

Europe's New COVID Wave

08.14.2020

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HOW THE
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ELECTION
COULD
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DEMOCRACY



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A close-up photograph of a man's face, showing his forehead and hairline. He is looking slightly upwards and to the right. The image is framed by a large red puzzle piece in the foreground, which appears to be a missing piece from a larger puzzle. The background consists of other dark grey puzzle pieces.

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FEATURES

COLOR SHIFT

As northerners migrate to southern states, they are bringing their voting habits with them. That could mean the eventual end of Republican domination in some places and a realignment of American politics.

COVER CREDIT

Illustration by Britt Spencer for Newsweek



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The Coming Election Nightmare

Chaos over mail-in ballots and other breakdowns in the voting process could trigger an existential crisis for American democracy.

BY DAVID H. FREEDMAN

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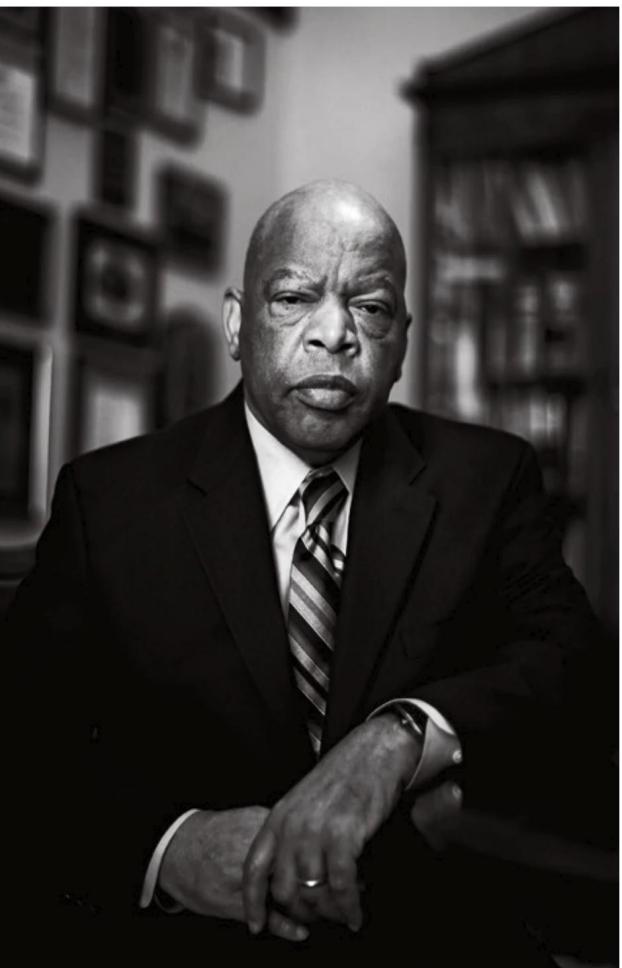
Why Red States Have the Blues

The blues states are colonizing Electoral College-rich red states—and there's nothing the red states can do about it.

BY SAM HILL & HANK GILMAN



VIEWPOINTS (Above) Movies are heading outside. (Below) The late John Lewis, a voting rights advocate.



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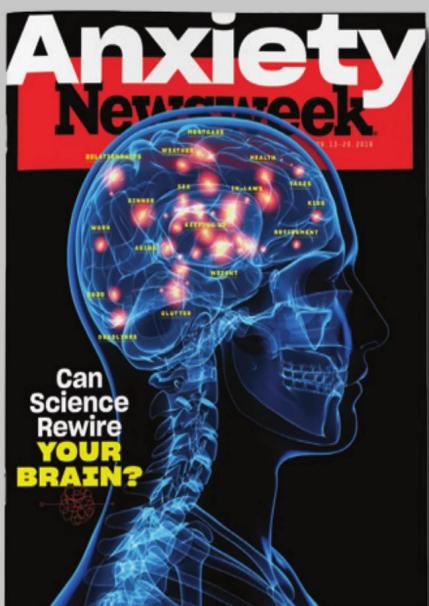
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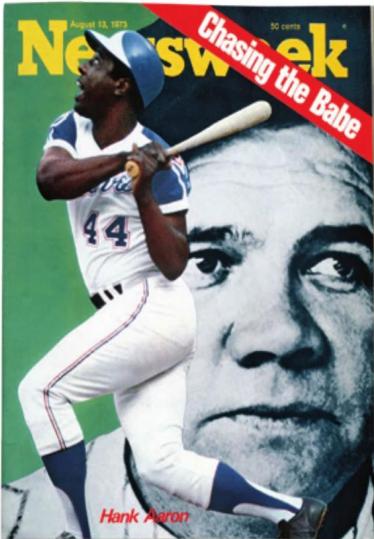
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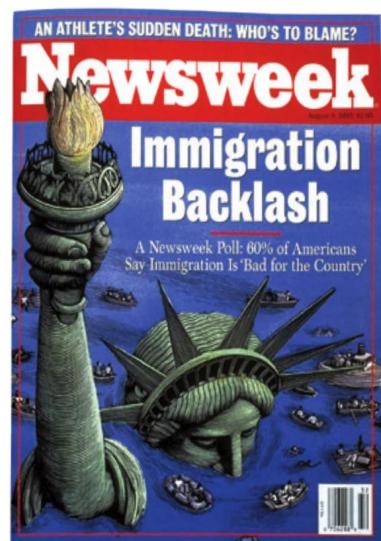
1948

A new generation was emerging after record-low population increases in the 1930s and predictions of lower numbers to come. Newsweek wrote, "Human nature, being just plain cussed, had simply disregarded all the carefully drawn population curves, and the United States was enjoying an unprecedented boom in babies." From 1946 to 1964, 76 million children were born in the U.S. They became known as baby boomers, the generation that led the counterculture movement and helped vastly expand the economy. Now, U.S. population growth has dwindled back down to rates similar to that of the '30s.



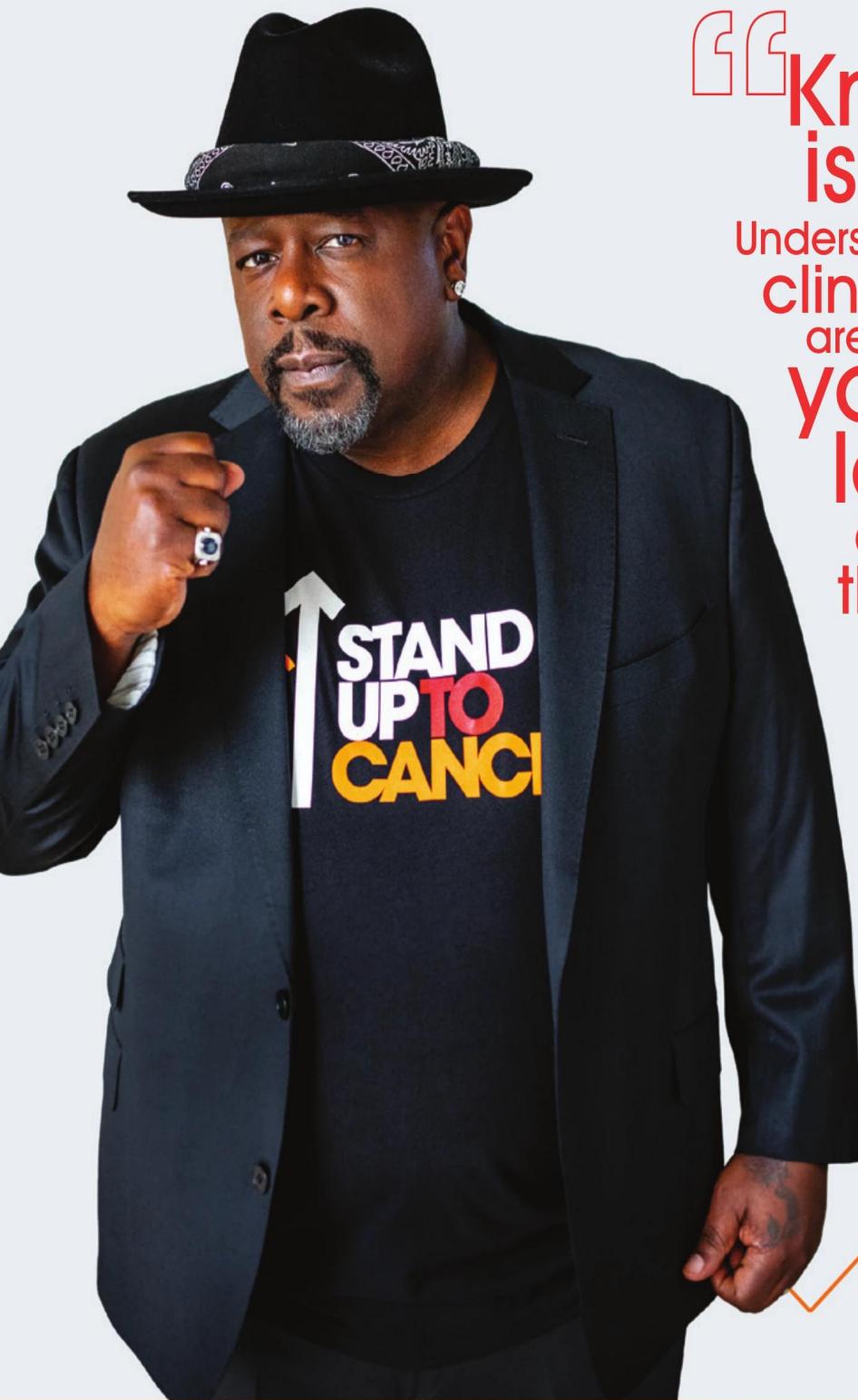
1973

Newsweek reported, "The countdown has begun for one of the most exciting hits in baseball history...the home run that lifts Hank Aaron of the Atlanta Braves past the legendary Babe Ruth's record of 714." Aaron ended his Major League Baseball career with 755, a record that wasn't broken until 2007 by Barry Bonds.



1993

"Immigration is running full blast," said Newsweek, "and Americans once again are asking fundamental questions about the desirability of accepting so many newcomers and the very idea of the Melting Pot." President Donald Trump placed the still hotly contested issue of immigration policy front and center in his 2016 presidential campaign. ■



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CEDRIC THE ENTERTAINER
Stand Up To Cancer Ambassador



Photo By
JEFF KATZ

WATCHING MY MOTHER GO THROUGH HER CANCER DIAGNOSIS TAUGHT ME THE IMPORTANCE OF CLINICAL TRIALS.

When my mom was diagnosed with uterine cancer, I knew that I wanted her to have access to the best treatments available. The journey taught me about the importance of learning all that you can about the options available to you. I want all people diagnosed with cancer to have access to the treatments that can help them become long-term survivors.

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In Focus

THE NEWS IN PICTURES



ALEX BRANDON/POOL/AFP/GETTY

WASHINGTON D.C.

HERO

A hearse with the flag-draped casket of Democratic Representative John Lewis drives on 16th Street, renamed, Black Lives Matter Plaza, near the White House on July 27. The Georgia congressman and civil rights leader died on July 17 at age 80.

PHOTO BY ALEX BRANDON





CLOCKWISE FROM RIGHT: NATHAN HOWARD/GETTY; AAMIR QURESHI/AFP/GETTY; DAMIR SAGOLJ/GETTY



MOSTAR, BOSNIA

The Dive

A competitor dives from Stari Most (Old Bridge), the Ottoman era bridge destroyed in the country's 1992–95 war and later restored, during the 454th traditional diving competition on July 26. Bosnia will hold local elections on October 4, and for the first time since 2008, Mostar, an ethnically divided town in the south of the Balkan country will take part.



RAWALPINDI, PAKISTAN

Market Desert

A livestock vendor waits for customers ahead of the Muslim "Festival of Sacrifice" at a cattle market on July 20. Usually packed, the animal markets for the festival these days are often deserted due to the pandemic. Breeders now turn to websites, apps and social media to showcase their animals.



PORLAND, OREGON

Street Hassle

A federal officer points a so-called less-lethal weapon toward a crowd of a few hundred protesters in front of the Mark O. Hatfield U.S. Courthouse on July 23. The federal agents left the city after elected officials called for the officers to leave—and agreed to guard the courthouse after weeks of protests.

→ DAMIR SAGOLJ

→ AAMIR QURESHI

→ NATHAN HOWARD

Periscope

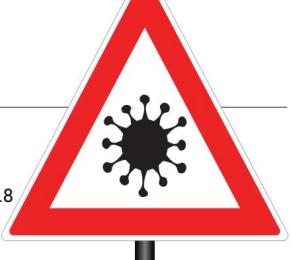
— NEWS, OPINION + ANALYSIS

"I GAVE A LITTLE BLOOD"

The Georgia Congressman
photographed at his offices
at the Cannon House
Office Building in 2009.

GETTY (2)

"We have new clusters of infections every day." »P.18



OPINION

A Fitting Memorial for John Lewis

The best way to honor the late congressman and civil rights activist, says the son of another great leader, is to restore the Voting Rights Act he fought so hard to have passed

WITH THE DEATH OF GEORGIA CONGRESSMAN

John Lewis, America has lost one of our greatest champions of freedom and democracy at a time when voting rights are under relentless attack across the nation. Lewis' legacy as a courageous and visionary champion of voting rights for Americans of all races challenges each of us to carry forward the nonviolent struggle to eradicate all forms of voter suppression in the United States.

Lewis was a beloved friend and inspiration to me, and I was proud that he was my congressman for many years. Like my father, Martin Luther King Jr., he personified the power of nonviolence, and offered his body and his blood to secure the right of all Americans to vote. Brutally beaten at the Edmund Pettus Bridge in 1965, he said he "gave a little blood" to dramatize the critical importance of the right to vote. The images of Lewis and other civil rights movement protesters being assaulted by police on that day encouraged President Lyndon Johnson to call a joint session of Congress to pass the Voting Rights

Act. Later that year, it became law.

