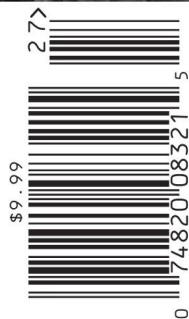


07.03.2020
Newsweek

WHERE

**WE
GO
FROM
HERE**

BY WESLEY LOWERY



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**FEATURES****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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NEWSWEEK.COM

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

Newsweek

JULY 03, 2020 VOL. 174 NO. 18



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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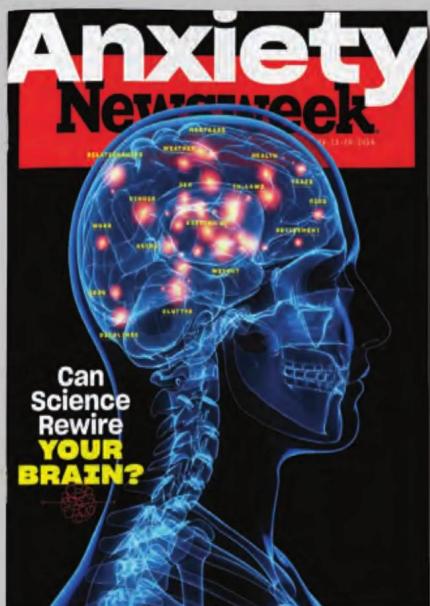
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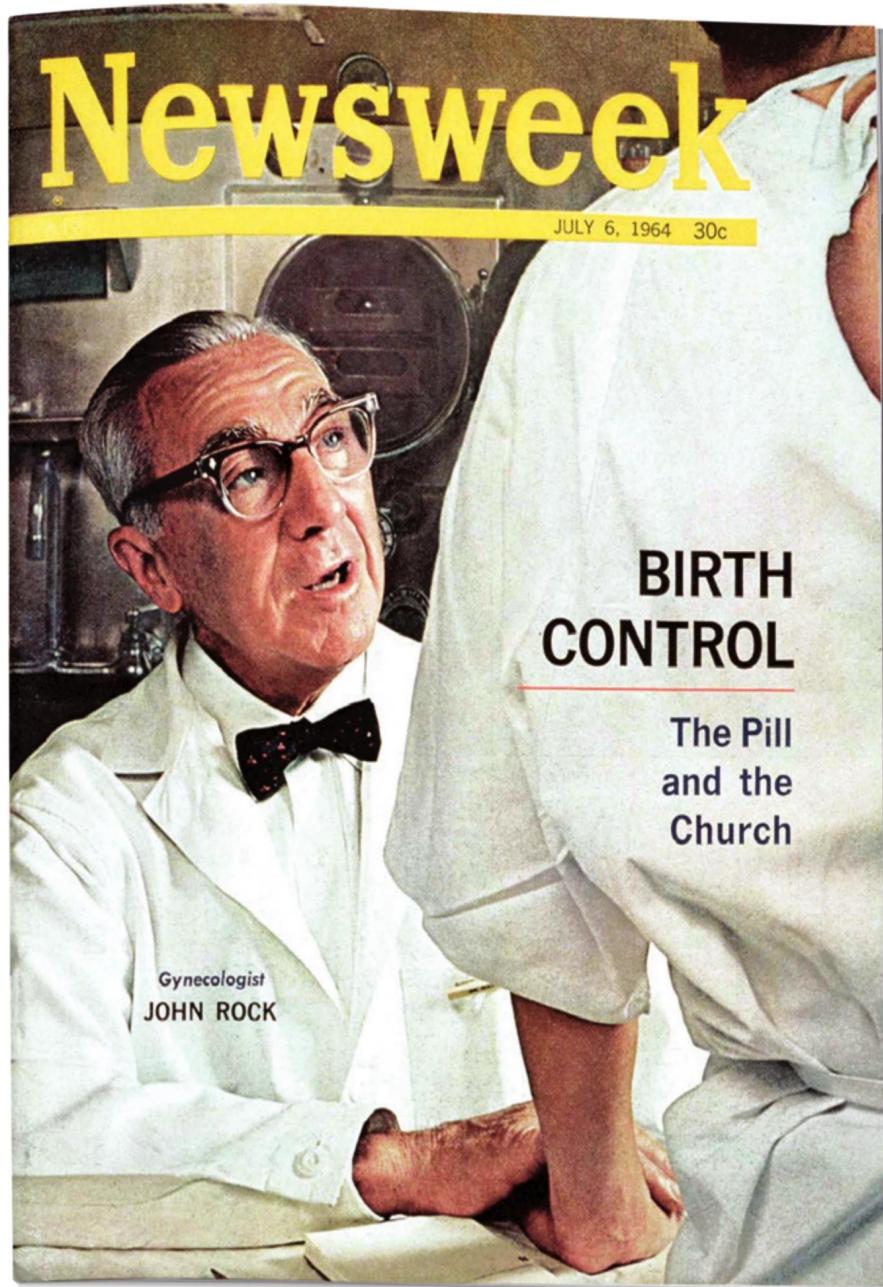
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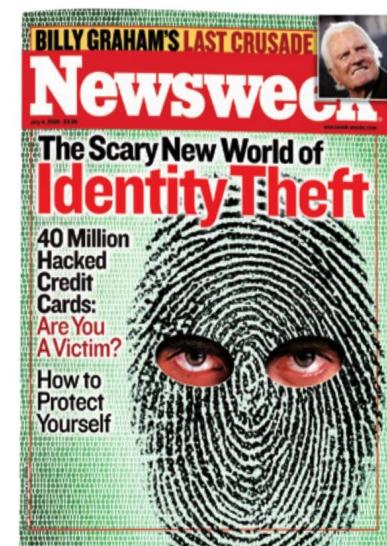
1964

