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Newsweek

WHERE WE GO FROM HERE

BY WESLEY LOWERY

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INTERNATIONAL EDITION
JULY 03, 2020 _ VOL.174 _ NO.18



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A HAND UP
Buying a home can be a difficult and frustrating process. Getting help from good real estate professionals can make it a whole lot easier.

COVER CREDIT
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FEATURES

8

America's Best Realtors 2020

Newsweek teamed up with REAL Trends—the trusted source of information on the residential brokerage industry—to find the top five realtors in all 50 states.

30

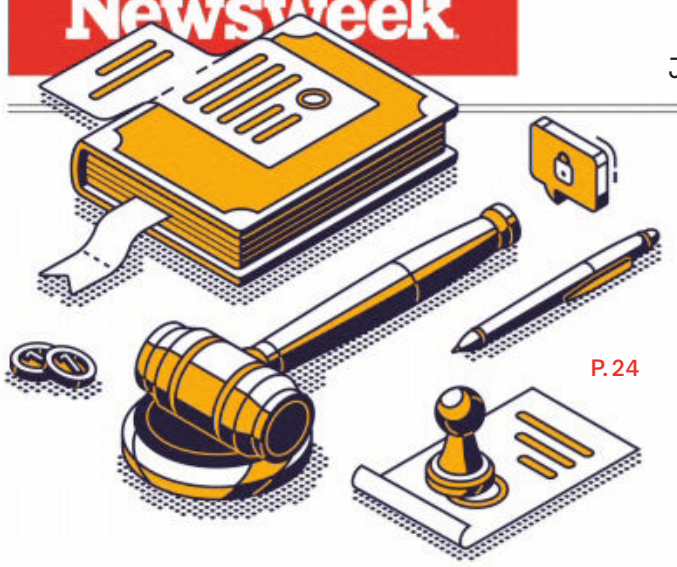
Where Do We Go From Here?

South Africa and Germany confronted their racist histories. It is time for America to do the same.

BY WESLEY LOWERY

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P.24

SING OUT Mark Speer and Laura Lee of the genre-spanning Houston trio Khruangbin. Although mainly an instrumental band, their new album features vocals.



DEPARTMENTS

In Focus

06 **Washington, D.C.**
Freedom

Periscope

18 **The Continuing Education of Mark Cuban**
The Mogul on Race, Business and the Future

24 **The Debate**
Which COVID-19 Lockdowns Are Constitutional?

29 **Talking Points**
Pharrell Williams, John Stewart and More

Culture

42 **To Sound Like the World**
New Music From Houston's Khruangbin

46 **Uncharted**
Cultural Masks Around the World

48 **Parting Shot**
The 1975's Matty Healy

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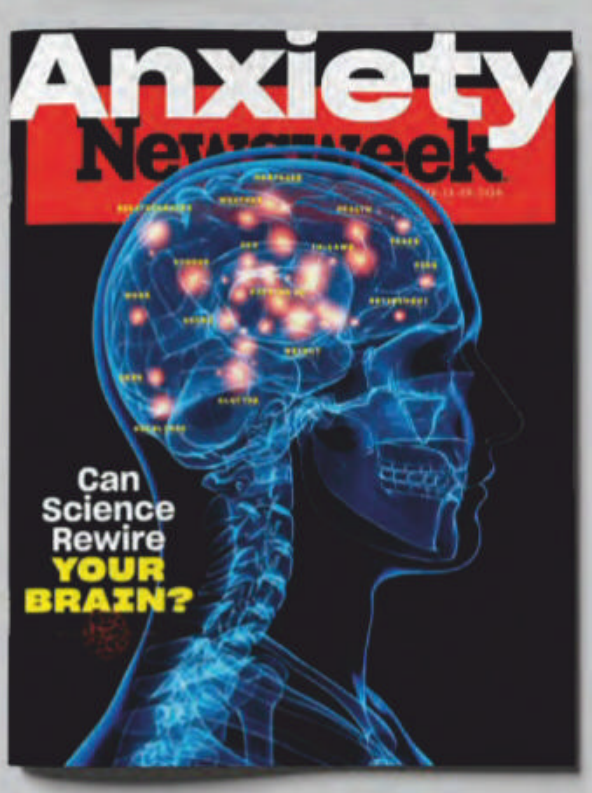
“Journalism I don’t see elsewhere until later, if at all.”

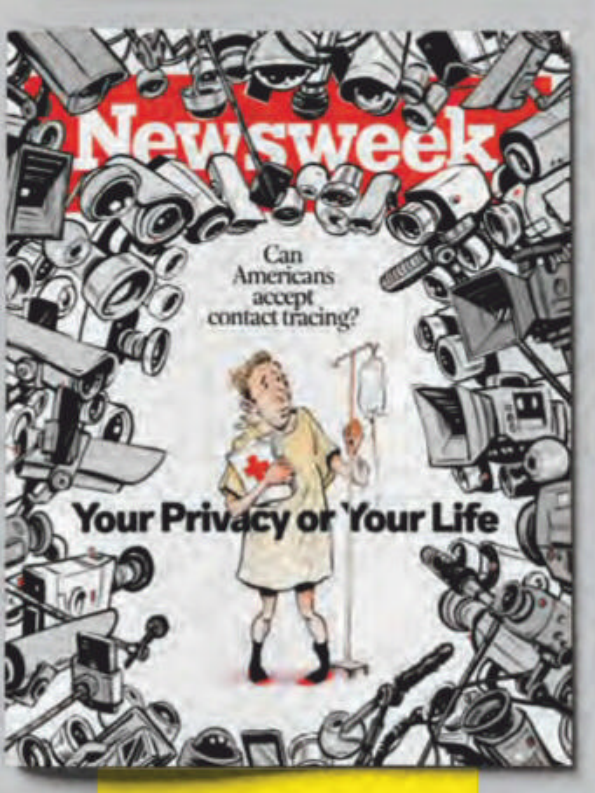
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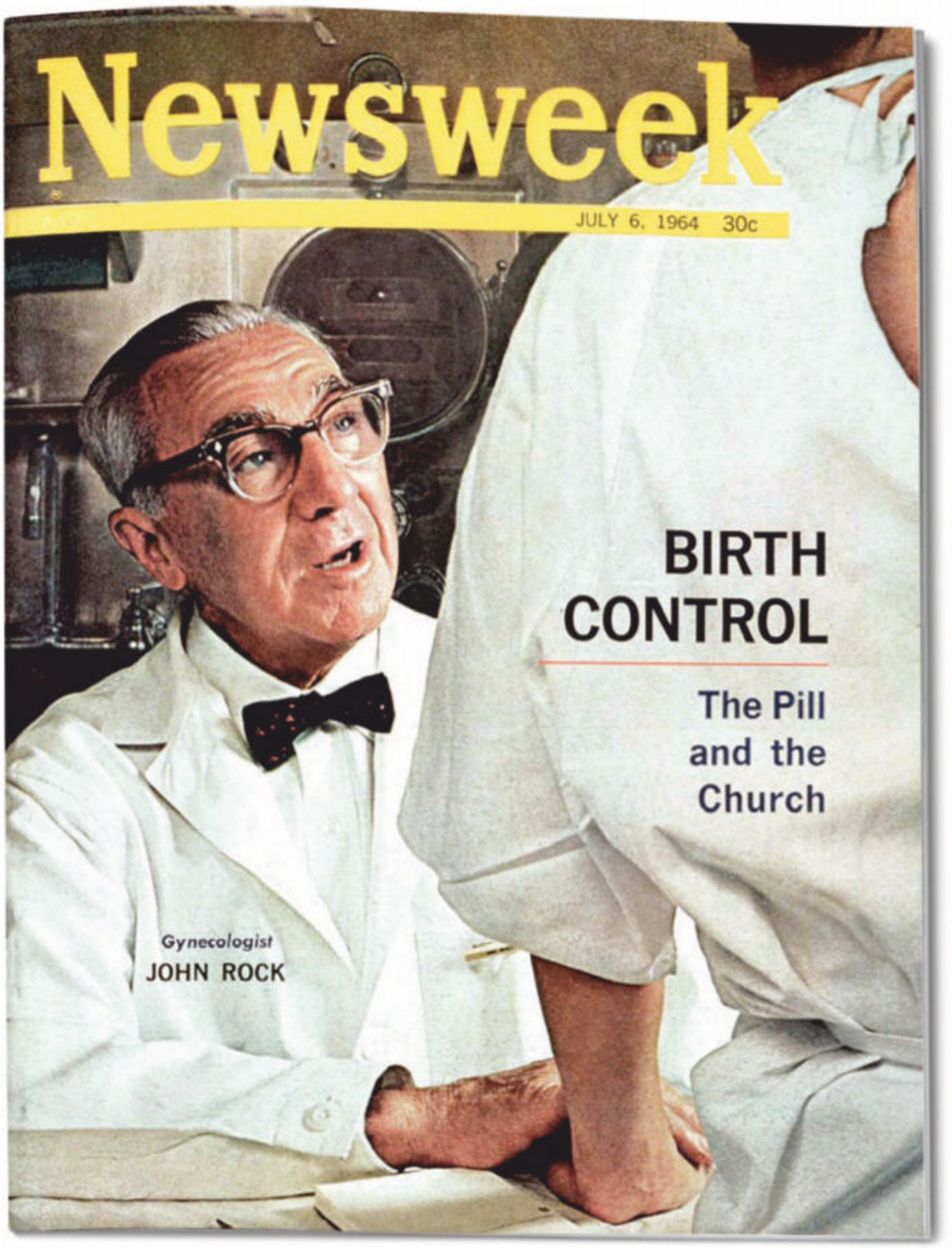
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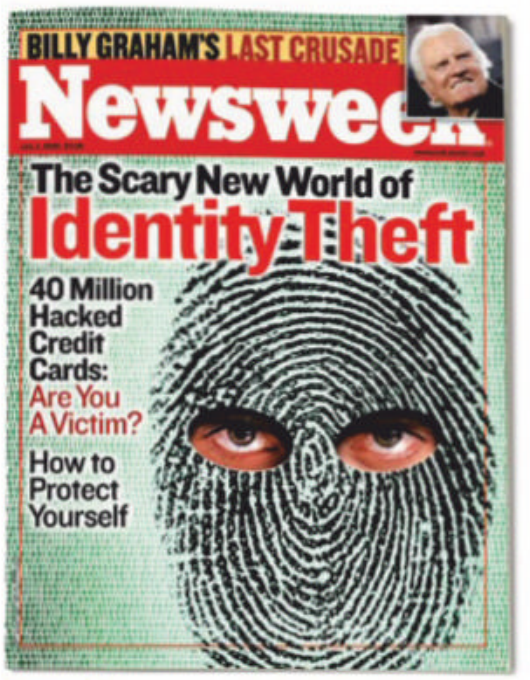
The Archives

1964 *Newsweek* reported that Dr. John Rock, a Catholic, had developed a new form of birth control: a pill that did not harm the woman taking it. He hoped this would make it morally-acceptable to the Church. *Newsweek* wrote, "Not since the Copernicans suggested in the sixteenth century that the sun was the center of the planetary system has the Roman Catholic Church found itself on such a perilous collision with a new body of knowledge." However, the Catholic Church is to this day governed by Pope Paul VI's 1968 encyclical *Humanae Vitae* prohibiting the use of artificial contraception.





1983 The U.S. and Japan were competing to build the most powerful computers, said *Newsweek*, in a bid for "increased geopolitical control." The 74 supercomputers in existence then could perform several hundred million operations per second. In comparison, the chip in Apple's newest iPhones is capable of one trillion operations per second.



2005 *Newsweek* reported on a new kind of theft, where hackers can steal personal data and use it to spend others' money. "Today the easy money is still in banks—databanks." In 2019, credit card fraud was the most common type of identity theft out of 650,572 complaints reported to the Consumer Sentinel Network.

NEWSWEEK ARCHIVE (3)

FOR ALL THE MOMENTS WE STAND UP

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ANDREW ECCLES

In Focus _ THE NEWS IN PICTURES



JULY 03, 2020

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Freedom

Joseph Fons, wearing a Black Lives Matters mask, holds a Pride Flag in front of the U.S. Supreme Court building after the court ruled that LGBTQ people can not be disciplined or fired based on their sexual orientation. On June 15, with Chief Justice John Roberts and Justice Neil Gorsuch joining the liberal block, the court ruled 6-3 that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 indeed bans bias based on sexual orientation or gender identity.

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America's B



GETTY

SEARCHING FOR YOUR HOME SWEET HOME CAN BE DAUNTING. THE LONG LIST of "musts" and "wants" paired with the limits of price range and location make it difficult to sort through the many homes listed for sale. The most successful realtors are the ones who alleviate your stress by showing that they have your best interests in mind: the ones who make you feel they are truly working for you. That's why it's good to know which realtors have a record of success—especially in today's fluctuating housing market. *Newsweek* partnered with REAL Trends—the trusted source of news, analysis, and information on the residential brokerage industry since 1987—to sort through the data and provide you with a list of America's Best Real Estate Professionals. We highlight the top 5 real estate professionals by volume within each state. →

Best Realtors 2020



Illustrations by KEVIN SMART

Methodology

- Applicants submit an application; the fee does not guarantee placement. An individual must have closed at least 50 sides or $20 million in sales volume in calendar year 2019. All supplied figures need to be based on closed residential business for calendar year 2019. Figures submitted can be for closed transaction sides and/or closed dollar sales volume. Applicants must submit verification including business tax returns. The local or state Realtor association must confirm the data.

- When an agent represents both sides of a transaction, both sides are counted. When one side is handled, only one side can be included. Co-listings count as one-half of a transaction; referrals are not included.

- All residential sales of 1 to 4 unit buildings, including single family, condominium and co-op units and lots sold for residential uses are included.

- REAL Trends carefully reviews related websites and other sources to ensure the accurate description of individual sales (as opposed to team or brokerage sales).