Lewis understood that the unobstructed right to vote for all citizens, regardless of their race, religion or gender, is the cornerstone of every great democracy. A recipient of the Martin Luther King Jr. Peace Prize, Lewis worked tirelessly to end voter suppression practices that are still being deployed. The Voting Rights Alliance lists 61 forms of voter suppression. These include: reducing the number of polling places in communities of color, intimidating voters on Election Day, "caging" and purging of registration rolls in selected ZIP codes, discriminatory voter identification requirements, draconian felon disenfranchisement laws, faulty voting machines in minority precincts, manipulation of legal residency requirements for college students, shrinking the window for early voting in key states and excessive restrictions on voting by mail, to name just a few.

Moreover in 2013, the Supreme Court struck down the heart of the Voting Rights Act, allowing states with a history of racially

BY

MARTIN LUTHER KING III

 @OfficialMLK3

THREATENED The right for every eligible American to vote is under attack, according to Martin Luther King III (left). Fighting for that right, King writes, was the late John Lewis' life's work.

face in 2020, including police violence and its cascading repercussions in many American communities, deepening polarization and the COVID-19 pandemic, underscore the enormous consequences of our elections and the leaders we choose to guide us through crises. My fervent hope is that the celebration of John Lewis' life and legacy will energize millions of Americans to vote and elect leaders who will honor his memory by passing laws to make it easier, not harder, to vote.

The House voted in December to restore the Voting Rights Act, but the Senate did not take up the legislation. On Wednesday, 48 senators reintroduced it under a new name: the John Lewis Voting Rights Advancement Act.

We cannot rest until exercising the right to vote is simple and easy for all Americans. Restoring the Voting Rights Act to its full strength is one of the best ways we can honor the life and legacy of Lewis.

John Lewis was often called "the conscience of Congress" with good reason. He provided a vibrant moral compass for his fellow House members—and indeed, for elected officials in federal, state and local legislative bodies across America. As we mourn his passing and celebrate his lifelong service to humanity, we are challenged to pick up the torch of democracy he has bequeathed to us all and carry it forward with the unrelenting passion and conviction he demonstrated so courageously. ■

"My fervent hope is that the celebration of John Lewis' life and legacy will energize millions of Americans to vote."

students and people with disabilities.

Now is the time to take up the fight to eliminate these and other voter suppression practices.

The daunting challenges Americans

→ **Martin Luther King III** is a global human rights activist and the son of Martin Luther King Jr. The views expressed in this article are the author's own.



discriminatory voting practices to change their election laws without prior federal approval. In recent years, counties in these states have closed about 1,700 polling places and purged voters at a rate 40 percent higher than in other areas.

Meanwhile, at least 25 states have enacted new voting restrictions, making voter registration more difficult, rolling back early or absentee voting, passing strict voter ID requirements and preventing formerly incarcerated individuals from regaining their right to vote. As a result, it has become harder for many Americans to vote—particularly voters of color, the elderly,

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PREPPING

Always Be Prepared

Doomsday preppers go to extremes to be ready for any eventuality

SURVIVALISTS AND DOOMSDAY preppers—once seen as fringe outliers—are increasingly going mainstream. In addition to a popular reality TV show about preppers, more and more “regular people” are preparing go-bags for events ranging from hurricanes to blackouts to civil unrest. Now, with the COVID-19 pandemic, people who have a well-stocked bug-out location already prepared are starting to seem prescient. In his new book, *Bunker: Preparing for the End Times* (Scribner), Bradley Garrett—worldwide adventurer and author—explores communities around the world preparing for the apocalypse and shares an inside perspective on why and how they are preparing for the unexpected—and a close-up look at their varied accommodations. In this excerpt, he shares what life is like inside one such bunker.

THE SURVIVAL CONDO IN KANSAS—THE most lavish and sophisticated private bunker in the world—was once a Cold War U.S. government missile silo. Built in the early 1960s at a cost of approximately \$15 million to the U.S. taxpayer, it was one of 72 “hardened” missile silo structures built to protect a nuclear-tipped intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) 100 times more powerful than the bomb dropped on Nagasaki, Japan. Many of these silos were blown up and buried after decades of disuse. But not all of them.

Larry Hall wasn’t the first to reuse one of these Cold War relics. But his is arguably the most gobsmacking. An ex-government contractor, property developer and doomsday prepper with a master’s degree in business, he first planned to build a data center in a silo, but quickly realized there was another, emerging market in doomsday prepping for the super-rich.

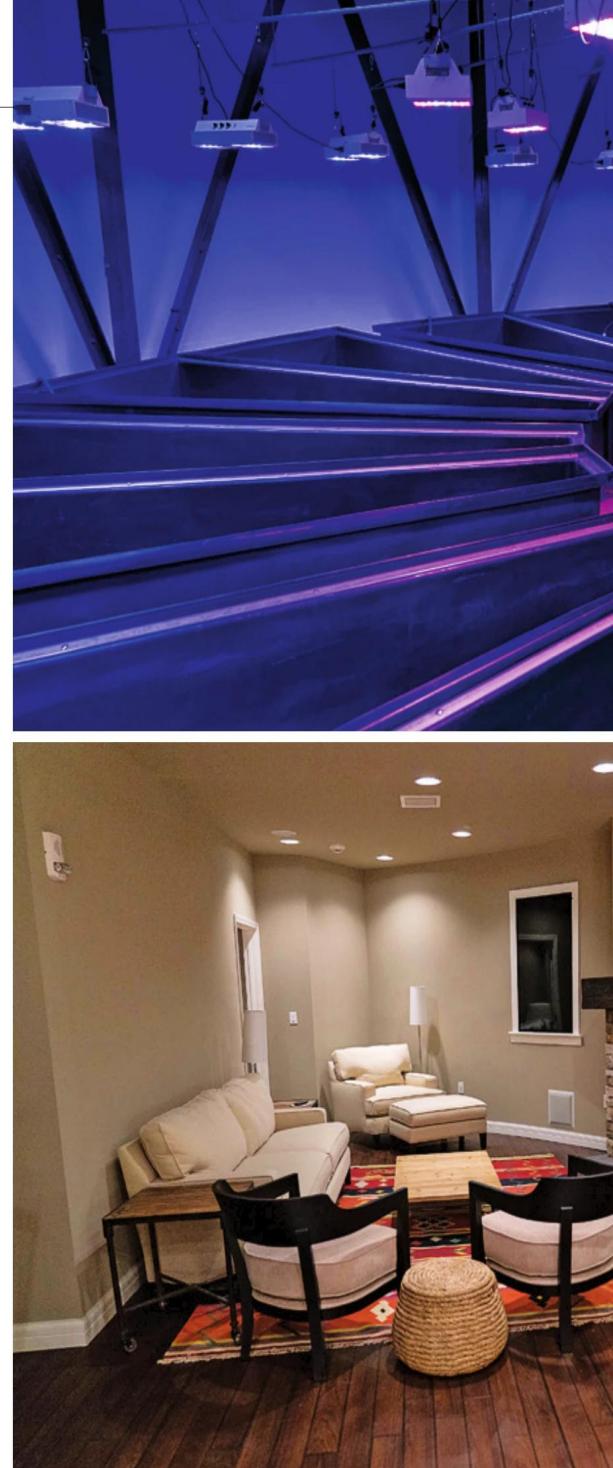
Hall bought the 197-foot-deep silo for \$300,000 in 2008, and transformed it into a 15-story luxury bolt-hole, where a community of up to 75 individuals can weather a maximum of five years during a doomsday event.

When the event passes, residents expect to be able to re-emerge into the post-apocalyptic world to rebuild.

It’s not that difficult to imagine living underground in an environment that can sustain life, technically. The basics of survival at the bottom of the psychologist Abraham Maslow’s 1943 hierarchy-of-needs pyramid—food, water, shelter and security—are relatively easy to provide for over a short-term lock-in. What’s rather more of a challenge is to create a psychologically and socially tolerable environment—in order, not to put too fine a point on it, that the members of this newly troglodytic community didn’t murder each other. And the creation of such an environment was central to Hall’s vision of life in the Survival Condo.

BY
BRADLEY GARRETT

[@Goblinmerchant](#)



FULLY STOCKED The self-sufficient, inverted skyscraper includes (clockwise from top left) fish tanks for an aquaponics system, 8-ton armored blast-proof doors, three armories and LED “windows.”

During the early days of the Cold War, governments, military and universities conducted numerous experiments to see how long people could withstand being trapped underground together. In total, in the early 1960s, some 7,000 people



volunteered to be locked in spaces with groups ranging from the size of a family to over 1,000 people as part of the U.S. government's attempts to assess psychological/behavioral impact on people and communities. While these studies yielded interesting information, they all had numerous shortcomings. Two were glaringly evident: they were for a set time period, and people knew they were a performance. If such studies were truly to assess the psychological

impact of bunker life, they would have to embrace a realism that was clearly impossible to simulate.

Hall, however, thought he had worked out a solution to these two potential obstacles. The key to

“This thing’s gotta function like a miniature cruise ship.”

well-being underground, he told me, could be about creating an illusion of “normal,” aboveground, pre-event life. “So,” Larry said, “we will have people baking bread and making coffee, people can advertise their yoga class on the café blackboard and we’re going to stack this deli case full of three different species of tilapia that are grown in the aquaponics facility next door.” The nitrates from the fish droppings would fertilize soil for the plants in the FDA-certified aquaponics facility.

The fresh produce from here would end up in the general store. Leftover vegetable matter, fish heads and bones would be put through a grinder to become food for the residents' dogs and cats—including Larry's cat, Lollipop, who was now happily roaming around the silo four stories above us.

"It's critical that we encourage people to come down and shop and be social," Larry was saying, "because obviously everything in here is already paid for." Money, in other words, would have no value in the Survival Condo. Which was just as well, given the bankruptcy-inducing prices of buying into the Condo in the first place. Half-floor apartments here were \$1.5 million; full-floor apartments \$3 million; and a two-level, 3600-square-foot penthouse had sold for \$4.5 million. In total, 57 people would be living in 12 apartments, each paying an additional \$5,000 a month in residents' association fees. One of these apartments,

purchased with cash, was designed to feel like a log cabin, with a loft looking down on a fake fireplace flanked by a six-screen 4K display of a snow-capped mountain range.

None of those buying into the project were currently in residence. Unsurprisingly, the buyers were elusive and close-lipped. One was Nik Halik, an Australian from Melbourne, Australia, and self-described "thrillionaire" adventurer and wealth strategist. Another, Tyler Allen, a real estate developer from Florida, had been quoted in *The New Yorker* as saying, "They don't put tinfoil on your head if you're the President and you go to Camp David. But they do put tinfoil on your head if you have the

means and you take steps to protect your family should a problem occur." Both, clearly, had the means.

On level 11, about 165-feet underground, we visited a well-appointed full-floor 1800-square-foot condo. I had had the same feeling walking into a bedroom in a clean, predictable hotel chain. The apartment had a Southwestern print rug, a cushy white living room set and a stone electric fireplace with a flat-panel TV mounted over it. A marble countertop extended to a bar that separated the living room from the kitchen, which was filled with high-end appliances. I looked at one of the windows and was shocked to see that it was dark outside. My instant, physiological reaction was to assume that we must have been underground for longer than I thought. Then I realized my mistake.

"Got you," Hall said, laughing. He picked up a remote control and flicked on a video feed being piped into the "window," a

"Prepping isn't pessimistic, it's realistic."



BOOKS

Q&A: Bradley Garrett

BY MEREDITH
WOLF SCHIZER

Why this book?

Because we're all consumed by the dread of the unknown right now! *Bunker* is a book about preparing for calamity. It follows communities building for nuclear war, social turmoil, natural disasters and, of course, pandemics. At a time when it feels like we're just skating from one crisis to another, full of anxiety about what new surprise the future might have in store for us, reading about how other people are prepping for those future threats offers a ray of hope.

Is prepping all about extremists worrying about

the apocalypse? Or just good plain common sense?

Prepping takes place across a range of scales. For the book, I spent time inside multi-million-dollar bunkers that can handle a direct strike by a nuclear weapon, but also spoke with people doing what they called "practical prepping," which is something a lot of us do instinctively. If you keep a flashlight and first aid kit in your garage, or have a bag in the trunk of your car for emergencies, you're a prepper! How you prepreally depends on how much faith you have in the future. A lot of us aren't feeling very optimistic at the moment, which is making elaborate preparations seem more rational.

Are there any tips you've learned from your research that everyday people can use to be prepared for the unexpected?

Have a backup for your back-up—whether we're talking about computer data, access to your money or escape routes. It can provide a lot of peace in the present to have plans in place for things that might go wrong in the future—because they always do! Prepping isn't pessimistic, it's realistic.

COVID-19 caught us flat-footed as far as having enough PPE, and it required us to catch up fast for remote learning and

vertically-installed LED screen. The scene depicted was the view from the front, surface-level entrance of the Condo. It was daytime, breezy and green outside. I could see my parked car through the rustling branches of an oak tree. In the distance, the camouflaged sentry was standing in the same place as when we arrived. But when this video was made was unclear—maybe there was a time lapse, and I was watching a pre-recorded past I was convinced was the present. The thought sent a prickle of unease down my spine. Survival Condo was a capsule, meant to exclude the hardships of a hostile surface. Creating an illusion of reality through the screens was necessary to uphold stability after an event, and was clearly part of Larry's plan to maintain order.

