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FEATURES

FINDING THE STARS
In a time when lockdowns in response to the COVID-19 pandemic have put millions of Americans' lives on hold and reshaped our buying habits, customer service has become more important than ever.

COVER CREDIT
Illustration by **Britt Spencer** for *Newsweek*

ANDRE2013/GETTY

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BY DAVID BRENNAN

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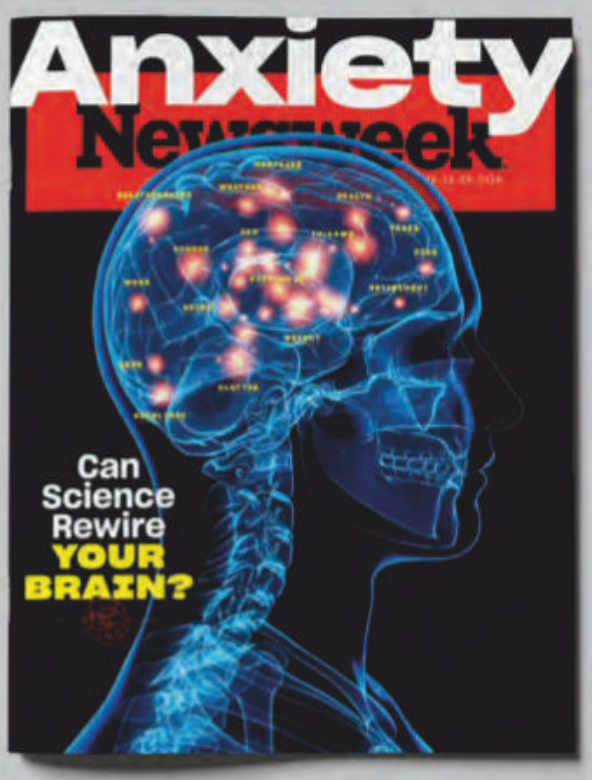
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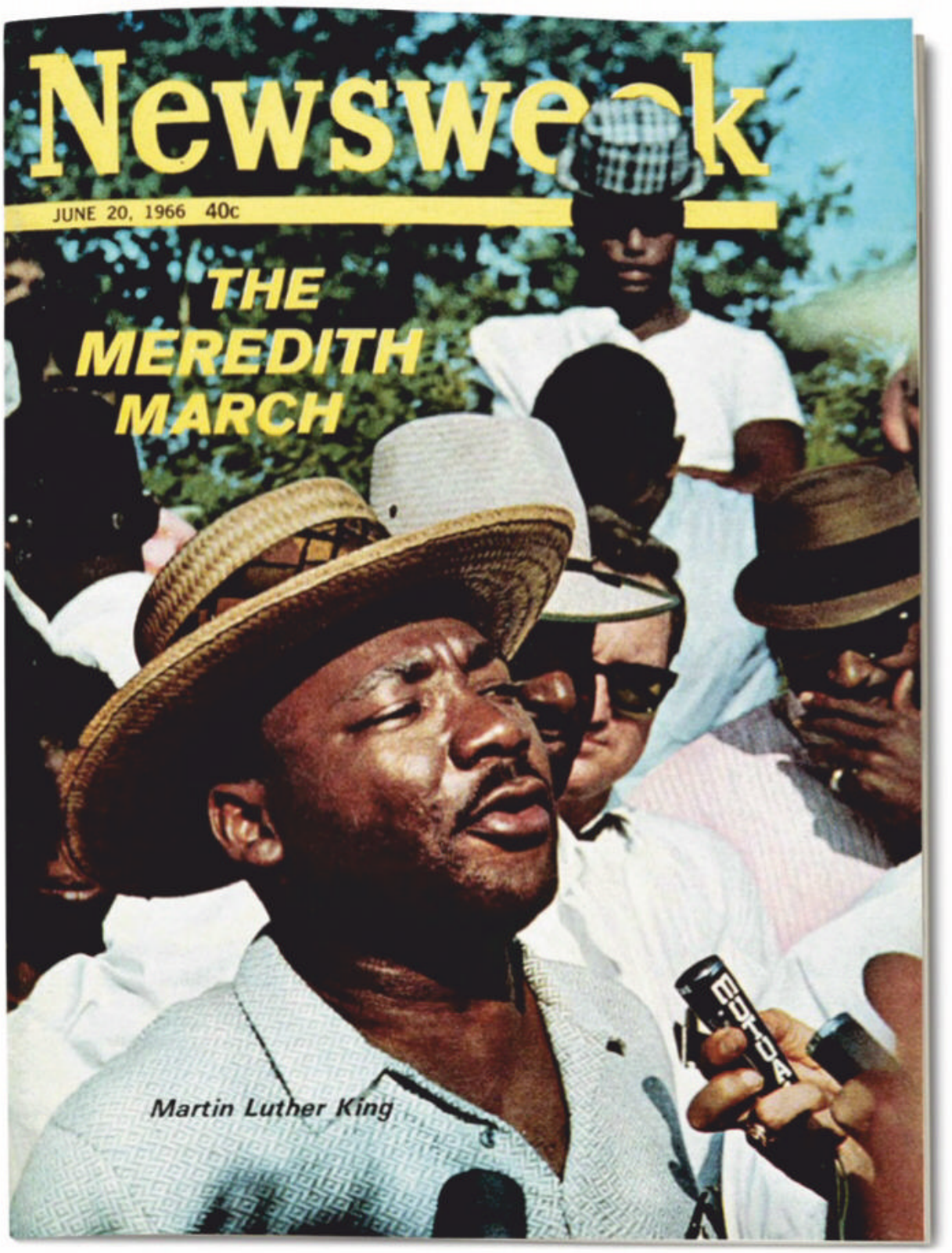
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The Archives

1966 When activist James Meredith began his March Against Fear on June 5, he intended to walk solo from Memphis, Tennessee, to Jackson, Mississippi, as a way to stand up to American racism and inspire black Americans to register to vote. *Newsweek* reported that after he was shot and hospitalized on his second day of marching, civil rights leaders like Martin Luther King Jr. and Stokely Carmichael continued the march on Meredith's behalf. On June 26, the marchers, now numbering over 15,000, arrived in Jackson. This remains the largest civil rights march in Mississippi history.





1985

On June 14, TWA Flight 847 was hijacked going from Athens to Rome by Arab gunmen, forcing the pilot to fly off course, which began "a terrifying odyssey over the Mediterranean—and a cruel hijack drama that sorely tested the Reagan administration's capabilities for combating international terrorism," wrote *Newsweek*, and "drove home to Americans their vulnerability."



1998

Newsweek reported on the film adaptation of *The X-Files*, which had just been released in theaters and had fans raving. The movie "takes the conspiracy to new heights." The show's recent reboot in 2018 had fans wondering whether the truth really *is* out there after all.

NEWSWEEK ARCHIVE (3)

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Photo By
ANDREW ECCLES

In Focus

THE NEWS IN PICTURES



CAPE CANAVERAL, FLORIDA

Rocket Men

The privately-owned SpaceX Falcon 9 rocket with the manned Crew Dragon spacecraft attached takes off from launch pad 39A at the Kennedy Space Center on May 30 in a joint venture with NASA. In SpaceX's first crewed mission, NASA astronauts Bob Behnken and Doug Hurley are the first astronauts to take off into space from U.S. soil since the Space Shuttle program ended in 2011.

JOE RAEDLE

JOE RAEDLE/GETTY



DENVER, COLORADO

Battle Ground

A protester after being sprayed by pepper spray next to the Colorado State Capitol building on May 30. Governor Jared Polis had activated the Colorado National Guard to protect people and property after violent protests broke out in response to the killing of George Floyd by police in Minneapolis.

→ MICHAEL CIAGLO

BINNISH, SYRIA

Mural Message

Syrian artists Aziz Asmar and Anis Hamdoun at the completion of a mural of George Floyd. They painted the mural on part of a destroyed building. The picture, which has gone viral according to press reports, was taken in the province of Idlib in northwestern Syria on June 1.

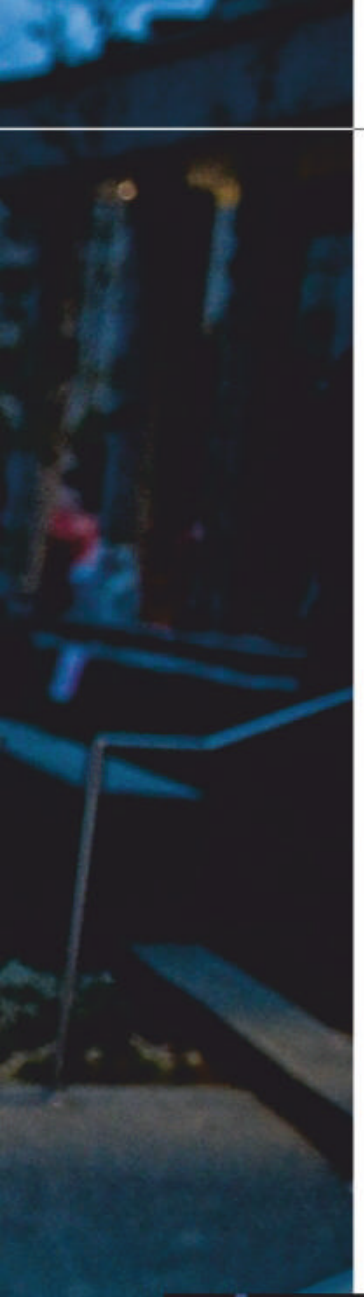
→ OMAR HAJ KADOUR

BERLIN

Rave-Up

People attend a rave in boats of all sizes on the Landwehr canal to support Berlin's world renowned dance clubs, which are struggling due to the COVID-19 pandemic. The authorities were horrified by the May 31 gathering in Berlin's Kreuzberg district due to lack of social distancing.

→ DAVID GANNON







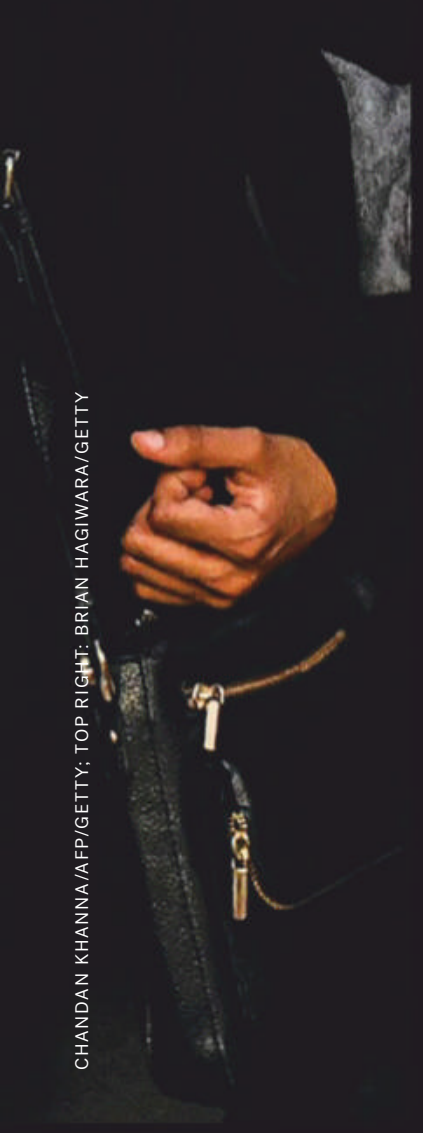
CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT: MICHAEL CIAGLO/GETTY; OMAR HAJ KADOUR/AFP/GETTY; DAVID GANNON/AFP/GETTY



TENSIONS BOIL
On June 1, a week after George Floyd's death in police custody, protesters gather at a makeshift memorial for him in Minneapolis. Protests and riots broke out across the country in response to how Floyd and other black men are treated by the police and the lack of swift arrests and charges for all four former officers involved in his killing.

