with MacDonald as Exhibit A in a moral indictment of journalism. Morris wrote his 2012 book, also titled *A Wilderness of Error,* after his obsession with the case failed to yield funding for a movie.

That was before *The Jinx*—produced by *Error* director Marc Smerling—made true crime TV's most bankable genre. Now, Smerling can justify updating Morris' investigation in a five-part series that borrows the filmmaker's cinematic re-enactment style and audio from his interviews, as well as incorporating his funny, profound voice. Like Malcolm, Morris mistrusts McGinniss's influential reporting. "What happens when a narrative takes the place of reality?" he asks. And like Morris, Smerling probes a counternarrative: What if MacDonald's wild claim that his family was slaughtered by a Manson-like band of hippies were true? A teen named Helena Stoeckley did, after all, repeatedly confess to being in his home that night.

Smerling's haunting film-noir visual style succeeds at reinvigorating an old story. His messy conclusion isn't necessarily a problem. Still, I wish his *Error* engaged in earnest with the question of why so many great minds have spent so much time on these murders. Might the polite white doctor and Princeton alum have activated their empathy to an extent that most alleged killers do not? Of course, if this case has taught us anything, it's that lingering questions are bound to reappear in the inevitable next round of inquiry. —J.B.

A WILDERNESS OF ERROR *premieres Sept. 25 on FX*



MacDonald, now 76, has maintained for the past five decades that he is innocent

REVIEW

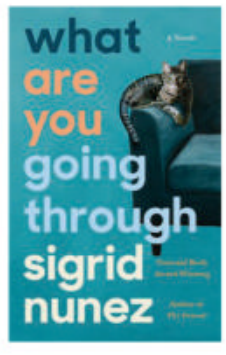
On death and friendship

By Annabel Gutterman

IT'S SEPTEMBER 2017, AND AN UNNAMED middle-aged writer attends a lecture at a college. Her ex-boyfriend, an author, is speaking about the bleak future of humankind. He presents the growing threats to civilization—cyberterrorism, climate change, global jihadism—and offers no sense of hope. "It was too late, we had dithered too long," he says. "Our society had already become too fragmented and dysfunctional for us to fix, in time, the calamitous mistakes we had made."

When the lecture is over, the writer stumbles out of the auditorium in search of a drink, which she finds at a local café. There, she overhears a father and daughter discuss the recent passing of the daughter's mother. The writer is a fly on the wall, listening closely to their intimate conversation. It's these moments that fill the first pages of Sigrid Nunez's new novel, *What Are You Going Through,* which follows the unnamed writer as she recounts a series of interactions of subtle importance. Among the people she describes are her pretentious ex with the doomsday attitude, the Airbnb host whose cat died before her stay and a woman from her gym who is obsessed with losing weight.

As the novel explores this tapestry of daily life, it comes to emphasize one specific thread: the writer's friend who is dying of cancer. While sitting at a bar they used to frequent years ago, the friend tells the writer that she dislikes the word *terminal.* "*Terminal* makes me think of bus stations, which makes me think of exhaust fumes and creepy men prowling for runaways," the friend explains. This is when she reveals that she has obtained a euthanasia drug. She wants to die—and she asks the writer to be her companion through her final days.



Nunez's eighth novel tackles suffering

IT'S UNSURPRISING that Nunez's latest book is concerned with death and friendship—and the vocabulary we use to describe it all. Her last novel, 2018 National Book Award winner *The Friend,* followed a woman in the wake of her best friend and mentor's suicide. The protagonist took in the man's Great Dane, who was too big for the minuscule New York City apartment where they learned to live and grieve together. Both books ask how we remember the most meaningful relationships in our lives—and do so without relying on plot.

In *What Are You Going Through,* Nunez leans on the writer's introspective tendencies to the point where the novel veers into essayistic territory. She begins one section with the proclamation "Women's stories are often sad stories," then shares the separate experiences of two women. One contemplates what it means to grow older, while the other has an inappropriate interaction with an elderly man. Individually, these moments may feel unrelated to the writer, but together they create a larger portrait of the pain she endures and how she tells stories to make sense of it.

This becomes important for the writer as she witnesses the suffering of her dying friend. Though the situation is steeped in sadness, it's never melodramatic. Nunez describes the friend's plan in declarative prose, and finds the space for humor just when it's needed most. After the writer tells her friend she'll accompany her to the end, the friend says, "I promise to make it as fun as possible."

As their plan is set in motion, the question that connects the pieces of *What Are You Going Through* becomes clear: At what point is the pain too much? The two women don't know the answer. They are both finding it difficult to categorize what they are going through. The friend doesn't know how to describe her new relationship with the writer, and simply refers to it as "all this." The writer remarks to herself, "*all this:* the inexorable, the inexpressible." It's a sentiment echoed throughout the book: sometimes the only words we have are insufficient to express what we really want to say. ☐

JESSE DITTMAR—REDUX

LIST

Can't-miss September fiction

TRANSCENDENT KINGDOM
While her debut, *Homegoing,* was a sweeping saga, Yaa Gyasi's follow-up is more narrow in scope, exploring science, faith and grief through the eyes of a Ghanaian-American neuroscientist.