"The screens can be loaded up with material or have a live feed piped in," Larry said. It was a comment that drove home to me how much

Survival Condo depended on Larry setting the rules and controlling people's experiences below ground. After lockdown, the other occupants' sense of context, of reality, of what was happening above ground—whether or not the world had ended—was entirely in Larry's grip. "Most people prefer to know what time of day it is than to see a beach in San Francisco though," he said casually, flicking the feed off again. The screen went blank.

"The thing the psychologist we hired drilled into me was that my job as the developer was to make this place as normal as possible," Larry told me. "She did work on that project [the Biosphere in Arizona]," Hall said. "She went over everything in meticulous detail. Even the LED lights in the bunker are set to 3000 degrees Kelvin to prevent depression. People want to know why residents need all this 'luxury'—the cinema, climbing wall, table tennis, video games, shooting range, sauna, library

and everything, but what they don't get is that this isn't about luxury. This stuff is key to survival. If you don't have all this stuff built in, your brain keeps subconscious score, and you start to get varying degrees of depression or cabin fever."

Larry expanded on his theme. "In fact, everyone needs to work generally. People on vacation constantly get destructive tendencies. That's just human nature. You need to have a four-hour minimum work day and rotate jobs, so people don't get bored and break things," he said. "You want good quality food and water and for everyone to feel safe and to feel they're working together toward a common purpose. This thing's gotta function like a miniature cruise ship." ■

→ From **BUNKER: BUILDING FOR THE END TIMES**. Copyright © 2020 by Bradley Garrett. Reprinted by permission of Scribner, an Imprint of Simon & Schuster, Inc.

work. Should we be looking to preppers to understand how to be ready for the next disaster? Is our reliance on technology an Achilles heel?

I worry about how reliant we are on electricity and the internet—for most of us, especially now, losing power for a week would be a crushing blow. The pandemic also made clear how dependent we are on grocery stores, supply lines, banks and—most importantly—other people. Building up resiliency for the next disaster (which very likely won't be another pandemic) doesn't necessarily have to be about hoarding supplies or building a bunker; it can also be about meeting your



BUNKER: BUILDING FOR THE END TIMES (Scribner, August) surveys preppers and their hideouts across four continents.

neighbors, working through some scenarios and having plans in place for the unexpected. Community is the most crucial aspect of resiliency.

Do you have access to your own bunker? What do you keep on hand to prepare for the unexpected?

I do have a bunker, but it's hundreds of miles from my family in Southern California. I realized early on in the pandemic that I couldn't take them with me, and wasn't willing to leave them behind to fend for themselves. So, instead I bought a cabin in the woods—a bug-out location—with in driving distance for every-

one, so that we can all retreat to it if need be. Until then, it can act as a family holiday hang-out.

What creature comfort can't you do without?

Coffee! My partner, Amanda, and I drove 12,000 miles around Australia last year living out of a Jeep. At one point we ran out of coffee; I think I would have rather run out of gas.

What's next for you?

I'm planning to walk across the Mojave Desert with my friend Wayne. I've been in love with the desert my whole life, and I want to see if I can survive three weeks crossing it on foot. Wish us luck! ■

HEALTH

Europe's Second Wave

Cases of COVID-19 are spiking in Spain, France and Germany, as officials take new measures to contain the spread

↗ THE U.S. IS BY NO MEANS THE only country experiencing a resurgence of COVID-19. Novel coronavirus cases in Europe hit over 1.7 million by late July, with 1,704,897 cases reported as of July 30 in the European Union/European Economic Area (EU/EEA) and the U.K., according to the European Centre for Disease Prevention and Control.

Fears over a second wave of the outbreak have been raised across Europe following recent spikes in cases in Spain, France and Germany. These nations reported increases in new infections ranging from 36 to 50 percent in the second half of July.

Spain

In the week from July 23 to 29, the country reported a total of 15,090 new infections, a more than 50 percent increase from the 10,057 total new cases reported a week earlier, according to data compiled by Worldometer.

New cases in Spain began to rise on a sharper incline starting in early July, about a couple of weeks after it reopened its borders in late June and ended its state of emergency.

Most of the recent new cases were reported to be in the northeast Catalonia, which is home to Barcelona, the capital of the region.

All nightclubs in the Catalonia region were ordered to close for 15

days, while a midnight curfew was imposed on bars in the greater Barcelona area and other towns around the city of Lleida that have become virus hotspots, the Associated Press (AP) reported.

Clubs in the southeast region of Murcia were also ordered to be shut unless venues have an outdoor terrace space for customers, *The Local* reported.

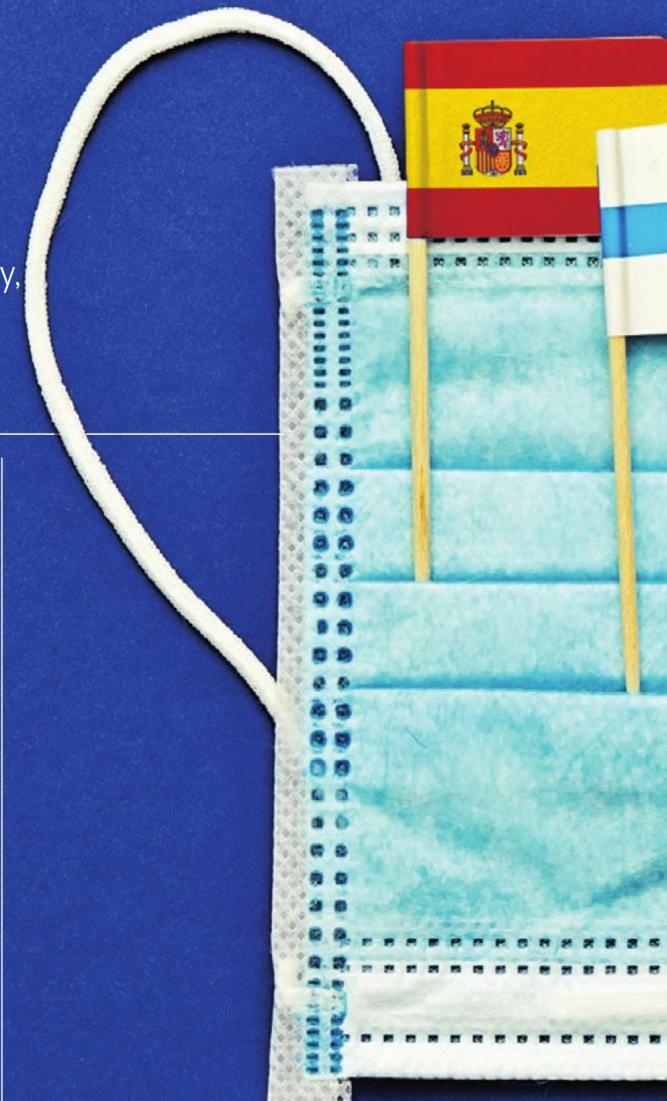
Mask rules were imposed in several regions requiring face coverings to be worn in public, while residents in several areas of the Catalan region, including Barcelona, were urged to remain at home, Reuters reported.

Spain was also removed from a "safe travel" list in the U.K., which issued a 14-day quarantine mandate

for all those traveling from Spain, a popular vacation destination among Britons.

However, Spain's Foreign Minister Arancha Gonzalez Laya told reporters Sunday: "Spain is safe, it is safe for Spaniards, it is safe for tourists."

She noted the Spanish government will try to convince U.K. officials to exclude the Balearic and Canary islands of Spain from the quarantine mandate, claiming the prevalence of cases in those popular island destinations was much lower than the cases seen in the U.K., Reuters reported.



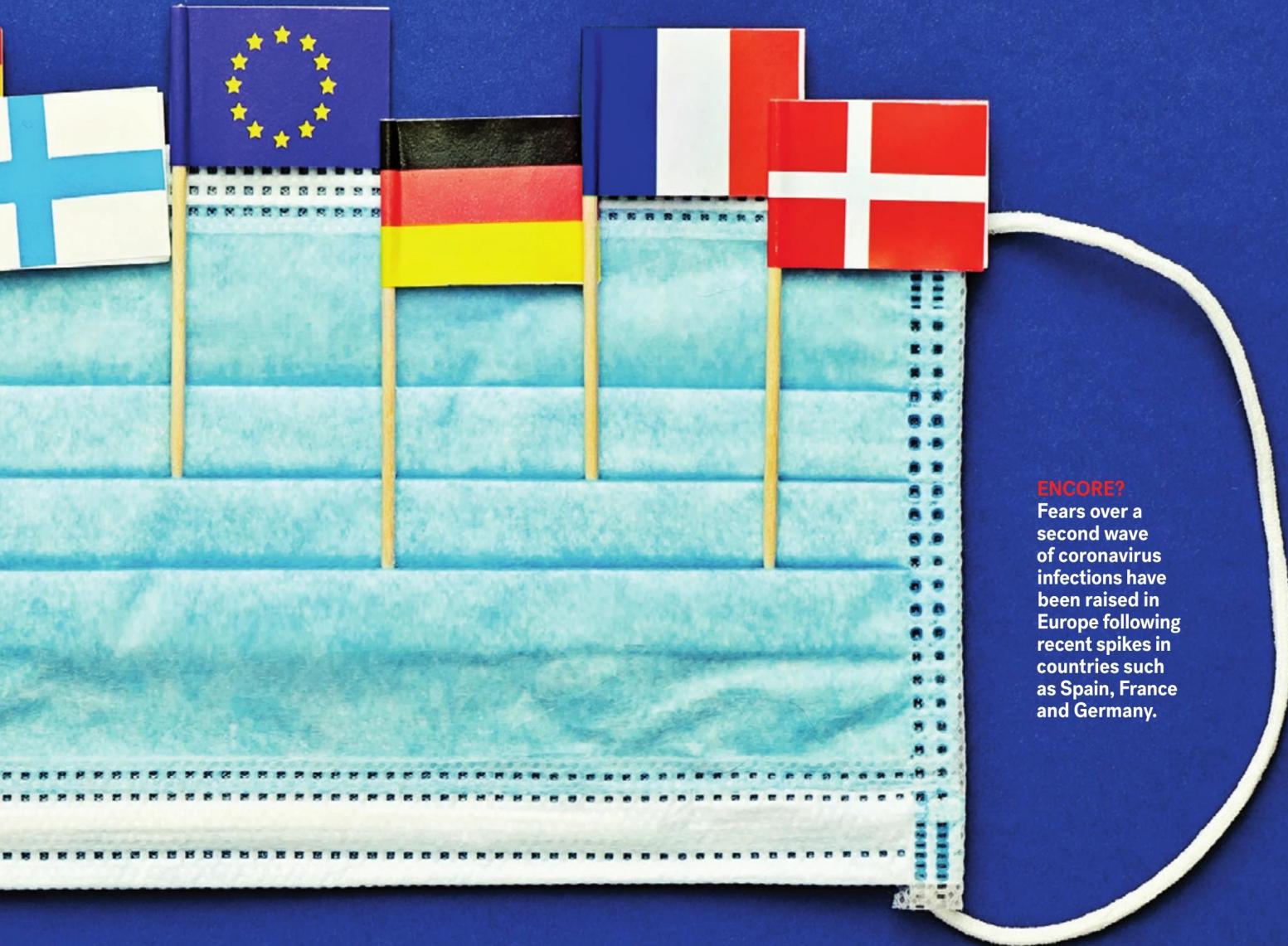
"We have erased much

France

France reported 6,860 new cases in the week ending July 29, a spike of 36 percent compared to the previous week, according to data compiled by Worldometer.

The country's R (reproductive) number, which represents the average number of people to whom an infected individual will pass the virus, has climbed to 1.3, French health authorities confirmed, AP reported.

"We have erased much of the progress that we'd achieved in the first weeks of lockdown-easing," with



ENCORE?
Fears over a second wave of coronavirus infections have been raised in Europe following recent spikes in countries such as Spain, France and Germany.

of the progress that we'd achieved in the first weeks of lockdown.”

locals reported to be making less of an effort to self isolate if they are infected, health officials noted.

French authorities have called for a “collective discipline,” across the country, asking residents to work from home and to get tested if they have any suspicions of infection, AP reported.

The French government also advised companies to “build a preventive stock of protective masks for 10 weeks to be able to deal with a potential resurgence of the pandemic,” Agence-France Presse (AFP)/AP reported.

Employers were urged to “collectively ensure [they] have the necessary equipment to protect employees” in order to be able to perform their work duties, AFP/AP reported.

The number of active cases (those people currently infected who are being treated in the hospital or recovering at home) in France has also been mostly rising since early June, reaching nearly 74,000 by late July, which constitutes a third of the country’s total confirmed number of cases, according to data compiled by Worldometer.

Germany

The daily case count in Germany has also been rising since early July. From July 23 to 29, the country reported 4,341 new cases, an increase of roughly 35 percent compared to the previous week, Worldometer reports.

That trend line prompted Michael Kretschmer, premier of the eastern German state of Saxony, to claim “the second coronavirus wave is already here,” Germany’s Deutsche Welle (DW) reported.

“It is already taking place every day. We have new clusters of infection



MASKED LEADERS With cases rising in their countries, Germany's Angela Merkel and France's Emmanuel Macron meet to discuss a post-COVID economic rescue.

also been linked to larger gatherings, leisure activities, workplaces, visits to community and health facilities as well as travelers returning from abroad, according to the RKI, as some of these activities resume.

For instance, a German cruise ship, Mein Schiff 2, sailed from the port of Hamburg toward Norway in late July, marking the first voyage since the cruise industry was shut down amid the ongoing pandemic, AP reported. Passengers were expected to remain at sea with no land stops before returning to Germany on Monday. The ship hosted 1,200 passengers on board, down from its normal capacity of 2,900, AP reported.