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

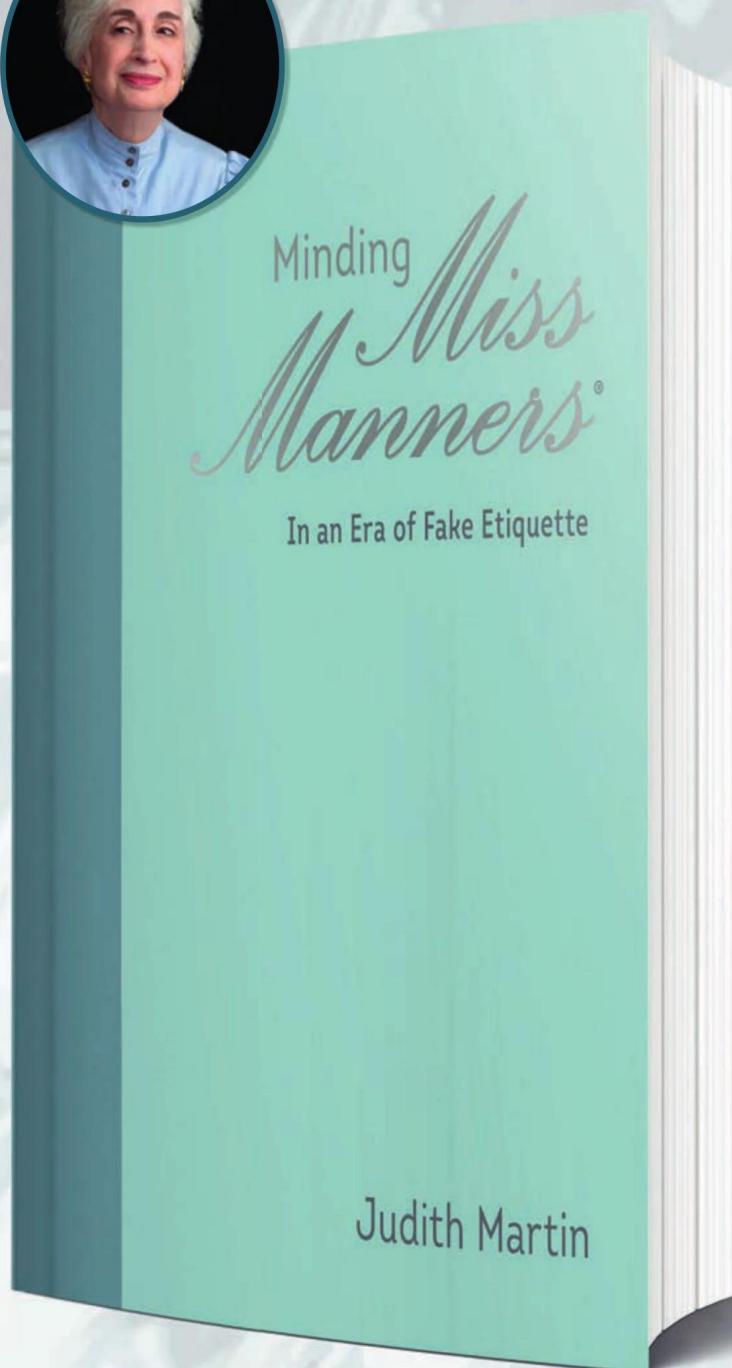
The U.S. and Japan were competing to build the most powerful computers, said *Newsweek*, in a bid for "increased geopolitical control." The 74 supercomputers in existence then could perform several hundred million operations per second. In comparison, the chip in Apple's newest iPhones is capable of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