Alabama

	CLOSED	VOLUME
Stephanie Robinson RealtySouth, Birmingham	120.30	$115,353,831
Wes York Hamner Real Estate, LLC, Tuscaloosa	121.50	$45,364,984
Becky Hall Crye-Leike Realtors, Huntsville	112.00	$41,932,360
Patti Schreiner RE/MAX Southern Homes, Birmingham	97.00	$36,843,439
Donna Petty Hamner Real Estate, LLC, Tuscaloosa	74.50	$35,576,000

Alaska

	CLOSED	VOLUME
Kelly Griebel CENTURY 21 Realty Solutions, Soldotna	153.50	$35,026,942
Adrian Jaime Keller Williams Realty, Anchorage	55.00	$19,568,842
Kelli Powers CENTURY 21 Gold Rush, Fairbanks	64.00	$16,125,299
Sherri Mulhaney Keller Williams Realty, Wasilla	69.50	$15,559,931
Mike VanSickle CENTURY 21 Gold Rush, North Pole	66.00	$15,230,650

Arizona

	CLOSED	VOLUME
Joan Levinson Realty One Group, Paradise Valley	34.00	$126,693,150
Bruno Arapovic HomeSmart, Phoenix	476.00	$112,079,262
Bobby Lieb HomeSmart, Phoenix	110.00	$68,119,001
Karl Tunberg Midland Real Estate Alliance, Tempe	126.00	$58,583,412
Quincy Smith ERA Matt Fischer Realtor, Yuma	280.50	$52,117,324

Arkansas

	CLOSED	VOLUME
Doug Gibson Crye-Leike Realtors, Rogers	72.00	$27,162,434
Toni Knowles Crye-Leike Realtors, Bryant	113.00	$20,251,656
Randall Carney RE/MAX Associates, Fayetteville	73.00	$19,511,135
Laura Davis RE/MAX Elite, Conway	95.00	$18,291,771
Sean Morris Coldwell Banker Harris McHaney & Faucette, Fayetteville	70.00	$17,179,721

→ *For the full list of real estate professionals in your state, go to* **Newsweek.com/abr-2020**

■ → Number of Closed Transactions ■ → Total Closed Sales Volume

California

	CLOSED	VOLUME
Jade Mills Coldwell Banker Realty, Beverly Hills	30.70	$369,942,394
Chris Cortazzo Compass, Malibu	63.00	$318,905,253
Neill Bassi Sotheby's International Realty, San Francisco	50.10	$286,507,525
Judy Citron Compass, Menlo Park	70.30	$266,133,150
Santiago Arana The Agency, Los Angeles	31.00	$248,556,170

Colorado

	CLOSED	VOLUME
Steven Shane Compass, Aspen	32.00	$178,019,000
Thomas Ullrich RE/MAX Masters Millennium, Greenwood Village	259.50	$141,991,271
Dawn Raymond Kentwood Real Estate Cherry Creek, Denver	NA	$135,738,151
Cathy Jones Coburn Slifer Smith & Frampton Real Estate, Bachelor Gulch	30.00	$116,310,500
Anne Dresser Kocur LIV Sotheby's International Realty, Greenwood Village	119.55	$112,858,469

Connecticut

	CLOSED	VOLUME
Rob Johnson Halstead Real Estate, Greenwich	23.00	$129,151,500
Leslie McElwreath Sotheby's International Realty, Greenwich	20.00	$94,493,500
Ellen Mosher Houlihan Lawrence, Greenwich	27.00	$86,997,250
Julianne Ward Berkshire Hathaway HomeServices New England Properties, Greenwich	39.25	$82,541,500
Christopher B. Finlay Halstead Real Estate, Greenwich	8.00	$78,075,000

Delaware

	CLOSED	VOLUME
Kimberly Hamer Ocean Atlantic Sotheby's International Realty, Rehoboth Beach	51.90	$34,444,273
Kim Hook RE/MAX Coastal, Bethany Beach	66.25	$28,263,197
Suzanne Macnab RE/MAX Coastal, Bethany Beach	70.00	$25,214,551
Matthew Brittingham Patterson-Schwartz & Associates, Inc., Rehoboth	66.00	$21,543,755
George Hobbs Brandywine Fine Properties Sotheby's International Realty, Wilmington	20.00	$20,392,360

District of Columbia

	CLOSED	VOLUME
Michael Rankin TTR Sotheby's International Realty, Washington	51.00	$141,072,333
Kimberly Cestari Long & Foster Real Estate, Washington	63.75	$68,414,262
Brian Wilson The Hybrid Agent - eXp Realty, Washington	116.00	$63,666,732
Jonathan Taylor TTR Sotheby's International Realty, Washington	31.09	$62,752,550
Kira Epstein Begal Washington Fine Properties, LLC, Washington	63.00	$57,745,650

Florida

	CLOSED	VOLUME
Michael Lawler Premier Sotheby's International Realty, Naples	54.13	$187,530,250
Nelson Gonzalez, P.A. Berkshire Hathaway HomeServices EWM Realty, Miami Beach	16.00	$182,192,291
Harvey Daniels ONE Sotheby's International Realty, Miami	31.10	$171,939,762
Dana Koch The Corcoran Group , Palm Beach	46.00	$145,858,380
Jeff Miller Brown Harris Stevens Miami, Miami Beach	21.00	$137,926,089

Georgia

	CLOSED	VOLUME
Christa Huffstickler Engel & Völkers Atlanta, Atlanta	109.17	$108,153,266
Betsy Akers Atlanta Fine Homes Sotheby's International Realty, Atlanta	38.53	$95,806,781
Brian Quinn Coldwell Banker Lake Oconee Realty, Lake Country, Greensboro	59.25	$60,146,430
Shanna Bradley Ansley Atlanta Real Estate, Atlanta	67.50	$57,898,009
Tonya Jones Berkshire Hathaway HomeServices Georgia Properties, Fayetteville	134.00	$57,464,761

Hawaii

	CLOSED	VOLUME
Tracy Allen Coldwell Banker Pacific Properites , Honolulu	31.00	$82,777,000
Scott Carvill Carvill Sotheby's International Realty, Kailua	8.00	$60,558,614
Leian A. Harosky Coldwell Banker Pacific Properites , Kapolei	101.00	$59,072,765
Yukiko Yang List Sotheby's International Realty, Honolulu	41.00	$51,923,465
Derek Kamm Coldwell Banker Pacific Properites , Kapolei	76.00	$48,805,000

■ → Number of Closed Transactions ■ → Total Closed Sales Volume

Idaho

	CLOSED	VOLUME
John Beutler CENTURY 21 Beutler & Associates, Coeur D'alene	73.13	$59,909,613
Lea Williams Tomlinson Sotheby's International Realty, Coeur D'alene	102.00	$58,083,055
Brad Minasian Coldwell Banker Tomlinson Group, Boise	131.58	$49,637,183
Ian Swanstrom Coldwell Banker Schneidmiller Realty, Coeur D'alene	126.00	$47,045,306
Greg Rowley Coldwell Banker Schneidmiller Realty, Coeur D'alene	84.50	$43,971,550

Illinois

	CLOSED	VOLUME
Jena Radnay @Properties, Winnetka	51.00	$93,860,855
Steven Koleno RE/MAX Legends, Oakbrook Terrace	296.50	$68,426,731
Millie Rosenbloom Baird & Warner, Chicago	64.00	$66,940,000
Connie Dornan @Properties, Glenview	103.00	$65,829,050
Chezi Rafaeli Coldwell Banker Realty, Chicago	45.00	$63,070,325

Indiana

	CLOSED	VOLUME
Michael Deck Era Real Estate Links, Carmel	79.90	$49,176,336
Gina Guarino Coldwell Banker Realty, Schererville	142.00	$44,582,033
Lisa Thompson Coldwell Banker Realty, Highland	183.60	$43,396,158
Penny Crick Era First Advantage Realty, Inc., Evansville	178.00	$42,808,225
Jennil Salazar-Scott RE/MAX Ability Plus, Carmel	60.00	$42,690,246

Iowa

	CLOSED	VOLUME
Geri Doyle Mel Foster Co. Real Estate, Inc., Davenport	93.35	$37,836,254
Brad Boeye Mel Foster Co. Real Estate, Inc., Bettendorf	99.25	$37,833,180
Robin Von Gillern Coldwell Banker Mid-America, West Des Moines	71.83	$26,193,251
Kyle Clarkson CENTURY 21 Signature Real Estate, Ankeny	99.10	$22,815,659
Don Brown Coldwell Banker Mid-America, Johnston	12.16	$21,746,130

Kansas

	CLOSED	VOLUME
Kelly Kemnitz Reecenichols South Central Kansas, Wichita	103.00	$38,639,660
Tanya Kulaga Realty Executives, Hedges Real Estate, Inc., Lawrence	149.00	$34,347,550
Sue Walton RE/MAX Premier Realty, Prairie Village	65.00	$32,627,302
David Mombello Better Homes And Gardens Real Estate Kansas City Homes, Overland Park	27.50	$27,638,852
Peter Colpitts Reecenichols Real Estate, Leawood	69.00	$24,378,833

Kentucky

	CLOSED	VOLUME
Jon Mand Lenihan Sotheby's International Realty, Louisville	112.00	$55,674,294
Rusty Underwood Milestone Realty Consultants, Lexington	91.00	$41,482,865
Ryan Clendenin Huff Realty - Ky, Florence	145.50	$32,239,502
Becky Reinhold Bluegrass Sotheby's International Realty, Lexington	56.50	$31,580,600
Judie Parks Berkshire Hathaway Homeservices Parks & Weisberg, Realtors, Louisville	56.00	$27,817,708

Louisiana

	CLOSED	VOLUME
Chris Smith Gardner Realtors, New Orleans	156.00	$56,198,345
Claudia Ingle Coldwell Banker Ingle Safari Realty, Lake Charles	286.07	$51,749,865
McCarthy Group Berkshire Hathaway Homeservices United Properties, Metairie	65.00	$42,915,041
Karen Prieur RE/MAX N.o. Properties, New Orleans	57.00	$42,774,487
Trey Willard Berkshire Hathaway Homeservices United Properties, Baton Rouge	159.00	$37,957,166

Maine

	CLOSED	VOLUME
Linda Macdonald Legacy Properties Sotheby's International Realty, Portland	30.13	$31,849,075
Sandra Murray Keller Williams Realty, Portland	38.25	$28,001,046
Pauline Rock Era Dawson-Bradford Co., Realtors, Bangor	90.00	$22,885,080
Sandra Wendland Legacy Properties Sotheby's International Realty, Portland	27.75	$21,699,135
Brian Wickenden Legacy Properties Sotheby's International Realty, Camden	29.50	$20,616,000

→ *For the full list of real estate professionals in your state, go to* **Newsweek.com/abr-2020**



Maryland

	CLOSED	VOLUME
Georgie Berkinshaw Coldwell Banker Residential Brokerage, Annapolis	38.90	$57,343,375
Anne Killeen Washington Fine Properties, Llc, Potomac	36.00	$50,922,746
Cheryl Bare CENTURY 21 New Millennium, White Plains	118.00	$46,257,697
Kara Sheehan Washington Fine Properties, Llc, Bethesda	18.00	$44,695,450
Scott Schuetter CENTURY 21 New Millennium, Annapolis	78.00	$43,628,128

Massachussetts

	CLOSED	VOLUME
Kathryn Alphas Richlen Coldwell Banker Realty, Weston	60.00	$155,476,791
Debra Benoit Gibson Sotheby's International Realty, Wellesley	62.00	$113,675,244
Melissa Dailey Coldwell Banker Realty, Wellesley	54.80	$102,560,987
Liz Bone South Shore Sotheby's International Realty, Duxbury	86.00	$96,054,535
Sandra Tanco Kinlin Grover Real Estate, Harwich Port	81.00	$82,435,904

Michigan

	CLOSED	VOLUME
John Postma RE/MAX Of Grand Rapids, Grand Rapids	70.00	$53,959,512
Cindy Kahn Hall & Hunter Realtors, Birmingham	43.00	$49,816,830
Tom Zibkowski Real Estate One, Shelby Twp	98.75	$46,824,100
Dan Gutfreund Signature Sotheby's International Realty, Birmingham	48.70	$46,379,968
Matt Dejanovich Real Estate One, Ann Arbor	91.25	$43,425,349

Minnesota

	CLOSED	VOLUME
Mark Abdel RE/MAX Advantage Plus, Savage	156.00	$59,145,908
Kim Ziton Keller Williams Realty, Woodbury	94.30	$47,830,966
Artemisa Boston Realty Group, Inc. , West Saint Paul	209.50	$47,395,195
Matt Lill Edina Realty, Inc., Minneapolis	98.00	$43,556,429
Aaron Lowe RE/MAX Results, Maple Grove	51.00	$40,331,101

Mississippi

	CLOSED	VOLUME
Berkshire Hathaway Homeservices Gateway Real Estate, Madison	73.00	$21,676,767
Lynn Wade Coldwell Banker Smith Homes, Realtors, Ocean Springs	82.00	$21,189,196
Terrie Price Coldwell Banker Alfonso Realty, Inc., Ocean Springs	59.00	$18,148,246
Lindsey Gilliland Coldwell Banker All Stars, Llc, Vicksburg	65.00	$15,097,550
Leigh Ann Boyd Crye-Leike Realtors, Olive Branch	63.00	$14,688,275

Missouri

	CLOSED	VOLUME
Jeffrey P. Warner Dielmann Sotheby's International Realty, Saint Louis	68.33	$46,195,266
Sherrie Loveland Murney Associates, Realtors, Springfield	179.00	$41,763,125
John Ryan Coldwell Banker Realty - Gundaker, Saint Louis	21.30	$40,002,978
Ted Wight Dielmann Sotheby's International Realty, Saint Louis	46.55	$35,080,476
Alexandra Thornhill Dielmann Sotheby's International Realty, Saint Louis	31.00	$26,756,900

Montana

	CLOSED	VOLUME
Pollyanna Snyder Engel & Völkers Bozeman, Bozeman	79.00	$43,899,697
Kelly Laabs Glacier Sotheby's International Realty, Whitefish	47.08	$39,519,490
Michael Anderson National Parks Realty, Whitefish	69.50	$37,304,664
Dawn Maddux Engel & Völkers Western Frontier, Missoula	50.50	$34,140,300
Crystal Chase-Kirchhoff Keller Williams Realty, Bozeman	77.00	$32,331,646

Nebraska

	CLOSED	VOLUME
Vladimir Oulianov Woods Bros Realty, Lincoln	213.00	$48,153,213
Ralph Marasco Berkshire Hathaway HomeServices Ambassador Real Estate, Omaha	154.00	$35,861,729
Johnathan O'Gorman Better Homes and Gardens Real Estate The Good Life Group, Omaha	97.98	$34,724,353
Megan Owens Berkshire Hathaway HomeServices Ambassador Real Estate, Omaha	139.00	$33,136,759
Renee Mueller Berkshire Hathaway HomeServices Premier Real Estate, Columbus	124.00	$30,927,916