Last week, Norway also reintroduced a 10-day quarantine mandate for those arriving from Spain, while people in France have been advised not to travel to Catalonia, Reuters reported.

When asked whether quarantine requirements could also be issued for travelers returning from France and Germany, the U.K. Minister of State at the Department of Health and Social Care, Helen Whately, told the U.K.'s *Sky News*: "We have to keep the situation under review and I think that is what the public would expect us to do."

every day which could become very high numbers," Kretschmer told the *Rheinische Post* newspaper, according to DW.

By late July the latest seven-day average of Germany's R number was at 1.13, up from 1.01 earlier in the month, according to a report published by Germany's Robert Koch Institute (RKI).

The country also saw a sharp increase in new COVID cases from around 500 a day in early July to more than 800 at one point, ending the month (July 29) at nearly 700.

"This development is very worrying and will continue to be monitored very closely," a spokeswoman told Germany's Deutsche Presse-Agentur GmbH (DPA) news agency, DW reported. "A further exacerbation of the situation must be avoided."

"We have to keep the situation under review. That is what the public would expect us to do."

Over two-thirds of the country's recent new cases were reported to be in the southeastern state of Bavaria, the southwestern state of Baden-Württemberg and the western state of North Rhine-Westphalia, RKI said. The report noted, "In the past few weeks, the number of districts that have not reported any COVID-19 cases over a period of seven days has decreased. In parallel, the incidence has risen in many states. This trend is concerning."

Clusters of new infections have

"If we see rates going up in a country where at the moment there is no need to quarantine...we would have to take action because we cannot take the risk of coronavirus being spread again across the U.K.," she said.

Over 17 million people across the globe have been infected since the virus was first reported in Wuhan, China and, as of July 30, about 700,000 had died, according data from Johns Hopkins University. ■

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97%



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NEWSMAKERS

Talking Points

The Washington Post

"My level of concern went from about an eight to a 12."

—WASHINGTON NATIONALS MANAGER DAVE MARTINEZ ON THE MIAMI MARLINS' COVID-19 OUTBREAK

"WE IN SELMA WERE BLESSED TO KNOW JOHN INTIMATELY, TO WALK WITH HIM IN HIS FOOTSTEPS YEAR AFTER YEAR AFTER YEAR."

—REP. TERRI SEWELL ON JOHN LEWIS



Terri Sewell

eTalk

"We had our success story when Canada loved the show from Day 1. That was the Canadian success story for us. I think everything else has been the icing on the cake."

—ACTOR DAN LEVY ON 15 EMMY NOMINATIONS FOR SCHITT'S CREEK



"That they're living in a country that respects everybody and looks after everybody, celebrates and sees everybody."

—BARACK OBAMA ON WHAT HE WISHES MOST FOR HIS DAUGHTERS



Barack Obama



"SO MANY OF US DESERVED EMMY NOMINATIONS FOR ACTING LIKE WE AREN'T LOSING OUR FING MINDS."

—Broadway actress Lesli Margherita



Lesli Margherita



"Our founders would not bow before a king, nor should we bow before the emperors of the online economy."

—REP. DAVID CICILLINE



"UNTIL YOU REALLY BLOCK TRANSMISSION, HAVE LONG PERIODS OF TIME WITHOUT ANYBODY GOING IN THE HOSPITAL, THE CONCERN IS GOING TO BE THERE."

—Bill Gates

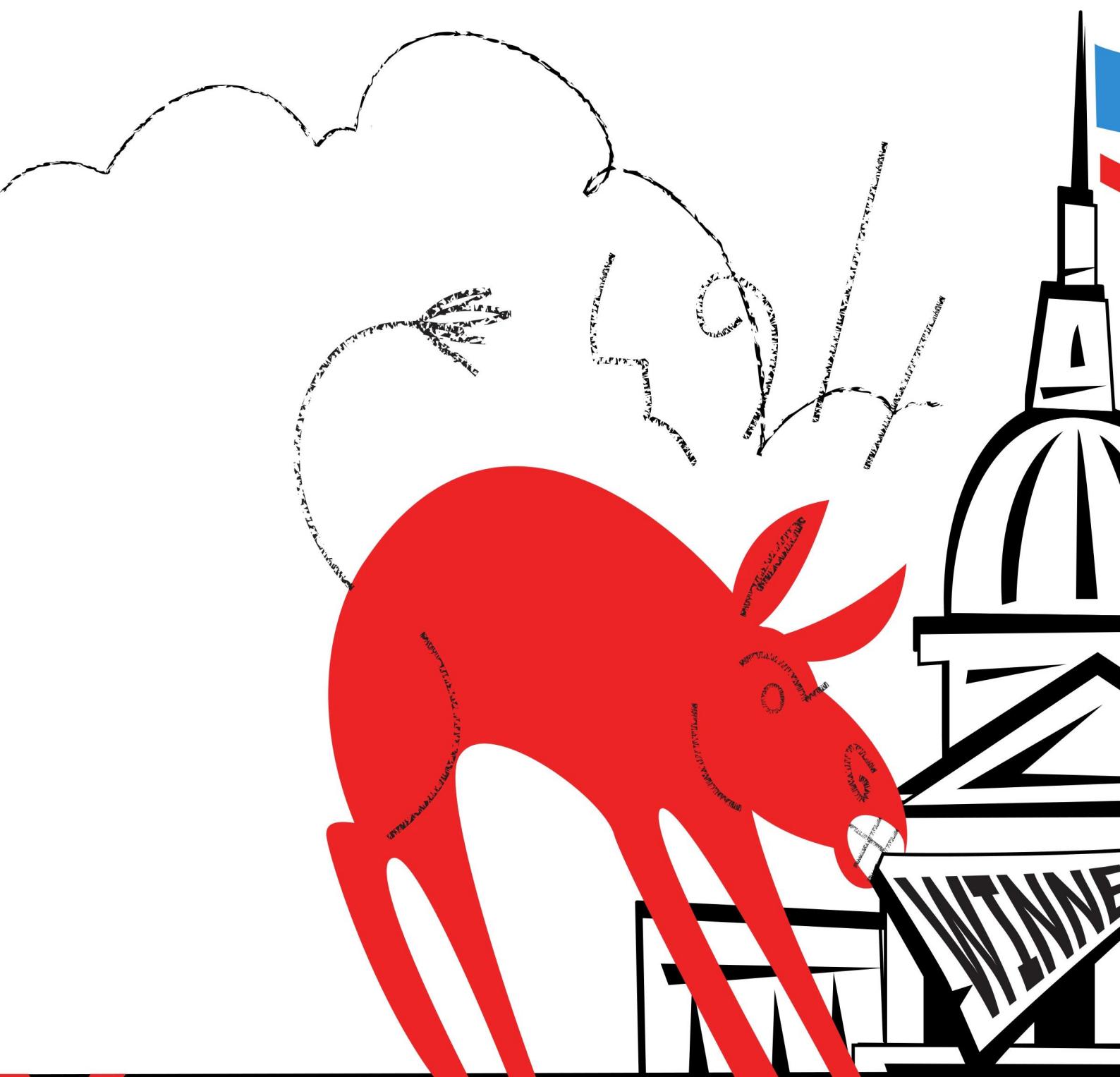


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CHAOS OVER MAIL-IN BALLOTS AND OTHER BREAKDOWNS COULD

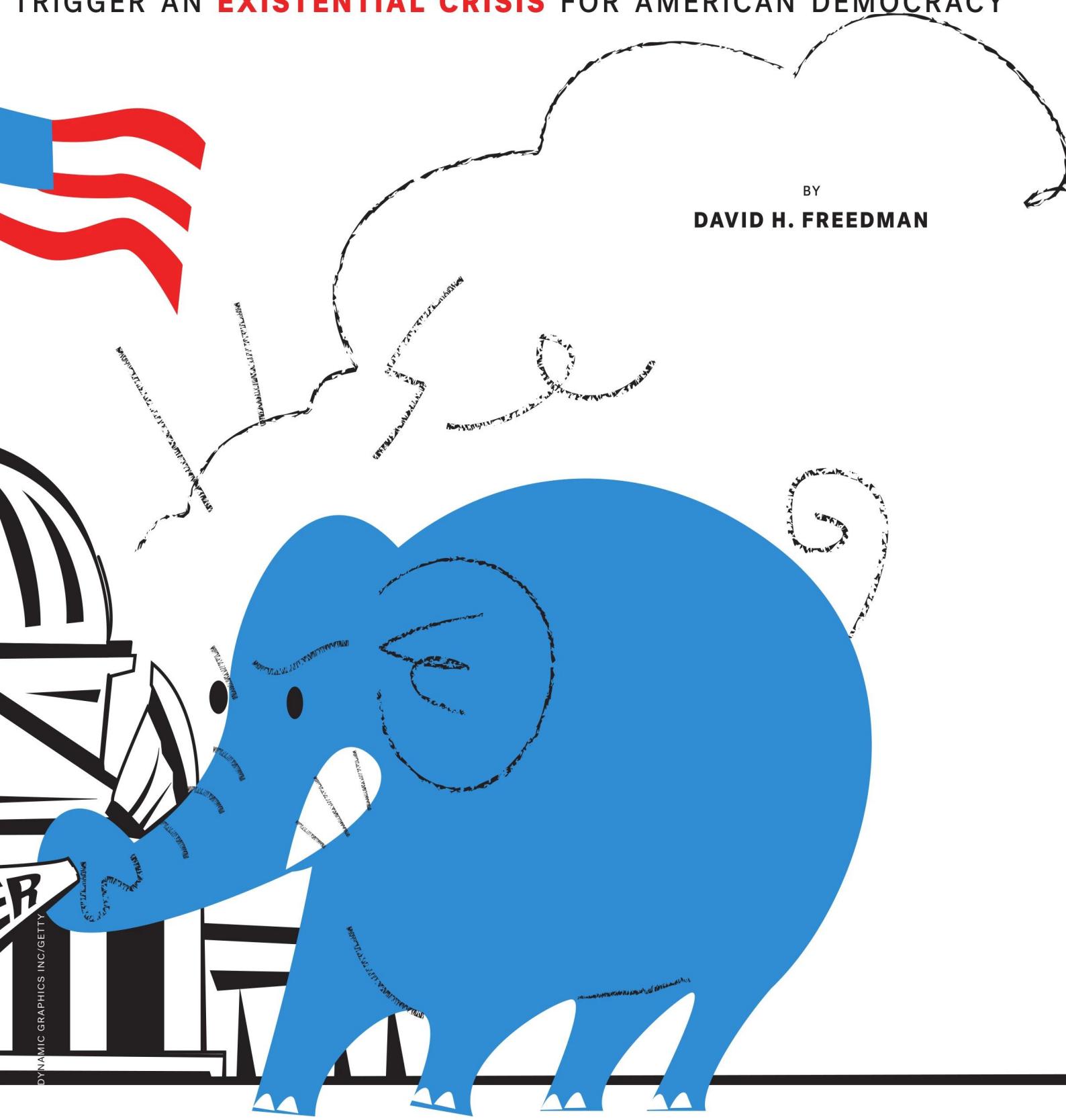


XThe Coming Ele

TRIGGER AN **EXISTENTIAL CRISIS** FOR AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

BY

DAVID H. FREEDMAN



ction Nightmare

J

AMAAL BOWMAN, A PROGRESSIVE, SCORED AN upset victory over longtime incumbent Eliot Engel in New York's 16th Congressional District. The primary took place on June 23rd, but the contest wasn't officially decided until more than three weeks later—and then only because Engel finally conceded.

The problem wasn't that the vote was close: Bowman held a 25-point lead in the early returns. It wasn't because of a recount: there wasn't one. The trouble was in simply counting the votes. More than 400,000 New York City voters mailed in their ballots—five times more than did so in the general election of 2008—burying election officials in paperwork. Engel finally conceded on July 17; had he chosen to challenge the mail-in ballots, you'd be reading this story without knowing the results.

If only this were just a New York issue.

The general election on November 3 may not end quite so cleanly. President Trump, whose poll numbers have been in decline for weeks over his messy response to the coronavirus pandemic, seems unconstrained, at least rhetorically, by the American political tradition of the peaceful transfer of power. On Sunday, he tweeted a call for "immediate litigation" over mail-in voting in Nevada, after Republicans there accused the Democrats of attempting "to steal our election." On July 30, he



floated the idea on Twitter of postponing the election. He has said, with no basis in evidence, that he will consider mail-in votes to be fraudulent, setting up a post-election case for rejecting the results. He told Fox's Chris Wallace, when asked if he would respect the election results, "I have to see."

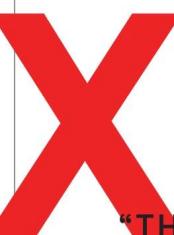
President Obama has warned of the threats that 2020 poses to American norms. He told attendees at a fundraising event with actor George Clooney on July 28 that he worries most about voter suppression and the danger of Trump questioning the election's legitimacy. In his eulogy for Rep. John Lewis, he criticized lawmakers who have "unleashed a flood of laws designed specifically to make voting hard," calling it "an attack on our democratic freedoms."

Trump may be weak politically but the office of the president commands enormous power. As commander in chief, Trump is already using armed federal agents against American citizens in cities run by mayors and governors of the opposition party, over their objections. His tweets and comments erode public trust in the upcoming election.

Past elections, no matter how divisive, have ended with both sides honoring the process. The bitter 2000 election deadlock between George W. Bush and Al Gore did not end with the Supreme Court's ruling over Florida ballots; it ended when Al Gore,

PAPERWORK

The Democratic primary in New York City got so many mail-in ballots that election officials couldn't process the count for weeks. The problem will go nationwide in November. Clockwise from left: Jamaal Bowman won his district after a delayed decision; a polling station in Brooklyn handles walk-ins; ballots are sorted in a Utah polling station.