2001

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. ■

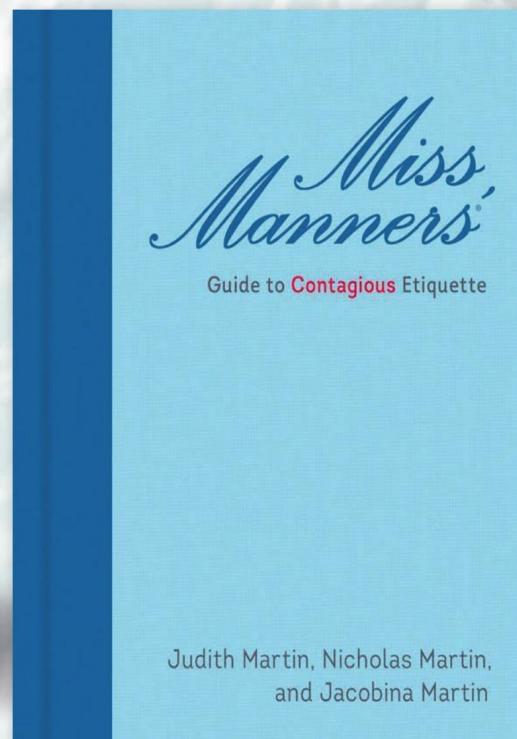
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In Focus — THE NEWS IN PICTURES





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.

PHOTO: CHIP SOMODEVILLA

America's B



GETTY

S

earching 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





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

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

California

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

Colorado

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

Connecticut

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

Delaware

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

District of Columbia

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

Florida

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

Georgia

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

Hawaii

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

→ Number of Closed Transactions ■ → Total Closed Sales Volume

Idaho

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

Illinois

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

Indiana

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

Iowa

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

Kansas

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

Kentucky

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

Louisiana

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

Maine

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

**Maryland**

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

Massachusetts

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

Michigan

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

Minnesota

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

Mississippi

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

Missouri

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

Montana

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

Nebraska

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

→ Number of Closed Transactions ■ → Total Closed Sales Volume

Nevada

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

New Hampshire

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

New Jersey

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

New Mexico

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

New York

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

North Carolina

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

North Dakota

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

Ohio

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



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

Oregon

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

Pennsylvania

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

Rhode Island

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

South Carolina

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

South Dakota

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

Tennessee

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

Texas

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



→ Number of Closed Transactions → Total Closed Sales Volume

Utah

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

Vermont

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

Virginia

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



Washington

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

West Virginia

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

Wisconsin

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

Wyoming

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

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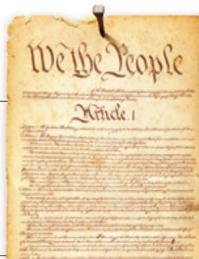
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— NEWS, OPINION, ANALYSIS —



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

↗ 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.

[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

BY

JORDAN HARBINGER

@JordanHarbinger

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MARK CUBAN

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.

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.

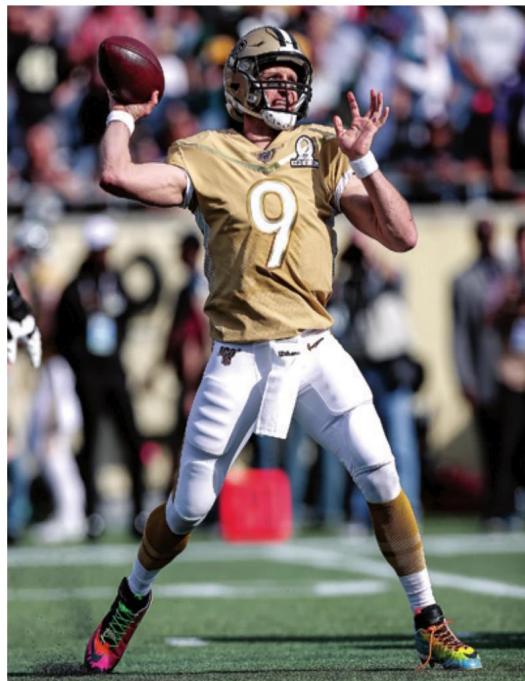
Things That Need to Be Gotten Rid Of

PATENTS ACROSS THE BOARD [AND]

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

**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.



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 BOSSSES 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

Periscope

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



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

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. **N**

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."