■ → Number of Closed Transactions ■ → Total Closed Sales Volume

Nevada

	CLOSED	VOLUME
James Winer Coldwell Banker Algerio/Q-Team Realty, Elko	3.00	$71,662,000
Kristen Routh Silberman Synergy Sotheby's International Realty, Las Vegas	31.50	$63,423,277
Joseph Wieczorek Dickson Realty, Reno	82.00	$50,451,763
Jean Merkelbach Engel & Völkers Lake Tahoe, Zephyr Cove	34.00	$47,135,490
Ryan Mitchell Sierra Sotheby's International Realty, Reno	NA	$43,164,000

New Hampshire

	CLOSED	VOLUME
Pamela Perkins Four Seasons Sotheby's International Realty, New London	58.75	$58,572,355
Susan Bradley Coldwell Banker Realty, Laconia	60.00	$55,480,439
Shannon DiPietro Coco, Early & Associates Windham Division, Windham	63.00	$38,794,192
Marianna Vis Four Seasons Sotheby's International Realty, Bedford	63.00	$38,465,344
Tony Jalbert Tate & Foss Sotheby's International Realty, Rye	18.50	$31,827,888

New Jersey

	CLOSED	VOLUME
Mario Venancio Berkshire Hathaway HomeService Fox & Roach Realtors, Rumson	119.00	$138,128,700
Jerome DiPentino Long & Foster Real Estate, Longport	32.25	$87,952,500
Orly Chen RE/MAX Properties Plus, Tenafly	108.00	$70,853,070
Craig Stefanoni Berkshire Hathaway HomeServices Zack Shore, Realtors, Beach Haven	73.00	$70,041,083
Patrick Butera RE/MAX Paradigm Realty Group, Fair Haven	34.00	$62,280,900

New Mexico

	CLOSED	VOLUME
Darlene Streit Sotheby's International Realty, Santa Fe	197.60	$171,584,760
Dominic J Serna Keller Williams Realty, Albuquerque	75.70	$40,242,864
Emily I. Garcia Sotheby's International Realty, Santa Fe	63.75	$37,538,658
Bricena Aragon Keller Williams Realty, Los Lunas	129.50	$29,100,146
Greg Lobberegt Coldwell Banker Legacy, Albuquerque	70.93	$28,717,646

New York

	CLOSED	VOLUME
Alexa P Lambert Compass, New York City	104.00	$761,653,743
Serena Boardman Sotheby's International Realty, New York	20.50	$365,000,000
Deborah Rieders The Corcoran Group , Brooklyn	132.00	$245,470,385
Tim Davis The Corcoran Group , Southampton	17.50	$237,245,000
Susan Breitenbach The Corcoran Group , Bridgehampton	24.00	$145,965,000

North Carolina

	CLOSED	VOLUME
Melissa Greer Berkshire Hathaway HomeServices Yost & Little Realty, Greensboro	157.00	$56,598,791
Nicklaus Phillips Landmark Sotheby's International Realty, Wilmington	68.50	$52,052,490
Jody Lovell Highlands Sotheby's International Realty, Highlands	38.00	$46,672,900
Magda Esola Fielding Homes, Charlotte	74.00	$43,249,739
Joan Goode Dickens Mitchener Residential Real Estate, Charlotte	55.15	$41,756,751

North Dakota

	CLOSED	VOLUME
Laurie Tweten Coldwell Banker Forks Real Estate, Grand Forks	76.25	$22,967,768
Scott Breidenbach Beyond Realty, Inc., West Fargo	72.50	$22,665,424
Sue Jacobson CENTURY 21 Morrison Realty, Bismarck	69.50	$19,312,839
Katie Marcotte Berkshire Hathaway HomeServices Family Realty, Grand Forks	66.00	$19,012,291
Ninetta Wandler RE/MAX Integrity Realty, Dickinson	79.00	$17,196,600

Ohio

	CLOSED	VOLUME
Adam Kaufman Howard Hanna Real Estate Services (OH-MI), Pepper Pike	155.65	$115,399,578
Brittany Perrine RE/MAX Revealty, Columbus	34.50	$108,404,016
Julie Back Sibcy Cline, Inc., Cincinnati	98.50	$101,559,952
Judy Recker Sibcy Cline, Inc., Cincinnati	46.00	$39,405,400
Tyler Minges Huff Realty - OH, Cincinnati	167.00	$37,456,046

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Oklahoma

	CLOSED	VOLUME
Kathleen Forrest Metro Brokers of Oklahoma, Edmond	315.00	$76,633,212
Joy Baresel Engel & Völkers Oklahoma City , Oklahoma City	69.83	$33,248,574
Wendy Chong RE/MAX Preferred, Oklahoma City	76.00	$27,482,820
Edna Kimble CENTURY 21 Wright Real Estate, Tahlequah	188.00	$26,789,235
Allison Sheffield Chinowth and Cohen Realtors, Tulsa	60.00	$23,091,585

Oregon

	CLOSED	VOLUME
Kendall Bergstrom Hasson Company, Lake Oswego	56.00	$63,902,975
Leanne Ishibashi Hasson Company, Clackamas	115.00	$59,437,392
Matthew Tercek Cascade Sotheby's International Realty, Lake Oswego	34.80	$41,352,782
Declan O'Connor Hasson Company, Portland	50.00	$37,978,617
Erin Rothrock Hasson Company, Portland	66.00	$36,334,955

Pennsylvania

	CLOSED	VOLUME
Derek Morgan USREALTY.com, LLP, Womelsdorf	433.00	$86,294,739
Lisa Yakulis Kurfiss Sotheby's International Realty, Bryn Mawr	35.00	$54,253,352
Laurie Phillips Berkshire Hathaway HomeService Fox & Roach Realtors, Philadelphia	19.00	$47,499,208
Zita Billmann Coldwell Banker Real Estate Services, Pittsburgh	82.00	$42,433,279
Diane Reddington Coldwell Banker Preferred, Blue Bell	112.50	$41,417,728

Rhode Island

	CLOSED	VOLUME
Kyle Seyboth Keller Williams Realty, Providence	497.00	$127,733,876
Lori Joyal Lila Delman Real Estate, Westerly	57.00	$83,667,250
James DeRentis Residential Properties LTD, Providence	125.00	$80,638,402
Gerri Schiffman Residential Properties LTD, Providence	71.00	$54,830,840
Donna Krueger-Simmons Mott & Chace Sotheby's International Realty, Watch Hill	16.50	$35,223,674

South Carolina

	CLOSED	VOLUME
Charles Sullivan Carriage Properties, Charleston	28.00	$72,308,000
Justin Winter Justin Winter Sotheby's International Realty, Sunset	73.75	$58,490,450
Kevin Mills CENTURY 21 The Harrelson Group, North Myrtle Beach	260.00	$47,742,712
Melissa Morrell Berkshire Hathaway HomeServices C. Dan Joyner, Realtors, Greenville	99.00	$43,353,931
Ruthie Ravenel Daniel Ravenel Sotheby's International Realty, Charleston	21.00	$43,277,365

South Dakota

	CLOSED	VOLUME
Amanda Kirschenman Coldwell Banker Black Hills Legacy Real Estate, Rapid City	90.90	$21,617,811
Codi Nincehelser Keller Williams Realty, Sioux Falls	92.50	$21,224,028
Brady Hyde Keller Williams Realty, Sioux Falls	92.00	$20,431,492
Ashley Goodrich RE/MAX In the Hills, Spearfish	50.00	$13,191,600
David Shelton CENTURY 21 Advantage, Sioux Falls	55.50	$12,546,426

Tennessee

	CLOSED	VOLUME
Susan Gregory Parks Realty, Brentwood	120.50	$71,345,951
Avery Carl The Short Term Shop Brokered By EXP, Mt Juliet	156.00	$58,416,295
Paula Hinegardner Keller Williams Realty, Franklin	41.20	$42,441,056
Kyrstin Frate Keller Williams Realty, Clarksville	199.00	$41,509,649
Robert Drimmer Compass, Nashville	101.00	$40,928,000

Texas

	CLOSED	VOLUME
Matt Menard Austin Real Estate Experts, Austin	486.00	$151,344,149
Kumara Wilcoxon Kuper Sotheby's International Realty, Austin	38.35	$128,364,365
Laura Sweeney Compass, Houston	48.00	$112,344,098
Robert Dullnig Kuper Sotheby's International Realty, San Antonio	30.40	$110,248,569
Mike Mahlstedt Compass, Houston	82.00	$103,509,950

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Utah

	CLOSED	VOLUME
Joel Carson Utah Real Estate, Cottonwood Heights	161.00	$75,677,719
Matthew Magnotta Berkshire Hathaway HomeServices Utah Properties, Park City	48.00	$74,520,333
Ryan Kramer RE/MAX Associates, Saint George	215.00	$71,577,613
Jim Moran Summit Sotheby's International Realty, Salt Lake City	49.18	$66,292,355
Julie Hopkins Keller Williams Realty, Park City	48.00	$62,175,470

Vermont

	CLOSED	VOLUME
Mary Pat Palmer Four Seasons Sotheby's International Realty, South Burlington	39.95	$24,895,535
Kathy O'Brien Four Seasons Sotheby's International Realty, South Burlington	34.30	$20,940,034
Freddie Ann Bohlig Four Seasons Sotheby's International Realty, Rutland	53.35	$20,799,950
Robbi Handy Holmes CENTURY 21 Jack Associates, South Burlington	52.50	$15,542,351
Nicholas Maclure CENTURY 21 Farm & Forest, Derby	76.50	$14,788,331

Virginia

	CLOSED	VOLUME
JD Callander Weichert Realtors, McLean	82.00	$77,994,738
Lilian Jorgenson Long & Foster Real Estate, McLean	57.65	$68,428,254
Laurie Mensing Long & Foster Real Estate, McLean	61.85	$67,888,629
Brenda Woody Long & Foster Real Estate, Blacksburg	302.25	$66,855,443
Michael Daugherty Benham Signature Properties, Chesapeake	229.00	$60,394,355



Washington

	CLOSED	VOLUME
Tere Foster Compass, Bellevue	83.30	$355,812,895
Moya Skillman Compass, Bellevue	49.00	$181,472,455
Margo Hass Klein Coldwell Banker BAIN, Tacoma	179.30	$110,715,644
Haleh Clapp Compass, Bellevue	14.00	$90,166,000
Thuan Howard Keller Williams Realty, Kirkland	66.00	$81,281,118

West Virginia

	CLOSED	VOLUME
Rick Boswell CENTURY 21 Sterling Realty, Martinsburg	82.75	$19,773,795
Christy Wood Real Living Solutions Real Estate, Princeton	105.00	$14,169,541
Shawn Craig ERA Liberty Realty, Martinsburg	60.00	$13,112,665
W. Aaron Poling Long & Foster Real Estate, Martinsburg	50.10	$11,565,315
Brian Masemer RE/MAX Real Estate Group, Martinsburg	60.00	$10,576,665

Wisconsin

	CLOSED	VOLUME
John Protiva CENTURY 21 Affiliated, Wauwatosa	112.00	$42,032,147
Stacey Hennessey CENTURY 21 Affiliated, Appleton	170.00	$41,688,450
Jon Spheeris Coldwell Banker Elite, Oconomowoc	32.40	$37,994,569
Renata Greeley Shorewest Realtors, Burlington	112.80	$36,544,211
Linda Tonge Keefe Real Estate, Inc., Lake Geneva	35.00	$36,438,000

Wyoming

	CLOSED	VOLUME
John Resor The Clear Creek Group, Jackson	12.85	$77,915,205
Brett Frantz Jackson Hole Sotheby's International Realty, Jackson	18.50	$55,777,500
Doug Herrick Berkshire Hathaway HomeServices Brokers of Jackson Hole, Jackson	21.00	$43,881,958
Ted Dawson CENTURY 21 Jackson Hole, Jackson	19.00	$33,259,500
Roger St. Clair CENTURY 21 BHJ Realty, Inc., Sheridan	30.40	$27,522,165

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PAINFUL LESSON
Cuban says he learned the hard way that treating his employees "equally" is different from treating them "the same."

"In our times, Constitutional rights come in different colors." »P.24



MARK CUBAN

The Continuing Education of Mark Cuban

The entrepreneur on race, robotics and why now is a great time to start a business

MATT DOYLE/GETTY/GETTY; TOP RIGHT: GRAFISSIMO/GETTY

BILLIONAIRE BUSINESS MAN, *SHARK TANK* regular and Dallas Mavericks owner Mark Cuban has never been shy about saying what was on his mind. Recently he sat down with Jordan Harbinger, host of the *The Jordan Harbinger Show* podcast and a *Newsweek* contributor, to share his thoughts on protest and racism in the wake of George Floyd's killing, how he learned some tough lessons about leadership and what America needs to do if it really wants to compete economically with China. Here are the highlights, lightly edited for clarity:

His Advice to Businesses Now

I'M TELLING THEM ALL THE EXACT SAME THING. One, you have to be transparent. Two, you have to be honest. Three, you have to be authentic. Four, you have to talk. You have to communicate, because everybody's freaked out. Everybody's uncertain. Everybody's working with imperfect information. You have to recognize that when everybody's afraid, the best way to deal with it is by coming together.

BY

JORDAN HARBINGER
@JordanHarbinger

[You] only want to do business with people who represent the things that are important to you. And if you're not taking care of your employees, if you're not taking care of your stakeholders, your brand is going to be damaged forever. Young kids are going to carry that with them for decades. I think those big companies are recognizing how they present themselves, how they interact in society, how they worked from the bottom up, instead of the traditional top down, is going to define their brand for decades.

George Floyd: "The only surprise is that it's taken this long"

PEOPLE ARE ANGRY. THERE'S SYSTEMIC RACISM. The people who have just been disadvantaged their entire lives and every day they wake up, it's a concern and an uncertainty that they need to deal with that just creates unbound stress. They are losing 40-plus million people who've lost their jobs, who knows how many people have had their hours reduced, had their wages reduced....You've got the

pandemic where you're not certain about your health and your minority communities are getting the brunt of it. There's a significant percentage of people working in health care that are minorities. So there's a disproportion there on the front lines. That's just a lot of stress.... Martin Luther King said rioting is the voice of the unheard. The only surprise is that it's taken this long.