"THERE'S SUBS



out of respect for the U.S. democratic system, conceded. What happens if one of the candidates—the incumbent—doesn't concede?

Even in the best of times, a president who threatens to disrespect election norms and laws would be cause for alarm. These are not the best of times. The number of things likely to go wrong in this election is unprecedented. Polls are vulnerable to hacking from China, Russia and North Korea. Efforts to block voter registration and other forms of suppression are rampant, particularly in Republican-controlled states. Skyrocketing COVID-19 infections are likely to keep people from the polls. In states including California, Texas and Washington, protesters have flooded the streets for weeks; in Portland, Oregon, they have clashed with federal troops, all of which could disrupt polling. The

Electoral College is uniquely positioned this year to collapse, leaving the election deadlocked and plunging the nation into a constitutional crisis. Taken together, these factors make it more likely than at any other time in more than a century that a U.S. election will fail to produce a winner who is accepted by a large majority as legitimate.

How would Americans react if one of the most polarizing presidential elections in history leads to confusion and wild accusations? Heightened levels of anger, doubt and fear mean that disruption in the days following November 3 is all too likely. Groups of citizens have in recent months brandished (and some have fired) semi-automatic weapons in the streets and other public places simply to protest pandemic-control measures. “What I’m most worried about is 36 hours of chaos after the election when Biden says he won and Trump says he won,” says Clint Watts, a former FBI special agent specializing in information warfare and now a research fellow at the Foreign Policy Research Institute. “You almost know that’s what’s going to happen. Then you have people showing up with AR-15s. Maybe it’s not a full-scale insurrection, but it will be easy for everything to get out of control.” For Trump, that might be further cause to call for armed intervention.

“We managed to get through a civil war, World War II and the social chaos of 1968 without a president suggesting an election shouldn’t go forward,” says David Farber, a historian at the University of Kansas who studies 20th-century political movements. “These sorts of fierce concerns about election legitimacy are unprecedented in U.S. history.”

(In fact, in the wake of the 9/11 attacks, George W. Bush’s administration did question whether it was legally possible to delay an election because of fears of a terrorist attack. They did not pursue the issue.)

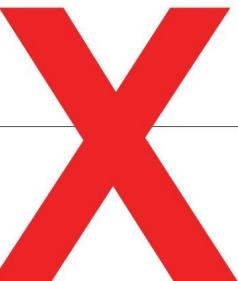
Even if the election doesn’t trigger an existential crisis for American democracy, says Pinar Yildirim, a Wharton School researcher who studies the impact of social media, “it’s going to be one of most historic elections we’ll see for centuries to come.”

Misinformation and Disinformation

HERE’S ONE MORSEL OF GOOD NEWS: THE RUSSIANS, who waged a disinformation campaign with hacked dirt on the Democrats in 2016, seem less inclined this time around to attack the party. “The Russians seem worried about angering an incoming new



TANTIAL RISK
IN TRYING TO CHANGE TO
MAIL-IN VOTING ON THE FLY.



government," says Watts. A Joe Biden administration, he says, is far more likely to inflict sanctions on Russia than Trump ever was.

Russia can afford to lie low because Trump and the Republicans require less help spewing the false, inflammatory accusations needed to stoke fear and anger, says Watts. "The American-made disinformation now is voluminous," he says. "All the Russians have to do is look for opportunities to amplify it."

Disinformation played a big role in the 2016 election and is a major reason many Americans—mostly Democrats—felt that the election wasn't entirely legitimate. This year the level of disinformation could be as bad or worse. Facebook recently took down 100 Trump-supporting political disinformation accounts linked to just one source: convicted Trump ally Roger Stone. There are probably a lot more where that came from. Facebook has been reluctant to take action against phony political posts, leaving the platform rife with bogus "evidence" of Joe Biden's dementia and corruption, and wild conspiracy theories linking Biden and other Democrats to child-sex rings and world takeovers. "They don't want to be regulated, so they pander to the White House," House Speaker Nancy Pelosi said of Facebook in May.

Stoking up the base with scary tales isn't just effective campaigning. It has also become good business for a slew of fly-by-night U.S. entrepreneurs who operate political-disinformation websites. "It's easy and profitable to put up a series of websites, load them with politically sensitive, fallacious information, drive traffic there and make money off of pay-per-click ads," says Cindy Otis, a former C.I.A. analyst who specializes in disinformation, and author of the forthcoming book *True or False: A CIA Analyst's Guide to Spotting Fake News*. (Feiwel & Friends).

The coming avalanche of political disinformation is going to have a bigger effect on this election than on past contests, says Wharton's Yildirim. That's because the pandemic is shutting down other key types of campaigning while driving up our dependence on social media and other online sources of information. "Typically in an election year, there's a

READY TO RUMBLE Armed Trump supporters on the steps of the Utah State Capitol in Salt Lake City in February protest new gun legislation.

"THE AMERICAN-MADE
DISINFORMATION NOW IS
VOLUMINOUS, ALL THE RUSSIANS
HAVE TO DO IS LOOK FOR
OPPORTUNITIES TO AMPLIFY IT."





GEORGE FREY/AP/GTET

lot of in-person outreach, from knocking on doors to rallies to town halls," she says. "All that's disappeared. Instead we're consuming more social media, and it's more full of misinformation."

Ground Zero for the dissemination of political disinformation is Facebook. In spite of growing outrage over the platform's unwillingness to remove or label false political claims and an ongoing advertising boycott by more than 500 companies, CEO Mark Zuckerberg insists that policies won't change—the result, some have argued, of a pact forged during a meeting with Trump and Kushner earlier this year. That all but ensures Facebook will reprise its 2016 role as the channel of choice for U.S. political disinformation hawkers, reaching 200 million Americans. Twitter is now doing more to restrict posts that misinform or spread potentially dangerous claims, to which conservatives have responded with accusations of censorship.

Whichever side loses is sure to level the charge that social media tilted the playing field in the other side's favor, helping to undermine acceptance of the results, and feeding the fury that could ultimately lead to chaos in the streets.

Block That Vote

THE 2020 PRIMARIES HAVE ALREADY FEATURED A number of voting disasters: The software meltdown in Iowa's caucuses; the hours-long lines at polling places in Georgia, California and Texas; the mail-in ballot glitches in Wisconsin and New Jersey and, most recently, the vote-counting delays in New York. In many states, voter turnout in November is expected to be three times larger than it was during the primaries, raising concerns of blocks-long lines and waits of half-dozen hours or more—all while fears of a spreading coronavirus hang over the crowds.

Although Trump's numbers are near record lows and seem to shrink almost daily, polls also suggest he maintains a big edge over Joe Biden when it comes to enthusiasm among likely voters. That means Trump's best chances lie with an election that presents daunting hurdles to voting, so that less-enthusiastic voters—presumably disproportionately Democratic—won't succeed in getting their vote in, or won't try hard enough.

That may explain why many Republicans seem to see anything that suppresses voter turnout as a

feature, not a bug. For instance, Trump and congressional supporters such as Senator Roy Blunt of Missouri have opposed mail-in balloting on the grounds that it invites fraud, in spite of studies that clearly indicate otherwise, as well as the self-evident importance of allowing citizens to vote without fear of infection.

The pandemic has in fact driven up voter interest in mail-ins on both sides—but it may be too late to make the adjustment. Setting up a mail-in ballot system efficient enough to handle a large percentage of a state's voters takes years, says Kathleen Hale, an Auburn University political scientist and election expert who works with officials throughout the country to help ensure elections go smoothly. Nevertheless, in response to the pandemic, dozens of states, including New York, have tried to vastly expand their mail-in capabilities—from supplementary absentee ballots to universal access—virtually overnight. They could face serious problems with the distribution, collection and counting of those ballots, says Hale, co-author of *How We Vote: Innovation in American Elections* (Georgetown University Press). “There’s substantial risk in trying to change the system on the fly,” she says.

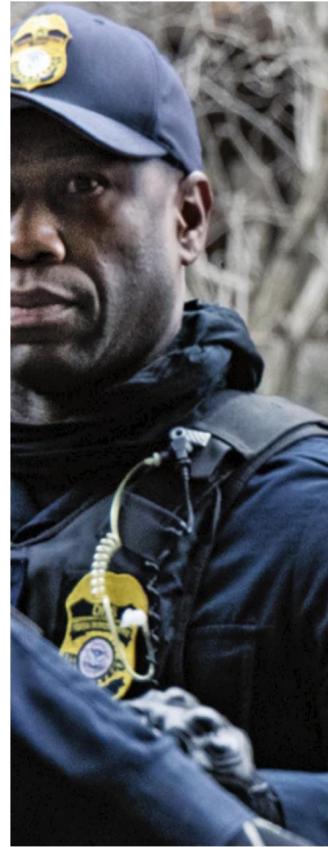
Twelve states have passed legislation since March making it easier to vote by mail, but battleground states have drawn the most scrutiny. Small shifts in voting in Texas, Florida, Pennsylvania, Georgia, Michigan and North Carolina could swing 15 or more electoral votes one way or the other. The Texas governor and its Republican legislative majority have fought to block any expansion of mail-in voting. A pro-mail-in-vote group sued the state and won in a federal court, only to be overturned in a higher court when the state appealed.

Pennsylvania gets a C from the Brookings Institute’s mail-in-voting accessibility scorecard. So does Georgia, which sent out mail-in ballots for its primary. Under pressure from the Republican state legislature, however, the state does not plan to follow suit in the general election. Michigan gets a B, but Trump has threatened to withhold federal funds if the state doesn’t back off its support for voting by mail. Trump has so far refrained from making similar threats against Florida over its embrace of mail-in voting, perhaps because it’s where he himself votes—by mail, at least in the case of this year’s primary. In states that succumb

to Republican pressure to hang onto restrictions on mail-in ballots, most voters will have only one option, says Hale: to endure long lines at the polls.

Meanwhile, many red states and counties have intensified their long tradition of making voter registration difficult and fleeting. Since 2016, 23 states have enacted legislation raising the bar on registration, such as narrowing the forms of acceptable identification or requiring registered voters to repeatedly re-register, according to the Brennan Center for Justice. With the exception of Rhode Island, every one of those states is red. Trump can’t afford to lose any but the smallest of them if he’s going to maintain a path to victory.

In what looks like an effort to further influence the turnout, red states and counties have found ways to underserve Democratic strongholds with access to polling places. In 2016, the wait in polling places serving predominantly Black neighborhoods was nearly a third longer than those serving white neighborhoods, according to one study. “Officials are weaponizing election budgets to selectively close or increase the wait at polling places near the voters they don’t like,” says Philip Stark, a University



“THE MORE YOU RELY ON TECHNOLOGY FOR THERE IS IN THE





VOTING, THE MORE FRAGILITY
SYSTEM FOR HACKERS TO EXPLOIT."



CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT: ELLIOTT NOUVELAGE/GETTY; ALEX WROBLEWSKI/BLOOMBERG/GETTY; MICHAEL E. MILLER/THE WASHINGTON POST/GETTY

BLOCK THAT VOTE
Small shifts in turnout could swing battleground states. Some have fought to block mail-in voting. Left to right: Primary voters in Atlanta; former Trump advisor Roger Stone; a Pizzagate demonstration outside the White House.

of California at Berkeley statistician who analyzes election integrity. The COVID-19 crisis, he says, is providing those states and counties with even more excuses to limit access to polling places.

The results are predictable: If Democrats win, Republicans will conjure up stories of a sea of fraudulent votes. If Republicans win, Democrats will charge that their votes couldn't get through.

Risks in the Machine

FOR THOSE VOTERS WHO DO MAKE IT TO THE VOTING booth, can they be sure their vote will be counted? In most cases the answer is no, says Stark, who has

been vocal in debates over voting-machine security. "We're not in better shape than we were in 2016," he says. "Arguably, we're in worse shape."

The problem, he says, is that virtually all voting machines have proven vulnerable in tests to malicious rigging or intrusion efforts, faulty preparation by inadequately trained local technicians, malfunctions as simple as power failures or inadequate electrical cords and other issues. Georgia, Pennsylvania and California have all experienced problems with malfunctioning machines. Even worse, he says, the election-night aggregation of electronic vote counts at county and state levels provides tempting

one-stop targets for hackers and corrupt insiders who could be paid to sway the count.

The only way to ensure that all voters's selections are counted is to have them mark their choices on paper ballots, says Stark. That way, the results can be easily checked should allegations of irregularities emerge. Some machines register votes electronically and then produce a marked paper ballot that can be used for a recount or audit, but Stark says that's not good enough. "There's zero additional security there unless the voter takes the trouble to check that the machine has marked the vote correctly," he says. "The more you rely on

technology for voting, the more fragility there is in the system to exploit."

Yet 29 states and the District of Columbia currently rely on machines for all or some of their voting, and many states and counties seem eager to invest more in digital voting machines, in spite of their spotty records. Los Angeles County spent \$300 million to get new machines ready in time for California's March primary, only to see software problems cause wait times of three hours and more. (The county later said the delays were due to the electronic system that checks voters in, not the machines, but Stark disputes that claim.)

Meanwhile, cybersecurity experts warn that Russia, China and North Korea all have the capability to corrupt or disrupt electronic voting this November. They have the motivation, too: Sowing chaos in a major adversary and the world's largest democracy advances their own anti-democratic ambitions, both internally and internationally. All three countries have been implicated in hacking events involving computers related to U.S. elections.

The mere suspicion that vote-counting is riddled with errors and cyberfraud could provide fertile ground for arguments about illegitimate results from the losing side.