→ 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.

Periscope

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





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

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

Periscope**THE DEBATE**

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

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

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



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.

legal to impose shelter-in-place on Sundays—a day when many Americans seek to worship?

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



THE DEBATE

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

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.

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"

NEWSMAKERS

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 MICROCOSSM 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



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





C

ONGRESSMAN 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, Korbyn 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.

SOCIETY

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.

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

"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 reconciliation...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



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

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.”

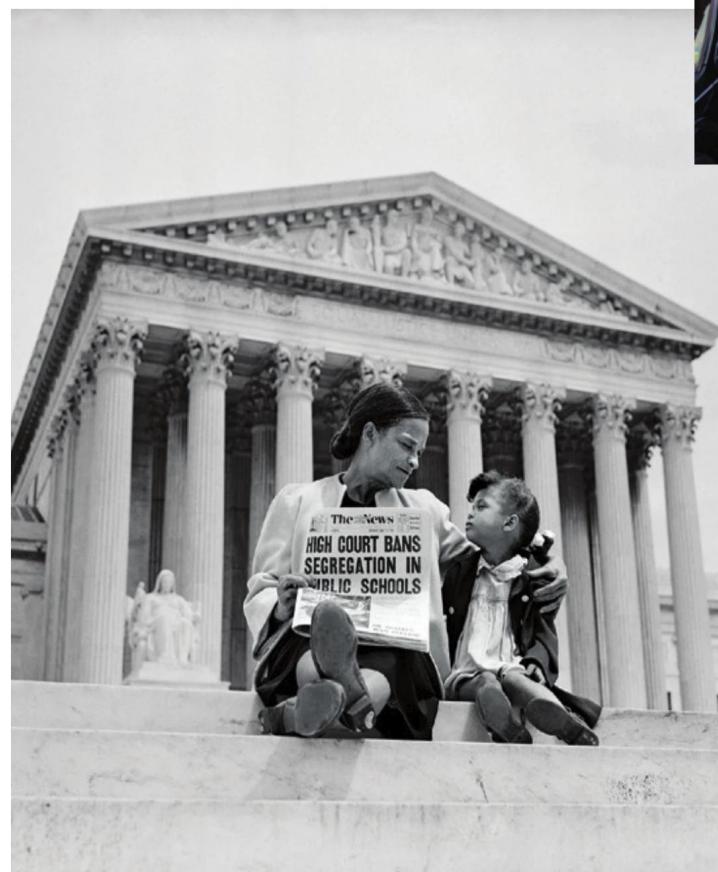
— LONNIE BUNCH

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



SOCIETY



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

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 des-

perate 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

SOCIETY

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

"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

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.





OF A CRUCIBLE MOMENT IN THIS COUNTRY.”

— PHIL AGNEW

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.