Drew Brees: "We don't have standing"

I ACTUALLY FELT BAD FOR DREW. Honestly, I think he was trying to be positive. It's hard not to be tone-deaf in those circumstances.

I've been there before, where I said something, where I thought I was starting a legitimate conversation on race. I made a tone-deaf statement that I thought was accurate and honest, and I learned from it.

I think Drew will learn from it as well. I think his heart's in the right place, but being white, we don't have standing.

Artificial Intelligence Will Transform Government

I HAVE STARTED TO SAY OVER THE last two years or so, with artificial intelligence, we'll be able to start seeing government as a service more. If we ever have any politicians that ever understand technology and where it's going, which is a whole other issue, then they'll be able to see that as advances occur in AI, there are risks, there are bias risks, there are performance risks, there are accuracy risks. But as we get through those problems, AI as a service can replace that old historical model of the paper pusher. The bureaucrat that just sits at their desk, stamping things all day long and trying to do anything not to work. Technology can start to solve some of those problems in government and make it smaller, but effectively do more and leave more money for the people and the services that we all need.

Why Now Is a Great Time to Start a Business

THE CURRENT NEW STUFF YOU always want to stay up to speed on: robotics, precision medicine, AI, statistics, math is always a good thing to study no matter what. But the key, I think when you're going to college, is just learning how to learn because the only constant is change. We went from pre-pandemic in January to trying to understand the impact of viruses and will they occur again. Pre-pandemic, we never had a concept of working from home, and you never would have thought of "How do I enhance the audio for Zoom?" So there's always going to be change that leads to opportunity. And there's never going to be a better time than right now, hopefully, to start a business. Simply because everything's going through this reset.

Keep Learning

EVERY TIME THERE'S NEW TECHNOLOGY that I think is impactful, I want to learn it. AI is going to be huge. So I'm taking machine learning tutorials. I'm on YouTube watching an introduction to neural networks. I'm reading research papers about reinforcement learning and how they meet goals and how that works. Or generative adversarial networks because that's how they do all the fancy graphics and pictures. That allows me to start investing in companies and be able to separate what's real and what's nonsense. Because everybody's got an AI component in their company, but 99.99 percent of them are nonsense. I can't tell one from the other unless I do the work. Now I'm starting to dig more into robotics. I always had a good understanding from a software perspective, but not from the hardware side of it.

"People say, 'Well, what's the worst part about being a billionaire?' Nothing."

Made in the USA

IF WE'RE GOING TO BRING manufacturing from overseas to domestic, the only way we're going to beat low-cost employees and lack of interest in the environment and environmental protections, we're going to have to do that through robotics. Then there's going to be disruption because of that. The traditional manufacturing that was done here, the limited amount, is probably going to be displaced. [We have to understand] what type of jobs we can create and how we can scale that, so that in the aggregate you create a lot more jobs....

But if we do what the administration is trying to do and just recreate 1985 manufacturing and add tariffs to protect people, we're going to get torched because what they're missing is—China, Germany, Russia, Japan—they're not standing still in robotics. They continue to invest. And China, every single day, is asking themselves "How can I kick America's ass in the business?" And unless we recognize that and invest and push forward as a sovereign state, we're going to get torched.

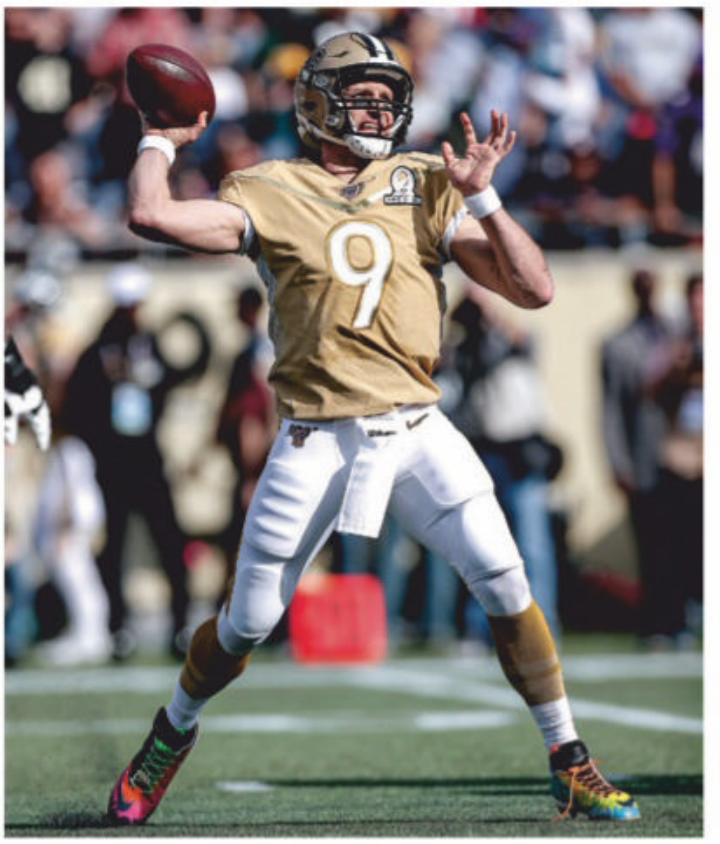
Things That Need to Be Gotten Rid Of

PATENTS ACROSS THE BOARD [AND]









TOP OF MIND
Top: Charging time at the 2018 World Robot Summit in Tokyo. Below: New Orleans Saints quarterback Brees objected to kneeling during the National Anthem. Left: Demonstrators in New York on June 14.

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: TOMOHIRO OHSUMI/GETTY; DON JUAN MOORE/GETTY; IRA L. BLACK/CORBIS/GETTY

licensing. I think it's the state of Louisiana that in order to wash hair, you have to be licensed, and you have to have some ridiculous 200 hours of apprentice experience. That's ridiculous. The fact that just starting a business isn't just one-button click. In the city of Dallas, you want to start a business, you go online, you fill out a couple of forms, you hit one button, maybe you put in your credit card and it's $99. Just stuff like that, you have to remove the friction from those things. Crazy licensing protects people who don't need to be protected.

Billionaire's Luck

IN MY FIRST COMPANY, THE STOCK market wasn't huge for those types of companies. My second company, the stock market was huge for that type of internet company. I didn't plan that. I didn't predict it, but I certainly benefited from it. Could I become a millionaire again? Absolutely. Multiple times over. I've done it many times, but could I hit billionaire again? Only if I got lucky.

Goodbye 9-to-5

I GOT FIRED BECAUSE MY BOSSES hated me because I was too belligerent and too aggressive. That's just the way it was. First three jobs I had never lasted more than nine months.... Then I knew I had to do it on my own, and I just didn't have a choice. I'm living with six guys in a three-bedroom apartment, and this is at a time when unemployment was above 10 percent the year I graduated from college. That extended for a few years and so it wasn't like jobs were easy to come by.

How to Be an Entrepreneur

THERE ARE PEOPLE WHO ARE BORN to do it. I was born to do it, and I just had it. I was just always selling and selling and selling. And if you can sell, you can be an entrepreneur, you just have to start that company for whatever you're good at selling. But for everybody else, if you have a vision, but you're willing to do the work to follow through, it's more about preparation, and it's more about investing the time to become knowledgeable.... And most people aren't willing to do that. So it's not that anybody can't be an entrepreneur. But if you're finding yourself asking "What kind of companies should I start?" you're not ready. "What do you think I should do?" You're not ready. "Am I ready to start this company?" You're not ready. If you find yourself, "I know this so much better than this company, this company, this company, if I can get in there and just get one account," then you're ready.

Made in China

YOU CAN MANUFACTURE IN CHINA, but we still should be doing everything possible to kick their ass so we don't have to anymore. I get all these emails from people. "Oh, you push people to manufacture in China." No, I don't. Every single product I've ever had manufactured, I've tried to make it here first. But now what we're

doing that's different, I'm working with those companies because the cost of robotics is dropping and the software is improving. You still don't have full manual dexterity, so you can't do everything. But we've got to get to a point where we can kick their ass. Just making it here is just going to make it harder for us to compete globally.

Business Pitches He Will Actually Read

IF YOU GO INTO YOUR BACKSTORY, "I went to college at Indiana University and my junior year, I did this and my sophomore year I broke my leg skiing. So I wasn't able to do that." No. Delete. If it's "I wrote this software package that I don't think anybody else is able to do; here's the problem it solves. I'm in Cincinnati, Ohio. I don't have access to a lot of resources. Could you keep on reading and tell me what you think?" I'll keep on reading.

Why Health Care Ought to Be Job Number 1

BECAUSE HERE WE ARE IN THE MIDDLE of a pandemic. We're having riots and looting, and we don't know how that's going to intersect with the pandemic. And there's a lot of uncertainty. We know that more people are going to get sick but no one's talking about health care. There are some basic things on people being added to the ACA. There's not a lot of talk about Medicaid or the expansion of Medicaid. We've got hospitals who're laying off people and not going out of business yet, but we're subsidizing. What should hospitals look like next? What should health care look like on the other side of this pandemic, recognizing we might face this again? No one's having that conversation even a tiny bit.

"How Would You Feel Every Single Day?"

IMAGINE YOU PUT ON A MAGA HAT and red MAGA T-shirt, and you walked through downtown New York, or you walked in one of the protests, peaceful protests. How afraid would you be? Even though all those people around you are law-abiding citizens, would you be concerned? If you walk into a store with that same MAGA hat and MAGA T-shirt, do you think people are going to stare at you and look at you twice?.... Now imagine if you could never take that hat off. Imagine if you could never take that shirt off and no matter where you went and no matter what you did, you were always wondering how people were looking at you and whether or not all they saw was that red hat and a red shirt that said, "Keep America Great." How would you feel every single day? That's still not as bad as what African Americans and other ethnicities have to go through every single day.... I'm not trying to speak for the African American or ethnic communities; they have leaders to speak for themselves, but when we talk about white people having to do a little bit more, at least trying to understand it, it gives you some concept and lets you understand that their perspective and what they have to go through and the stresses that they go through are far different than what we go through.

Treating People Equally

WHAT WE WENT THROUGH AT THE Mavs with sexual harassment just changed the game for me. I learned very painfully—but it was more painful for some of the women that work there—that treating people equally does not mean treating them the same. I always thought that man, woman, white, black, it was more like a math equation.... I was going to treat them exactly the same. And didn't really realize that the power dynamics are so different that you can't do that. You can't literally treat them equally. You've got to be able to recognize who they are, where they're from, what challenges they have. Once I did that, our business got a lot better and our CEO Cynthia Marshall certainly educated me a lot more, but it's a process of learning.

The Best Part of Being Rich

I DON'T HAVE TO WORRY ABOUT THE bills. I couldn't tell you what my



ANDREW ECCLES/ABC/GETTY



BUSINESS REALITY Cuban (rear) with fellow *Sharks* (from left to right) Daymond John, Barbara Corcoran, Lori Greiner, Kevin O'Leary and Robert Herjavec.

electric bill was last month. Probably I don't want to know with my kids. I don't stress about bills anymore and that's the biggest difference. People say, "Well, what's the worst part about being a billionaire?" Nothing. Nothing, absolutely positively nothing. I've been on both sides where I had credit cards cut off—like I said, I lived with six guys in a three-bedroom apartment. I didn't have any money. My roommates and I would go to the grocery store and be there at midnight because that's when they pushed down the price of chicken, and we'd get our chicken packs.... I stress about my kids, like any parent does. When my 16-year-old learned how to drive and started driving, every time that door on her car closed, I was terrified and money can't change that.

"I actually felt bad for Drew [Brees]. Honestly, I think he was trying to be positive."

Reasons to Be Cheerful

THERE'S NO BETTER TIME TO START A business than right now because all businesses are effectively going through a reset as we start to open back up and figure out what's going on. Big businesses are protecting their legacy businesses. Medium-sized businesses are doing the same thing. Small businesses are just trying to adapt. If you're starting from scratch, you can build a restaurant that already deals with social distancing and HVAC that considers the virus and all that. If you're starting a service company, you can start off working from home and be comfortable because people have already gotten used to Zoom. You don't have to find that first office. So there's a lot of advantages. And with the protests and the riots that give us just one inkling of hope that maybe we'll make progress. That maybe this time, we'll listen and that's why I've tried to speak out. I'm trying to get involved in the minority community, going to events, go into black-owned businesses, minority-owned businesses. I'm trying to help any business that was looted and impacted. But in particular, those people who are at the greatest disadvantage right now, I've been trying to connect to and help.

→ *Newsweek contributor* **Jordan Harbinger** *hosts* THE JORDAN HARBINGER SHOW*, where he deconstructs the playbooks of the world's most successful authors, entrepreneurs and artists. Find his full interview with Mark Cuban at www.jordanharbinger.com.*

THE DEBATE
Newsweek

Which Lockdowns are Constitutional?

One law professor argues against lockdowns that limit some kinds of liberty but not others. Another commentator says the question is not that simple



EVERY CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT SHOULD HAVE EQUAL WEIGHT

by Eugene Kontorovich

THE GOVERNMENTAL RESPONSE TO THE COVID-19 epidemic has perhaps seen the most sweeping peacetime restrictions of constitutional rights in U.S. history. A wide array of constitutional rights have been intruded on by lockdowns, closures, quarantines, isolation measures and social distancing requirements.

The states' measures have led to a wave of lawsuits and court rulings about their impact on constitutional rights, with the most high-profile ones involving prayer and abortion. However, the basic legitimacy of the government depriving millions of their basic liberties and livelihood has not been a large part of the debate. Instead, it has been about how these measures apply to certain particular, and highly politicized, rights.

Whatever the merits of the harsh measures imposed in response to COVID-19, such measures should be seen as either inherently problematic or tolerable, regardless of what closures and social distancing might mean for particular rights.

The Constitution reserves for states broad power to protect the health of its citizens. And the legal framework of constitutional rights presumes a



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O SAY CAN YOU SEE? Protesters in Rancho Cucamonga, California,showing their displeasure with a state stay-at-home order this May.