"Those terrorizing innocent bystanders should be held accountable in the very same way." »P.16





CHANDAN KHANNA/AFP/GETTY; TOP RIGHT: BRIAN HAGIWARA/GETTY

OPINION

"I Can't Breathe" Echoes Loudly

Eric Garner's mother says justice for George Floyd can only come with full accountability for all four officers involved

I FIRST HEARD ABOUT GEORGE FLOYD THE morning after it happened. A reporter called me, and when I learned the details of how he died, I had an immediate lump in my throat and jolting pain in my heart.

It brought me back to July 17, 2014, the day the police put my son, Eric Garner, in a chokehold and ultimately caused his death.

Tears rushed to my eyes. It felt like what happened to Eric had happened all over again. It was such an eerie feeling when I found out the young man said, "I can't breathe," the same way Eric did. And when I learned why he couldn't breathe, everything came flooding back to me.

The police refused to release George Floyd, pinning a knee into his throat as he lay in the street, handcuffed, while officers stood around watching. While he was begging for help right in front of them, just as Eric did. Even though I had seen and heard it before, it was hard to even fathom.

All I could do is pour my heart out to the Floyd family and tell them how sorry I was and give them my deepest condolences. I knew what they were feeling, as I went through it only six years ago. I wish I could have put my arms around them right then. They're dealing with so much grief, hurt and anger.

I told the Floyd family that they must fight. It's not going to be easy, but I know they're not going to give up. Neither am I.

Although I understand why reporters and other people are looking for my reaction now, you have to understand there are so many other

BY

GWEN CARR
@RealGwenCarr

murders that are not recorded. The names that make headlines and lead to protests—from George Floyd to Ahmaud Arbery to Breonna Taylor to Sandra Bland to Philando Castile to Eric Garner to Trayvon Martin and others—are only a few of the cases. There have been plenty more, but no one could prove it and no one publicized it.

I and other African American mothers deal with this trauma daily. Our children are being attacked. Our children are being hunted. Our children are being killed. The stress manifests in our bodies, hearts and souls. This trauma in Minneapolis, fortunately, was caught on camera. There are so many others that are not.

So we have to stay vigilant. We have to keep on it, no matter how hard the fight is. Because they are coming into our neighborhoods, they're killing us, they're terrorizing and brutalizing us, and most of the time it gets swept under the rug. But if we stick together, if we let them know that we are not going away, they will eventually pay attention.

"If we stick together, if we let them know that we are not going away, they will eventually pay attention."

Real change has to come from the top. The police chief, the mayor and commanding officers—all are complicit. Any time one of these incidents happens—a killing or attack on an unarmed person who's doing absolutely nothing to warrant such violence—the officials in power must immediately fire all the aggressors, no questions asked.

I commend Minneapolis officials for taking action. All four officers at the scene were fired and arrested, and the cop who placed his knee on George Floyd's neck for nearly nine minutes has been charged with murder and manslaughter.

But this is not enough. All four officers being arrested is a small step toward justice. However, not until they all are actually convicted and sentenced to serve prison time will we get the justice we are demanding.

We have to keep pushing. We have to stand up and say, "We're not taking this anymore. You're going to respect us as human beings. You're going to stop coming into our neighborhoods and terrorizing us. You're going to stop murdering our young men and women." Without full accountability, there is no justice. N



"OUR CHILDREN ARE BEING HUNTED" Gwen Carr speaks at a news conference in May 2019 after a police disciplinary hearing for the officer who used a chokehold that led to her son's death in July 2014.

SPENCER PLATT/GETTY

→ **Gwen Carr** *is an activist and the mother of Eric Garner. She is also the author of* THIS STOPS TODAY *(Rowman & Littlefield). The documentary* BALLAD OF A BLACK MOTHER, *which chronicles her journey and that of other African American mothers, is directed by Brad Bailey and is due out this summer. Her friend and publicist Nadia Fischer contributed to this article. The views expressed in this article are the author's own.*

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OPINION

Don't Take it Out on the Little Guy

A Minneapolis bar owner is sympathetic to protesters but worried about the damage being done to his city

I ACQUIRED PALMER'S BAR A couple of years ago. I just celebrated my two-year anniversary as owner, but we've been closed since March because of the COVID-19 pandemic. I woke up and had a good cry that morning. The bar is still shut down. It's a very weird time.

And then these riots started a few nights ago. It's heartbreaking. George Floyd was a bouncer at a bar not far from here. I didn't know him, but I know people that did know him and worked with him over the years. Everyone's hurting.

We all saw that video and had the same reaction. It was heartbreaking.

But now with the riots and the looting—though I don't often discuss race or get political—I felt I had to write a "Black Owned Business" sign on Palmer's Bar.

BY

TONY ZACCARDI

@tonyzaccardi



"I WOULD SAY PLEASE" Palmer's Bar owner Tony Zaccardi stands outside his place, which has been in existence since 1906. He's owned it for two years and can't afford to rebuild if it gets destroyed.

Every business owner says their place is special, but Palmer's really is. It's a community place, and it's been a home to a lot of waywards over the years. It's one of the most legendary dive bars in the Twin Cities. It's got a lot of heart, and I'm sure as hell honored to be its current babysitter.

This bar has been here since 1906, and it's survived the Spanish Flu pandemic, two World Wars and President Trump, so far. I just figured, let me try. Because while it's an historic bar and well loved, a bar just a mile from here that has been around since 1934, the Hexagon Bar, just burned to the ground.

Palmer's is about a mile and a half, maybe five minutes by car, from the Third Police Precinct that burned down and the center of the riots. And we are around three miles away from

FROM LEFT: COURTESY OF TONY ZACCARDI (2); KEREM YUCEL/AFP/GETTY



A CITY SEETHING When Minneapolis's Third Police Precinct was set ablaze during protests over George Floyd's killing, nearby buildings like this liquor store also went up in flames.

38th Street and Chicago Avenue where the George Floyd incident happened.

I woke up at 6:30 a.m. on Friday, and a pawn shop that's on the same street as my bar, about two or three blocks from here, was fully engulfed in flames. I could see the smoke from my apartment, so I ran down to Palmer's, but thankfully at the moment all is quiet here, on what is called the West Bank of Minneapolis.

I don't expect an angry mob to come down the street, but rioters are just hitting places at random now. We're located in a neighborhood called Cedar-Riverside, it's an old hippie neighborhood, but now it's got a strong Muslim community. I actually share a wall with a mosque—where else in the world is there a bar attached to a mosque?

I'm hoping that because it's largely a minority area, they won't mess with us down here. But it's a busy road, and a main thoroughfare.

"The only thing I can do is ask people to be careful about who they are attacking."

I'm not a go-down-with-the-ship guy; it's bricks and mortar, it's a building, and I'm not a violent person. But if people came by, I would just want to be there in front and just say please. Because I haven't even had a chance to really blossom as a bar owner. This is a chance of a lifetime for me and to be going through all of this is devastating.

It's hard to see and grasp these riots—what are we doing to our city? I cried watching the five o'clock news the other day. I've never cried watching the news in my life. Just seeing our mayor, broken and devastated, it got to me.

But I'm not surprised because we've had a couple of incidents in Minneapolis the last few years. There was the case of Philando Castile being shot dead by a police officer here in 2016, that was a big agitator for the city. I think the death of George Floyd, along with the anger over the Ahmaud Arbery death in Georgia, and on top of that COVID-19—people are just bubbling.

There's tension about stores, bars and restaurants being closed, people are stuck at home not working, and it just exploded.

I'm fully in support of people protesting, having their right to speak and to voice their frustration, because I'm frustrated too. I think the only thing I can do is ask people to be careful about who they are attacking. I love Target, but they can rebuild, they have plenty of money, I don't.

There are people who are spray-painting, but it's just spray paint. There's "F*** The Police" all over the place in south Minneapolis, that's fine. But people who are opportunists and looting are ruining the protests.

Just think of what you're doing when you're doing it. It's just me here, I'm a 42-year-old black kid—because I still feel like a kid—and this bar is me, it's my dream and my whole life.

→ **Tony Zaccardi** *is the owner of the legendary Palmer's Bar in the Cedar-Riverside neighborhood of Minneapolis. He has lived in Minneapolis his whole life, and owning a bar has always been his dream. As told to Jenny Haward. All views expressed in this article are the writer's own.*



OPINION

Two Wrongs Don't Make a Right

Blue Lives Matter activist denounces looting and violence in the face of shameful action by Minnesota officer in George Floyd death

BY

JOSEPH IMPERATRICE

@ImperatriceV

I HAVE BEEN A NEW YORK CITY police officer for more than 14 years, and I have lived on this earth for 35 years. I have heard stories about how decades ago, Times Square was a place you didn't go to. From prostitution, to the drug trade and larceny, crime ran rampant through that area, and most of Manhattan was also dangerous in the '80s and '90s. Never in my wildest imagination did I think I would see the day that this great city was once again under siege.

These past few days in New York have been hard to watch. Years of hard work and dedication from police officers has been erased and set back. My heart hurts seeing the extreme looting and violence. Storefronts have been damaged and merchandise has been taken from them. Police vehicles have been set on fire.

And I'm not the only one who feels this way. Officers in New York City and nationwide are in awe of what is happening. They are hurt. Hundreds of officers have had their lives taken from them over the years, defending people who are now behaving like deviants. This is the ultimate slap in the face to all Americans.

There is violence; bricks and debris are being thrown. Officers are being hit by vehicles, getting injured, and bones are being broken. It is nothing short of a war zone.

Every officer is ashamed of what that one Minnesota officer did. He not only crossed the line, but went against his oath to serve and protect. That even includes the people we arrest; you never treat a human that way.

And we are with the rest of the world. We too are beyond happy that he has been arrested, and his title as an officer taken away. We also are hurt and ashamed that a man lost his life during an interaction with an officer. Officers are not expected to act as he did.

But you don't break into stores and loot. There is no excuse nor explanation for such behavior.

A man should be remembered. Candlelight vigils should be held. Questions of how this could happen should be asked, and discussions should be had about what avenue we take as humans, to make sure this never happens again.