Hacking the Electoral College

THE BIGGEST RISK IN THE NOVEMBER ELECTIONS may well be the ambiguities and gaps in federal election laws that leave an election-swaying hole big enough for Republicans to drive a truck full of phony ballots through. That's the judgment of Lawrence Douglas, an Amherst College law professor and election-law expert, and author of the recent book *Will He Go: Trump and the Looming Electoral Meltdown in 2020* (Twelve).

The risk hinges on the possibility that key state Republican legislatures will direct their states' electoral votes to Trump even if he loses. That audacious trick, says Douglas, would take advantage of delays of days or even weeks for mail-in votes to be counted. A legislature could simply declare an end to the counting process on election night or at any point thereafter when Trump is temporarily in the lead in the count, without regard for whether the remaining uncounted votes would put Biden on top. The legislature could then submit the state's electoral votes to Congress as votes for Trump.

In split-party states such as Michigan, North Carolina, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin, Democratic governors could counter by submitting rival electoral votes to Congress that are based on the final count—which, in this hypothetical scenario, would indicate a victory for Biden. The U.S. Congress would have to sort out the mess. "There's nothing in the law to stop states from submitting competing electoral certificates," says Douglas. "And once it lands in Congress' lap, the courts have no jurisdiction at all. Even the Supreme Court can't intervene."

It gets worse: Congress may not be able to agree on what to do. There is no mechanism in the Constitution for dealing with the problem, and the Senate and House would likely come to opposite conclusions, given their contrasting partisanship. In that case, both candidates could fall short of the



**X WILL YOU COMMIT TO ACCEPTING
THE RESULTS? "I HAVE**

**LAW AND ORDER**

President Trump could decide to subvert the electoral process by claiming a state of emergency due to the pandemic or to whatever street protests might be going on in the fall. Clockwise from left: House Speaker Nancy Pelosi; a protest over the death of George Floyd in Los Angeles in June.

minimum 270 electoral votes. Fortunately, the Constitution specifies what happens when no winner emerges in an election: the House of Representatives votes on who will be the next president, with each state delegation in the House getting one vote.

Right now there are 26 Republican-dominated delegations and 23 Democratic ones, with one split. By that math, Trump would be the victor. But the vote would likely take place after January 3, 2021, when newly elected representatives are sworn in. If the elections swing just a few Republican House seats to the Democrats, the House vote could end in a 25-25 tie. At that point, explains Douglas, the process ends, and Nancy Pelosi is sworn in as the next president. "The Constitution makes no provision for restaging an election," he says. "The laws are ill-equipped to guide us out of this sort of crisis."

Trump Shenanigans

SHOULD TRUMP DECIDE TO SUBVERT THE ELECTORAL process on his own, he has several avenues. He has already floated the idea of delaying the election, although with little support from fellow Republicans. He could claim a state of emergency due to the pandemic or to whatever street protests might be going on in the fall. There would be no constitutional basis for a delay, let alone cancellation,

but Trump has tried before to enact policies that run afoul of the Constitution, such as the ban on Muslims entering the country and bringing the U.S. military into play against protesters. Republicans as a whole have not hesitated to back his plays.

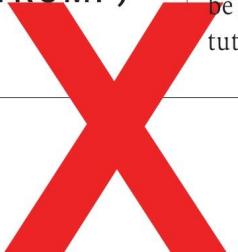
Even if the election goes off reasonably well, if Biden wins, Trump could declare himself the victim of a rigged vote.

It seems far-fetched that the five conservative Supreme Court Justices would support such a gambit. On the other hand, the Court voted along party lines in favor of George W. Bush over Al Gore in the 2000 election. And, more recently, the Court has seemed willing to hear out Trump's sometimes outlandish claims and give him his way until they settle the matter, as when it granted stays of federal court rulings against Trump's 2017 travel ban, his plan to shift military funds to the border wall, the policy of forcing asylum seekers to return to Mexico, his effort to keep the Mueller investigation under wraps and his refusal to comply with subpoenas for financial records.

The prospect of even a temporary order to delay, invalidate or otherwise alter an election would invite massive protests nationwide. Trump has already shifted his platform to emphasize a law-and-order stance that puts "radical left-wing," Black Lives Matter and anti-police-violence protesters in the crosshairs of his supporters. He might similarly take advantage of election-delay protests to call for a forceful crackdown. Violence or vandalism from protesters on the left could help Trump sell his law-and-order pitch. Police forces, which have been beleaguered by the left, might be inclined to favor the counter-protesters. Who knows what the military would do?

Is there a sure way to avoid this and other disasters in November? Only one, says Douglas: a lopsided victory by either Biden or Trump. "That might not stop millions of armed right-wing supporters from taking to the streets," he says. "But Trump won't accept the humiliation of being frog-marched out of the White House by a military that knows Biden is their new commander in chief. He'll leave on his own, and that should end it."

Compared to armed protestors and counter-protestors spilling into the street to vent their fury over a failed or stolen election, that almost sounds like a fairy-tale ending. ■



THE BLUE STATES ARE COLONIZING THE
Big, Electoral College-Rich RED STATES—
AND THERE'S LITTLE THE RED STATES
CAN DO ABOUT IT. THE DATA DOESN'T LIE

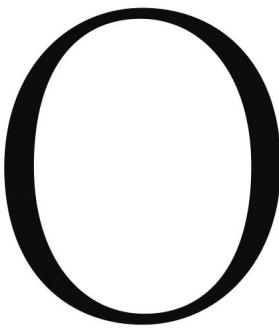
Why Red States Have the Blues

by SAM HILL
& HANK GILMAN

PHOTOGRAPH by SHANA NOVAK

GETTY





NCE UPON A TIME, VIRGINIA WAS RELIABLY red. Now it's blue.

It's the same story for California, Oregon, Washington, Colorado, New Hampshire and New Mexico. Arizona, North Carolina and perhaps Georgia and Texas are on the way.

Republican Senator Kelly Loeffler is struggling in Georgia. Democrat Cal Cunningham is ahead in North Carolina in the U.S. Senate race. Polls show Democrat Jaime Harrison is in a dead heat with Republican Senator Lindsey Graham in reliably red South Carolina.

Within two presidential election cycles, much of the South will be blue. As former Georgia gubernatorial candidate Stacey Abrams told *The New York Times*: "The Sun Belt expansion (by Democrats) is what will drive the next 30 years of elections."

Demographers and political pros have been watching and discussing these trends for a decade. Now the data may finally be about to deliver results, starting in the fall. In other words: the Democrats long nightmare in the Sun Belt may be, at last, coming to an end.

These states aren't turning blue because conservatives are suddenly discovering their inner AOC. The shift is driven by demographics—what demographers call "generational replacement," urbanization and increasingly, the migration of blue-state residents to red states. Worryingly for Republicans, these new arrivals have brought their voting habits and blue policies with them. Author Kristin B. Tate calls it the "liberal invasion of red state America." She believes that companies and people are fleeing high-tax/low-growth blue states for low-tax/high-growth red states. She says, "Harris County [Houston] where I live has absorbed a huge number of people from California. A middle-class family can afford a home here."

Welcome to the Great Migration 2.0, one that may give the Democrats an electoral advantage that could last for generations to come. (See map on pg.40)

To understand what's really going on, we spoke to a dozen experts and dove deep into the data. Working with data provided by William H. Frey, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and author of *Diversity Explosion* (Brookings Institution Press), we looked at 20 years of migration by state, and compared that to changes in presidential voting patterns using data from the website 270toWin. And finally, we studied migration patterns by age from a database at the University of Wisconsin.

What we found is not great news for the Grand Old Party.

Out of the Blue

WE'VE USED THE DIFFERENCE IN WHICH CANDIDATE PEOPLE VOTED for president in 2000 and 2016 to gauge whether a state is getting redder or bluer. Even though it's tempting to dismiss 2016 because the two candidates were particularly polarizing, 2016

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GAP CLOSING

Beto O'Rourke (above) gave Ted Cruz a tight race in 2018; Jaime Harrison (far right) is making life uncomfortable for Lindsey Graham in South Carolina. "The Sun Belt expansion" by Democrats, says Stacey Abrams (right), "is what will drive the next 30 years of elections."

was consistent with long-term trends.

For example, Texas isn't blue, yet, but it's getting bluer. In 2000, President George W. Bush got 21 more percentage points in Texas than Senator Al Gore. In 2016, President Donald Trump beat Secretary Hillary Clinton by only 9 points. That means that the red advantage fell between 2000 and 2016. That's consistent with other recent election results in Texas, like

Senator Ted Cruz squeaking by Beto O'Rourke in the closest Senate election in Texas since 1978.

Of course, migration cuts both ways. As blue voters leave, that's helped turn states like Wisconsin, Pennsylvania and Michigan redder. Overall, 27 states turned redder and 23 plus the District of Columbia turned bluer since 2000. That sounds like good news for Republicans. But it's not. Swapping the Rust Belt for the Sun Belt is a bad deal for Republicans—46 Electoral College votes from Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and Michigan for 109 (North Carolina, Georgia, Florida and Texas).

Other states getting redder are blood red already. And there aren't as many vulnerable blue states left to flip as there are red states that could potentially become blue.

Why is this happening? Simply put, it appears that residents





POLITICS

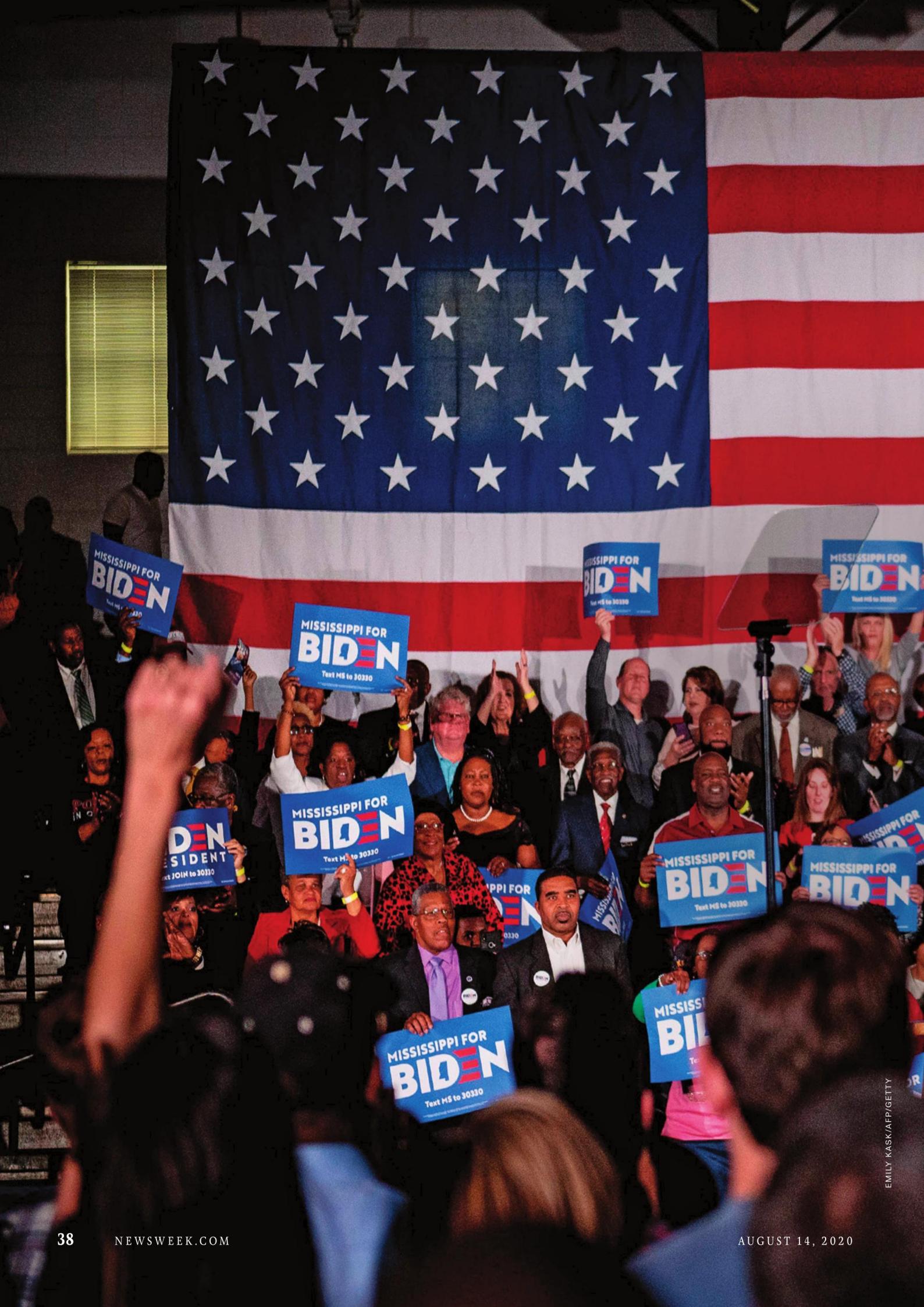
from blue states are colonizing the red ones.

For those states that are getting bluer, a major factor is people moving into those states, specifically Arizona, Colorado and coastal Southern states like North Carolina and even Georgia. Irwin Morris, the William T. Kretzer Distinguished Professor of Humanities at North Carolina State University, says significant moves are mostly by young people and are usually about economics. People are moving to Southern states to find jobs. For example: Uber will bring some 3000 jobs to Dallas when it opens new facilities there. There's a good chance some of those employees will come from blue states. For these migrants, good weather is a bonus. They're taking over the places that have plenty of sunshine and (usually) great beaches: Arizona, Texas, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia. It's a swarm to warm.