WATCHARA PHOMICINDA/MEDIANEWS GROUP/THE PRESS-ENTERPRISE/GETTY

standard situation, where the rights' enjoyment does not harm others. States in epidemics have always quarantined or isolated those who are ill or have been exposed to a contagion. But the COVID-19 lockdowns go much further, restricting the freedoms of those who pose no evident danger—a response to the long incubation period and significant incidence of asymptomatic transmission.

These lockdown orders are an inherently blunt tool—or, in constitutional law parlance, "overbroad." Yet in the name of public safety, Americans largely agreed that the Constitution must tolerate the otherwise intolerable—the broad restriction of basic liberty. Constitutional liberty is not just about abortions and guns. It also has something to do with being free—free to meet a friend, free to put food on one's table and so on.

"The states' measures have led to a wave of lawsuits and court rulings."

Yet COVID-19 constitutional challenges are not largely about the general massive restriction of liberty. Instead, they have been about seeking exceptions for communal prayer, or for abortion facilities. (The unusual exception is last month's Wisconsin Supreme Court ruling, which concluded the cursory process behind the governor's closure orders was inadequate, but did not question the basic ability to take such measures.)

Yet if such broad restrictions are indeed warranted, courts should not be sympathetic to special pleading for particular rights—especially because

of the reality that different rights have vastly different political valences. At least in our times, constitutional rights come in different colors.

Liberals care about constitutional rights when it comes to abortions and inmates; conservatives will generally say that those rights, or particular extensions and penumbras of them, are not rights at all. On the other hand, conservatives greatly value the protection of gun rights and the religious rights of the First Amendment—again, in formulations that liberals might broadly see as mistaken. Like coloring states red or blue, this is, of course, a massive oversimplification, but it captures something important.

As the Supreme Court has said, there is no constitutional hierarchy of rights. There is no priority between buying a gun, saying a prayer, having an abortion and being able merely to walk out into the street. All are constitutional values so long as they do not endanger others; and the central assumption of the coronavirus measures put in place is that everyone might pose a covert, exponentially compounding danger to the public health. (The Supreme Court has called abortion a "fundamental" right, but by that it meant it was important enough to warrant constitutional protection despite not being expressly mentioned in the text. But having risen to the pantheon of rights, it takes an equal place among them.)

But perhaps the public health measures burden different rights differently. Abortion rights advocates argued in court that bans on all non-emergency surgical treatments deny women the substance of the right—at least for the subset of women close to the gestational stage where abortions are forbidden. Conversely, supporters of gun rights claim that closing gun shops entirely excludes from Second Amendment protection some subset of people—and at a time it may matter most. Those who challenge closures of places of worship claim the inability to come together in prayer, subject to distancing guidelines, permanently deprives the faithful of an opportunity to draw close to or solicit God at a crucial moment.

Given the varying political and cultural valences of these rights, there is no objective way to compare burdens. Some might say the burden on restricting particular modes of communal prayer is zero, because prayer is ineffectual, and religion merely a private pastime to which the Constitution shows a quaint solicitude. Others would say the burden of delaying abortions is zero, because the restriction actually saves a life. But gainsaying the subjective burden in effect undermines the idea of its constitutional protection.

Nothing could more undermine COVID-19 response than to put it in the crosshairs of the constitutional culture war. At the same time, there should indeed be some way for citizens to push back against public health measures that go too far.

Let me propose a shortcut: Harness the happy circumstance of politically opposing constitutional rights. The most dangerous situation is if those solicitous of one particular kind of liberty are able to think they can save theirs amid a more general restriction. But if the gun folks and the abortion folks and the prayer folks and the press folks and the prison folks all understood that their hard-won rights are all at stake in broad closure orders, such measures will only be used in the clearest necessity.

We need a simple rule: Either such unusually broad measures must make exceptions for all particular constitutional rights—or they need make no exceptions.

→ **Eugene Kontrovich** *is professor of law at Antonin Scalia Law School. The views expressed in this article are the writer's own.*





PROTECTING RIGHTS DURING COVID-19 IS NOT ALL OR NOTHING

by Michele Goodwin



NEW HABITS Above: A Lutheran pastor whose Manhattan church had lost more than 40 parishioners to COVID-19 conducting an outdoor service on a street in Brooklyn this May. Opposite: Shoppers on line outside the Industry City Costco in Brooklyn in April.

THE DEATH TOLL ASSOCIATED WITH THE novel coronavirus, otherwise known as COVID-19, has well surpassed 100,000 in the United States. To place this suffering in context, more Americans have died during the past three months due to COVID-19 than in the Vietnam War; the 9/11 attacks; the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan; and H1N1, Ebola and the Zika virus—all combined. In three months, COVID-19 killed more Americans than what Americans have witnessed in the past 50 years of war and disease combined.

The chilling number of American deaths that spanned nearly two decades in Vietnam (over 58,000) pales in comparison to deaths caused by this deadly virus. In essence, COVID-19 took barely two months to surpass deaths suffered by Americans over 19 years of the Vietnam War. And while the Vietnam War is long over, COVID-19 still rages in the United States.

What this staggering death toll brings to light are two interrelated matters. First, it exposes questions related to capacity, compassion and competency in American leadership—from the federal government down to local officials. The failure to heed international warnings and develop effective test kits in December and January highlights serious weaknesses in pandemic preparedness and American leadership. Hasty and imprudent political rhetoric in February and March, comparing COVID-19 to the seasonal flu, was not only inaccurate and misguided; it likely contributed to a sense of false security among Americans, who came to believe the virus was no more infectious and no greater a threat than the seasonal flu. Sadly, this view persists among some Americans, including in government.

Second, fundamental questions of constitutional law have also emerged. The coronavirus crisis has brought to the forefront a national debate related to the interaction between constitutional rights, state police powers and federalism: What are the limits of government action in the midst of a pandemic?

Certain basic constitutional law questions persist for some Americans: Do governors have the authority to issue executive orders to shelter-in-place or quarantine? Can the legislature prioritize some business activity as "essential" while not granting that status to others? Is it legal to impose shelter-in-place on Sundays—a day when many Americans seek to worship?

"During a pandemic, some constitutional rights may be burdened but only to protect the public health and promote safety."

The short answer is that, for nearly three centuries, quarantine has been justified and legally upheld—even before the official founding of the United States, dating all the way back to 1738.

In an 1824 case, *Gibbons v. Ogden*, the Supreme Court specifically referenced state authority to regulate health and erect quarantine laws. Eighty years later, in a seminal decision, the Supreme Court spoke directly to state police power to protect public health in its 1905 ruling, *Jacobson v. Massachusetts*. In that case, the Court upheld an ordinance requiring compulsory vaccination of all persons fit for inoculation. The Court found the statute to be a valid exercise of local police power to protect public health and reduce the spread of smallpox—a deadly disease.

Despite the myriad rallies and protests to "re-open"—some filled with vile and violent imagery, including effigies—governmental authority to impose the types of orders modeled in California by Governor Gavin Newsom, in Michigan by Governor

FROM LEFT: MIKE LAWRIE/GETTY; JOHANNES EISELE/AFP/GETTY



THE RIGHT TO ASSEMBLE Protesting against a policy of coercing women into being sterilized at County USC Medical Center in Los Angeles, circa 1974.

Gretchen Whitmer or in New York by Governor Andrew Cuomo is clear, consistent with constitutional law and legal. In other words, during a pandemic, some constitutional rights may be burdened, but only to protect the public health and promote safety.

Nevertheless, government authority is not absolute—and that's important to keep in mind, even in times of pandemic. In fact, during times of national disaster and health crises, government may attempt to exercise unconstitutional authority or unfairly or excessively infringe on civil rights and civil liberties.

Historically, governments, including our own, have deployed protecting the public health as a justification when seeking to harm and undermine the civil liberties of vulnerable groups. From eugenics, involving the forced sterilization of poor girls and women, to racial discrimination involving water fountains, swimming pools and interracial marriage, politicians have oftentimes claimed to be in the service of public health goals when actually serving no other purpose than the perpetuation of social and racial stereotypes and discrimination.

Nearly a century ago, the commonwealth of Virginia claimed it was in a public health crisis, "swamped" by children, men and women it considered socially and morally unfit. Its solution was to impose sterilization on Virginians as young as 10 years in order to rid the state of those who "burdened" society. The sad result included the sterilizations of thousands of people in Virginia alone—a clear violation of civil rights and civil liberties.

During this pandemic, questions related to the limits of governmental authority are all the more pressing and relevant in the wake of legislatures in Alabama, Indiana, Mississippi, Oklahoma and Texas, among others, that have used the pandemic as a cover for discriminating against women by dismantling abortion access. From a medical perspective, this is all the more senseless and tragic, considering that abortions are as safe as penicillin shots and far safer than child delivery; a woman is 14 times more likely to die by carrying a pregnancy to term than having an abortion. In these instances, hampering abortion rights had nothing to do with protecting health and safety, but were simply political attempts to undermine abortion rights.

For these reasons, government infringements on civil rights and civil liberties should be driven by science, confirmed by medical evidence and tailored to address the health harms and threats. It's not all or nothing—that's too simplistic a view. Rather, protecting the public's health and safety during COVID-19 requires prioritizing the public's health while safeguarding civil liberties.

→ **Michele Goodwin** *is professor of law and founding director of the Center for Biotechnology and Global Health Policy at the University of California, Irvine School of Law. The views expressed in this article are the writer's own.*

LOS ANGELES TIMES/GETTY

Talking Points

"If we stopped testing right now, we'd have very few cases, if any."

—PRESIDENT TRUMP

Los Angeles Times

"HOLLYWOOD IS A GRIM MICROCOSM OF LARGER SOCIETY."

—SCREENWRITER ROB EDWARDS ON BEING BLACK IN SHOW BUSINESS



Rob Edwards

"An employer who fires an individual for being homosexual or transgender fires that person for traits or actions it would not have questioned in members of a different sex."

—SUPREME COURT JUSTICE NEIL GORSUCH

"Here's our day, and if you love us, it'll be your day too."

—PHARRELL WILLIAMS ON VIRGINIA DECLARING JUNETEENTH A STATE HOLIDAY



Pharrell Williams

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

"IT'S TIME FOR PEOPLE TO REALIZE THAT WE ARE ALL HUMAN."

—Carlotta Walls LaNier, who was one of the first black students admitted to Little Rock's Central High School in 1957



Carlotta Walls LaNier

"We recognize Aunt Jemima's origins are based on a racial stereotype."

—QUAKER FOODS NORTH AMERICA CHIEF MARKETING OFFICER KRISTIN KROEPFL

The New York Times

"SEGREGATION IS LEGALLY OVER, BUT IT NEVER ENDED. THE POLICE ARE, IN SOME RESPECTS, A BORDER PATROL, AND THEY PATROL THE BORDER BETWEEN THE TWO AMERICAS."

—Jon Stewart

FROM LEFT: TIMOTHY NORRIS/GETTY; AMY SUSSMAN/FILMMAGIC/GETTY; KATHRYN OSLER/THE DENVER POST/GETTY



South Africa and Germany confronted their **RACIST** histories. It's time for America to do the same.

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

Portrait by VICTOR JEFFEREYS II

by WESLEY LOWERY





CONGRESSMAN AL GREEN FIDGETED IN THE FRONT row of George "Perry" Floyd's third and final memorial service, held here in the city where the slain man had spent much of his life, as he rehearsed in his head the speech he'd spent the night before preparing.

Green had been in the living room of his Houston home when he first saw the excruciating cell-phone video on the news: a white police officer in Minneapolis nonchalantly kneeling on the neck of the 46-year-old Floyd for nearly nine minutes. The handcuffed man desperately crying that he can not breathe. The bystanders urging the officer to stop. His cold refusal to acknowledge their pleas.

Floyd's body had been flown back to Texas to be buried. But first, there would be a funeral at Fountain of Praise church, one of the largest churches in Green's district, at which the congressman had been asked to say a few words.

But now, as the service began, Green was struck by the words of the church's pastor Remus E. Wright, who urged congregants to maintain social distancing, avoid getting too close and keep masks over their mouths and noses. The coronavirus pandemic was lurking. And no life, the pastor stressed, was expendable.

Green couldn't shake that concept—that we can't afford to lose one more life. That now is the moment for drastic, desperate action. By the time he was summoned to the stage, the congressman had torn up his prepared speech.

The death of George Floyd has prompted a generational national reckoning with race and justice unlike any seen in the United States since the Los Angeles Police Department beating of Rodney King, which was also captured on bystander video, in the early 1990s. Yet Floyd is just the latest to join a roster of Black people killed by police in recent years: Laquan McDonald, Eric Garner, Michael Brown, Tamir Rice, Walter Scott, Freddie Gray, Sandra Bland, Philando Castile, Alton Sterling, Korryn Gaines, Botham Jean, Breonna Taylor.

For years, Black activists and organizers have demanded a complete upheaval of the criminal justice system, yet their demands have been met with skepticism from the public and promises, often unfulfilled, of piecemeal reform from the police. But this time, after Floyd's death, could be different. Polling shows that a majority of white Americans now agree that there is something systematically unjust about U.S. policing.

"I've actually been really emotional," Amber Goodwin, a longtime activist in Houston, who has worked on issues of gun and police violence, told me, adding that the conversation about changing American policing has seemingly evolved overnight. "I've always believed that another world was possible."

Rather than contemplating body cameras and bias training, the public is now debating what it could look like to

THE AFTERMATH
(Above) Democratic Congressman Al Green of Texas speaking in Houston at the last of three services for George Floyd on June 9. (Right, top to bottom) Pallbearers carry Floyd's coffin into church at the Houston funeral; Senator Tim Scott of South Carolina announces a Republican police reform bill.

shift some responsibilities away from police forces altogether. The nation is asking: Where do we go from here? And it seems, Americans are at least momentarily willing to consider a radical answer in response.

"To see a person with a knee on the neck, that's more than is tolerable for any conscience," Green would tell me a few days after the funeral service, noting that the Floyd video had shaken the nation in a way unlike any other video before it. He's worked on these issues for years, and can recite the names of half a dozen Black people killed by the police during the years he led Houston's NAACP chapter. The hard-earned reforms over the years have been important. But in this moment, the public appetite for change seems to finally match the urgency of the crisis. "This Black Lives Matter movement is moving the social consciousness of this nation," Green added.