But that's not happening. I'm working as a sergeant on the streets during these riots. There are mobs of people of all ages—young people, teenagers and adults in their 20s—running the streets like Gotham City in a scene out of *Batman*. These kids don't even know what they are fighting for, each one has a different response. Their lives are just beginning. These aren't educated adults making sense, mimicking such icons as Martin Luther King Jr. or John Lennon. Not even close.

People demand "justice" but yet are breaking laws themselves to justify their actions. The culprit has been arrested. He is behind bars to never harm another human again. Why take this out on the rest of the world? Why take this out on the good officers serving and protecting like they swore to do?

It was too easy to terrorize and loot. Therefore law and order must be re-established. These groups must know they do not run these cities. They need to be met by law enforcement that swore to defend the innocent and vulnerable.

There have to be consequences. If we demand those be held accountable for excessive use of force, those terrorizing innocent bystanders should be held accountable in the very same way.

We are better than this. Humanity is better than this. We need to get back on track and make up the ground that we have lost.

Joseph Imperatrice *is a sergeant in the New York City Police Department and has served as a police officer for more than 14 years. He is the founder of Blue Lives Matter New York City and is a Fox News contributor. The views expressed in this article are the writer's own.*

JASON ENTERLINE/GETTY

NEWSMAKERS

Talking Points

"We are not in one of those situations now. I do not support invoking the Insurrection Act."

—SECRETARY OF DEFENSE MARK ESPER

"I am a human, a father and a black man in pain and I am not the only one."

—JAY-Z

St.Louis Public Radio

"THAT MEANS I GOT WORK TO DO."

—Ella Jones, on being elected the first black mayor of Ferguson, Missouri



Ella Jones

"RACISM IS IGNORANCE. LOVE IS INTELLIGENCE."

—FRENCH SOCCER PLAYER PAUL POGBA



Paul Pogba

The Atlantic

"Structural racism has been a public-health crisis for much longer than the pandemic has."

—EPIDEMIOLOGIST MAIMUNA MAJUMDER

The Washington Post

"I am the bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Washington and was not given even a courtesy call, that they would be clearing [the area] with tear gas so they could use one of our churches as a prop."

—BISHOP MARIANN BUDDE

FOX NEWS

"I WENT DOWN DURING THE DAY AND I WAS THERE FOR A TINY LITTLE SHORT PERIOD OF TIME AND IT WAS MUCH MORE FOR AN INSPECTION."

—President Trump, on going to an underground White House bunker during protests



Jay-Z

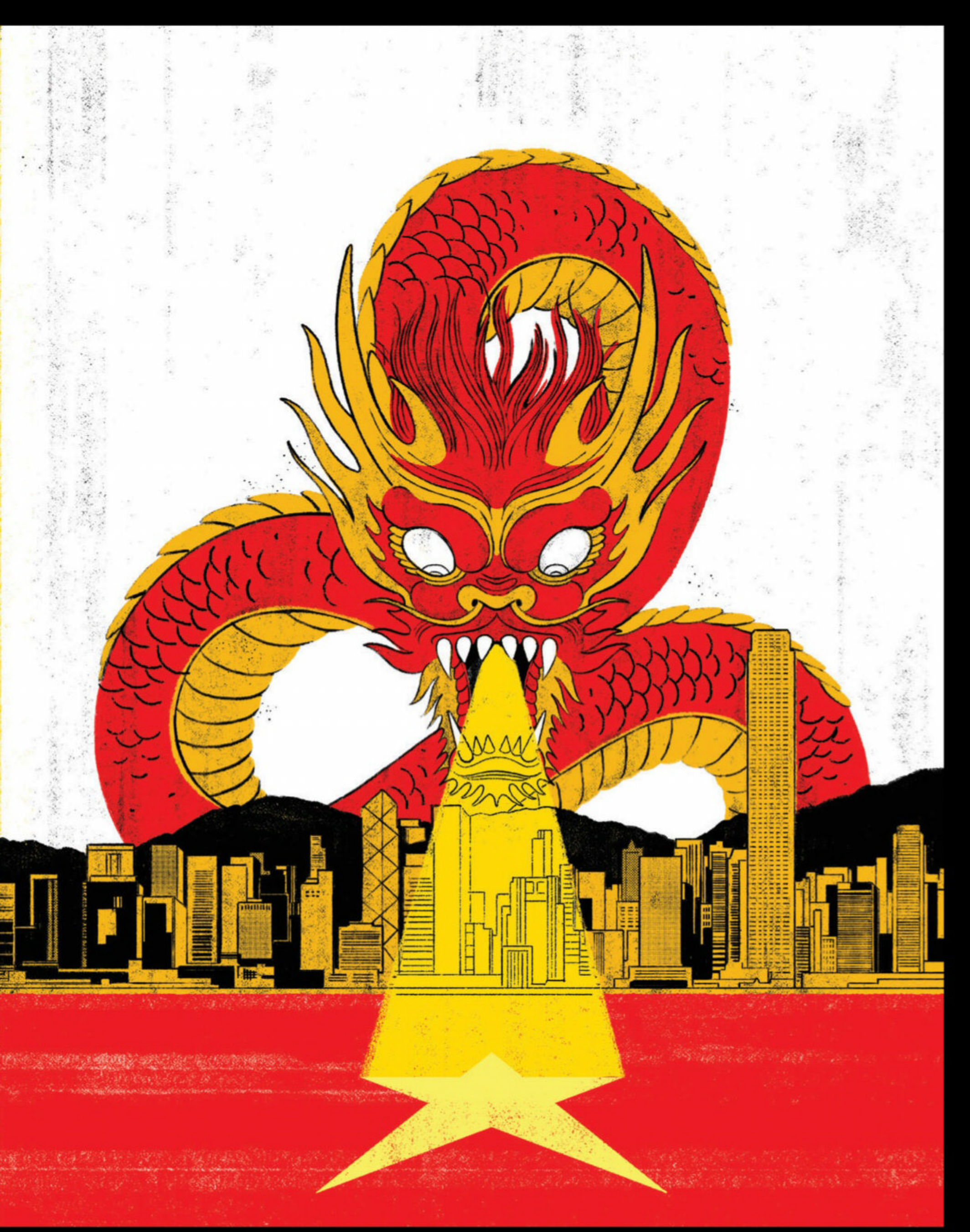
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‘NOBODY CAN SAY NO TO BEIJING’

China has gobbled up **Hong Kong,** undeterred by protests and international condemnation. Who’s next?

by
DAVID BRENNAN

Illustration by
ALEX FINE



HONG KONG'S VICTORIA PARK WAS largely empty that day—unlike last year, and the year before that, and the 28 years before that. Usually on June 4th the park is thronged with crowds commemorating the 1989 Tiananmen Square massacre, perhaps the most infamous single atrocity committed by the Chinese Communist Party since the death of Mao Zedong nearly a half-century ago.

Hong Kong and Macau—the two semi-autonomous regions of China—are the only places in the country that have been allowed to mark an event the Party has tried to scrub from the national memory: the killing of hundreds, perhaps thousands, of pro-democracy activists by Chinese soldiers. But this year, for the first time, Hong Kong authorities refused permission for the Victoria Park event. They cited concerns about the coronavirus. For pro-democracy activists, though, the cancellation was a portent of Hong Kong's dark future, one in which Beijing extends ideological control over the former British colony despite mass protests and international condemnation.

Democracy advocates already foresee the end of a Hong Kong with (relatively) free speech and free trade. Chinese legislators recently approved draft national security legislation that would effectively criminalize anti-Beijing dissent in the restive territory.

Members of China's rubberstamp National People's Congress burst into applause in Beijing as the legislation was approved at the Chinese Communist Party's annual meeting. Hong Kongers took to the streets once again to continue their long, losing battle against encroachment from the mainland.



A 30-YEAR FIGHT
Below: Pro-democracy demonstrators stand their ground outside Communist Party headquarters in Beijing, days before the 1989 Tiananmen Square massacre. Right: Commemorating the event's 30th anniversary in Hong Kong's Victoria Park.

The implications of Hong Kong's plight are far-reaching. China-skeptics are coalescing in the face of Beijing's unapologetically authoritarian march to superpower status, warning that what Hong Kong faces now is what others—Taiwan, among the first—may face in the future.

The national security law—expected to be introduced before September—will target secession, subversion, terrorism and foreign interference in the city, following a year of anti-government unrest and pro-democracy agitation. Opponents say it marks the end of the "One country, two systems" agreement that has afforded Hong Kong more political freedom than the mainland.

The Sino-British Joint Declaration that governed the colony's handover in 1997 said Hong Kong's way of life and capitalist system would remain unchanged until 2047. But the national security law is set to greatly curtail that timeline.

Nathan Law—the 26-year-old chair and co-founder of the pro-democracy Demosisto organization and one of the leaders of the 2014 Umbrella Movement—told *Newsweek* that the national security law will "basically destroy 'One country, two systems.'" It represents Beijing's effort "to squash all the dissidents," he said. "And if we're in Hong Kong and they're applying the same effect, that would be the end of Hong Kong's freedom.

"We'll be stepping into a 'One country, one system' Hong Kong," Law said, where freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and freedom of thought are no longer protected.

Under Article 23 of Hong Kong's Basic Law—its de facto constitution—local lawmakers are required to adopt legislation prohibiting treason, secession, sedition and subversion against the CCP. The territory's

FROM LEFT: PETER CHARLESWORTH/LIGHTROCKET/GETTY; PAUL YEUNG/BLOOMBERG/GETTY


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Legislative Council, known as the LegCo, tried to do so in 2003, but mass protests forced lawmakers to shelve the plan.

The controversy ultimately claimed Chief Executive Tung Chee-hwa, who stepped down in 2005 amid criticism of the failed national security bill and his administration's mishandling of the SARS pandemic.

Now—under the cover of the COVID-19 pandemic—the CCP is circumventing local representatives. Alvin Yeung, a member of the LegCo and the leader of the pro-democracy Civic Party, told *Newsweek* that Beijing's approval of the bill marks "the beginning of the end" for free Hong Kong.

In a letter to Hong Kongers on May 29, Hong Kong Chief Executive Carrie Lam said the territory "has become a gaping hole in national security, and our city's prosperity and stability are at risk."

Asked to comment on concerns around the national security proposal, Lam's office pointed *Newsweek* to her suggestion on June 2 that the "very legitimate" legislation being enacted is to "protect national security and also by doing so to protect Hong Kong."

The Chinese embassy in Washington, D.C., did not respond to *Newsweek*'s requests for comment. After the National People's Congress approved the proposal, Chinese Premier Li Keqiang said the bill was designed with "Hong Kong's long-term prosperity and stability" in mind.

But speaking from inside the LegCo building—which was stormed and ransacked by protesters during last year's protests—pro-democracy leader Yeung said the legislation "will take away the most precious thing of Hong Kong: That's freedom."

The LegCo's pro-democracy minority is more or less helpless, Yeung said. "Nobody can say no to Beijing when it comes to imposing this law. The LegCo has basically no role to play here."