Those five states have added almost six million domestic migrants since 2000. That sounds like a lot. But Kenneth Johnson of the University of New Hampshire says those net migration

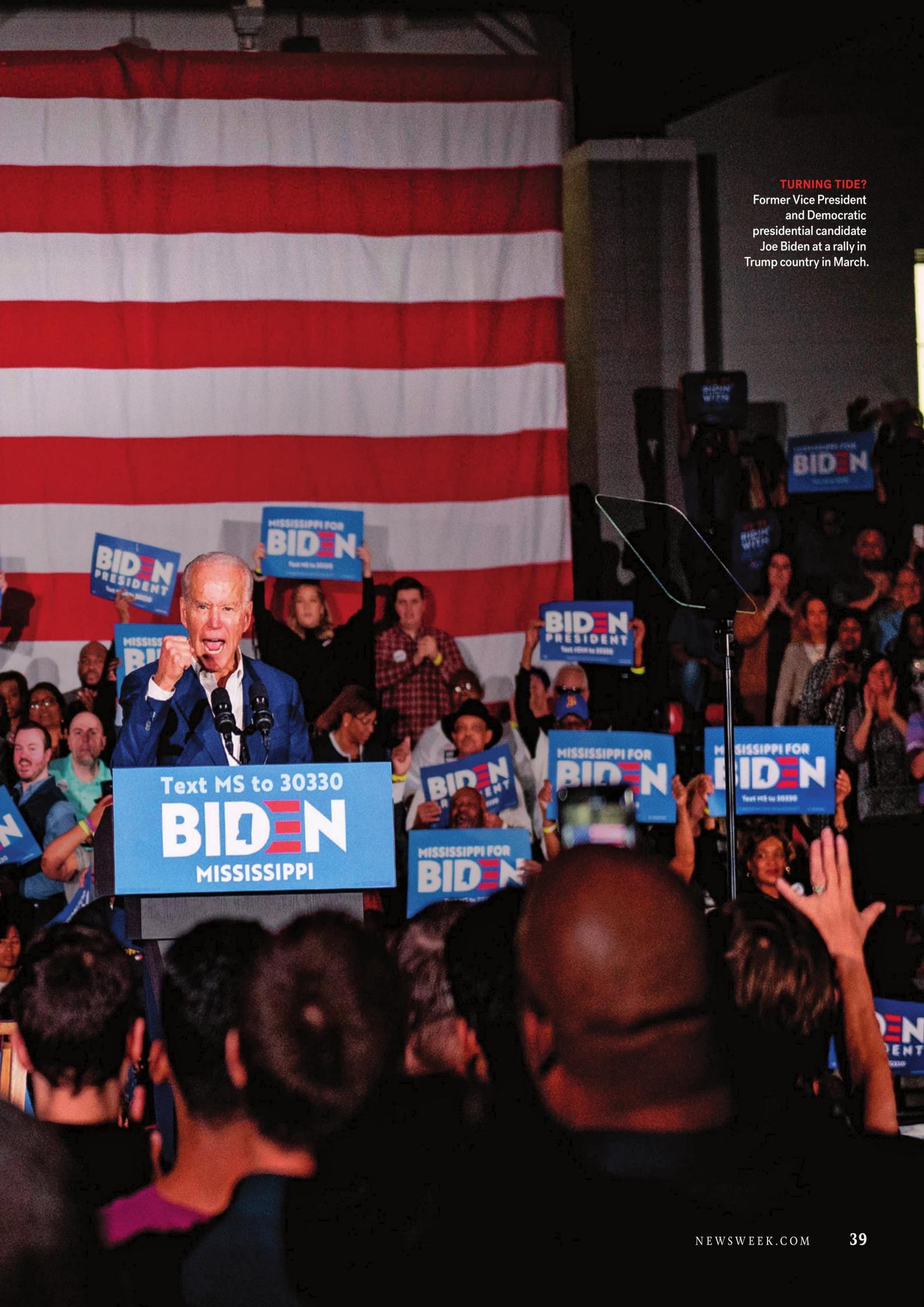


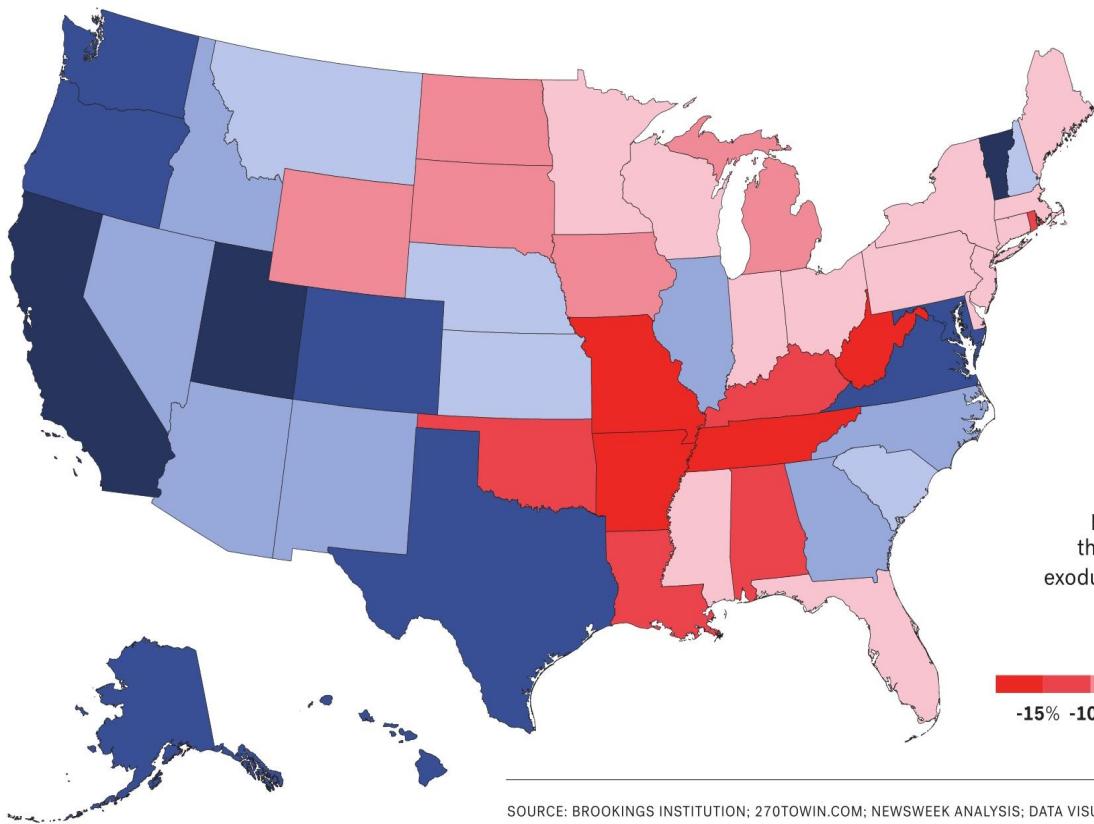
"IT TOOK A LONG TIME TO GO FROM BEING SOLID BLUE TO SOLID RED, AND ONCE IT GOES BLUE, IT'S GOING **take a long time** TO GO BACK."



EMILY KASK/AFP/GETTY

TURNING TIDE?
Former Vice President
and Democratic
presidential candidate
Joe Biden at a rally in
Trump country in March.





The Blue Invasion

Changes in presidential voting from 2000 to 2016 show that Democrats are making gains in the electoral college-rich Sun Belt states, partly because of migration to the South from blue states. The exodus makes the big blues pinker, but in no danger of turning..

-15% -10% -5% 0% +5% +10% +15%

SOURCE: BROOKINGS INSTITUTION; 270TOWIN.COM; NEWSWEEK ANALYSIS; DATA VISUALIZATION BY LUZ DUNN OF DATABAYOU.

TASOS KATOPODIS/GETTY

"PERHAPS REPUBLICANS WERE *right to worry* ABOUT MIGRANT CARAVANS IN 2018. BUT THEY WERE COMING FROM NEW YORK."

numbers may underestimate the churn in the electorate. We confirmed that using numbers provided by Brookings' Frey. Arizona's population is about 7.3 million. In 2018, 274,000 people moved in and 180,000 people moved out, for a gain of 94,000. That's only a 1 percent change in population, but it's a potentially much bigger turnover in the electorate. Here's an example: If the 180,000 who left were Republican voters and the 274,000 who moved in were all Democrats, that could mean a blue vote swing of 454,000 votes, five times as large as the net migration numbers would suggest.

Of course, that's an extreme and unlikely example—not everyone moving in or out is a voter, and it's likely both kinds of migrants are a mix of Republicans and Democrats. But it makes the point.

HANGING IN
Republicans have gained an edge in some states by dividing districts to their advantage; protest (left) against gerrymandering at a rally at the Supreme Court in 2019.



Professor Seth C. McKee, now at Oklahoma State, and Jeremy M. Teigen of Ramapo College have analyzed migration to the South and its impact on voting. Midwest migrants skewed slightly Democratic; those from the Pacific Coast very slightly Republican; and from the Mountain/Plains states strongly Republican. But the X-factors were those from the Northeast. They tended to overwhelmingly vote Democratic. How overwhelmingly? According to McKee and Teigen, “a 10 percent increase in newcomers from the Northeast to a southern county increases the Democratic presidential vote in 2008–2012 by approximately five percentage points.” In the 2016 election, 11 states were decided by five points or less.

Their data says that overall for the South, in 2012 the mix of migrants was 34 percent from the Northeast; 31 percent from the Midwest; and 35 percent from the Mountains, Plains and Pacific Coast. Not surprisingly that varied widely across the region. Texas got only 40 percent of its migrants from the Northeast and the Midwest, while Georgia got 66 percent of its migrants from those regions, North Carolina 73 percent, South Carolina 75 percent and Florida a whopping 81 percent.

Perhaps Republicans were right to worry about migrant caravans in 2018. But they were coming from New York.



Carolina Blue

FOR A GOOD CASE STUDY OF THIS TREND, LET'S TAKE A LOOK AT a state many political scientists see as the next red state to tip: North Carolina.

Today, it's a purple state, voting for Obama in 2008, for Romney in 2012 and Trump in 2016—who won 50 percent to 46 percent. That's a solid majority, but it's only a fraction of the 13-point advantage Bush had in 2000. J. Michael Bitzer, professor of politics and history at Catawba College in Salisbury, North Carolina, says, “The recent polls still have things pretty much a dead heat for both the presidential and U.S. Senate races.” The senate race is between incumbent Republican Thom Tillis and Democrat Cal Cunningham. In addition, polls show Democratic Governor Roy Cooper up by eight points over challenger Dan Forest.

As *Newsweek*'s Jason Lemon reported, earlier this month the Asheville, North Carolina, City Council voted to pay reparations to African Americans in what Mayor Esther Manheimer says is a “progressive-leaning” city. “Asheville sure isn't the same as it used to be, and I think those who have moved here over the last 20–40 years are at the core of that change,” says Able Allen, who covers the City Council for the local newspaper, the *Mountain Xpress*.

Indeed, migration explains much of the change. Back when North Carolina was Senator Jesse Helms territory, it was a rural state composed of people who were born there. That's changed. According to Rebecca Tippett, founding director of Carolina Demography at the Carolina Population Center at UNC-Chapel Hill, 70 percent of the state's population were native born in 1990. That's now down to 56 percent. McKee and Teigen analyzed the 2008 and 2012 presidential election results in North Carolina by voter tabulation district (the voting equivalent of a precinct) and found that the single most important factor in predicting voting outcome was migration. Between 2000 and 2016, North Carolina added a million newcomers. In 2018, 62 percent of the domestic migrants came from blue states, mostly in the Northeast.

Of course, not everyone from a blue state votes blue. Many older people lean red, and North Carolina is a destination for retirees from the snow belt. In the 2000s, the median age of migrants to Florida and South Carolina has been 10 to 15 years older than those to Virginia and Georgia. North Carolina's migrants fall in-between—older than blue Virginia's, but younger than red South Carolina's. Retirees who relocate to North Carolina tend to settle either in the mountains or along the coast. They often move to rural areas, but not necessarily farm counties. Rather they're more likely to move to what University of New Hampshire professor Kenneth Johnson calls “recreational” counties.

But they're outnumbered by younger people who move to North Carolina urban areas for job opportunities. Many are mid-career professionals and new graduates attracted to the Triangle (the Research Triangle Park area, which includes Raleigh, Durham and

Chapel Hill) or the massive banking industry in Charlotte. As Brookings' Frey says, "Big cities are magnets. You can still get your latte and *New York Times*." Together the two streams of migrants create jobs that attract more domestic migrants, like those who work in industries like construction and services, including many Hispanics.

For those hoping to keep North Carolina red, that growing Hispanic population may be the most worrying trend. According to the Carolina Population Center, between 2010 and 2018, the U.S. Census Bureau estimates that North Carolina's Hispanic population grew by 197,000 new residents. Today many Hispanic migrants either lack citizenship or are too young to vote, but both of those could change. "The electorate lags demographics. It takes time for changes to show up in the voting," says Tippett.

Lag or no lag, the change is here in North Carolina: In addition to migration and the growing Hispanic population, there's also generational change. Tippett has prepared a forecast of North Carolina demographics through 2035. Her analysis says that millennials already outnumber boomers in the state, and by 2035 there will be three times as many millennials and Gen Xers as boomers. Even the Gen Z cohort will be larger than boomers.

Unless there's a seismic shift in how migrants, minorities and young people vote, North Carolina is going blue.

"BIG CITIES ARE **magnets.**
YOU CAN STILL GET YOUR
LATTE AND *NEW YORK TIMES*."

Meanwhile...in Texas

MIGRATION IS ALSO HAVING AN IMPACT IN OTHER BATTLEGROUND states like Texas and Georgia.

