

A Global Reckoning on Race

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Newsweek

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THE PANDEMIC

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**FEATURES****BLACK LIVES MATTER EVERYWHERE**

The global fight against racism has now expanded to nearly every continent. The big question: Where the worldwide movement for racial justice goes from here?

COVER CREDIT

Graphic by Paul Naughton



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08**Stepping Up**

Corporate philanthropy has often been slow, calculating and overly cautious. COVID-19 has changed all that at least for now.

BY SAM HILL & HANK GILMAN

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WORKING WOMEN
(Left) Michigan Governor Gretchen Whitmer weighs in on reforms to advance racial justice. (Bottom) A new role for Garcelle Beauvais, the first Black cast member of *The Real Housewives of Beverly Hills*.

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NEWSWEEK (ISSN0028-9604) is published weekly except one week in January, February, March, April, May, June, July, August, September, October, November and December due to combined issues. Newsweek is published by Newsweek LLC, 33 Whitehall St., 8th Floor, New York, NY 10004. Periodical postage is paid at New York, NY and additional mailing offices.

POSTMASTER: Send change of address to Newsweek, 33 Whitehall St., 8th Floor, New York, NY 10004. For Article Reprints, Permissions and Licensing Newsweeklicensing.com The YGS Group (800) 290-5460 Newsweek@theYGSgroup.com

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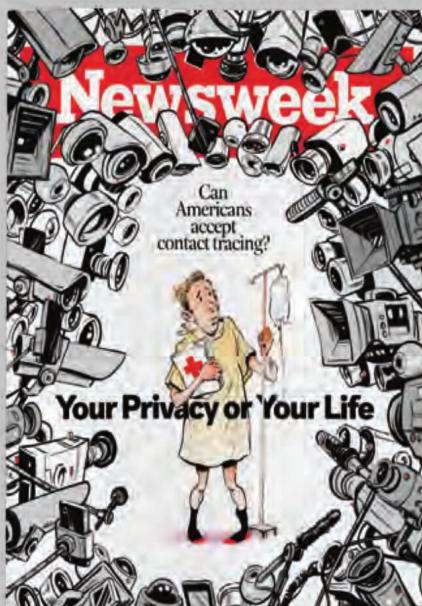
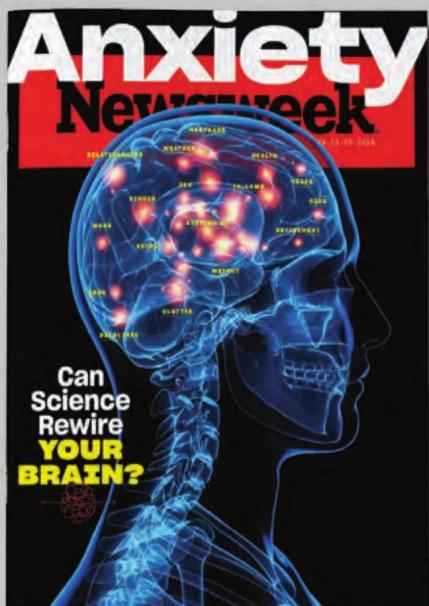
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“Journalism I don’t see elsewhere until later, if at all.”

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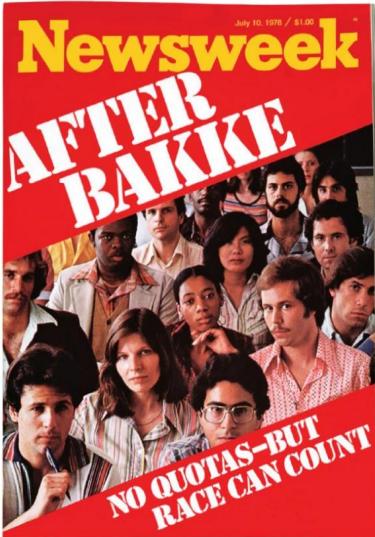
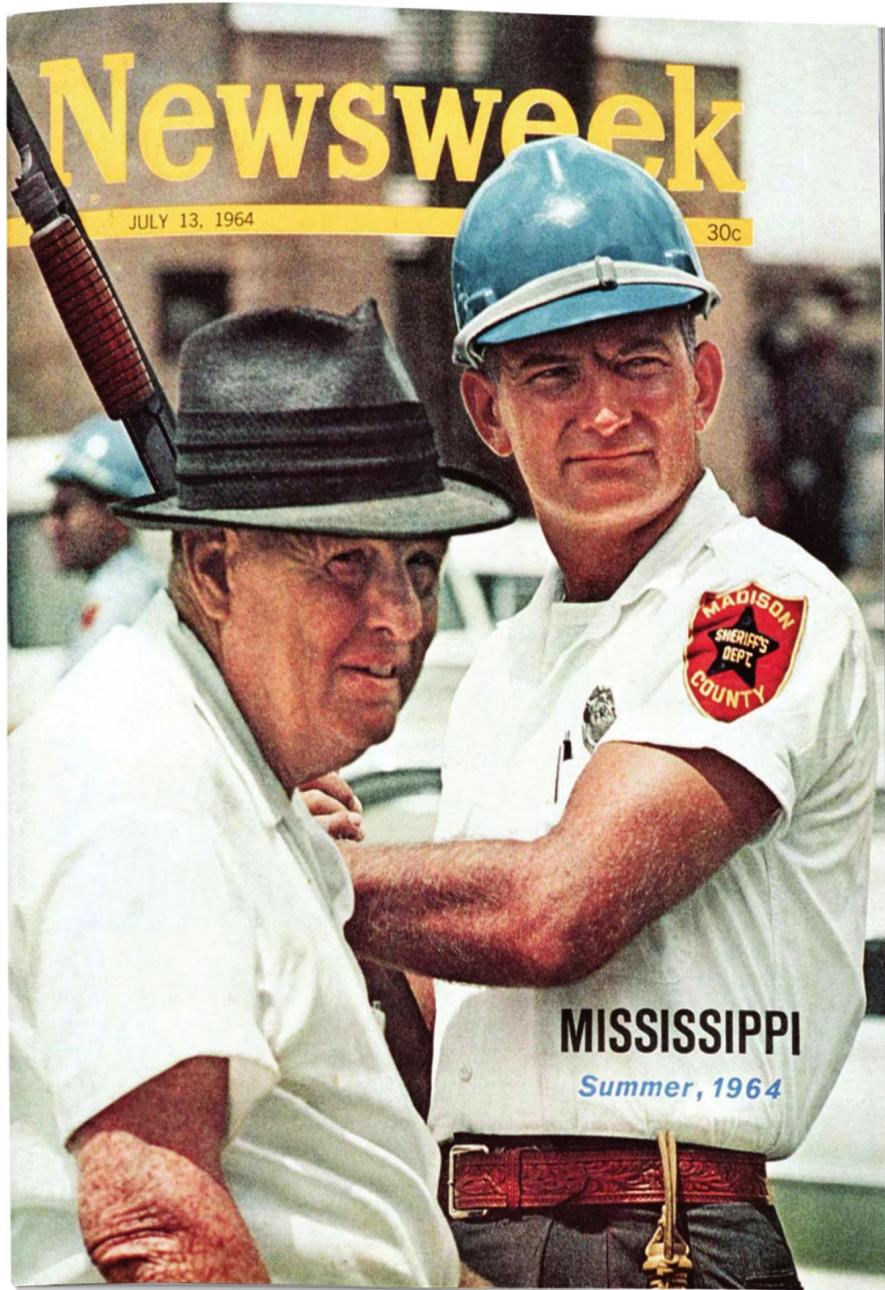
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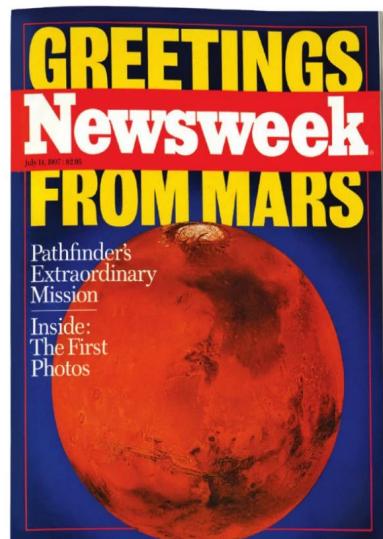
1964