It's not entirely clear what the Trump administration will say to Beijing, given President Trump's complicated and contradictory relationship with President and party leader Xi Jinping. Trump has framed himself as tough on Beijing and employed the rhetoric and tariffs to match, and blamed China for the COVID-19 pandemic—after first complimenting its handling of the disease—while also proudly declaring that Xi is his "friend."

Trump initially praised the Chinese response to the Hong Kong protests as "relatively non-violent." Xi, the president said, had acted "very responsibly." Months later Trump said his administration stood with the Hong Kong activists, and his administration signed legislation defending the human rights of those marching against the CCP.

The U.S. has long given Hong Kong "special status" that enabled its growth as a global business center, and U.S. companies depend on the territory

SYMBOLS OF TURMOIL
Above: Hong Kong leader Tung Chee-hwa resigned in 2005 amid criticism of proposed antisubversion laws; pro-democracy activist Agnes Chow. Right: Umbrellas, used by protesters as shields, are associated with the pro-democracy movement; Civic Party leader Alvin Yeung, a member of the LegCo, walking past protesters last year.

CLOCKWISE FROM BOTTOM LEFT: DICKSON LEE/SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST/GETTY; GREG BAKER/AFP/GETTY; VERNON YUEN/NURPHOTO/GETTY; ANTHONY WALLACE/AFP/GETTY

as an easy place to do business and as a bridge to mainland China. If Washington, in response to Beijing's move, revokes Hong Kong's special status, the territory's economic vitality could be endangered, along with the $38 billion in annual trade between Hong Kong and the U.S.

But U.S. pressure has done nothing to dissuade China from cementing control of Hong Kong. The new legislation, said Jacques deLisle, a professor at the University of Pennsylvania Law School and an expert in Chinese law and politics, is "an extreme version of something we've seen time and time again over more than 20 years.

"[It's] a qualitatively worse development in what has been a long trend toward erosion of Hong Kong autonomy and its distinctiveness from the mainland," deLisle said. Whether evidence of Xi's growing confidence or fear that Hong Kong unrest could threaten the CCP, the law "is bad news for 'One country, two systems' and for democratic and liberal values in Hong Kong," he said.

"WE'LL BE STEPPING INTO A 'ONE COUNTRY, ONE SYSTEM' HONG KONG."





It is also bad news for the diplomats, business leaders and others who invested in a decades-long effort to bring China into the family of nations. The law has "finally taken down the myth of this idea that China is somehow changing," Samuel Chu, the managing director of the U.S.- based Hong Kong Democracy Council, told *Newsweek*. "This is the mark of the end of the pretension."

"It might be our last fight"

CCP APPROVAL OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY LEGISLATION PROMPTED fresh protests in Hong Kong streets, which for many weekends last year were blanketed in clouds of smoke and tear gas amid battles between riot police and protesters. The demonstrators who gathered in large numbers in late May despite the pandemic were again met with mass arrests and violence.

The local government and the regime in Beijing have rejected almost all the demonstrators' demands. Authorities have branded them "terrorists" directed by foreign actors, seeking to delegitimize their grievances and justify tough prosecution, both to a domestic and international audience.

Some anti-government protesters adopted their own violent methods in response to police brutality, though they remain a tiny minority of the millions who marched peacefully. More extreme activists may take the national security law as proof that violence is now their only option. "Nothing can be ruled out," Yeung said, "especially when Hong Kong people have been pushed to the edge."

Heavy-handed policing may reduce the number of marchers, Law predicted, but is likely to radicalize those who remain.

Law himself has already spent time in Chinese prisons for his work. Some activists have fled abroad to the U.S., Europe or Taiwan to escape persecution, raising the possibility that the



anti-Beijing movement may have to go abroad to survive, as after the Tiananmen Square protests.

But protest abroad carries less weight than at home. The CCP's fearsome censorship system controls what its citizens see and hear. Displaced Hong Kong activists might make international headlines—but their compatriots won't see them.

"Democratic activists like us will be the first wave of the ones that are being prosecuted," Law said, though he stressed, "I'll definitely stay in Hong Kong."

Agnes Chow, 23, is another Demosisto co-founder who came to prominence during the Umbrella Movement. She was among those arrested last year and like Law, would be high on the target list once the national security law is adopted.

"There is actually a very strong sense of desperation," Chow said, telling *Newsweek* that many Hong Kongers are likely to try to leave. Indeed, the day after the national security law was announced, Google searches for "Emigration" and "Taiwan" jumped significantly in the territory.

But Chow is not among those looking elsewhere. Even if she wanted to, she is banned from traveling abroad after her arrest last year. "It's never easy to fight against such a strong and powerful regime," she said. "But I really want to stay here and do something...It might be our last fight."

The most recent pro-democracy movement was decentralized by design, with protesters adopting Bruce Lee's "Be Water" philosophy, coined by his martial arts teaching character Li Tsung in the 1970s television series *Longstreet*.

"Be formless, shapeless, like water," the instructor told his student. "Now you put water into a cup, it becomes the cup. Put it into a teapot, it becomes the teapot. Water can flow, or creep, or drip or crash. Be water, my friend."



FROM LEFT: CHAN LONG HEI/PACIFIC PRESS/LIGHTROCKET/GETTY; XINHUA/XIE HUANCHI/GETTY

LAW HAS "FINALLY TAKEN DOWN THE MYTH OF THIS IDEA THAT CHINA IS SOMEHOW CHANGING."

OPPOSING INTERESTS
Left: Nathan Law, co-founder of the Hong Kong pro-democracy party Demosisto. Above: Chinese leader Xi Jinping with other officials at the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference last month.

The strategy allowed leaderless groups to be mobile and adaptable, responding quickly and unpredictably to police action with crowdsourced decisions made spontaneously on secure messaging apps like Telegram.

This made it impossible for police to decapitate the unrest by arresting specific leaders. Such flexibility may help the pro-democracy movement survive China's crackdown, which Chu predicted will be "immediate and swift."

The comparative freedoms afforded Hong Kong have stimulated an active civil society, with freedom of speech and an independent judiciary supporting a dynamic commercial sphere where companies and investors are keen to do business. The national security law could undermine these freedoms and therefore the value of Hong Kong. That would hurt China, too.

Hong Kong offers mainlanders schooling, leisure and economic





ANOTHER KNEE
Police subdue a protester last month following repeated warnings from Beijing that it will no longer tolerate dissent in Hong Kong. At issue: a proposal to enact new legislation that would ban treason, subversion and sedition.

ISAAC LAWRENCE/AFP/GETTY

DISPLACED HONG KONG ACTIVISTS MIGHT MAKE INTERNATIONAL HEADLINES—BUT CHINESE CENSORSHIP MEANS THEIR COMPATRIOTS WON'T SEE THEM.

opportunities they cannot get at home. More than 27,000 children cross the border for school each day, to study in a system more akin to the British than Chinese education system, for example.

Four in every five tourists visiting Hong Kong come from the mainland. Chinese shoppers come for luxury international items like expensive watches and high fashion, plus everyday Hong Kong products like baby formula, which has long been considered safer than mainland brands. (Baby formula is so popular, Hong Kong authorities had to introduce a limit on how much visitors could take home.)

Despite last year's unrest, mainland investors poured nearly $20 billion into Hong Kong's stock market in less than six months, though Chinese buyers have been disappearing from the region's real estate market in recent months amid a slowing Chinese economy, the coronavirus pandemic, trade tensions with the U.S. and now the prospect of more instability in Hong Kong.

Hong Kong's distinctiveness clearly has appeal for the mainland—but Beijing has decided it values conformity more, Yeung says. "They no longer treasure this beautiful international city," he said.

"It took more than one and a half centuries to build up this reputation. And freedom, of course, is the foundation of everything. And now if you try to take away any part of this most precious freedom, if the international community no longer trusts Hong Kong's uniqueness, then Hong Kong will be gone."

The city is a much less significant part of China's economy than it was when the British handed over control in 1997, so Beijing can more easily absorb the loss. Then, Hong Kong's economy was equivalent to 18 percent of the mainland's. Now, the figure is closer to 3 percent. Still, it remains one of the leading financial centers on the planet, something that Tim Summers—a senior fellow at Chatham House think tank based in Hong Kong—said "is not easily replicable."

"Hong Kong definitely is something that is genuinely valuable to China, and I think the Chinese leadership do realize that," he said.

The national security law may spook businesses and investors who have been happy to bring their money to Hong Kong, their fears about dealing in China soothed by the promise of "One country, two systems." But Deutsche Bank Asia-Pacific chief economist Michael Spencer has not yet seen any worrying signs. He told *Newsweek* that despite a tumultuous year, "people have not—I think—in large numbers decided that the political situation was enough of a disincentive for them to want to leave Hong Kong, and I haven't seen institutions leaving.

"I don't think there's an immediate threat," Spencer said. But if people begin to feel "constrained in being able to talk openly about companies, about economies, then investors will go elsewhere for that information.

"The heart of this question of Hong



Kong's future as an international financial center is at what point do people think that the free flow of information and market information is impaired, and they start to take their business elsewhere," Spencer said.

Reduced foreign investment means less money for the territory as a whole and fewer prospects for those living there. It would also mean Hong Kong is less important to global business and the international community, making it less likely that other nations would continue to advocate on its behalf.

Hong Kong today, Taiwan tomorrow?

IN BEIJING'S IDEAL WORLD, THE CCP would be able to put Hong Kong politics back in its box while still allowing the city to flourish financially. To do nothing risks allowing the opposition to become entrenched, or allowing the pro-democracy movement to become a U.S. weapon in what some are already terming a new Cold War.

President Trump has already said the U.S. no longer considers Hong Kong autonomous, opening the door for restrictions on trade and even sanctions. He has not detailed any planned changes or a schedule for them to take effect.

Washington will have to tread delicately—not a word normally associated with the Trump administration—between punishing China and hurting Hong Kongers. "Hong Kong will suffer proportionally much more than China as a whole," Summers said. Indeed, trade action over Hong Kong might even push the territory closer to China and deepen its dependence on the mainland.

U.S. companies might also suffer. An American Chamber of Commerce in Hong Kong survey released this week found that more than 80 percent of 180 American companies surveyed in the territory are either "very" or "moderately" concerned about the national security law. Seventy percent, however, still said they had no plans to move elsewhere.

Hong Kong is but one part of China's deteriorating relationship with the West. Repression of Muslim minority groups in Xinjiang, saber-rattling over Taiwan, tensions in the South China Sea, industrial espionage, and the ongoing coronavirus pandemic have all damaged Beijing's standing.

In Washington, D.C., there is now bipartisan consensus that the China problem must be addressed. Former Vice President Joe Biden is trying to bolster his tough-on-Beijing credentials as Trump draws on China-skepticism to recharge his campaign.

Activists are pleased by growing international criticism of Beijing, said Chu, who described it as "open season on China" in Washington. "We don't think Hong Kong alone is the issue that is going to shift and change China," he said. "We're using it—and have





THEN AND NOW
Left: Members of the Chinese Armed Forces stand at attention during the ceremony marking Hong Kong's handover to China. Above: An activist shows what she thinks of Trump's plans to end some of Hong Kong's special privileges with the U.S.; a pro-democracy advocate speaks to members of Congress, including House Speaker Nancy Pelosi.

CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT: DYLAN MARTINEZ/AFP/GETTY; ISAAC LAWRENCE/AFP/GETTY; AURORA SAMPERIO/NURPHOTO/GETTY





always committed to using it—to connect the dots of how to push and hold China accountable and expose China as much as possible."

For the international community, Taiwan is another pressing concern. The democratic island sits 80 miles off the Chinese coast across the Taiwan Strait. It has remained outside Beijing's control for more than 70 years, having emerged from the last bastion of the nationalist forces defeated by the CCP in the Chinese Civil War. China considers Taiwan a renegade province and has repeatedly vowed to establish Communist Party rule over the island as part of its "One China" policy.

But Taiwan—with significant military support from the U.S. though without an official American recognition of its nationhood—has resisted Beijing's "One country, two systems" reunification offer, warily observing China's subjugation of resistant regions like Tibet and Xinjiang, with Hong Kong heading in the same direction. Taiwan could be next.

CHANGES AFOOT
Above: (top) Taiwanese President Tsai Ing-wen addressing soldiers earlier this year—observers say Taiwan could be Beijing's next target; (bottom) renewed protests in Hong Kong last month as Chinese control over the city increases. Right: Hong Kong's iconic skyline.

In January, Taiwanese President Tsai Ing-wen—the leader of the liberal and nationalist Democratic Progressive Party—was elected for her second term, to Beijing's chagrin. Taiwan's top diplomat in the U.S., Ambassador Stanley Kao, told *Newsweek* Hong Kong's experience had proven "One country, two systems" to be "wrong, a total failure and a flat-out lie."

China has repeatedly vowed to resolve the dispute—militarily, if needed. Chinese general and the chief of the Joint Staff Department Li Zuocheng said last week the military would "take all necessary steps to resolutely smash any separatist plots or actions" on Taiwan "if the possibility for peaceful reunification is lost."

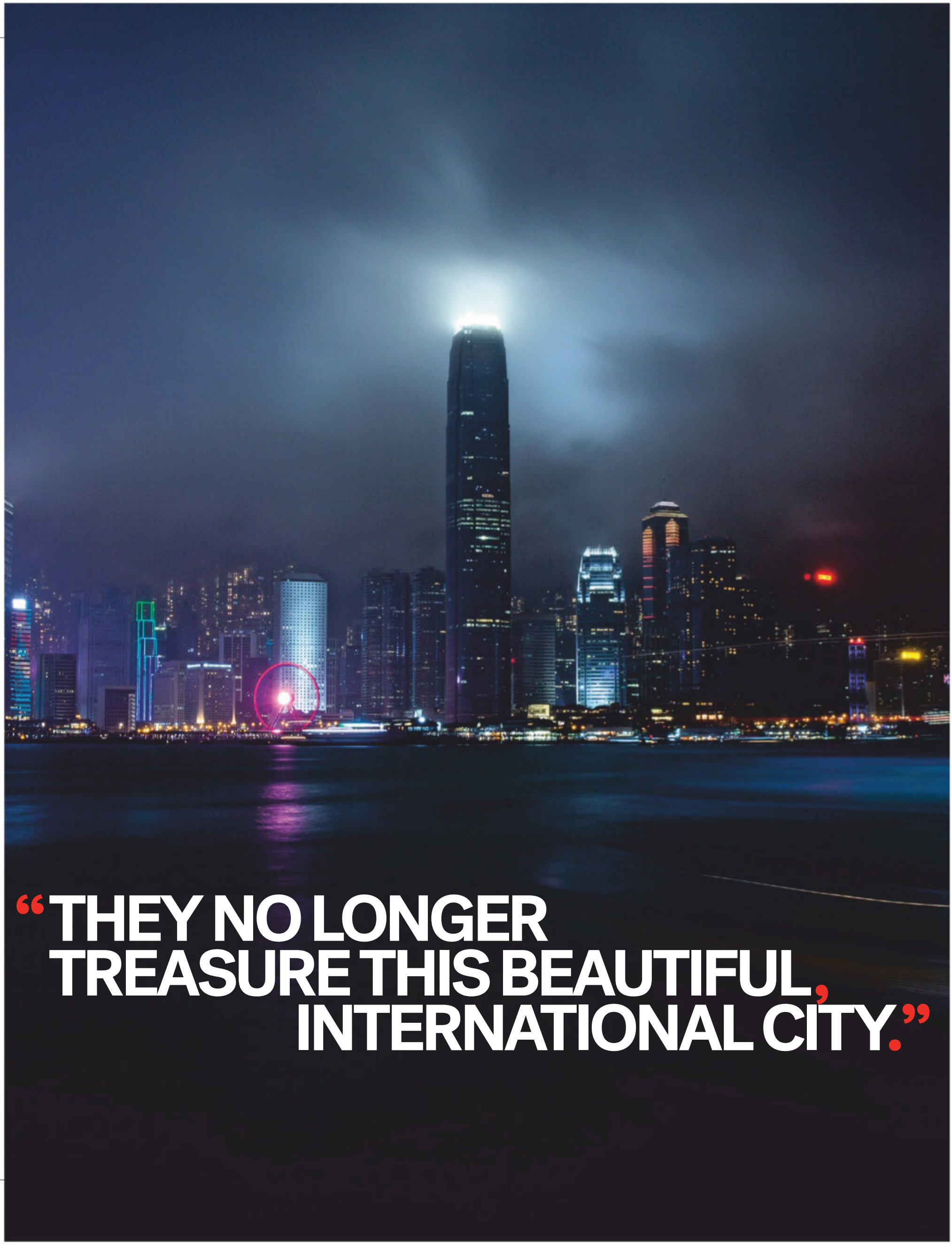
The Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in New York—part of Taiwan's representation in the U.S.—declined to comment on the Hong Kong national security legislation, though noted that in May Tsai tweeted that the island's government and people "are united in our support for Hong Kong & universal democratic values."

The fight over the national security law—and by extension greater Chinese incursion into Hong Kong—appears lost already.

"I'm not blindly optimistic, and I think the future is indeed so bleak," Law said. "But if we don't have even a tiny bit of hope, then we won't be here and we won't resist."

Hong Kong activists held small events to remember the Tiananmen Square tragedy and to bolster their own resolve for the future. Victoria Park may look empty, but the protesters and their movement have not gone away.

CLOCKWISE FROM RIGHT: ISAAC LAWRENCE/AFP/GETTY; LAM YIK/BLOOMBERG/GETTY; LIN YEN TING/SOPA IMAGES/LIGHTROCKET/GETTY



“THEY NO LONGER TREASURE THIS BEAUTIFUL, INTERNATIONAL CITY.”

AMERICA'S B



These 556 outstanding retailers and service providers in 20 states across

EST-IN-STATE



the country can be depended on for consistently excellent customer service

→ *For the full list, go to* Newsweek.com/ABISS-2020

STATEWIDE MANDATORY SHUTDOWNS, IN RESPONSE TO THE COVID-19 pandemic, put millions of Americans' lives on hold. As you adjusted from going out to dinner or running errands at a mall to curbside pickup or socially-distanced delivery, customer service became more important than ever. Some retailers and service providers just seem to have the right touch. They fill orders accurately and promptly—and make you feel connected and cared-for, as well. What could be more welcome during a time of uncertainty? Once again, *Newsweek* has partnered with Statista, the respected global data-research firm, to highlight those brands that offer consistently excellent customer service. This list, a sampling of our winners, features the Best-In-State Customer Service local brands in 20 states. Our full ranking, available online at *Newsweek.com/ABISS-2020*, recognizes 556 local brands in 77 different categories. You'll be able to check your state or region for the brands that do best by you. → **Nancy Cooper,** *Global Editor in Chief*



METHODOLOGY

The aim of the survey was to recognize brands with superior customer service on a local level, close to the everyday lives of the customers. The survey was conducted on retailers and service providers in up to 50 different categories in the 20 largest states in the U.S. by population size, providing results for a broad-spectrum of customer experiences in traditional retail and service segments. For each category, the most relevant brands were included in the scope of the survey according to reputation, turnover or market share.

The recognized 2020 America's Best-In-State Customer Service rankings were identified from the results of an independent survey of more than 20,000 U.S. customers from the 20 observed states who have either made purchases, used services or gathered information about products or services in the past three years. Customers evaluated several brands: in total over 170,000 evaluations were collected.

The 20 states included in the study are the largest states based on population size statistics from the U.S. Census Bureau. They are: Arizona, California, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, Washington and Wisconsin.

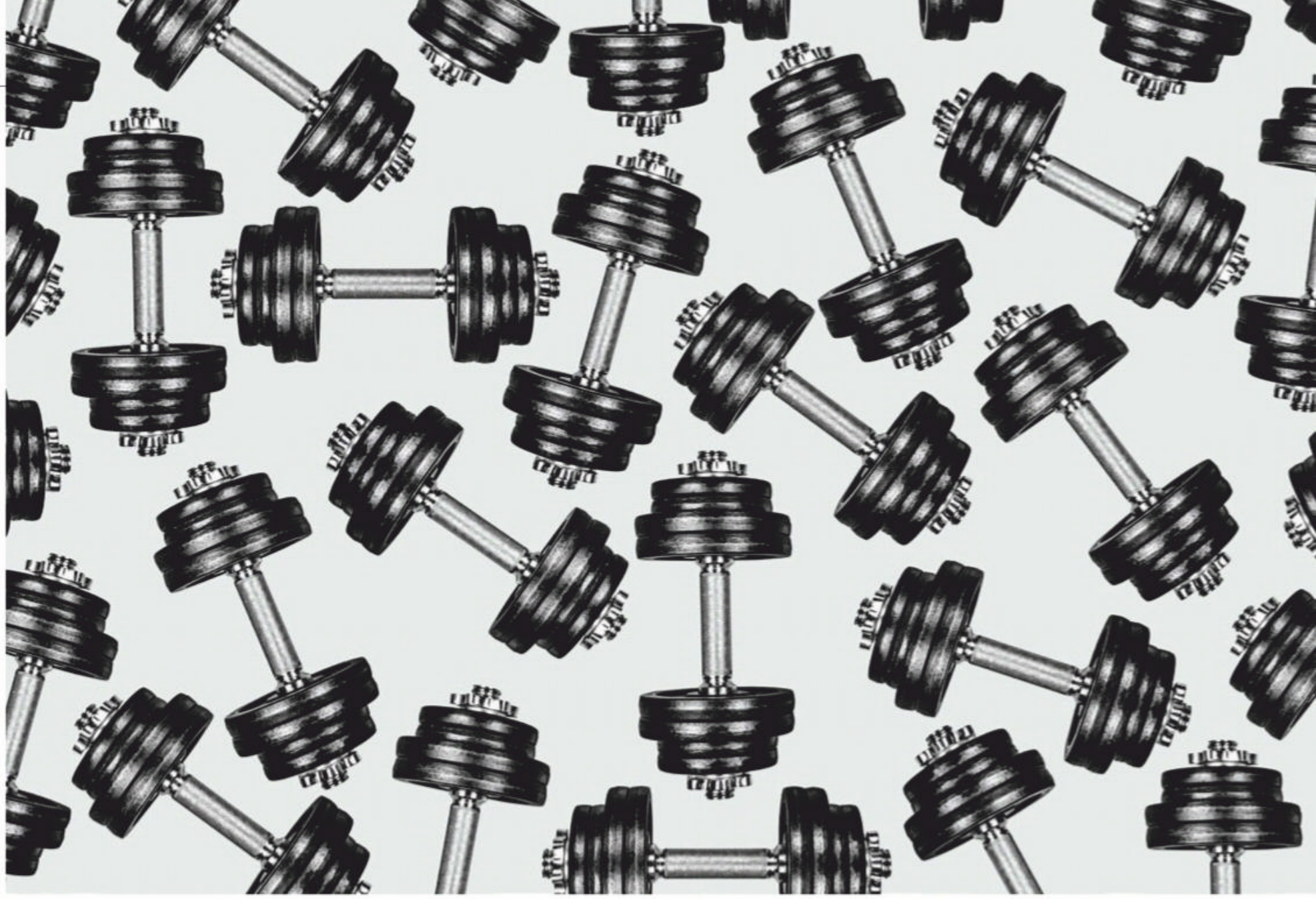
The categories examined consist of national categories examined in multiple states and state-specific categories in individual states for a list with more locally relevant players and categories.