"YOU GUYS IN THE MEDIA CAN FIGHT OVER THE PHILOSOPHICAL DEFINITION OF SOMETHING, BUT WHAT I DON'T HAVE THE LUXURY OF DOING, IS HAVING THAT FIGHT." —REPRESENTATIVE TIM SCOTT

And so he ditched his prepared speech, in which he had planned to call for "unity" and declare that Floyd's life could not be lost in vain.

"We are here because we have no expendables in our community," Green declared from the stage. "George Floyd was not expendable. This is why we're here. His crime was that he was born Black."

Moments later, the 72-year-old congressman used his place in the pulpit to unveil a historic proposal—the creation of a federal department, run by a Congressionally-confirmed cabinet position, to tackle American racial reconciliation.

"We have a duty, responsibility and obligation not to allow this to be like the other times," Green urged. "We have got to have reconcilation...We survived slavery but we didn't reconcile, we survived segregation but we didn't reconcile, we are suffering invidious discrimination because we didn't reconcile...It's time for us to reconcile."

GREEN'S CALL FOR A HISTORIC RECKONING WITH AMERICA'S RACIAL legacy was still ringing in my ears days later, as I sat in front of my laptop screen and dialed into the video conference link I had been provided. Determined to seize the moment, the Congressional Black Caucus had convened a forum on police violence and accountability, and asked a slate of Black activists from across the country to testify. They had also invited me.

For the past six years, I've spent most of my time writing and reporting on police violence and the movement of young Black organizers determined to end it. It wasn't a beat I aspired to, or a story I had intended to tell, but rather an assignment seemingly provided by divine happenstance. In August 2014, I was a Congressional reporter for the *Washington Post* who happened to have a bag packed when rioting broke out in response to the police shooting of Michael Brown Jr. in suburban St. Louis. Two days after my arrival in Ferguson, another reporter and I were arrested by local police as we attempted to file our stories from the dining room of a fast-food restaurant just up the street from the protests. Critics, some within my own profession, insisted that the arrest had made me "part of the story," and that I should be removed from the assignment. That made me even more determined to dig in my heels. In the half decade since, I've made police-accountability journalism and the stories of those impacted by the failures of American policing into my life's work.

In 2015, my colleagues at *The Washington Post* and I launched





CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT: DAVID J. PHILLIP-POOL/GETTY; GODOFREDO A. VASQUEZ/POOL/AFP/GETTY; CAROLINE BREHMAN/CQ-ROLL CALL, INC/GETTY

Fatal Force, a national database tracking fatal police shootings that grew directly out of our reporting on the ground. The Black residents and protesters who I'd interviewed in Ferguson insisted that the police were routinely killing Black men and women in the streets. Meanwhile, the police and their unions insisted that just was not the case—they rarely killed anyone, they claimed, and on the rare occasion that they did, the person had it coming. The problem was either a flaw in the system, or a series of isolated incidents. Two competing narratives, driving a national debate over race and policing.

Yet, stunningly, no reliable national data existed to settle the question. It was unclear how many people the police were killing, who those people were, and under what circumstances they were dying. So *The Post* began tracking every fatal police shooting we could—relying on details provided by local news coverage and then supplemented by additional reporting of our own. In the five years that followed, we recorded nearly 5,000 fatal police killings by police—about 3 per day—and discovered that Black Americans are killed by the police at at least twice the rate of white Americans. One of our followup investigations would document how even fired police officers are often able to get their jobs back. Another documented the extent to which Black communities are overpoliced yet underserved—the most violent areas of major American cities are also places where murders are rarely solved.

The American public now broadly agrees that there is a problem with race and policing. But a new debate has emerged: How deep and how wide is that problem? The activists in the streets have been clear—they believe American policing, which in much of the nation descends directly from slave patrols, is systemically racist and fundamentally broken.

Where do we go from here? As I testified to the CBC, the role of a journalist is not to provide answers, but rather to document, in excruciating detail, the extent of the problem. And so, when asked where we should go from here, I deferred to the activists, organizers and the Black Americans who have taken to the streets.

"We have truly tried it all," testified Jeremiah Ellison, a Minneapolis city councilman and former street activist who spoke before me, ticking off all of the reforms his city has attempted that have failed to fix policing. He's said he's given up on police reform, and is now one of the leading voices advocating the abolition of policing as it is currently constructed. "We give police an incredible amount of trust. And they deserve an equally incredible amount of accountability when they break that trust. Instead, accountability eludes them entirely."

"In my experience and my community's experience, the role of police has been a really violent force," testified Patrisse Cullors, one of three co-founders of #BlackLivesMatter and chair of Reform LA Jails. "What I've witnessed in the last 30 years is a deep investment into policing and incarceration, and a deep divestment from all of the things that help and support communities that are in need."

For starters, at least, the activists argue that the police need to no longer be tasked with dealing with things like mental health, school discipline, drug and alcohol issues and nonviolent conflict resolution. The buckets of money being poured into police departments—at times the single biggest expenditure in a city budget—should be directed into other community services and resources.

"We're in the middle of a crucible moment in this country," Phil

"THERE'S A LOT OF REASON TO RECOGNIZE HOW TODAY IS TIED TO THE ARCH OF HISTORY, HOW THE STRUGGLE IS ONGOING."

—LONNIE BUNCH







PUSHING FOR CHANGE
(From top) Patrisse Cullors, co-founder of #BlackLivesMatter, at a peaceful march in Hollywood in June; Brooklyn protestors call for police reform; a mother explains a landmark 1954 civil rights ruling.

FROM TOP: FRANCINE ORR/LOS ANGELES TIMES/GETTY; ERIK MCGREGOR/LIGHTROCKET/GETTY; BETTMANN/GETTY

determine what our lives look like in this country," he said.

Yet even as the activists insist that now is the time for sweeping changes and a deep reckoning with how the horrors of our nation's history inform the inequities of our country's present, the conversation in Washington remains much more narrow. Powerful Republicans and Democrats alike are offering legislation that, if signed into law, would undoubtedly increase police oversight and transparency, yet fall well short of the type of radical rethinking of American policing that the activists advocate. As the people in the streets call for abolition, the country's leaders say they're now ready to offer up reform.

"The nation is fed up with seeing the same situation play out over and over and over again," said Senator Tim Scott, the sole Black Republican senator, who has been charged with leading GOP police-reform efforts. The video of Floyd crying out for his mother as he died "broke the back of the American psyche," Scott told me. "Enough is enough."

A crucial component of his legislation is a body-camera requirement, a proposal he began to advocate for after the 2015 police shooting of Walter Scott, an unarmed Black man, in Senator Scott's hometown of North Charleston, South Carolina.

In that case, the officer initially claimed to have been in a desperate struggle for his life when he pulled the trigger. But then a bystander released a cell-phone video that showed Scott running away as the officer opened fire, shooting Scott in the back as he fled. While body cameras don't prevent such shootings, Scott conceded, they at least allow the public to see what truly happened in a given incident, and provide a better chance that officers will be held accountable.

"If a picture is worth 1,000 words, then a video is worth 1,000 pictures," said Scott, who spoke on the fifth anniversary of another tragedy in his home state: the racist massacre that left nine worshippers dead in Charleston's Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church, shot and killed by a white supremacist.

The extent to which the GOP has empowered Scott marks a significant shift for a caucus that just years ago framed any call for policing reform as an attack on all police officers. And yet the senator must walk a rhetorical tightrope. His colleagues still loathe the suggestion that the criminal justice system is "systematically" biased against Black Americans. And so Scott himself has avoided—even criticized—the term, even as he provides personal anecdotes that offer proof of such systematic bias.

"Can I identify racial outcomes in the law enforcement community that makes me feel like more of a target? The answer to that is yes. Does that speak to systemic racism? I don't know. I don't come to that conclusion personally."

For decades, he's been routinely pulled over and ticketed for what he says can only be considered "driving while Black." Back

Agnew, another young Black activist, would tell me a few days later. Agnew likes to say he was radicalized while a student at Florida A&M University, following the death of Martin Lee Anderson, a 14-year-old Black boy who collapsed while doing a required workout at a boot-camp style youth detention center in Florida. When he first entered college, Agnew thought the disparities facing Black Americans must be their own fault. But the more he read, and the more he learned, he realized the entire system of American life had been stacked against them. Later, Agnew helped found the Dream Defenders, one of the most influential activist groups to emerge following the 2012 killing of Trayvon Martin. Most recently, he and Tef Poe, a Ferguson activist, launched Black Men Build, which hopes to organize and mobilize Black men to be politically and socially engaged in advance of this November's elections.

The next steps, Agnew said, need to be the creation of a world in which Black Americans have the same likelihood of health care, clean water, job opportunities and quality education as their white neighbors. "Black people need to have the power to

when he was on his county council in South Carolina, Scott was pulled over by police seven times in a single year. Since first coming to Congress, he's been stopped by the police at least four times while on the grounds of the United States Capitol. On one occasion, Scott was pulled over while driving to visit his grandfather in a poorer part of town, years into his time as an elected official, and soon found his car surrounded by at least four police officers.

"As a person who has been racially profiled, it pricks at your soul, it makes you feel small. It makes you feel powerless and frustrated," Scott said. But isn't that, by definition, systemic racism, I asked Scott?

"You guys in the media can fight over the philosophical definition of something, but what I don't have the luxury of doing,is having that fight...What you call it...is important...it just isn't that important to me right now."

Setting aside the rhetorical debate, Scott and his Democratic colleagues do agree on something else: Whatever legislation they end up passing will still fall short of eradicating the issue. "I'm looking for something that stops hate from manifesting, I don't see anything in their legislation or mine," Scott said.

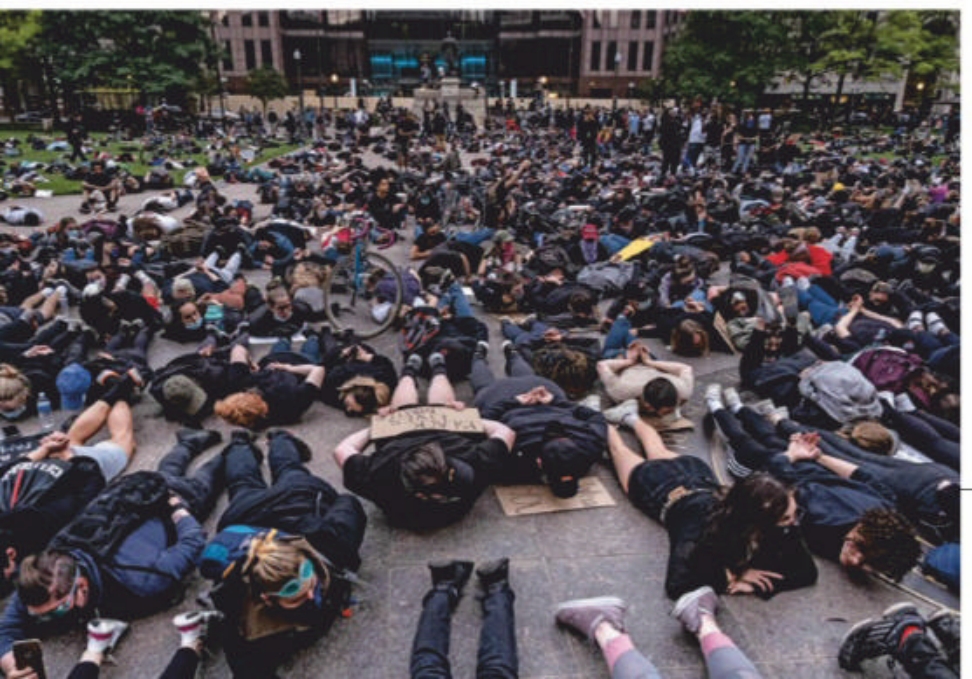
None of the proposals put forth by either piece of legislation would have necessarily kept George Floyd alive, and neither guarantees that another George Floyd won't meet the same fate. The passage of either proposal, or a compromise that combines them both, would at once be the most sweeping piece of police reform passed by Congress in a generation, and also largely inconsequential as it relates to curbing the number of police killings.

"It's all tinkering around the edges," said Jonathan Smith, one of the Justice Department's top civil rights officials during the Obama administration, who oversaw the investigation of the Ferguson Police Department after the death of Michael Brown. "People want to do something, so people are grabbing for low-hanging fruit," Smith said. "But it's not going to solve the problem in any meaningful way. It'll let people feel like they did something."

"I THINK WHAT WE'RE WITNESSING IS, QUITE FRANKLY, THE BIRTH of a new nation. Childbirth is very difficult, but we're going to make it," CBC chairwoman Barbara Lee said when it was her turn to question the panelists during the hearing.

"Many of my white contemporaries especially are finally waking up to begin talking about racism, specifically systemic racism," said Lee, who has introduced legislation that would create a truth, racial healing and transformation commission in the United States. "But they're not clear about the historical context





SYMBOLS OF A MOVEMENT
(Left) Representative Barbara Lee, chair of the Congressional Black Caucus; demonstrators in Columbus, Ohio hold a "die-in" to peacefully protest Floyd's death. (Above, right) a statue of a slave trader is taken down in Bristol, England.

"WE'RE IN THE MIDDLE

as it relates to slavery and how it's manifested today in policies and programs and funding priorities and in the brutal murder of Black men and women by the police."

Days later, I called Congressman Green to ask how a reconciliation process would work. As we spoke, he sat in his office, flanked by portraits he'd commissioned of Martin Luther King Jr. and Nelson Mandela. Across the room hangs another hero, Shirley Chisholm, the first Black woman elected to Congress, whose campaign slogan boasted she was "unbought and unbossed."

Chisholm, Green told me, was a "liberated Democrat," willing to tell the truth even when it made others in her party upset with her. And it's in that spirit that Green has joined Lee and others in calling for the United States to undergo a reconciliation process similar to those undertaken by post-Holocaust Germany and post-apartheid South Africa. Under Green's proposal, the U.S. president would create a Department of Reconciliation, overseen by a Senate-confirmed cabinet secretary. This person would be



OF A CRUCIBLE MOMENT IN THIS COUNTRY."

—PHIL AGNEW

CLOCKWISE FROM RIGHT: GIULIA SPADAFORA/NURPHOTO/GETTY; SETH HERALD/AFP/GETTY; ALEX EDELMAN/GETTY

tasked with overseeing national and localized efforts to empirically document, educate the public and then propose remedies for the extent to which our nation's original sin—centuries of slavery, followed by decades of legalized discrimination and oppression—still weigh down Black Americans. The budget for such an office would fall under the Department of Defense, Green said, since future lawmakers would be loath to approve cuts to defense spending.