Student activists signed up African Americans to register to vote during Mississippi's Freedom Summer, and *Newsweek* reported that "somehow the mix of courage and energy and naiveté seemed to make, here and there, some small dents in the wall." Violence marked the campaign, though: three activists were murdered by the KKK, and African Americans were scared away from registering by arrests and beatings and burnings of Black homes and churches. Today, approximately 16 percent of the voting-age Black population in Mississippi is legally barred from voting due to disenfranchisement laws.



1978

According to *Newsweek*, the Bakke case "went to the heart of the issue of preferential treatment of minorities." The Supreme Court ruled that "race can be a factor in selecting students" for admission into institutions of higher education, but that "rigid racial quotas are unlawful"—an issue that is still generating controversy.



1997

Newsweek reported that Pathfinder, a "microwave-oven-size dune buggy of a rover," successfully landed on Mars after a seven-month, 120-million-mile journey through space—"the first-ever mobile explorer of another planet." This month, both China and the U.S. plan to launch rovers that will go to Mars. ■

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In Focus — THE NEWS IN PICTURES





WASHINGTON, D.C.

Down With Jackson

Protesters attempt to pull down the statue of President Andrew Jackson in Lafayette Square, near the White House, on June 22. The Associated Press reported that President Trump threatened protesters with 10 years in jail if caught trying to topple the statue.

→ DREW ANGERER



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Corporate
philanthropy
has often
been slow,
calculating
and overly
cautious.

COVID-19
has changed
all that—at
least for now

▼
BY
Sam Hill

AND
Hank
Gilman

▼
ILLUSTRATION
BY
Anastasiia
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IT'S HARD TO TAKE CORPORATE KINDNESS at face value. Chrysler's Drive Forward ad campaign is about how we're in this pandemic thing together. And it wants to help. By selling you a car. Amazon's new commercial is about how you can order without feeling bad because of all it's doing to keep its warehouse workers safe. Even though Amazon no longer will give numbers on how many workers have gotten sick and/or died. Or United Airlines' March promise to leave empty seats in planes. Unless it's a full flight. But some companies truly have been stepping up since the beginning of the pandemic with philanthropy—and more—as you'll see in our following list.

It's been a long time coming. "Philanthropy used to be something the company did to get the CEO good opera tickets," says Daryl Brewster, CEO of Chief Executives for Corporate Purpose, an organization founded in 1999 by actor Paul Newman and a handful of business leaders. Over the past few years, though, consumers and employees have demanded corporations contribute to the greater good. Now, the COVID crisis has put corporate giving on steroids.

To understand COVID-19 philanthropy, you have to understand where corporations have come from on the business of giving.

"Over the last 10 or 15 years, companies have come to realize that giving can do things for them," says Dwight Burlingame, professor of philanthropic studies and the Glenn Family chair in philanthropy at the Lilly Family School of Philanthropy at Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis. This perspective is called corporate social responsibility. CSR is a broad term that encompasses not just what a company makes and sells but also its values and how it operates.

Strategic philanthropy is a large, highly visible piece of that. Brewster says corporations give about \$26 billion a year. That's just under 1 percent of net income (although the top quartile gives twice that). Not everyone agrees corporate giving is enough to make a difference. Phil Buchanan, president of the Center for Effective Philanthropy and author of *Giving Done Right: Effective Philanthropy and Making Every Dollar Count* (Public Affairs), says corporate giving is "more rhetoric than reality" because "shareholder returns crowd out good intentions."

Those inside corporations push back, citing "fiduciary duty." Executives are legally obligated to only spend money that's in the best interests of the corporation. When a CEO or manager commits a cor-





"PHILANTHROPY used to be something the company did to get the CEO good opera tickets."

poration's money, it's money that would otherwise go to shareholders. Corporate leaders have to be prepared to show how their donations build corporate reputation and generate goodwill among potential employees, customers and communities. It's not the same as when Twitter founder Jack Dorsey donates a billion dollars. That's his personal money.

That's why corporations usually support causes that have a clear line of sight back to the core business. For example, Siemens, the giant technology company, funds efforts to improve STEM (science, technology, engineering and math) education. Insurer of military families USAA donates to veterans' organizations. Contributions, however, can't provide a direct benefit or result in the company foundation acting as a tax-deductible piggy bank for the company and its officers. That's known as self-dealing, and it is what led to dissolution of the Trump Foundation.)

And that need to justify spending to shareholders is also why corporate philanthropy is like all things corporate: disciplined, rigorous and highly professional.

Brewster describes the typical strategic philanthropy process: "Today, most organizations have thought a lot about their purpose and values and how they can use corporate social investments to move those forward. The first step is usually a stakeholder analysis—what causes do customers and employees care about? There's a lot of analysis and benchmarking. How much to give? How many issues should we take on? And then there's the strategy of how to do it."