In total, 556 brands were recognized in 77 different categories, with every category awarding the Top three brands. The number of categories recognized per state fluctuates from state to state.

The final assessment and rankings were based on the Net Promoter Score* (50 percent of the final score) and five evaluation criteria (also 50 percent of the final score):

1. **Quality of communication:** measures whether the contact (via e-mail, telephone or face-to-face) was friendly or polite.
2. **Professional competence:** measures the quality of information received and whether questions were answered correctly and in sufficient detail.
3. **Range of services:** measures the variety of solutions available
4. **Customer focus:** measures whether a personal concern/requirement was addressed and individual feels acknowledged or important
5. **Accessibility:** measures the availability of customer service in a shop or on a helpline.

The top three brands receiving the highest scores in each category were awarded as America's Best-In-State Customer Service 2020.



KINEKOO/GETTY; PREVIOUS SPREAD: BALLOONS BY VPANTEON/GETTY; PHOTO ILLUSTRATION BY NEWSWEEK

ARIZONA

CATEGORY	RANK	BRAND	SCORE
Apparel	1	H&M	8.81
	2	Banana Republic	8.52
	3	GAP	8.51
Baby & Children's Products	1	Carter's	8.49
	2	Buybuy Baby	8.37
	3	OshKosh B'gosh	8.31
Fashion Jewelry & Accessories Retailer	1	Kendra Scott	8.89
	2	Alex and Ani	8.23
	3	Fossil	8.16
Footwear	1	Skechers	8.62
	2	Converse	8.49
	3	Foot Locker	8.46
Jewelry Retailer	1	Tiffany & Co.	9.07
	2	Swarovski	8.60
	3	Zales	8.56

CALIFORNIA

CATEGORY	RANK	BRAND	SCORE
Fast-Casual Restaurant Chains	1	Portillo's	9.13
	2	The Habit	8.65
	3	Wingstop	8.64
Fitness Centers	1	LA Fitness	7.99
	2	Orangetheory Fitness	7.86
	3	Planet Fitness	7.51
Sustainable Clothing & Home Goods	1	Allbirds	8.68
	2	Outdoor Voices	8.31
	3	Reformation	8.23
Talent Agencies	1	IMG	7.56
	2	United Talent Agency	7.38
	3	Creative Artists Agency	7.15
Wine Tours	1	Napa Valley Wine Trolly	8.55
	2	Napa Valley Wine Country Tours	8.53
	3	Baja Wine Tour	8.34

→ *For the full list, go to* Newsweek.com/ABISS-2020



GEORGIA

CATEGORY	RANK	BRAND	SCORE
Arts & Crafts	1	Michael's	8.95
	2	Hobby Lobby	8.93
	3	Jo-Ann	8.76
Breweries	1	Cherry Street Brewing Coop	9.09
	2	Creature Comforts Brewing Co.	8.91
	3	SweetWater Brewing Company	8.73
Child Care Services	1	Kiddie Academy	8.64
	2	KLA Schools	8.08
	3	The Goddard School	7.84
Furniture Retail	1	Ashley Homestore	8.85
	2	Rooms To Go	8.62
	3	Ikea	8.43
Premium Apparel	1	Men's Wearhouse	9.06
	2	Tommy Hilfiger	8.80
	3	Levi's	8.74

FLORIDA

CATEGORY	RANK	BRAND	SCORE
Amusement Parks	1	Walt Disney World Resort	9.33
	2	Disney's Hollywood Studios	9.22
	3	Disney's Animal Kingdom	9.21
Fast-Food Restaurant Chains	1	Chick-fil-A	9.20
	2	Whataburger	8.91
	3	Wendy's	8.83
Spas, Wellness & Beauty	1	LaVida Massage	9.21
	2	Hand and Stone Massage	8.85
	3	Planet Beach	8.71
Supermarkets	1	Trader Joe's	8.98
	2	Kroger	8.88
	3	Whole Foods Markets	8.86
Women's Apparel	1	J.Jill	9.38
	2	kate spade	8.97
	3	Talbots	8.76

ILLINOIS

CATEGORY	RANK	BRAND	SCORE
Baby & Children's Products	1	Gymboree Play & Music	8.88
	2	The Children's Place	8.77
	3	Carter's	8.76
Bagel & Sandwich Chains	1	Einstein Bros. Bagels	8.85
	2	Jersey Mike's Subs	8.44
	3	Big Apple Bagels	8.36
Car Rental	1	Enterprise Rent-A-Car	8.78
	2	Dollar Rent a Car	8.36
	3	Budget Rent A Car System	8.24
Perfume & Cosmetics	1	Fragrance Outlet	8.99
	2	The Body Shop	8.91
	3	Ulta Beauty	8.85
Pharmacies & Drugstores	1	Walmart Pharmacy	8.53
	2	CVS Pharmacy	8.45
	3	Walgreens	8.44

FROM LEFT: JACK ANDERSEN/GETTY; MARI/GETTY

→ *For the full list, go to* Newsweek.com/ABISS-2020

BEST-IN-STATE CUSTOMER SERVICE 2020
Newsweek
statista

INDIANA

CATEGORY	RANK	BRAND	SCORE
Eyewear Retailers	1	Warby Parker	8.68
	2	Lenscrafters	8.35
	3	Walmart Vision Center	7.98
Fashion Jewelry & Accessories Retailer	1	Alex and Ani	9.04
	2	Dakota Watch	8.44
	3	BoxLunch	8.18
Footwear	1	Shoe Carnival	8.66
	2	DSW	8.42
	3	Skechers	8.36
Home Goods & Decor	1	HomeGoods	8.86
	2	The Container Store	8.62
	3	Kirklands	8.60
Moving Services	1	U-Haul	8.28
	2	Allied Van Lines	8.27
	3	Budget Truck Rental	8.04



MARYLAND

CATEGORY	RANK	BRAND	SCORE
Automotive Repair	1	Midas	8.58
	2	AutoZone	8.42
	3	Pep Boys	8.32
Chocolate & Candy Stores	1	It'Sugar	8.59
	2	Lindt	8.53
	3	Godiva	8.45
Coffeehouse Chains	1	Starbucks	8.68
	2	Dunkin' Donuts	8.36
	3	Caribou Coffee	8.27
Commercial Banks	1	PNC Bank	8.55
	2	Chase	8.28
	3	Truist Bank	8.06
Upscale Chain Restaurants	1	Ruth's Chris Steak House	8.99
	2	Morton's The Steakhouse	8.74
	3	The Melting Pot	8.37

MASSACHUSETTS

CATEGORY	RANK	BRAND	SCORE
Economy Hotel (3 stars)	1	Wyndham Hotels	9.23
	2	Embassy Suites	9.00
	3	Courtyard by Marriott	8.88
Home-Care Services For Seniors and Disabled	1	Hallmark Homecare	9.02
	2	Always Best Care	8.61
	3	Home Helpers	8.54
Pizza Chains	1	UNO Pizzeria & Grill	8.44
	2	Pizza Hut	8.21
	3	Dominos Pizza	7.95
Premium Apparel	1	Calvin Klein	8.52
	2	Levi's	8.49
	3	Tommy Hilfiger	8.37
Seafood Restaurants	1	B&G Oysters	9.07
	2	James Hook + Co.	8.77
	3	Island Creek Oyster Bar	8.69

BEST-IN-STATE CUSTOMER SERVICE 2020
Newsweek
statista

MICHIGAN

CATEGORY	RANK	BRAND	SCORE
Buffet Restaurants	1	Pizza Ranch	8.16
	2	Golden Corral	8.15
	3	Old Country Buffet	7.71
Outdoor Sporting Goods	1	Cabela's	8.96
	2	L.L.Bean	8.92
	3	Bass Pro Shops	8.74
Pharmacies & Drugstores	1	CVS Pharmacy	8.72
	2	Walgreens	8.63
	3	Walmart Pharmacy	8.46
Plus-Size Fashion	1	Catherines	9.00
	2	Lane Bryant	8.60
	3	Ashley Stewart	8.14
Storage Centers	1	Public Storage	8.16
	2	iStorage	7.97
	3	Extra Space Storage	7.79

MISSOURI

CATEGORY	RANK	BRAND	SCORE
Budget Hotel (1 to 2 stars)	1	Candlewood Suites	8.69
	2	Comfort Inn	8.15
	3	Baymont Inn	7.83
Convenience Stores	1	QuikTrip	8.48
	2	Circle K	8.36
	3	7 eleven	8.29
Furniture Retail	1	Ashley Homestore	8.40
	2	Big Lots	8.26
	3	Ikea	8.18
Movie Theaters	1	B&B Theatres	9.29
	2	Regal Cinemas	8.90
	3	AMC Theatres	8.82
Pet Care	1	Pet Supplies Plus	8.79
	2	PetSmart	8.72
	3	PETCO	8.54

NEW JERSEY

CATEGORY	RANK	BRAND	SCORE
Automotive Repair	1	Firestone Complete Auto Care	8.29
	2	AutoZone	8.22
	3	Meineke	8.16
Car Rental	1	Enterprise Rent-A-Car	8.80
	2	Budget Rent A Car System	8.64
	3	Avis	8.56
Convenience Stores	1	Wawa	8.68
	2	Dollar Tree	8.06
	3	Speedway	7.60
Spas, Wellness & Beauty	1	The Woodhouse Day Spa	9.48
	2	Hand & Stone Massage & Facial Spa	8.50
	3	Elements Massage	8.20
Upscale Chain Restaurants	1	The Capital Grille	8.84
	2	The Melting Pot	8.66
	3	Ruth's Chris Steak House	8.57