In Texas, it's conservatives from the Mountain and Plains states versus Democratic-voting Hispanics and migrants from the Northeast and Midwest. According to projections by the state of Texas, within the next few years Hispanics will become the largest single ethnic group. That's fueled by migration. Non-Hispanic whites will drop from 45 percent of the population to 28 percent by 2050. In Georgia, according to the Governor's Office of Planning and Budget, non-Hispanic whites will be less than half of the population in a decade (although they will still be a plurality). Some of that is caused



by reverse migration, descendants of African Americans who moved north looking for opportunities and fleeing persecution during the Great Migration of the 20th Century. Sabrina Pendergrass, assistant professor of African American Studies at the University of Virginia, says Atlanta has more African American newcomers than any other city. Political scientists believe the combination of millennials, African Americans and Hispanics is a toxic mix for Republicans.

Conservative author Tate has her fingers crossed that the young blue millennials moving to red states may grow out of voting for Democrats as they buy homes and get property tax bills. Bitzer laughs, "I haven't seen a shred of research that says millennials are changing their politics as they get older."

Bottom Line

MOST EXPERTS AGREE NORTH CAROLINA, GEORGIA AND PERHAPS Florida, Arizona and Texas will turn blue, but no one is sure exactly when. NCSU's Morris says "The vector is clear but the timing is not. Usually there's a decrease in migration during an economic downturn. And there's COVID. But while the rate of migration may decrease, don't expect to see any changes in the demographic mix of movers."

Here's what is clear: We're likely to see the blue wave crest in the national and statewide races first. State assemblies and the House of Representatives can be tilted by redistricting, which is done by state legislatures. Despite being less than half the population, Republicans control 58 percent of those, according to the National Conference of State Legislatures, and not surprisingly they draw maps that favor them. In 2018, the Supreme Court split along partisan lines in upholding most of the 2013 redistricting in Texas, although it did find one district was the result of racial gerrymandering. North Carolina redistricted following the 2010 elections after Republicans won a supermajority in both houses of the General Assembly. They have redistricted twice since, all of which have been challenged in the courts. According to Bloomberg, the court-ordered plan finalized at the end of 2019 is expected to give Democrats a "strong chance" to add two House seats.

Distinguished Professor Charles S. Bullock III, who holds the Richard B. Russell Chair of Political Science at the University of Georgia, says, "Republicans are dying off and their grandchildren are voting Democratic. The Democrats are making gains in Georgia, Florida and North Carolina. Republicans are starting to lose at the state level. Congressional districts are flipping. [Brian] Kemp won in Georgia by a fourth of what Trump won by. And had there been an honest count in North Carolina, that congressional seat might have flipped. The new South is going to turn blue in the 2020s, and Democrats will consolidate their gains in the 2030s."

He adds: "It took a long time to go from being solid blue to solid red, and once it goes blue, it's going to take a long time to go back."

CHANGING GUARD
Millennials are starting to outnumber boomers in some key states as they migrate south. Should President Trump be concerned? From top: a poll worker in Florida and new construction in North Carolina.

Data Doesn't Lie

IT'S TEMPTING TO LOOK AT THE 2020 election as a test of the red-states-turning-blue theory. Probably not. This very polarizing president, a historically weak economy and the pandemic create a unique and very unpredictable situation. No one knows how all these factors will affect turnout, which way independent voters might go or whether something else will happen before then that could completely change the equation yet again. Texas, North Carolina, Arizona, Georgia and Florida could go either red or blue, and pundits would have plausible narratives to explain either outcome. And while a recent Fox News poll showed Biden up in all five states as of June 25, it's five months between that finding and the first Tuesday in November.

Nonetheless, the data doesn't lie. Change is coming. The blue states are colonizing the big, electoral college-rich red states—and there's little those red states, and the GOP, can do about it. **N**

→ **Sam Hill** is a frequent contributor to NEWSWEEK and an eleventh generation Southerner. **Hank Gilman** is a NEWSWEEK editor and columnist. Giacomo Eisler from Indiana University and Luz Dunn, who runs the website Databayou, also contributed to this article.





THEATER RETROSPECTIVE

Although the annual Avignon theater festival in France was canceled this year due to COVID-19, event organizers were able to project videos of plays from prior years on an outdoor screen last month.



AFP/GETTY



UNCHARTED

Outdoor Movies with Cinematic Views

While catching a film in a theater is on hold right now, there's a silver lining—there are more places than ever to watch a movie under the stars. The pandemic has given drive-ins a new moment of prominence, but at some of these locations around the world you don't even need to stay in your car.

Watch a film at a “floating cinema” on your own private mini-boat, by an English medieval castle or against the backdrop of the illuminated ancient Acropolis. You'll feel like you're in a scene from the movies—while watching one. —Kathleen Rellihan



01 Dive In Movies at Boulevard Pool

— Las Vegas, Nevada

As the Las Vegas strip opens up to tourists, the Cosmopolitan Hotel is offering a special treat for moviegoers. Guests of the hotel as well as visitors can stop by to watch a movie projected onto a massive screen above the hotel's pool. You can watch as you take a dip—or grab a pool chair and lounge with a movie-themed cocktail.



02 Skyline Drive-In

— New York City

A drive-in movie with a view of Manhattan? Seems right out of the movies. And it is. In this spot that doubles as a filming location, you can experience it in real life at the newest—and only—NYC drive-in. Take in a film and the twinkling lights of Manhattan skyline on the East River while still socially distancing from the safety of your car. Arrive early to catch the sunset over the iconic skyline.

03 Floating Boat Cinema

— North American Cities

In what could be the coolest and safest way to watch a movie, Beyond Cinema's brainchild is a floating theater made up of 12 to 24 mini-boats holding up to 8 people each that's drifting across the U.S. and Canada this summer and fall—from Miami to Los Angeles and Vancouver to Toronto.



4

04 Leeds Castle, The Luna Cinema

— Kent, England

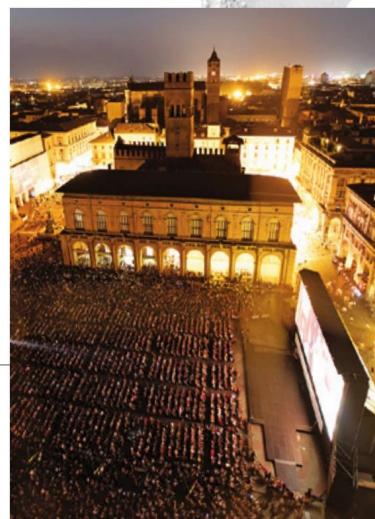
Now you can screen your favorite movie at one of the gorgeous castles in England. Built in the 1100s, this one was the residence of Henry VIII's first wife, Catherine of Aragon, in the 16th century. In August, you'll have numerous chances to catch a variety of films here such as *Joker*—or the oh so fitting, *Downton Abbey*.



05 Sotto le Stelle

— Bologna, Italy

Sitting in the heart of Bologna at the Piazza Maggiore, at this outdoor theater around 1000 guests can gather through September 1 to enjoy one of 50 different showings—all while kicking back and watching a film under the stars and surrounded by history.





06 The Rathausplatz

Vienna, Austria

Every summer for the last 30 years, films, musicals and operas have been shown on a giant screen in Vienna's city square. This year, the dramatic Baroque setting was turned into an open-air cinema with 500 seats divided into spectator boxes for two or four people each and a separate food-stall area.

07 Cine Thision

Athens, Greece

Theater has been important in Greece since ancient times and still is. Built in 1935, this is one of the oldest open-air movie theaters in Athens, and it features the timeless backdrop of the Acropolis lit up at night.



08 Cinema Paradiso, Soneva Kiri

Thailand

The jungle surround sound here isn't coming from the screen. It's real. When was the last time you watched a movie on a lagoon in a tropical rainforest on a tiny island? Sit back on your lounger and escape into a film under the moonlight with the waves lapping in the distance.



09 Westpac OpenAir

Cinema

Sydney, Australia

At what has been dubbed one of the most beautiful outdoor cinemas in the world, guests can view a variety of films against the backdrop of a gorgeous sunset and the Opera House or harbor during January and February—Sydney's summer months. The screen stands three stories high, and the venue has the capacity to hold up to 2,000 people—though time will tell if restrictions will allow for a full house.



PARTING SHOT

Sean Hayes

↗ IN THE PAST FEW YEARS, PODCASTS HAVE GONE FROM NICHE TO MAINSTREAM. *Will & Grace's* Sean Hayes is the latest major talent to join the fray with his new podcast *Smartless*, which he co-hosts with longtime buddies Jason Bateman and Will Arnett. "We've all been friends for over 20 years." On *Smartless*, they each invite a guest the other two either don't know personally or aren't aware are going to be guests. The result is a lot of surprises, learning—and most importantly, laughs. "I have never laughed so hard in my life. Those guys are two of the funniest people and two of the sweetest guys I've ever known." Hayes recently revisited playing Jack, the role that made him famous, on the reboot of *Will & Grace*. The show was known for its major guest stars, which included an iconic episode where Hayes had a dance-off in front of Janet Jackson—"As one does"—with now podcast co-host Will Arnett. But one major star didn't make the cut. "Jesus Christ and Jason Bateman were the only two people never on during the show's run."



Why do you think podcasts like *Smartless* are so successful?

We've been talk-showed to death. I'm still a fan, and I may do one myself one day. But they're showing you a produced segment. On a podcast, you don't have that structure. I think people are drawn to that because it's more real.

Do you ever invite a guest to throw off Jason or Will?

I've done that. Everybody's thrown off because it's always a surprise. I like being surprised by the sports figures they bring on because I have no idea who they are.

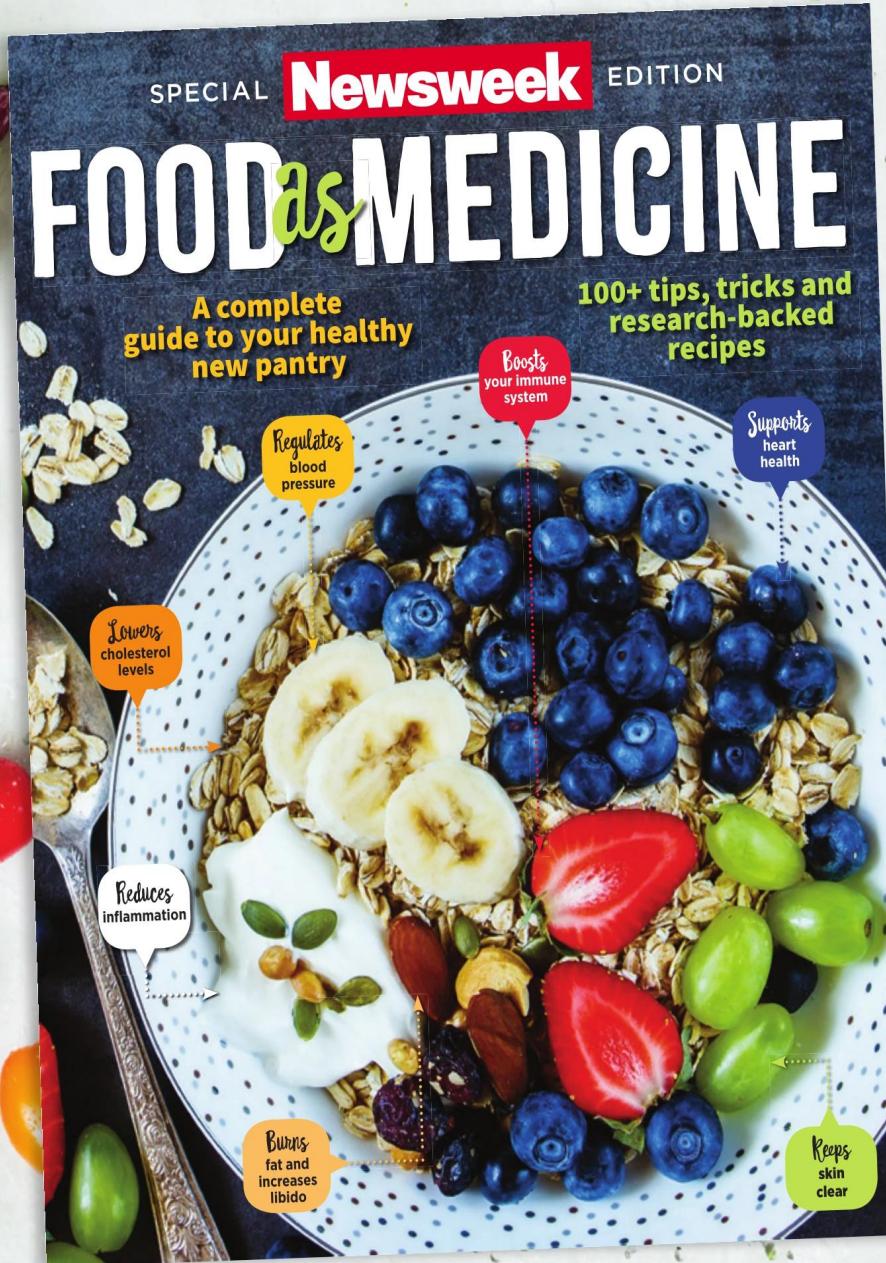
How do you think Jack would handle being in quarantine?

He'd definitely have COVID, amongst other diseases, right? Wouldn't he think he's impervious to all of it? And then of course he would get it and whine and have Will pay all his hospital bills.

Jack is such an iconic character in TV history, you must get some interesting fan reactions?

I was having lunch in New York City with my husband, Scotty, and this family comes up. They were like, "Excuse me, do you mind taking a picture?" I said, "Not at all." I went to join them, and they handed me the camera. They just wanted me to take a picture of them [laughs]. Look, I decided a long time ago, you must embrace the thing that made you famous. —H. Alan Scott

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