Mark Kramer has co-written highly influential articles making the case for corporations to address societal problems. His co-author is Harvard professor and business icon Michael Porter. Kramer believes introducing business practices into philanthropy has made it more disciplined and effective. But the corporate approach is often criticized by philanthropy lifers as being slow and overly cautious.

At least, the usual corporate philanthropy approach. But with COVID-19, nothing is normal—even corporate practice. According to Kathleen Enright, CEO of the Council on Foundations, "Cor-

TO THE RESCUE

"Over the last 10 or 15 years, companies have come to realize that giving can do things for them." Pictured: products and meals headed to the front lines.

porations are stepping up in impressive ways" in response to the COVID-19 crisis. That includes not only traditional corporate philanthropy, but "creative" CEO-led moves like giving breaks to customers and tenants, repurposing facilities and physical plants to manufacture needed supplies and providing additional support to employees—postponing layoffs, offering "hero pay" to those on the front lines and increasing employee assistance programs for those employees having problems paying their bills.

In normal times, philanthropy would be handled by the staff of the company foundation. Unusual times call for unusual measures, and these are highly unusual times. With COVID, CEOs are taking a more hands-on role. Cutting prices, allowing customers to postpone payment, repurposing company facilities or keeping idled employees on the payroll are all decisions that will affect earnings and will need to be explained to investors at some point. In other words, they're calls that only the CEO can make.

Some of the ways companies are helping have caught the public's attention, like rent forgiveness for tenants, temporarily increasing employee salaries and 3-to-1 matching contributions for charitable donations by employees. But much is below the radar, like a company that is donating masks and other supplies to the Navajo Nation or other companies that have mobilized staff to help people file for unemployment claims and manage logistics at food banks that are seeing 10 times the usual demand. Brewster points to utility companies who had developed pandemic playbooks long before COVID and have shared them with others. He says, "Companies aren't looking for credit."

That's not to say corporations are unaware of how this might contribute to the bottom line longer term. "COVID [has been] a real opportunity to demonstrate their value," says Burlingame. "COVID is a strategic opportunity for companies to gain goodwill. When companies support causes, they often have to worry about getting criticized, for example giving to Planned Parenthood. COVID is different. What other program will get universal support?"

We'll see, of course, how long that lasts. But it's good news for now. ■

→ **Sam Hill** an author and consultant, is a frequent contributor to Newsweek. Hank Gilman is NEWSWEEK'S Editorial Director and writer of the weekly "On the Street" column for NEWSWEEK.COM.

Companies Are Digging Deeper

Businesses in recent years have had a crash course in dealing with disaster from hurricanes in New Orleans and Florida and a superstorm in New York to massive tornadoes in places like Joplin, Missouri, to the current COVID-19 pandemic. How have they fared? We asked corporate responsibility guru Susan McPherson to fill us in. —HANK GILMAN

Q: Businesses have traditionally stepped up in disasters, like Walmart during Hurricane Katrina. What's different now?

A: We've seen social impact evolve from a "nice-to-have" to a core business strategy. That shift was underway during previous disasters, but we're really seeing it culminate here in response to COVID-19. Rather than just write a check, companies are digging deeper to figure out how they can leverage their resources to support customers, employees, workers and communities grappling with crisis. Employees and customers expect business to be part of the solution. The question is no longer if companies are going to take action, but how.

Q: OK, do you think CEOs are doing this because they feel they have to?

A: There's certainly the sense that there's an expectation for companies to act, and there's also a business case to be made. But I think many of today's CEOs are motivated by the great potential that companies have to help shape our future for the better. The challenges we're facing right now—rebuilding an economy, massive unemployment, climate change—are not problems that we can solve without the participation of the corporate sector.



"If you're creating masks for health care workers, but don't provide laid-off workers with any severance, you must **DO BETTER."**

Q: We've got the initial stage of giving. You know, doling out masks to the local hospitals and such. What do you think should come next?

A: Right now, we're at the precipice of a global turning point—meaning the future holds a real opportunity for leaders to commit to doing something meaningful about social and economic inequities and our climate. COVID will demand a fundamental reset in how business interacts with society and its resources, from paying taxes to funding health care to providing training and employment opportunities for marginalized communities. I would urge CEOs to take 10 steps back and not just respond to the crisis but reimagine what a new future can look like. How can their company help create a better, more just future? What are the resources they are willing to commit to make these changes happen?

TURNING POINT

"The future," says McPherson, above, "holds a real opportunity for leaders to commit to doing something meaningful."

COURTESY OF SUSAN MCPHERSON

Q: Motives aside, do companies actually get something out of this? Does the public care, or is it something people just expect now?

A: When companies step up, all their stakeholders—employees, investors, customers, the communities in which they operate—benefit. An international crisis presents the opportunity to walk the walk, and the public is watching the private sector very closely. We know that consumers favor brands that align with their values.

When it comes to the impact on company-wide morale, we've seen time and again that purpose-driven brands energize employees. In the case of COVID, any impact strategy must address how you're treating your own employees and workers. If you're making donations to a food bank, but are exposing your teams to unsafe working conditions, it's not enough. If you're creating masks for health care workers, but don't provide laid-off workers with any severance, you must do better.

Q: We have quite a long list here. What is your favorite example or two?

A: I'm always impressed by companies that seamlessly integrate their mission and purpose into brand operations and ethos. Airbnb and its efforts to house health care professionals, relief workers and first responders immediately jumps out—one, because the initiative goes above and beyond the traditional business model and, two, because this isn't the first time Airbnb has done something like this. For years, the company has been safely housing global refugees—committing to reaching 100,000 refugees by 2022. Meanwhile, Netflix created a \$100 million fund to help project-to-project workers whose jobs have been put indefinitely on hold.

→ **Susan McPherson**, CEO of McPherson Strategies, is a serial connector, angel investor and corporate responsibility expert. She's the host of the *McPherson Memo Live Impact Chats* and a regular contributor to Harvard Business Review, Fast Company and Forbes.

IN GOOD COMPANY

U.S. companies have pitched in, in droves, to help citizens and frontline workers during the deadly spread of coronavirus. Here are 50—from Coca-Cola and Airbnb to Tory Burch and Spanx—that stand out

THERE HAVE BEEN HUNDREDS OF companies and entrepreneurs that have helped, and continue to help, during the COVID-19 outbreak.