HANS BARTEN/GETTY

NEW YORK

CATEGORY	RANK	BRAND	SCORE
Bagel and Sandwich Chains	1	Bruegger's	8.51
	2	Jersey Mike's Subs	8.45
	3	Manhattan Bagel	8.37
Furniture Retail	1	Bob's Furniture	8.71
	2	La-Z-Boy	8.53
	3	Ikea	8.51
Jewelry Retailer	1	Swarovski	9.08
	2	Zales	9.01
	3	Kay Jewelers	8.92
Premium Hotel (4 stars)	1	Renaissance	9.13
	2	Fairmont	8.94
	3	Hilton	8.92
Theatres	1	Booth Theatre	8.88
	2	Belasco Theatre	8.73
	3	Shubert Theatre	8.68



NORTH CAROLINA

CATEGORY	RANK	BRAND	SCORE
Fitness Centers	1	Anytime Fitness	8.59
	2	YMCA Fitness	8.58
	3	LA Fitness	8.21
Home-Care Services For Seniors & Disabled	1	Hallmark Homecare	7.94
	2	Home Instead	7.50
	3	Home Helpers	7.29
Outdoor & Athletic Apparel	1	Columbia Sportswear	9.17
	2	Under Armour	9.00
	3	Nike	8.87
Real Estate Agencies	1	Century 21	8.59
	2	Better Homes & Gardens	8.36
	3	RE/MAX	8.10
Supermarkets	1	Trader Joe's	9.35
	2	Lowes Foods	9.24
	3	Whole Foods Markets	9.08

OHIO

CATEGORY	RANK	BRAND	SCORE
Automotive Repair	1	AutoZone	8.40
	2	O'Reilly Auto Parts	8.37
	3	Firestone Complete Auto Care	8.19
Eyewear Retailers	1	Lenscrafters	8.24
	2	Eyemart Express	8.17
	3	Walmart Vision Center	8.11
Footwear	1	Merrell	9.14
	2	DSW	8.66
	3	Skechers	8.62
Furniture Retail	1	La-Z-Boy	8.42
	2	Ikea	8.21
	3	Value City Furniture	8.21
Moving Services	1	U-Haul	8.63
	2	Two Men And A Truck	8.27
	3	Allied Van Lines	7.90

BEST-IN-STATE CUSTOMER SERVICE 2020
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PENNSYLVANIA

CATEGORY	RANK	BRAND	SCORE
Home Security	1	Brinks Home Security	8.59
	2	SimpliSafe	8.57
	3	ADT	8.48
Pharmacies and Drugstores	1	Walgreens	8.75
	2	CVS Pharmacy	8.71
	3	Rite Aid	8.67
Pizza Chains	1	Pizza Hut	8.50
	2	Sbarro	8.43
	3	Papa John's Pizza	8.42
Spas, Wellness and Beauty	1	Hand & Stone Massage & Facial Spa	8.50
	2	LaVida Massage	8.42
	3	Planet Beach	8.28
Sporting Goods Retailer	1	Champ Sports	8.36
	2	DICK'S Sporting Goods	8.28
	3	Finish Line	7.96

TENNESSEE

CATEGORY	RANK	BRAND	SCORE
Apartment Hotels, Extended Stays	1	Homewood Suites by Hilton	8.74
	2	Staybridge Suites	8.48
	3	Home2 by Hilton	8.42
Movie Theaters	1	Cinemark	8.80
	2	Regal Cinemas	8.57
	3	AMC Theatres	8.50
Outdoor & Athletic Apparel	1	Under Armour	8.82
	2	Nike	8.67
	3	Columbia Sportswear	8.66
Perfume & Cosmetics	1	Sephora	9.14
	2	Ulta Beauty	8.98
	3	Bath and Body Works	8.88
Storage Centers	1	Public Storage	8.38
	2	Extra Space Storage	8.33
	3	CubeSmart	7.82

TEXAS

CATEGORY	RANK	BRAND	SCORE
BBQ	1	Cooper's Old Time Pit BBQ	8.69
	2	Miller's Smokehouse	8.67
	3	Franklin Barbecue	8.66
Budget Hotel (1 to 2 stars)	1	Comfort Inn	8.28
	2	Econo Lodge	8.05
	3	Days Inn	7.93
Casual Dining Restaurant Chains	1	Red Robin	9.05
	2	Red Lobster	8.80
	3	Cracker Barrel	8.78
Outdoor Sporting Goods	1	Bass Pro Shops	8.85
	2	Cabela's	8.62
	3	REI	8.38
Temporary Employment Agency	1	Adecco	8.66
	2	Frontline Source Group	8.12
	3	Balance Staffing	7.96



VIRGINIA

CATEGORY	RANK	BRAND	SCORE
Child Care Services	1	Montessori Kids Universe	9.34
	2	The Goddard School	9.31
	3	Seeking Sitters	9.07
Coffeehouse Chains	1	Starbucks	8.86
	2	Peet's Coffee	8.82
	3	Caribou Coffee	8.50
Lingerie	1	Victoria's Secret	8.69
	2	Spanx	8.56
	3	Aerie	8.00
Premium Furniture Retail	1	Crate&Barrel	8.63
	2	Pottery Barn	8.56
	3	Basset	8.48
Tutoring Services	1	Huntington Learning Center	8.62
	2	Kumon	8.60
	3	Grade Power Learning	7.93

WASHINGTON

CATEGORY	RANK	BRAND	SCORE
Apparel	1	Aeropostale	8.98
	2	Express	8.50
	3	American Eagle Outfitters	8.40
Arts & Crafts	1	Artist & Craftsman Supply	8.78
	2	Michaels	8.55
	3	Jo-Ann	8.34
Casual Dining Restaurant Chains	1	The Cheesecake Factory	8.92
	2	Buffalo Wild Wings	8.82
	3	Chili's	8.54
Home Goods & Decor	1	HomeGoods	8.50
	2	Bed Bath & Beyond	8.43
	3	World Market	8.39
Women's Apparel	1	Talbots	8.59
	2	Chico's	8.49
	3	maurices	8.37

WISCONSIN

CATEGORY	RANK	BRAND	SCORE
Commercial Banks	1	U.S. Bank	9.07
	2	Chase	8.10
	3	PNC Bank	7.52
Fast-Casual Restaurant Chains	1	Ponderosa	8.85
	2	Five Guys	8.48
	3	Panera Bread	8.31
Ice Cream & Frozen Yogurt Stores	1	Orange Leaf	8.38
	2	Baskin-Robbins	8.19
	3	Menchie's Frozen Yogurt	8.11
Sporting Goods Retailer	1	Scheels	8.63
	2	DICK'S Sporting Goods	8.26
	3	Play It Again Sports	7.93
Women's Apparel	1	Free People	8.49
	2	Ann Taylor	8.35
	3	Talbots	8.31



FROM LEFT: STUDIO DOROS/GETTY; DAVID CROCKETT/GETTY

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LOUIS REQUENA/MLB PHOTOS/GETTY; TOP RIGHT: ALLEN BEREZOVSKY/GETTY

BASEBALL

Going All Out

In an excerpt from his new book, Willie Mays explains why baseball's All-Star game meant so much to his generation than today's players

A MORE DRAMATIC TURN
"For the first time I wasn't trying to make every single line funny." » P. 48





BATTERS UP
To this day, Mays leads in All-Star hits, runs, steals, multiple-hit games, extra-base hits, total bases and triples. Pictured above: Mays as a San Francisco Giant in 1964.

WILLIE MAYS, AS MOST BASEBALL FANS KNOW, IS ONE OF THE GAME'S MOST ICONIC FIGURES. For 22 seasons, he was the center fielder for the New York Giants, San Francisco Giants and, at the end of his career, the New York Mets. Among his accomplishments: Mays hit 660 home runs (No. 5 on the career leaders list) and was a 24-time All-Star—more than the number of seasons he played due to a window when the games were held twice a year. He is, of course, in the Baseball Hall of Fame. In his new book, 24: LIFE STORIES AND LESSONS FROM THE SAY HEY KID, *written with John Shea, Mays shares tales from his life in sports and what he's learned. In this excerpt, the authors discuss how Mays approached his All-Star appearances and how the games have devolved over time.*

ONE OF THE BEAUTIES OF ALL-STAR GAMES DURING Willie Mays' career was the sense of pride and unity displayed by players from different teams joining together to take on the rival league, an opportunity to show their talents to wider audiences on a national stage.

Mays absolutely loved playing in All-Star Games and treated them as if they were the playoffs, not exhibitions. He went all out and played with boundless energy and joy.

Willie Mays: That's what the All-Star Game is all about, isn't it? That's what I always thought. It was for the fans, and they wanted me to play nine innings every game, so that's what I did. Sometimes 10. I wanted to win. I thought winning was the key to the whole thing.

Mays played in 24 All-Star Games, each one from 1954, his first year out of the Army, to 1973, his final season, and the National League's record in those games was 17–6–1. Nobody was more spectacular than Mays, whose 23 hits and 20 runs are All-Star records that aren't expected to be broken.

Warren Giles was the National League president through most of Willie's career and held clubhouse meetings before every All-Star Game to preach the importance of winning and encourage players to take pride in rallying against their American League foes. Mays accepted the challenge.

Mays: This is what people told me: "The American League is killing us, man." I said, "Uh-uh. I don't know about anybody else, but I'm going to play nine innings. We're going to change that." Then Hank (Aaron) and all the other guys came in. Frank Robinson, (Roberto) Clemente, and we started winning games. They felt the same way. I wanted to play every inning until the game was decided one way or another.

Aaron remembers the pregame speeches. His first All-Star Game was 1955, a year after Mays' All-Star debut: "I didn't start the game. I don't think Willie started. I don't think Stan Musial started, but I remember Stan Musial hitting a home run in the 12th inning. From that point on, we started winning ball games, and we caught up with the American League, passed them, and were able to stand on our own. I think one reason for that, and let's face it, the American League was so far behind in trying to bring in black ballplayers. The National League was always ahead of them in using black talent."

In those days, not every All-Star felt entitled to play. Making the team was

BY

WILLIE MAYS & JOHN SHEA

privilege enough, and starters played much longer than they do nowadays. All-Star Games in 1961 and 1966 lasted 10 innings, and Mays started and played until the bitter end in both. Years later, All-Stars found themselves bowing out after two plate appearances, leaving the ballpark well before the final pitch.

With the advent of free agency in the '70s that led to rampant player movement between the leagues and interleague play in the '90s that diminished the league-versus-league rivalry, All-Star Games lost some of their luster for the new generations of players.

The luster never was lost on Mays, who has more All-Star Games to his name than seasons played because of a four-year stretch in which games were played twice a year (from 1959 through 1962) to generate more revenue for the players' pension fund. Mays hit for the cycle in 1960—a single, double and triple at Municipal Stadium in Kansas City and two days later a homer and two singles at Yankee Stadium.