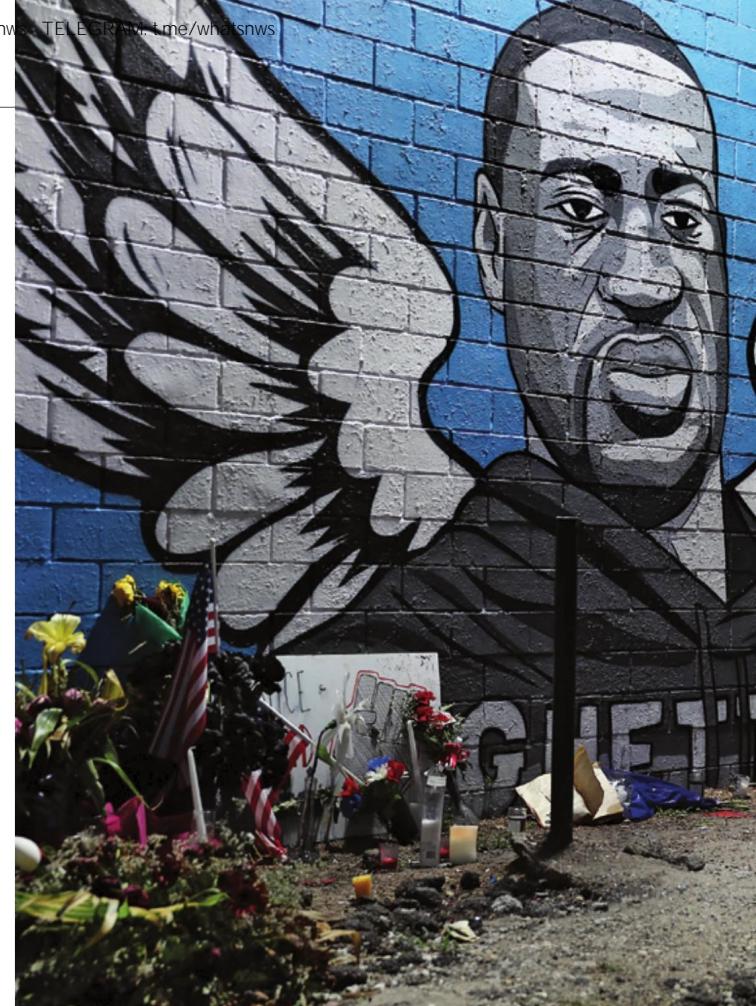
"There's a lot of reason to recognize how today is tied to the arch of history, how the struggle is ongoing," Bunch said, nodding to the protests surging in American streets, comparing the energy of this moment to the civil rights push that followed the Brown v. Board of Education decision and the murder 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 movement, 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

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)..



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





SOCIETY

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

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 angel wings. “In loving memory of Big Floyd,” the tribute reads “Texas Made. 3rd Ward Raised.”

SOCIETY

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



by
**RON
JOHNSON**

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.

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 Lonestones Solutions Group.

Culture — HIGH, LOW + EVERYTHING IN BETWEEN



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



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."

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

BY

DAVID CHIU

@newbeats

Culture

MUSIC

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

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.

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."

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." ■

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



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. ■

Culture

**06 Carnevale****Venice**

Dating back hundreds of years, Venetians would have disguised 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*

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8

9

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.



Culture

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."

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.

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



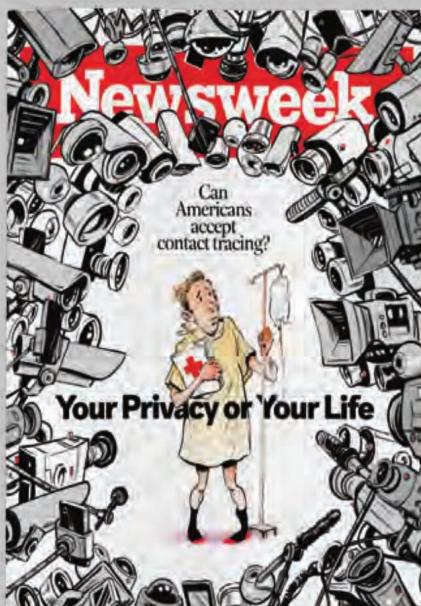
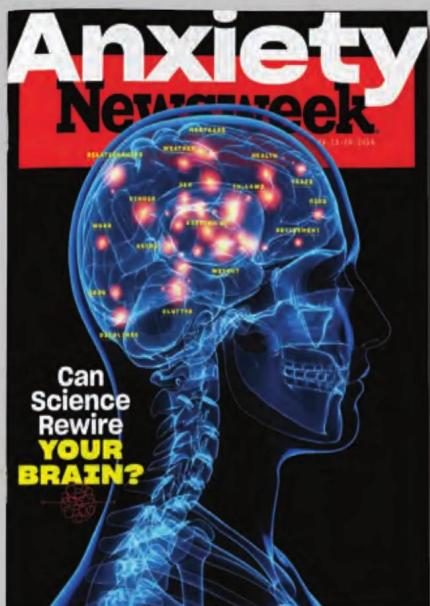
You're about to release this album in the middle of a pandemic. It already has some lyrics that reflect the time: "People" and "Frail State of Mind" talk about not going outside. Have these songs developed different meaning for you in the current times?

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



"Journalism I don't see elsewhere until later, if at all."

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