We have picked 50 companies (including one collaboration) that stand out for the size, scope or uniqueness of their efforts and that provide a snapshot of all these good works. The list was researched and written by Newsweek's Kerri Anne Renzulli, with the assistance of Newsweek contributor and consultant Sam Hill, consultant and CEO expert Susan McPherson (see Q&A on page 12) and Newsweek Editorial Director Hank Gilman.

The criteria? We were looking for companies making noteworthy contributions across different industries and different categories of giving. We also put the spotlight on firms and people who were targeting a specific need. For example: Starbucks founder Howard Schultz. He not only provided money to unemployed restaurant workers, but also made sure often-overlooked undocumented food service employees got help as well. And, of course, we featured companies that reached out and assisted frontline medical workers as well.

Here's the list with some of the most interesting, and best, givers in the business.



First Responder Support

Airbnb

SAN FRANCISCO

The lodging firm helped find accommodation for first responders, health care and relief workers. Its hosts offered up more than 200,000 different housing units and frontline workers booked more than 100,000 nights in free or subsidized accommodations.

Hilton, American Express

**MCLEAN, VA /
NEW YORK CITY**

In April and May, the two companies, which provide lodging and travel services, teamed up and made nearly 1.9 million rooms available—at no charge—to doctors, nurses, EMTs, paramedics and other frontline staff, many who had to be isolated from their families. In New York City alone, nearly 100,000 room nights were booked.

Moscot

NEW YORK CITY

Working with Cherry Optical Lab, the eyewear maker gave away 5,000 pairs of prescription and non-prescription eyeglasses, worth \$1.5 million, to emergency medical professionals.

Serta Simmons Bedding

ATLANTA

Serta donated 10,000 mattresses, valued at \$2 million, to New York City hospitals and temporary medical facilities. It also created a bed donation fund, which allows hospitals to purchase mattresses at cost.

Specialized Bicycle Components

MORGAN HILL, CA

The bike makers donated 500 new bikes, each worth between \$500 and \$4,000, directly to health care workers, grocery store clerks, farmers and other essential employees on the front lines of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Tory Burch

NEW YORK CITY

In partnership with the United Healthcare Workers East, the apparel maker provided \$5 million worth of products, including sneakers, belt bags and clothing to wear under scrubs. Tory Burch also donated 3,000 yards of fabric to be made into face masks and hospital gowns to the Catholic Health Services of Long Island.

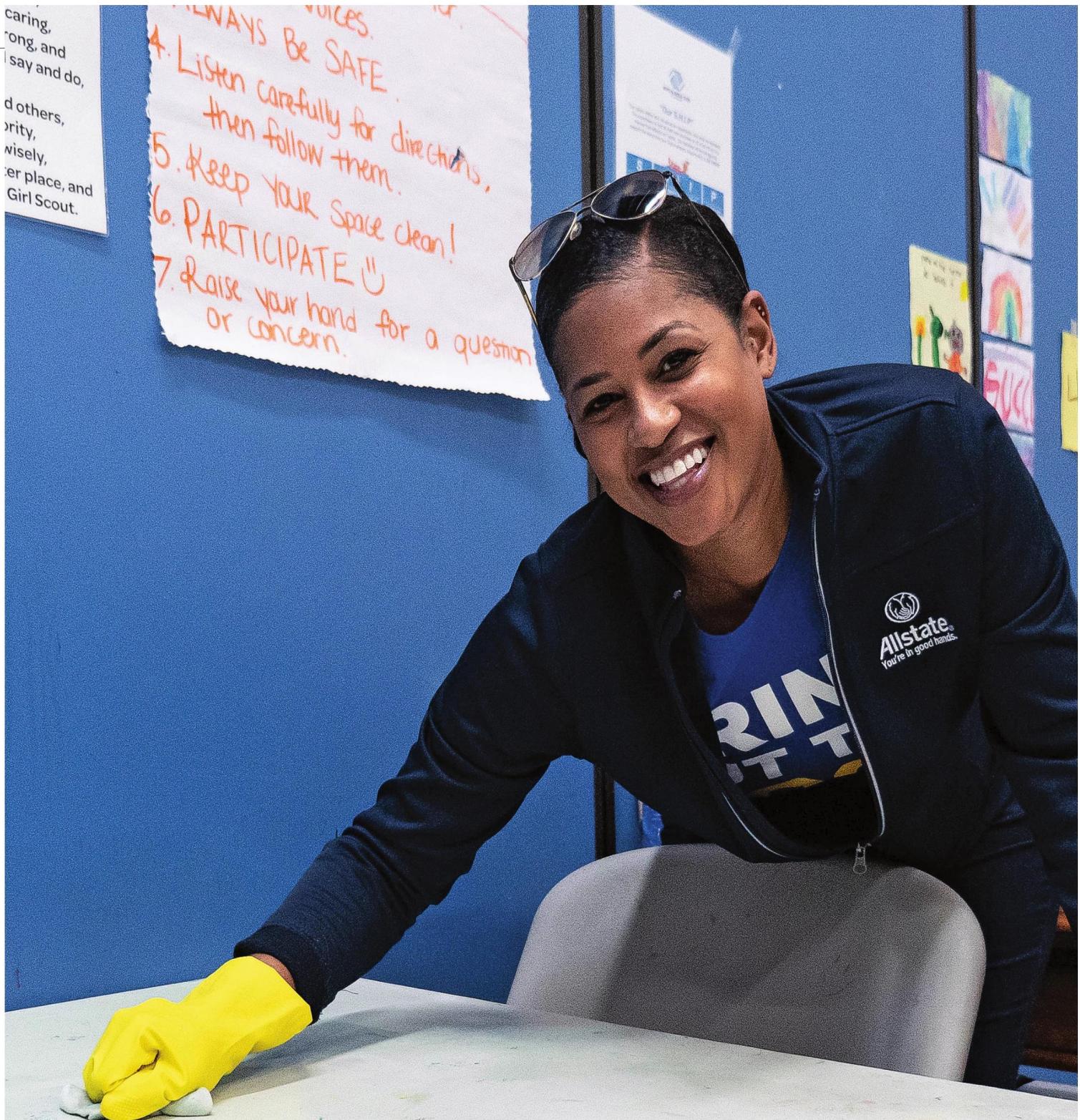
Uber

SAN FRANCISCO

The ride-hailing company pledged 10 million free rides and food deliveries to health care workers, seniors and others, including some 100,000 rides for school districts and youth organizations that needed to get meals to needy families. Uber also donated 300,000 meals to first responders and health care workers in the U.S. and Canada via its Uber Eats food service.

caring, strong, and I say and do, and others, priority, wisely, her place, and Girl Scout.