The homer was off Yankees ace Whitey Ford, which was nothing new. Ford is a Hall of Famer, 236-game winner and five-time World Series champion, but Mays was his Kryptonite. Mays collected hits in his first six All-Star at-bats facing Ford in 1955, 1956, 1959 and 1960. Two homers, a triple, and three singles.

Mays: I loved to hit off Whitey. I liked Whitey. He was a good pitcher. He won 20 games a couple of times. You just see the ball very well against certain pitchers. Sometimes you can't explain it.

An explanation wasn't required.

"I remember Whitey coming back after All-Star Games saying, 'I don't care what I throw, he hits it,'" Yankees second baseman Bobby Richardson said. "Willie was the show of seemingly every All-Star Game."

Ford finally got Mays out in the 1961 game hosted by the Giants, albeit not necessarily by following the rules. The day before the game, Ford and Yankees teammate Mickey Mantle played golf at San Francisco's Olympic Club, guests of Giants owner Horace Stoneham, and then went on a shopping binge and put it on Stoneham's bill.

"We play golf and then spend about $600 on sweaters and shirts and golf balls and charge it to Horace," Ford said. "We're about to [repay Horace and he] says to me, 'I tell you what, if you get in the game tomorrow and face Willie and get him out, we'll call it even. But if he gets a hit, you owe me $1,200.' I said, 'Sure, I'll bet you.'

"So in the first inning, I get the first two outs, and then Willie's up and hits two foul balls about 500 feet.

"I say to myself, 'This is not an official game. They're not watching me closely. Let's screw with the ball a little.' So I throw him a spitball, and it starts right at him. Willie about falls down. He thinks the ball is going to hit him, and the umpire says 'strike three.'

"The inning ends, and Willie walks by me and says, 'What the hell was that you threw?' Mickey's coming in from center field clapping, and Willie says, 'What's that crazy SOB clapping for?'

"We ended up getting all the sweaters, hats and golf balls, no charge."

Mays remembers the story and laughs about it. It was his final All-Star at-bat against Ford, making him 6-for-7. Throw in the 1962 World Series (4-for-9), and Mays was 10-for-16 against the Yankees' lefty, an astounding .625 batting average.

Mays: That's a true story. Whitey finally got me out, and Mickey's blabbing out there. Nobody told me why at the time. Finally, Elston Howard said, "You know why?" "No, what's wrong with that SOB?" He said, "They had a bet. They saved $1,200." Mr. Stoneham told them if they got me out one time, he'd pay for all the stuff at the Olympic Club. Whitey got me one time.

Mays impacted practically every All-Star Game he played. He started a record 18 of his 24 games, including 14 straight. He said he came to win, and he usually did. To this day, no one has more All-Star hits, runs, steals, multiple-hit games, extra-base hits, total bases or triples than Mays, who took pride in showcasing his talents and helping the National League win significantly more than it lost.

Mays: All-Star Games were important to me. I loved them. I was fortunate to play in a lot of them and play just about every inning. A few of us stayed in the game until it was decided. A lot of times, that was in the eighth or ninth inning. For me, if you're not in the game, it's hard to have a feeling for it. I was just honored to go and represent the National League and play to win. That was true for a lot of us.

"It was for the fans. They wanted me to play nine innings every game, so that's what I did."

→ *Excerpt adapted from* 24: LIFE STORIES AND LESSONS FROM THE SAY HEY KID *by* **Willie Mays** *and* **John Shea**, *published by St. Martin's Press.*



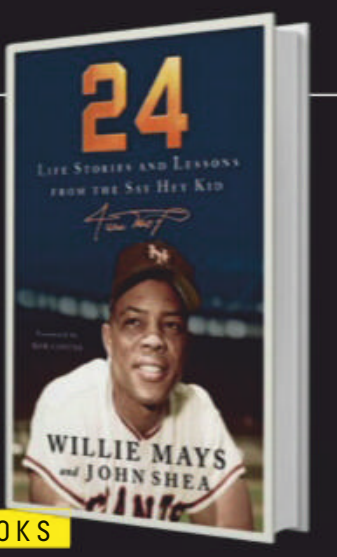
CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: ALEX WONG/GETTY; JEAN FRUTH/NATIONAL BASEBALL HALL OF FAME AND MUSEUM; BRAD MANGIN

STUFF OF LEGENDS Clockwise from top: President Barack Obama presents the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Mays in 2015; Mays with his poodle, Giant; and with co-author John Shea in February.









BOOKS

Q&A: Willie Mays

BY HANK GILMAN

Why was the book important?
You want to make sure kids do the right thing and grow up to do the right thing so their kids can do the same. That's the message we wanted to send. It can be through baseball or outside of baseball. This is for the kids. People took care of me when I was young, and I wanted to do this for the next generations.

How important were All-Star Games when you played because there's talk nowadays about All-Stars not caring so much?
I don't see that. I enjoyed my time in All-Star Games. It was important for us to win so I wanted to play the whole game. When I came along, they told me the American League was winning every year, so we came in and tried to change that.

Should we even have an All-Star game anymore?
It's good for teams to take a break during the season, give the guys the time off. Fans like the game. They like the leagues coming together for a game. You see guys you don't always see. It's a fun time, man. It's for the fans.

Would you compare some of today's players with players in your era?
I don't like to put pressure on the guys today. It's a whole new group. They're taking after the guys before them, and then the next guys will come along. All the guys can play. It's not right to compare any of these guys to us. Let them be who they are. N



01 Holy-Water Gun
Detroit, Michigan

While houses of worship had to abstain from in-person prayer, some religious leaders got creative. On Easter Sunday, a priest in Detroit dispensed holy water to his parishioners by spraying them from afar while wearing a mask and gloves. Other images have circulated of babies being baptized in a similar fashion.



04 Balcony Concerts
Madrid, Spain

While under lockdown orders, musicians and music lovers around the world have taken to their windows and balconies to help neighbors get through these tough times of isolation together. In Madrid, singer Beatriz Berodia, known as Betta, began giving nightly performances accompanied by guitar which echoed down her street.



02 Citywide Sing-a-Longs
New York, New York

In addition to the new tradition of applauding health care workers at 7 p.m. nightly, the city that never sleeps has united on a few occasions during the citywide lockdown (from their respective windows) for a collective sing-a-long. Songs like "New York, New York" and "Lean on Me" have both been on the setlist.



03 Drive-in Movies
Miami, Florida

Drive-in theaters—once a fixture of American society—are making a comeback as conventional movie theaters around the country remain closed. The Miami Dolphins' Hard Rock Stadium is opening its doors to up to 230 cars for a drive-in movie experience with an "open air" viewing area available to small groups and food delivery to guests.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

UNCHARTED

Cultural Adaptations in the Time of Corona

Lockdown restrictions due to COVID-19 may be easing in some places, but while in place they fostered ingenuity and encouraged cultures worldwide to adapt old traditions to keep the small joys of life rolling on. From bringing back a tradition of "paying it forward" in Italy to a 1950s American throwback to drive-in movies, here is how people around the globe have looked to the past for ideas to get through the current crisis with aplomb. —*Alexandra Schonfeld*

01: GLASSHOUSE IMAGES/GETTY; 02: NOAM GALAI/GETTY; 03: COURTESY OF THE MIAMI DOLPHINS; 04: MIKE HARRINGTON/GETTY; 05: COMSTOCK IMAGES/GETTY



07 Car Discos
Schüttorf, Germany

In a country known for its all-night revelry, one club kept the party alive, albeit at a safe distance. Index nightclub hosted multiple drive-in raves throughout the month of May. Partygoers pulled up in their cars, rolled down their windows and waved illuminated batons as they listened to the DJ's set, all the while honking horns and flashing their hazard lights to create the ultimate drive-in experience.



08 Window Baskets
Istanbul, Turkey

Lowering colorful woven baskets from their windows so they could be filled by grocers, bakers and other delivery services has long been a Turkish tradition. What was once a convenience, has now become a crucial necessity for the senior population who are confined to their homes amidst the COVID-19 pandemic.

8



9

06 Greenhouse Tables
Amsterdam, Netherlands

As restrictions began to lift in Amsterdam, one canal-side restaurant experimented with welcoming diners back with outdoor private dining options. Mediamatic ETEN tested using mini-greenhouses so diners could enjoy their meals at a safe distance from other customers and staff. Servers used long wooden boards to deliver food to guests.



09 Wuhan Shake
Wuhan, China

As COVID-19 spread and required increasing restrictions on physical contact, more and more adaptations were made to everyday life. One of these was for personal greetings. Thus, the "Wuhan shake," as it was dubbed, was born as videos began circulating of people tapping their feet in greeting, as an alternative to a handshake or hug.

05 Baguettes on Bikes
Paris, France

Pastries are a part of most Parisians' daily routines. With the city on lockdown, some bakeries began delivering fresh bread by bicycle to some of their loyal customers, hanging them on doors for a contactless exchange.



06: PACO NUNEZ/ANADOLU AGENCY/GETTY; 07: HAUKE-CHRISTIAN DITTRICH/PICTURE ALLIANCE/GETTY; 08: CHRIS MCGRATH/GETTY; 09:

Illustration by BRITT SPENCER

PARTING SHOT

Judd Apatow

WHILE JUDD APATOW IS BEST KNOWN FOR DIRECTING COMEDIES LIKE *Trainwreck* and *Knocked Up*, his range of talent as a director encompasses drama as well, which is more than evident in his new film *The King of Staten Island*, available now On Demand. "It's definitely a slightly different type of movie for me." Loosely based on the life of *Saturday Night Live*'s Pete Davidson, it features Scott, a directionless, troubled young man trying to finally deal with the loss of his father at a young age (Davidson's real-life firefighter father died on 9/11). "We really tried to honor the story. For the first time I wasn't trying to compress the comedy and make every single line funny." Although the film is fictional, Apatow says it's some of his most honest work. "In a weird way it couldn't be more honest." That's due in part to Davidson's performance and the script (which he co-wrote with Apatow and Dave Sirus). Apatow says there were "a lot of deep conversations." The result: a surprisingly poignant—and yes, funny—performance. "He was brave for allowing himself to be that vulnerable."



"Even though it's all made up, in a weird way it couldn't be more honest."

What do you think people will be most surprised by about Pete's story and performance?
Most people don't't really know him. I think this is the truest representation of who he is as a person and his sense of humor. He's just a wonderful, big-hearted person with struggles we all can relate to.

Why do you think comics are often surprisingly good dramatic actors?
Anyone who is great at stand-up is usually very honest and open. They're authentic people. They're very intelligent. Those are skills you need to be an actor or actress.

How do you think 9/11 impacted how New York City is conveyed in movies?
When we were shooting at firehouses, we met an enormous amount of people who had deep connections and losses on 9/11. It felt like it had happened just a few months ago. People in that community were all profoundly affected. At the same time, they are the most wonderful, brave people I've ever met. It changed me being around them.

How do you think the coronavirus pandemic has impacted comedy in a positive way?
It certainly forces everyone to look at comedy from a different angle. We're really getting to see the essence of people. There's a stripped-down nature that reveals us all in new ways. *—H. Alan Scott*

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WWF

Silverback Western lowland gorilla.

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