It's striking, experts say, that the United States has never undergone such a process. While it's true there have been commissions—the Kerner Commission after the riots of the 1960s and the Christopher Commission after the riots of the 1990s—the federal government has never devoted significant resources to providing a sweeping corrective to the enduring damage wrought by American slavery.

"If you look at countries comparable to the U.S. in their long histories of racial inequality, all of them except the United States have gone through some sort of public reckoning of that past," said Kathleen Belew, a historian who has studied reconciliation processes and author of *Bring the War Home: The White Power Movement and Paramilitary America*. "There are ways that racism and white supremacy are deeply hidden inside many aspects of our society. A truth commission gives us an opportunity to get it all out on the table."

It's a process that's played out before, at the local level. Activists in Greensboro, North Carolina launched a truth and reconciliation process after the 1979 massacre in which white supremacists shot and killed five anti-racist protesters. In Maine, Native officials underwent a truth and reconciliation process to explain and address why tribal youth were both overrepresented and mistreated in the child welfare system. And in Detroit, local activists pressed the state for a truth and reconciliation commission to definitively document the public policy decisions that resulted in the region's stark racial segregation.

"The best thing that can come from a truth commission is that we narrow the range of permissible lies that we tell ourselves as a community about our own history," said Jill Williams, who ran the Greensboro commission and has advised on others across the country. "I think that could be helpful to America."

One of the key components of any such commission is to establish a mutually accepted historical narrative. While we all live in the same nation, white Americans and Black Americans believe fundamentally different things about what happened in our shared pasts, much less about how it still affects us all today. And how far off are we from having that type of shared history? Are we close?

"Oh, come on. No!" exclaimed Smithsonian Institute secretary

Lonnie Bunch when I posed that question to him about three weeks after George Floyd's death.

"You learn a lot about a country by what it remembers, but even more by what it forgets," Bunch added, once he'd stopped laughing at me. "I was struck, years ago, by a letter I received where somebody said that America's greatest strength is its ability to forget."

Few in recent history have done as much work as Bunch to force America to remember. After years running the Chicago History Museum, Bunch served as the founding director of the Smithsonian's National Museum of African American History and Culture—affectionately nicknamed "the Blacksonian"—before being named the first Black man to oversee all 19 Smithsonian museums. To walk the halls of the Blacksonian, from its exhibits on slavery to its exploration of civil rights to its tributes to Black sports and culture, is to be confronted by the extent to which the nation has been crafted by its past. Neither the inequalities that plague us today, nor the fight to upend them, can be separated from what has come before.

"There's a lot of reason to recognize how today is tied to the arch of history, how the struggle is ongoing," Bunch said, nodding to the protests surging in American streets, comparing the energy of this moment to the civil rights push that followed the Brown v. Board of Education decision and the murder of Emmett Till. "And the struggle takes resilience. It's not always one big moment where there will be fundamental change. But what history tells you is that there are moments where you see the country take a giant leap forward."

Once a shared historical narrative can be established, a reconciliation process can begin. "Restorative justice is a set of values," explained Fania Davis, executive director of Restorative Justice for Oakland Youth. "It's a theory of justice that brings together everyone affected by wrongdoing...We make mistakes. And we hurt people by those mistakes. But we can make amends for those mistakes, we can say sorry and we can take action."

Davis is an elder in the movement, into which she was violently thrust after two of her childhood friends were among those killed in the 1963 Birmingham Church Bombings. "A big part of why you're talking to me today is that I left that experience with this deep yearning to be an agent of social transformation," Davis told me.

She began working with the Civil Rights Movement, then the Black Power Movement, then the anti-apartheid movment, then the student movement. Her former husband, a Black Panther, was shot by police who had entered their home as part of then-routine surveillance of Black activists. When her sister, Angela, was arrested and held on murder charges (she'd later be acquitted), Davis traveled the world raising support for her release. That fight inspired Davis



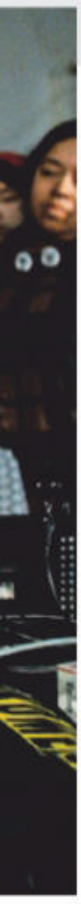
"THE BEST THING THAT CAN TRUTH COMMISSION IS OF PERMISSIBLE LIES THAT WE



NOW AND THEN (Top to bottom) A memorial and mural honoring Floyd in Houston's Third Ward, where he grew up; activist Angela Davis speaking at a press conference after her release from prison in 1972 (her sister Fania is to her right). .



COME FROM A THAT WE NARROW THE RANGE TELL OURSELVES." —JILL WILLIAMS



FROM TOP: JOE RAEDLE/GETTY; BETTMANN/GETTY

to become a civil rights lawyer, and later to undertake the study of restorative justice.

While the American justice system asks what rule was broken, who broke the rule, and how severely should we punish them, a restorative justice framework asks who was harmed, what their needs are, what the responsibilities of the person who did the harm are, and how we repair that harm and meet those needs.

Like many activists, Davis had been heartened by the newfound national conversation around defunding police departments and replacing them with social services, and she praised the steps taken by the Minneapolis City Council to disband their police department—and hopes that whatever emerges there next is a community-led restorative justice process.

She also hopes other municipalities follow Minneapolis' lead, and endorses the idea of a nationwide effort to undergo reconciliation. "This is the first step in creating an amazing process that will allow us to imagine a public safety system where Black lives matter."

PASTOR PATRICK "PT" NGWOLO MET ME AT HALFCOURT JUST AFTER 5 p.m., the Houston heat hanging in the air as a handful of children dribbled basketballs twice the size of their heads. The courts that sit in the center of the Cuney Homes, the city's largest public housing project, have four backboards but just two rims. "George Floyd," someone had scrawled in orange spray paint beneath each of them.

Cuney is a 600-unit project known colloquially as "The Bricks"—for the bland tan-and-red slabs that make up the outer walls of its two-story apartments. It's located in Houston's Third Ward, the center of the city's Black politics and culture: it's raised generations of Black artists and writers and politicians and a musician you may have heard of named Beyoncé. Yet even the Third Ward provides a tale of two cities. There are blocks of massive old homes, once belonging to the Jewish residents who lived here before the Black people moved in. And then there's "The Bottoms," the low-lying stretch of projects, auto-body shops and corner liquor stores tucked next to Texas Southern University, the historically Black college founded to serve the Black students excluded from the University of Texas.

George "Big Floyd" was well-known in The Bottoms, where he spent most of his life living in a white one-story home on the edges of Cuney projects. Few here can recall precisely when they first met Big Floyd. He had just always been there, a fixture like the rusting metal clothes lines that hang between the apartments. When Ngwolo showed up a few years ago to start a church, Floyd's mother was on the housing complex's residents' council, and helped him get permission to hold church outreach events on the basketball court. Soon, Floyd himself had offered to help, telling the pastor to use his name if anyone ever gave him trouble.

"He provided a lot of guys mentorship and advice," Ngwolo said of Floyd, likening him to a neighborhood mayor. Floyd was an elder statesman. In a part of town where many men don't survive their teens, he had lived long enough to meet his grandchildren. "If you're meeting someone of note in Third Ward, they know Big Floyd."

Ngwolo and I walked a block or two to meet up with J.R. Torres, a 27-year-old, who had known Big Floyd for years. Torres' sister has a child with Floyd's longtime best friend, and so Torres got to know him well over the years. He'd initially scrolled past the video in his Instagram feed, but then his sister texted him. The police killed Big Floyd, she told him. It was only then that he realized the man he'd seen dying on social media was the guy from his neighborhood, the one who'd always offered an encouraging word and begged him to stay out of trouble.

"It was unbelievable," Torres told me. Even in a part of town that's used to burying its young, the cruelty with which Big Floyd's life was extinguished has left people in a state of infuriated paralysis. "We were actually looking at the life being taken up out of this man."

The three of us drove to the other side of the projects in Torres' white Buick Lacrosse—the funeral program from Big Floyd's memorial displayed on the dashboard—until we arrived at the memorial. It was a massive blue display, in which the slain man is depicted with a halo and angels wings. "In loving memory of Big Floyd," the tribute reads "Texas Made. 3rd Ward Raised."

There were about two dozen people gathered in front of the memorial, including Leonard "Junebug" McGowen, a popular Third Ward rapper who was perched atop the hood of his car, a mostly-smoked blunt burning in his hand, when Ngwolo and I approached.

"I think it's way bigger than the police." McGowen told me. He'd known Big Floyd most of his life, growing up as a childhood playmate of one of Floyd's nephews. He still hasn't watched the full video. "Look at our president right now. Look how he talks crazy...It's way bigger than the police. The police is like their street team. The police is like their soldiers. They're badged up so they can do whatever they want to us."

The people here don't always use the same words and frameworks as the activists. But it's clear they want the same things. They want communities safe from violence, especially police violence. They see a system stacked against them. They're trapped in run-down housing, segregated into failing schools, without access to higher education or well-paying jobs. They live lives of difficulty and frustration, while being patrolled by police who don't understand them.

"We don't need white police in Black areas. They don't get it. It goes all of the way back to slavery. The minute a white person sees us you already know what's the first thing on their head. You know how they judge us: Monster. Predator," said Joshua Butler, 28, who was at the memorial that night. He wanted to be clear he doesn't think all police or white people are personally racist. Still, too often, people who haven't grown up here, who haven't lived these lives, especially police, just don't understand. "Y'all don't know how it feels to open up the ice box and see nothing for a week straight. You could never stomach that."

After about half an hour of conversations, we climbed into Torres's car and drove back to the basketball courts. I asked him for his story. He'd grown up in The Bricks,and gone to Jack Yates High School just up the street. His counselors and teachers helped him enroll in a nearby community college, but he didn't last long—on his first day of classes, he got discouraged when he couldn't locate the correct classroom. Days later, he got picked up by police and charged with marijuana possession. He spent a week in jail, and soon abandoned his aspirations for higher education. In the years since he's worked a series of odd jobs—lots of landscaping to supplement his gambling winnings. He wonders if he'll ever leave the Bricks. He's not betting on it.

"They have to want to fix it," Torres told me of a system that he and Black Americans across the country know is stacked against them, "If they don't want to fix it, it ain't gonna get fixed."

And you don't think they want to fix it? I asked.

"Not at all," Torres replied.

→ **Wesley Lowery** *is a Pulitzer Prize winning journalist and author of* THEY CAN'T KILL US ALL: FERGUSON, BALTIMORE AND A NEW ERA OF AMERICA'S RACIAL JUSTICE MOVEMENT. *He is a correspondent for 60 Minutes'* 60 IN 6, *on the mobile app Quibi.*

Communities, Not Agencies or Unions, Must Drive Policing

I am a policeman who wore the uniform and badge for over thirty years, and for twenty-six of those years still worried about police encounters with my Black son.

I joined the law enforcement profession because of the good I saw in it--and also because of the inequities I saw. I am honored to have served the citizens and visitors to the state of Missouri and to have served with the brave men and women across the country that adorn the uniform. I'm proud to have served as Commander of Protest Security in Ferguson during the demonstrations in reaction to the 2014 police-involved shooting of Michael Brown Jr.

Law enforcement must not be managed by policies and procedures that are compromises between agencies and unions. Communities themselves—their voices and expectations—must drive policing in America. Some will call this unrealistic, but this is the kind of successful policing environment that has always existed in wealthy communities throughout America. Environments of shared ownership must also exist in communities of color. Just putting an African American in charge of an agency without giving voice to those they serve will not change the culture of policing in America.

We've heard a lot about providing officers with de-escalation training; I agree that's very important. The larger issue in police culture, though, is why we see de-escalation tactics being used liberally in encounters that do not involve African Americans. If de-escalation training is to truly transform law enforcement, then officers must be put through comprehensive personal-awareness training. In some cases, outside training consultants must be used instead of in-house training by peers.

In more than three decades as a trooper, I never received racial training from a person of color with relatable experience but only cookie-cutter "diversity training." For training around race to have real impact it must be taught with a credible voice. Check-the-box training does not challenge the implicit biases that exist in all of us, or



SCOTT OLSON/GETTY

IN CHARGE
Captain Ron Johnson of the Missouri Highway Patrol was in charge of security operations in Ferguson after violent protests broke out there in the wake of the death of teenager Michael Brown, who was killed by a local police officer in 2014.

by
RON JOHNSON

systemic racism, or the racism which manifests in some situations. Law enforcement agencies must create internal departmental alert systems that track an officer's physical enforcement interactions, citizen complaints and department internal policy violation investigations.

Many police officers are not residents of the communities they patrol. In some of these communities, officers are responding to heavy call loads that do not allow for non-duty-related interactions with those they serve. In communities where officers live and work, there is an opportunity to interact with citizens through events like schools, sports, church, dining. This allows law enforcement officers to see citizens through positive experiences.

A young man I once worked with, who later became a friend, and I were riding together. He pulled over a vehicle occupied by two African American teens and began harshly questioning them. Because of their attire and the expensive vehicle they were driving—it belonged to a parent—the trooper assumed they were gang members. He began questioning them in a way that I had never heard him do to any other violator. I asked about it, and he told me his actions were based on the indicators associated with their hoodies, matching pants, expensive tennis shoes and jewelry.

We'd never spent time together socially, outside of work, so I had to tell him that I too wore hoodies with matching pants, expensive tennis shoes and jewelry.

You're kidding, he said.

He perceived me as a "different" African American because of the title of Trooper. And after we talked, the young trooper began to cry and apologized for his actions with the teen. He said he'd grown up in an all-white neighborhood and attended schools without any African American classmates. His college had a small percentage of African Americans; he had no personal contact with them. After graduation he attended flight school where there was not an African American in his flight class. All he knew about African Americans, the trooper said, was learned through news reports, movies and conversations with others like himself.

If my friend had been trained by another white officer with his same implicit biases, then the culture that challenges us today would only have been reinforced.

Communities that allow officers to live outside of the area could mandate that as a condition of employment, officers must volunteer a certain number of community service hours. Law enforcement agencies need to create opportunities for interactions that foster acceptance and trust.

There are nearly 18,000 police agencies in America with varying leadership philosophies: a huge pileup of differing policies and procedures. I challenge government officials to form a decision-making body with authority to review, revise, or create new, nationally standardized policies for all law enforcement to follow. The choke-hold that killed George Floyd would most likely have been prohibited if such a governing body existed.