- 1. ALWAYS Be SAFE.
- 2. Listen carefully for directions, then follow them.
- 3. Keep Your Space clean!
- 4. PARTICIPATE ☺
- 5. Raise your hand for a question or concern.



DISCOUNTER

Allstate

NORTHBROOK, IL The insurer was the first, along with American Family, to offer rebates on premiums, largely because people are driving less during the pandemic. It refunded \$1 billion in three months (April to June). Progressive and others followed their lead.

Shoes

Allbirds

SAN FRANCISCO

The shoe maker and retailer donated \$500,000 worth of shoes, or about 5,000 pairs, to health care workers.



Crocs

BROOMFIELD, CO

Crocs gave away free pairs of its signature clogs—more than 860,000, worth nearly \$40 million—to health care workers globally. That includes a bulk donation of 100,000 shoes directly to 150 hospitals and health care organizations.

Ugg

GOLETA, CA

Ugg gave away 2,000 pairs of Ugg slippers in April to, among others, health care workers and delivery drivers. It has pledged a total of \$1 million in monetary and product donations.

SMALL BUSINESS HELPERS

► PYER MOSS

NEW YORK CITY

The fashion label has formed a network called Your Friends in New York and set aside \$50,000 to provide financial aid to small minority- and women-led businesses struggling because of the pandemic.

► NETFLIX

LOS GATOS, CA

The media-services provider set up a \$100 million relief fund for out-of-work production professionals, such as electricians, carpenters and drivers, many of whom are paid hourly on a project basis. Fifteen percent of the money will go to organizations that offer emergency relief to out-of-work crews and cast members overseas.

► TAPESTRY

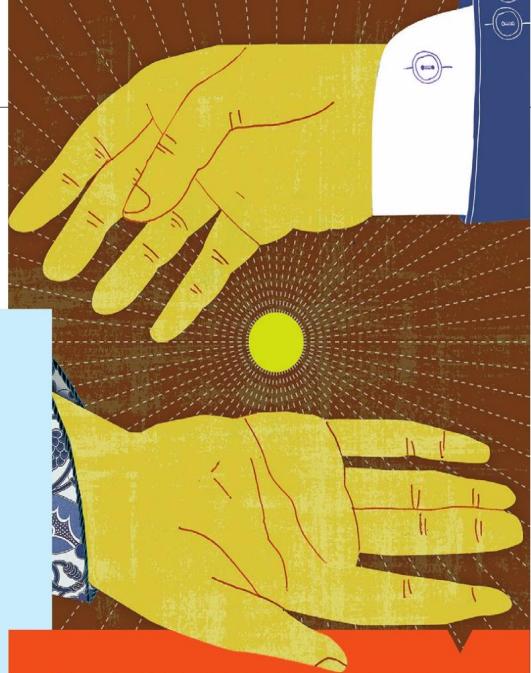
NEW YORK CITY

Tapestry's luxury fashion brands, Coach and Kate Spade, have donated \$9 million in cash and products to relief efforts globally. Coach, through its foundation, committed \$3 million to supporting New York City small businesses, especially those owned by minorities or women. Meanwhile, the Kate Spade foundation gave \$100,000 to Crisis Text Line to provide free 24/7 crisis counseling and emotional support for doctors, nurses and other health care workers.

► VERIZON

NEW YORK CITY

Through the national nonprofit Local Initiatives Support Corporation, Verizon's foundation committed \$7.5 million to aid small businesses in underserved communities who will receive as much as \$10,000 to meet payroll, pay rent and address operational costs. In total, the company has given \$45 million to help small businesses, students, health care workers and first responders during the pandemic.



MGM RESORTS**LAS VEGAS**

The hotelier partnered with food banks and local organizations in eight states to distribute 480,000 pounds of food—the equivalent of 400,000 meals.

SOUTHEASTERN GROCERS**JACKSONVILLE, FL**

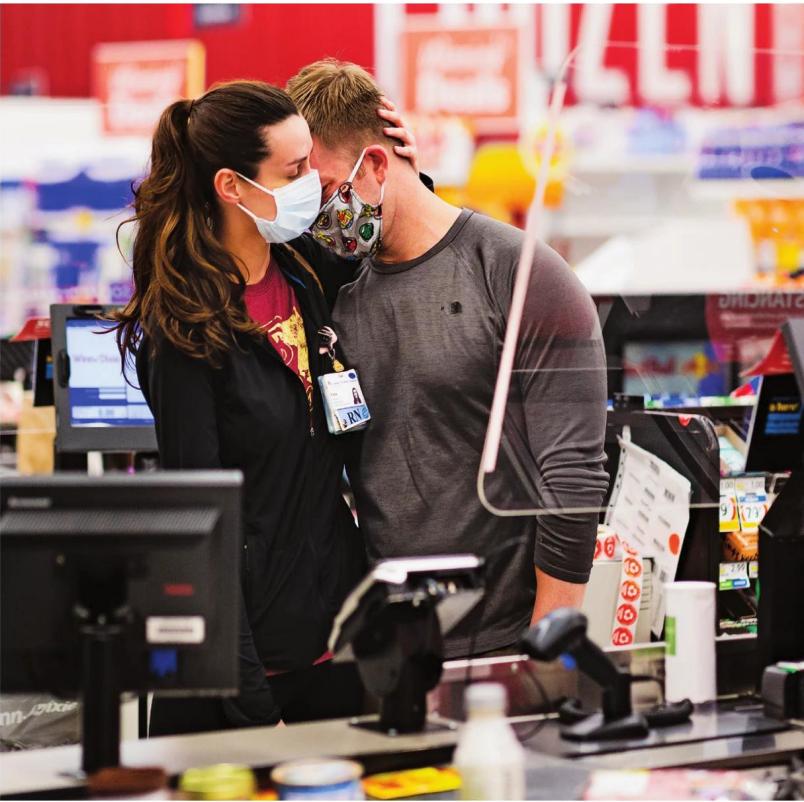
The parent of supermarket chains like BI-LO and Winn-Dixie, paid the grocery bills of thousands of health care professionals and first responders on April 13. Its foundation also donated \$250,000 to Feeding America. ▶

SUBARU OF AMERICA**CAMDEN, NJ**

The company partnered with Feeding America to provide 50 million meals nationwide to people affected by COVID-19.

VITA COCO**NEW YORK CITY**

The coconut water company is donating \$1 million of its pandemic profits to Feeding America and No Kid Hungry. Vita Coco's co-founder Michael Kirban made the decision after sales surged by more than 100 percent in March.