HOMELAND ELEGIES
What does it mean to belong? The question is central to playwright Ayad Akhtar's second novel, which follows a man of Pakistani heritage in Trump's America. In finding the answer, Akhtar crafts a stunning narrative about a fractured country.

JACK
Marilynne Robinson revisits the world of Gilead, Iowa, in the fourth installment of her acclaimed series. The novel explores the complications of American life through the story of an ill-fated interracial romance.
—Annabel Gutterman

FONDA: AMANDA EDWARDS—GETTY IMAGES

QUICK TALK

Jane Fonda

The activist and actor, 82, has written a new book about her experiences leading "Fire Drill Fridays," where she was arrested weekly in the fall of 2019 while calling for government action on climate change. The book, What Can I Do?, *is presented as a guide for those who are concerned about the issue but unsure how to help.*

Do you think your book will get older voters to think about climate change and vote with the issue in mind? They're already thinking about it! The young climate strikers globally have had a lot to do with that. I'm targeting the people who notice the climate crisis and don't know what to do about it. I'm teaching them more about it and then giving people things to do … Civil disobedience has to become the new norm. No matter who is elected in November.

You write that older women play a critical role in the movement. What do you mean by that? First and foremost, older women generally tend to get braver, less afraid of being up front in expressing their anger. Studies show that women care more about the climate crisis. They're willing to do something about it. But women sometimes feel insecure about the science; I wanted to give the science so they could be more secure in that.

You note that you wanted the blessing of fellow climate activists before getting involved. Why was that? Imagine a movie star comes popping into D.C. and starts holding these rallies every Friday, without ever talking to the people who have been there for a year. We met with all the major environmental groups and the young activists, asking for their participation and their blessing. And we got along great.

What was it like working together? Did you see parts of your younger activist self in them? Oh my God. They're so much better than I was! I'm blown away. They are really smart. They're also very depressed—these young people are carrying grief.

How has your approach to activism evolved over the years? Often in my younger years, because I went pretty quickly from being Barbarella to being an activist, I was kind of lost and confused, so I was using other people's narratives. Now, it's my narrative that I've metabolized. It's part of me and my body.

How are the stakes different this time? It's all-consuming. This climate crisis is an existential issue that has to be dealt with if anything else is going to be achieved. There were issues that mattered to me before, but they weren't life-or-death—nothing else is going to matter if this isn't solved—like the climate crisis is. —JUSTIN WORLAND

Fonda is the author of four personal books

Reed Hastings The Netflix co-CEO on company secrets, his new book, *No Rules Rules,* and chilling

Do you remember that there was a time in this country when people received little plastic discs in the mail in red envelopes? That's crazy! We still have 2 million DVD members, because on DVD you get a comprehensive selection—we have all the HBO stuff, every movie ever made. And then of course it works in deep rural areas where we don't yet have broadband.

You built a company that transformed the global media landscape, yet you wrote a book on corporate culture, not the future of entertainment and technology. Why? We don't want to give away our secrets in entertainment.

When you were still building the company in the 2000s, I interviewed you and you were pretty combative, maybe even a brilliant jerk. If I came across that way, then it's just personal failings; it's not intention.

Many of the rules in your book—have a talent-dense company, pay top dollar—may work well at a company that's minting money, but are not possible for many companies. For most of our corporate life, we've been nearly broke, losing money, and not the Yankees or the Patriots. And so whatever our budget is, though, we'd rather have the talent density. I think we actually get more done with that.

For a CEO, you have an unusual take on making decisions. A good quarter would be one where I made no decisions, a no-hitter. I haven't had that yet. But mostly my job is to inspire people, excite them: How can we serve the customer better? I'm sort of educating, coaching, cheerleading, guiding—but I'm not making decisions.

What grade would you give your search and discovery features, which help subscribers find new movies and shows that they might enjoy? Well, internally, I say we suck, compared to how good we want to be in three years. It's hard. It turns out that human taste is hugely variable.

How many people do you have working on improving your discovery function? It depends on the boundaries, but I'd say roughly 1,000 people.

Are those humanists or data scientists? You need a mix. You have a bunch of humanists sort of generating hypotheses, but they don't know exactly what's possible. And then you have a bunch of data scientists who are really good at what's possible.

What are you thinking hard about these days? How do we share content around the world? Usually the linear networks, the HBOs and ABCs of the world, are very nation-specific. And we're trying to do something where we have great French movies in America, where we have great German movies in the U.K. We're trying to share the world's content, and it's challenging.

How much are you spending on content annually? $15 billion.

Are you as impressed as the rest of the world by TikTok? In the earnings letter, I talked about it, as there's lots of innovation left in the world, and TikTok's growth against YouTube and Facebook is quite remarkable.

As they say in business school, what is your target addressable market? Humans on the Internet who enjoy entertainment.

Modest goals. *Netflix and chill* has become part of the popular lexicon. How do you feel about your corporate name being part of a euphemism for sexual activity? It's not a campaign we created. We love it that we're important enough to people's lives that they use us in various references, but we neither built that nor do we exploit it. I would say it's recognition of how significant we've become for many people.

—EBEN SHAPIRO

CHRISTOPHE ARCHAMBAULT—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

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