As I said, I had fears about my own son's safety in encounters with police. I remember having that talk with my son about dealing with police, while reflecting on the conversation my dad had with me. My son's response was a defiant "why?"—the same response I gave my father. I remember as a small child overhearing my grandfather having a similar conversation with my father. I wondered why my grandfather was telling my hero he could not stand like a man but needed to be submissive to ensure he would return to his family.

I pray that one day these conversations between Black fathers and sons will no longer be necessary.

Noise researchers have found that most people get used to a sound that they hear often. Their brain tells them there's no cause for alarm. If you live near train tracks, after a week or so you may no longer be awakened by passing trains because your internal monitor tells you that there's no danger, that you can safely ignore even the loudest sound. You have become deaf to the sound of the train.

White America has become deaf to the pain of African Americans, believing there is no cause for alarm. After all these centuries together, white America is no longer awakened by the cry of an African American voice.

If we can hear each other, we can begin to go forward—together.

→ *Retired Captain* **Ron Johnson** *led protest-security law enforcement during the demonstrations that followed the shooting of Michael Brown Jr. He is the author of* 13 DAYS IN FERGUSON *and the founder of Lodestones Solutions Group.*



MUSIC

To Sound Like The World

The latest album by Houston's Khruangbin mixes styles from everywhere with lyrics about time and memory. It is comforting and hopeful music for turbulent times

"EXPECT THE UNEXPECTED" The 1975's Matty Healy on what comes next. » P.48





POWER TRIO
Left to right: Mark Speer, Donald Johnson and Laura Lee performing at the 2017 Bonnaroo Music & Arts Festival in Manchester, Tennessee.

JOSH BRASTED/WIREIMAGE/GETTY; TOP RIGHT: AMY SUSSMAN/GETTY

THE MUSICAL RANGE OF KHRUANGBIN, which consists of bassist Laura Lee, guitarist Mark Speer and drummer Donald 'DJ' Johnson, is, to put it mildly, broad. Starting with the trio's 2015 *The Universe Smiles Upon You*, their songs have incorporated Thai funk, '60s psychedelia, Jamaican dub, Middle Eastern and West African music, surf rock, jazz fusion, R&B, disco and more. But while their latest album *Mordechai* is music that sounds like it came from everywhere, its roots are very much in Khruangbin's hometown.

"In trying to sound like the world," Lee says, "we hoped that it would really be reflective of Houston, which is where we're from, because it's such a multicultural city. We wanted to show some hometown pride. "The city's diversity stems from the oil and gas industry which draws people from around the world. "I grew up with kids whose parents were from all over the place. You would go to their house and their parents were playing music from Pakistan, and you're influenced that way." The group's internationalism is built into their moniker, which is Thai for "airplane." Translated literally, *khruangbin* means "engine fly."

BY

DAVID CHIU
@newbeats

Since forming in 2009, Khruangbin has garnered attention from *The New York Times*, *The New Yorker* and *Rolling Stone*, been featured on soundtracks, toured relentlessly and performed at high-profile events like Coachella, the Pitchfork Music Festival and Bonnaroo, as well as on NPR Music's Tiny Desk series. A series of dates in Australia opening for Tame Impala were canceled due to the pandemic.

With the exception of *Texas Sun,* an EP with singer Leon Bridges released earlier this year, Khruangbin have been mainly an instrumental band. Their two studio albums (*The Universe Smiles Upon You* and 2018's *Con Todo El Mundo*) consist primarily of cinematic songs featuring Speer's shimmering guitar, Lee's funk-laden bass, and Johnson's steady and delicate drumming. Their new album, *Mordechai*, set for release on June 26 on the Dead Oceans/Night Time Stories label, marks a departure in that

it features more vocals than usual against the music's dreamy backdrop.

Recorded at the band's farmhouse studio in Burton, Texas, *Mordechai* focuses lyrically on the theme of memory. In these turbulent times, the resolutely cool and rhythmic music has a timeless quality and feels comforting and hopeful. Lee says. "The songs that we wrote at a very different time still feel like they work now. We're really grateful for that."

As for the shift to vocals, Lee says, "The only thing different from this album is we recorded the bass, guitar and drums in the barn—which is how we always do it—but we actually had three months in between that session and then going back to the studio to record vocals or additional instrumentation, where normally we've done it in one sitting."

The extra time, Lee says, gave the group a chance to let the music simmer before approaching it again as well as giving her an opportunity to begin writing lyrics. "Outside of the bass, guitar and drums everything else was a process of throwing paint at the wall and seeing what sticks. And with a lot of these songs, we tried putting vocals on them and we liked it," she says.

The words began with events from Lee's life as recorded in her notebooks but were transformed in the group's collective writing process. "I flipped through the pages when we would listen to each song and I would see if there were any words or sentences that stuck out. I would pass them to Mark and DJ with things highlighted and then we would form them into lyrics. Even though they started out as my words, because the three of us sing together—the lyrics need to fit each of our perspectives. I can't write a personal love song and have Mark sing that. The sentiment has to apply to each of us. If it makes sense for Mark, DJ or I to sing them, then hopefully it resonates with anyone."

"We try to write lyrics that are universal, but that are also open ended where people can write their own stories to it. It's fun and simple but also philosophical, which is a really lovely combination.

Musically, *Mordechai* ranges all over the place in typical Khruangbin fashion.

"Time (You and I)," is very disco-oriented; "Dearest Alfred," inspired by Lee's grandfather, sounds like an old school R&B track; "Shida" and "One to Remember" have a strong Jamaican dub influence; and "Connaissais de Face" is something of an homage to Serge Gainsbourg, complete with lyrics spoken in the French singer-songwriter's trademark nicotine-saturated voice. "We were sort of like method actors in the studio," Lee says, "we pretended to smoke cigarettes to have that feeling."

"So We Won't Forget," an uptempo, rhythmic and sunny-sounding track. is her favorite on the album. She says, "There's a sort of nostalgic quality that exists on it.... One of my favorite childhood movies was *The Neverending Story II*. I can't remember which character it was, but basically they were allowed to have so many wishes. And with every wish that they made, they lost a memory, and it was down to the last memory. I remember feeling so sad as a kid that they were gonna lose everything. So that's my version of that: "what are the things you remember the most?" And the things we remember the most are the things that you write down. Much of the time if you don't write it down and you don't talk about it, then you forget it."

"One of the things I really learned is that it was about the process more than the result."

As for looking forward, Khruangbin will be off the road for the foreseeable future, but Lee says the group plans to get back to writing and recording. She says, "The world has paused, and we've been in a fortunate position to be okay from a health perspective. We also feel it's important to honor the pause for a little bit, because it might be the only time in my life that I have sort of guilt-free time off [for] nurturing yourself or doing simple things that as musicians we don't have time to do."

Despite the possibility for the band to break out to a wider audience with *Mordechai*, Lee says 10 years of working and traveling together has turned the band into a little family, and one that has discovered what is really important to its members. "One of the things I really learned is that it was about the process more than the result." Lee says, "It's great to get critical acclaim, it's great to get a lot of people at your shows and sell a bunch of records. But the real gusto is enjoying that process. It's way more important to have a good time than to have a big crowd. No matter what comes of it, we had a brilliant time making *Mordechai*, and that's the real thing."

MIXING THINGS UP Clockwise from top: Khruangbin has recorded with singer Leon Bridges; the oil and gas business brought diversity to Houston; and songwriter Serge Gainsbourg inspired one song on the band's new album.

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: POONEH GHANA; GLASSHOUSE IMAGES/GETTY; ULF ANDERSEN/GETTY









Suggested Listening



The Universe Smiles Upon You 2015
Starting with the jazzy opener "Mr. White" (which sounds like it could've appeared on a Herbie Hancock record), Khruangbin's debut album was heavily influenced by '60s and '70s Thai music: the sounds of Southeast Asian rock and pop are evident on such tracks as the majestic "Dern Kala" and the ornate "The Man Who Took My Sunglasses." The debut also showcases the group's penchant for reflective subdued numbers ("White Gloves," "Balls and Pins") and uptempo funk ("People Everywhere [Still Alive]"). This hazy and groove-filled record also marked the first time Khruangbin added vocals to their mostly instrumental repertoire.



Con Todo El Mundo 2018
Khruangbin's second album released three years after *The Universe Smiles Upon You* does not suffer the dreaded sophomore jinx. Instead it expands the group's previous sound to incorporate sounds from places like India and Iran (the standout "Maria También" carries a strong Middle Eastern influence). The album's title can be traced to Laura Lee's grandfather. "My grandpa would always ask me 'Como me quieres?' ('How much do you love me'?)" she once said, "and he'd only ever accept one response. 'Con todo el mundo' (With all the world)." A dub version of this album was released last year until the title of *Hasta El Cielo*.



Texas Sun (with Leon Bridges) 2020
While only a collection of four songs, *Texas Sun*, released earlier this year, beautifully pairs Khruangbin's psychedelic soundscapes with Bridges' soulful voice. This EP evokes the feeling of the artists' home state not only through the music but also through romantic and soul-searching lyrics.



01 Hunting Festivals
Alaska

The Yup'ik and Inupiaq peoples wear masks during special ceremonies, the most important being the midwinter hunting festivals. Carved by—or under the supervision of—a shaman, these masks sometimes represent a shaman's spiritual helpers and can also be hung in homes to ward off harmful spirits.



02 Mardi Gras
New Orleans

The legalization of masks in New Orleans dates back to 1827. Though only legal on Mardi Gras wearing masks is a big part of traditional Cajun and Creole events and minimizes class differences.



03 Día de los Muertos
Mexico

The Day of the Dead commemorates family members who have passed away. During this end-of-October celebration, people will often paint their faces or wear masks of clay or papier-mâché that resemble skulls, as well as create altars, or *ofrendas*, to celebrate the departed.



04 Bailes
Guatemala

Since the colonial era, masks have been worn in various fully-scripted performances, known as *bailes* or *danzas*. These tell stories both historical and mythical. They are performed at indigenous festivals and Catholic feast and often depict animals, saints, conquistadors or Mayan warriors.

05 FESTIMA
Dédougou, Burkina Faso

The biennial Festival International des Masques et des Arts (FESTIMA) celebrates and exhibits traditional masks from various West African countries. Worn by dancers, these masks are made of leaves, straw and wood and symbolize the worship of ancestors and spirits and also honor traditional mask-wearing at rituals like weddings and funerals.



01: VCG WILSON/CORBIS/GETTY; 02: ERIKA GOLDRING/GETTY; 03: OLEG ELKOV/GETTY; 04: WIN-INITIATIVE/GETTY; 05: ANTHONY PAPPONE/GETTY



06 Carnevale
Venice

Dating back hundreds of years, Venetians would have disguise themselves during the Carnevale di Venezia, an annual festival that draws thousands of tourists. During the French conquest and Austrian occupation, the wearing of masks was forbidden, though the tradition resurfaced in 1979.



08 Balinese Masks
Bali

With roots in animism—the belief that plants, inanimate objects and other natural phenomena have souls—these masks are seen as a way for spirits to visit the physical world. They are reserved for use only during sacred ceremonies, but tourists can purchase masks crafted specifically for decorative uses.

07 Kandyan Dances
Sri Lanka

A variety of traditional dances ward off demons, provide entertainment and heal the sick. Most incorporate masks made during a lengthy process using wood from the local Kaduru tree. Each mask is linked to a particular piece of folklore or character.



UNCHARTED

Cultural Masks Around the World

Masks have been used around the world for centuries for all kinds of religious and cultural celebrations. Some masks honor those who have died, some represent animals or spirits and some simply disguise a person's identity. Now, as we are all tasked with wearing masks for protection during the coronavirus pandemic, *Newsweek* is taking a look at the types of masks that were used long before they became a part of the world's daily wardrobe. —*Alexandra Schonfeld*



09 Noh Theater
Japan

The all-male Noh Theater, developed in the 14th century, is the oldest major theater art still regularly performed. The lead character, or *shite* will wear a mask made of Japanese cypress that tells the audience what kind of character to expect.

06: MASSIMO CALMONTE/GETTY; 07: JOHN S LANDER/LIGHTROCKET/GETTY; 08: ERIC LAFFORGUE/ART IN ALL OF US/CORBIS/GETTY; 09: YUJI SAKAI/GETTY

Illustration by BRITT SPENCER

PARTING SHOT

Matty Healy

THE 1975'S FANS ARE OBSESSED WITH "EVERY F***ING SONG" BY the pop/rock band, says lead singer Matty Healy. That gives the band no reason to backtrack over content they've already created on topics from politics to climate change, addiction and religion. But their latest album, *Notes On A Conditional Form*, released May 22, dives even deeper with a breath of added vulnerability. *Notes'* first single was a hard-rock rager titled "People," followed by "Jesus Christ 2005 God Bless America," an acoustic track that speaks to strict religious views on sexuality. The band topped off their pre-releases with the bubbly "If You're Too Shy (Let Me Know), which fans have already declared one of the band's best thus far. "By now, I expect people expect the unexpected to a certain extent with us," Healy told *Newsweek*. "Our first [self-titled, concept-driven] album is still the odd one out. I think if we'd gone from the EPs to the second album to the third album to the fourth album, this idea of having no genre would have made total sense from the beginning."



"Artists have shown me how to aspire to live, more so than politicians or world leaders."

In *Notes* and your last album, you've become more political. Greta Thunberg is even featured on *Notes*. What makes you so willing to push those topics as a band?
The best artists, in my opinion, kind of held a mirror up to the world around them. Artists have shown me how to aspire to live, more so than politicians or world leaders. After I made my first record or my second record, I was just taking up space if I wasn't making meaningful art.

You've talked a lot about The 1975 potentially ending as a musical entity, but you continue.
I think that comes from any writer's desire for a good ending. This record very much felt like it was going to be some kind of resolve, like some kind of final chapter. It's a bit like the end of *The Graduate*. It's more about new beginnings, and it's more about reality and it's more about that there isn't, kind of, ribbons to put on time.

You're about to release this album in the middle of a pandemic. It already has some lyrics that reflect the time: "People" and "Frail State of Mind" talk about not going outside. Have these songs developed different meaning for you in the current times?
Yeah. But also, it's all the same s*** now. I think I was saying, if we don't change, something is going to make us change. The record just feels justified. I don't know whether it feels prophetic. —*Kelly Wynne*

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