FOOD RESCUE

Entrepreneurs

Dan Amos**AFLAC
COLUMBUS, GA**

Amos and his wife, Kathelen, gave \$1 million to Piedmont Columbus Regional Hospital. With an additional publicly-raised \$900,000-plus, the result was a fifth-floor renovation with an additional 36 beds for COVID-19 patients and much needed mask and PPE purchases.

**Sara Blakely****SPANX
ATLANTA**

Founder Blakely and her shapewear company will donate \$5 million to female entrepreneurs to help their businesses, families and employees through its Red Backpack Fund. Applications and funding for the \$5000 grants will be managed by GlobalGiving through August 3.

**Bill Gates****BILL AND MELINDA
GATES FOUNDATION
SEATTLE**

Microsoft's co-founder and his wife, Melinda, through their private foundation, will donate more than \$250 million to, among other things, developing COVID-19 vaccines and providing medical resources to health care providers in Africa and South Asia.

**Robert Kraft****KRAFT GROUP
FOXBOROUGH, MA**

New England Patriots owner Kraft and his family partnered with Massachusetts to help purchase 1.7 million medical grade masks and then transported 1.2 million of them from China to Boston via the Patriots team plane. New York received 300,000 of those masks.

**Howard Schultz****STARBUCKS
SEATTLE**

Through his family foundation, Schultz created The Plate Fund, which provides \$500 payments to unemployed Seattle restaurant employees, including undocumented workers. The fund, with outside investors, raised more than \$7.8 million and covered more than 15,600 people.





PETS

Chewy

DANIA BEACH, FL • BOSTON

Since the start of the pandemic, Chewy has donated more than \$9 million in food, medication and supplies to GreaterGood.org and other animal welfare organizations. More than 4,700 shelters, rescue centers and other animal organizations across the U.S. have benefited, the retailer said.

PPE Providers

Apple

CUPERTINO, CA

The tech giant sourced, procured and donated more than 30 million masks to medical workers in hard-hit regions of the U.S. and Europe, while its product teams also designed, tested and manufactured nearly 10 million face shields. The company has also donated more than \$15 million to organizations like the World Health Organization's COVID-19 Solidarity Response Fund and America's Food Fund.

Burton

BURLINGTON, VT

The world's largest snowboard manufacturer donated 500,000 KN95 respirator masks to health care facilities in the Northeast. In addition, Burton has been making medical face shields at its facility in Burlington, Vermont, for employees at the University of Vermont Medical Center and Boston Children's Hospital. Its helmet division has donated 1,600 pairs of snow goggles to medical professionals in need of eye protection.

Harbor

Freight Tools

CALABASAS, CA

The discount tool and equipment retailer donated its personal protective equipment supply, valued at \$10 million, to hospital emergency rooms across the U.S. In total, Harbor provided 44 million nitrile gloves and 200,000 N95 masks and face shields. More than 1,000 communities received at least one pallet containing 24,000 pairs of protective gloves, 53 N95 masks and 48 face shields.

Nike

BEAVERTON, OR

Nike converted factories to help produce face shields and air-purifying respirator lenses. The sporting goods and apparel giant worked with Oregon Health & Science University to repurpose padding, cords and shoe soles into personal protective equipment, which was donated to the university beginning in April—and then to other health care facilities. It is also donating 30,000 shoes designed for health care workers. ▼



Sanitizer Nation

COTY

NEW YORK CITY Coty made hand sanitizer at its factories in the U.S. and Monaco. The plan was to donate tens of thousands of units per week to medical and emergency services staff during the pandemic.

KOVAL DISTILLERY

CHICAGO A maker of kosher whiskey and gin, Koval produced more than 2,000 gallons of hand sanitizer for Chicago-area medical professionals and retirement homes from mid-March through April alone. ▲

TITO'S HANDMADE VODKA

AUSTIN, TEXAS Tito's Handmade Vodka began making its own sanitizer in late March and within two months had produced, packaged and donated more than 325 total tons to 25 states and to more than 400 organizations in Central Texas.

International Givers

Coca-Cola

ATLANTA

The beverage company, through its philanthropic arm, The Coca-Cola Foundation, has given more than \$47 million in grants and donations to organizations in more than 75 countries to fight coronavirus.

Dell

ROUND ROCK, TX

In China, the computer company gave \$284,000 for surgical masks, protective clothing and eye protectors to hospitals. It has set aside another \$3 million in funds and technology donations to help meet the needs of other frontline organizations worldwide to treat and contain COVID-19. Dell also chipped in \$100,000 to support small and local businesses in Round Rock.

The Estée Lauder Companies

NEW YORK CITY

The beauty products company donated \$2 million to Doctors Without Borders, another \$800,000 to relief efforts in China and \$3.2 million to support frontline response work in other countries worldwide. Its U.S. manufacturing facilities have also been producing hand sanitizer. ▶

Intel

SANTA CLARA, CA

More than 1.4 million items of personal protective equipment: masks, gloves, face shields and other gear worth about \$2.2 million have been donated. These are part of a larger \$10 million pledge Intel has made to support local communities around the world. Intel has also committed \$50 million to a pandemic response technology initiative, designed to support scientific research into vaccine development.

Pfizer

NEW YORK CITY

The pharmaceutical firm has donated about \$40 million in medical and charitable cash grants to organizations fighting COVID-19 in the U.S. and abroad. Of that sum, \$5 million went to providing global medical grants to 49 organizations in 20 countries. In addition, the company donated tens of thousands of units of antibiotics and vasopressor therapies, which are used to treat dangerously low blood pressure, to the humanitarian organization Direct Relief for use in the U.S. ▼



FROM LEFT: PFIZER; MICHAEL DANTAS/GETTY



RESTAURANT AID

BACARDI

CORAL GABLES, FL

The company and its Patrón tequila brand donated \$4 million to support struggling bars and restaurants, through its #RaiseYourSpirits initiative, giving to organizations such as: Another Round, Another Rally; Children of Restaurant Employees; the James Beard Foundation and the Restaurant Workers' Community Foundation.

SAMUEL ADAMS

BOSTON

In partnership with the Greg Hill Foundation, Samuel Adams donated over \$2 million to launch the Restaurant Strong Fund, which offered \$1,000 to struggling restaurant workers. Since the program began on March 16, it has raised over \$4.1 million and provided more than 3,000 grants. Because of overwhelming demand, the foundation now provides \$500 grants in order to reach more people.



Health & Beauty

Avon

NEW YORK CITY

Avon sent \$2 million worth of personal care and hygiene products like soap, body wash and skin care, to Feed the Children in March. And, The Avon Foundation for Women pledged \$1 million to frontline services that help victims of domestic abuse.

DevaCurl

NEW YORK CITY

The hair company is donating 5,000 haircuts—worth around \$625,000—to local New York health care workers once its salons reopen. The company has also sent more than 1,000 catered meals and snacks, worth \$15,000, to hospitals in New York City that have been hard hit by COVID-19. And it will give \$250,000 worth of hair care products to medical staff and nonprofits.

It's a 10

CORAL SPRINGS, FL

The hair care firm has given \$5.4 million worth of products to Good360, which will distribute the more than 200,000 beauty and wellness items to hospitals, homeless shelters and children in the foster care system.

The Honest Company

LOS ANGELES

The Jessica Alba-backed baby and beauty retailer said it will donate 3 million diapers, 30,000 packs of wipes and 20,000 personal care products this year to the nonprofit Baby2Baby. In March, the company gave 100,000 diapers and 100,000 wipes to homeless shelters and health clinics.



Education

AT&T

The wireless provider created a \$10 million fund to support and expand distance learning programs for teachers and students during COVID-19 closings. Grants from the fund went to, among others, Khan Academy; video-calling app Caribu to support free access for families; and Learn Fresh to enhance its NBA Math Hoops app and community programs.

DALLAS



AUDIBLE

The Amazon-owned audio book company has offered a collection of fee-free children's literature. Plus, it donated \$1.5 million to World Central Kitchen to launch Newark Working Kitchens. Audible said it will provide 150,000 meals at \$10 each, which will be paid to restaurants and distributed to those in need. ►

NEWARK, NJ

HOBSONS

Hobsons offered its Naviance curriculum (over 100 online, self-paced lessons) for free through the end of June. More 1,000 schools and 4 million students took advantage. The cost to the company is \$3 million.

CINCINNATI

LABSTER

Labster, which creates virtual labs for students, provided access to online science education courses for free. In a partnership with California Community Colleges it supplied more than 2 million students with access to more than 130 labs in biology, chemistry, physics and general sciences.

BOSTON

LOOM

The video software company provided its sharing service free to educators and students indefinitely to help with remote learning. It also halved the price of Loom Pro for everyone else through the end of June.

SAN FRANCISCO



LANGUAGE TRANSLATORS

Pocketalk

PALO ALTO, CA

The translation services company plans to donate 600 of its devices to medical facilities, first responders and testing sites.

Voyce,

SUNRISE, FL

Voyce is donating 100,000 minutes of its translation services, worth \$100,000, to hospitals and health care providers working to treat non-English speaking patients. ▶

Periscope

— NEWS, OPINION + ANALYSIS



REFUND, PLEASE

Contending their online learning experience this spring wasn't worth the several thousands they paid for tuition, many college students are looking to get some of those dollars back.

ALEX SLOBODKIN/GETTY; TOP RIGHT: BRIAN LAWDERMILK/GETTY

"None of the allegations of being a hoax will break me." »P.31



EDUCATION

Failing Grade

A growing number of colleges are being sued by students who say online learning during the pandemic didn't pass the test of the higher education they paid for



AT LEAST 60 COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES across the country, and perhaps as many as 100 or more, are now being sued by students who believe they were short-changed when their in-person college experience was replaced by an online one after schools shut down campuses this spring due to the coronavirus pandemic. The students are demanding a refund on tuition and fees equal to the difference between what they paid for in advance and the instruction and educational services they actually received.

The unprecedented number of class action lawsuits began as a trickle in April, picked up momentum in May, and have continued to expand throughout June, with experts saying there are likely many more to come. The schools currently facing student lawsuits include elite universities like Brown, Columbia, Duke, Emory and Georgetown as well as major public university systems like Rutgers in New Jersey, and the University of North Carolina.

Brady Allen is the lead plaintiff in the class action against UNC Charlotte.

He was among the nearly 240,000 students the UNC System moved to remote learning to limit the spread of the coronavirus. "Part of the value in being an in-person college student is being able to build relationships that last forever with the students who are sitting around you," explains Allen. "When we went online, I lost connections with other students, as well as the faculty."

Allen also claims that the instruction itself declined in quality. For example, in Strategic Management, a capstone, senior-level class for business majors, instead of giving virtual lectures, the professor resorted to posting notes and PowerPoint presentations online. "I didn't receive another lecture from that professor," says Allen. "I think going from expecting lots more lectures to not having another lecture is an extreme decrease in value. Yet, we were still paying the same price for tuition."

Allen is being represented by the Anastopoulos law firm in Charleston, South Carolina, which has set up a website to solicit interest from disgruntled college students,

BY

MELBA NEWSOME

collegerefund2020.com. To date, lead attorney Roy Willey IV has filed more than 30 lawsuits on behalf of individual students against colleges and universities across the country including the University of Miami, Boston University, Drexel University as well as the 17-member UNC System.

"We're looking at these cases on a scale of fairness to students," says Willey. "Students and their families have prepaid tuition and fees for services, access to facilities and experiential education and the universities and colleges are not delivering those services, access or experiences."

On the other side of the country, Steve Berman of the consumer rights law firm Hagens Berman in Seattle says his office receives a call from an aggrieved student at a different university almost every day

seeking redress. Berman has filed suit on behalf of students from a dozen colleges, including Duke, Emory, Georgetown, Rutgers, the University of Southern California and Vanderbilt, among others.

Both attorneys essentially make the same case on behalf of the students they're representing: By substituting an online education for an in-person one, defendants stripped plaintiffs of the true college experience they had expressly sought and paid for. "Students did not enroll to click through

PowerPoint slides and waste their student loans on cancelled classes and absentee coursework," said Berman.

Audrey Anderson, a higher education expert and former general counsel for Vanderbilt University, believes plaintiffs can't support a breach of contract claim. "I have never seen a contract, a written piece of paper between the university and a student that promises that they are going to have in-person instruction of a certain quality," says Anderson. "It's going to be hard to prove that an express promise has been violated. The students still got education and college credits for their tuition money."

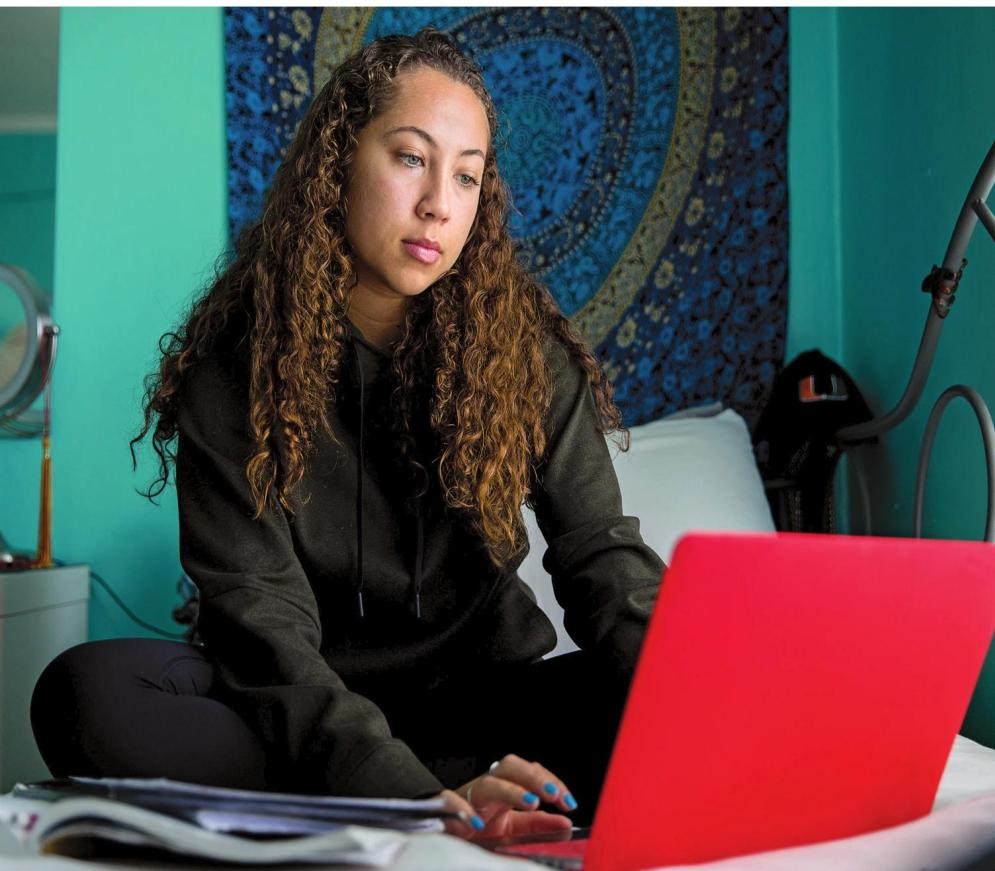
Berman isn't concerned, however. "You sign an agreement that says your kid is going to go to classes and read literature and so forth and the school describes what they're going to provide in exchange. I think all of that is either an implied or express contract."

Charlotte education attorney Jonathan Vogel, a former deputy general counsel for the U.S. Department of Education, says there is sufficient documentation to support the notion of a contract between students and their colleges and believes arguing force majeure is a better defense.

"Force majeure in a legal defense means impossibility of performance. It says there was an unanticipated act of nature or act of God that interfered with the ability to perform on the contract," says Vogel. "Maybe it's not an act of God, but it was an act of the governor that closed the universities."

In their complaints, the students allege that the universities have either refused or provided insufficient reimbursement. "We're seeking

"An education online is not the same value or quality as an in-person education."



OFF-CAMPUS LEARNING As campuses closed due to the pandemic, bedrooms became classrooms for students like this University of Miami freshman.



that percentage or portion, which represents the difference between what students paid for the spring semester, and what they actually received for tuition fees, room and board, depending on the campus," says Willey.

Willey and Berman have asked the courts to certify the suits as part of a class action, where one named plaintiff represents a group with a same or similar cause. They believe this is the best way to ensure students are made whole. If these lawsuits succeed, all students at the named colleges and universities will be compensated. Plaintiffs have not requested a specific dollar amount but attorneys estimate that each student is probably entitled to refunds in the low thousands of dollars.

"The damages are a small amount per student," says Willey. "If the students had to bring them on an

individual basis, economically, it would not make a lot of sense."

In the end, courts will determine if an online education is an adequate substitute for an in-person one and put a dollar figure on that difference. One place to begin that assessment, experts say, is by looking at how schools have traditionally priced both options.

Some schools offer virtual classes for significantly less than their brick-and-mortar courses. For example, at UNC Wilmington the 2020–2021 annual cost of attendance for full-time undergraduate students is \$4,510 for the on-campus degree program versus \$3,710 for a distance education. Willey says tuition for Drexel's online classes is 40 percent less than traditional courses. Plaintiffs argue that they deserve a similar rebate for the portion of the semester they missed.

CLASS DISMISSED Classrooms at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, one of more than 60 colleges being sued by students, will remain empty at least through the summer.

This litigation is in the early stages and most defendants have not yet responded. UNC Charlotte, Duke, Drexel and Georgetown also declined to comment to *Newsweek* on the pending lawsuits. However, Willey says these complaints have already led some institutions to take what he deems as a more fair approach to refunds and reimbursements.

The UNC System, for example, started distributing prorated reimbursements for unused housing and dining services to students, but tuition and fees refunds have not been included, so far. The most recent budget proposal indicates it may be preparing for that eventuality, however, by seeking funds to offset COVID-related expenses, including an estimated \$120 million for pro-rated reimbursements.

Class action lawsuits usually take several years to wind their way through the courts. Regardless of the eventual outcome, these complaints will probably have a lasting impact on the tuition structure going forward. UNC System schools have announced reduced tuition for the fully online summer term, a tacit acknowledgment that they won't be able to price virtual and in-person learning equally.

"Schools may have to think hard about what kind of changes they're going to make, says Willey, "because the issue is out there now that an education online is not the same value or quality as an in-person education." **N**

→ **Melba Newsome** lives in Charlotte, North Carolina, and writes about health, education and politics.

OPINION

Taking Action to End Police Brutality

The governor and lieutenant governor of Michigan say the nation is facing two enormous crises—and also a once-in-a generation opportunity

THE MURDERS OF GEORGE FLOYD, Ahmaud Arbery and Breonna Taylor are the latest illustration of hundreds of years of inequity and systemic racism against Black Americans. This is the culmination of governance that did not adequately center the values of equity, representation and opportunity for all. Going forward, we must prioritize these principles to build a more just and equitable country.

We are simultaneously facing two of the most consequential crises of our lifetimes: COVID-19 and the persistence of police brutality. The pain of the convergence of these crises is being felt by those who can bear it the least. Black communities across the country have historically been underfunded and lack basic access to quality education, health care, housing, transportation and paths to opportunity. As a result, tens of thousands of Black Americans have died from COVID-19.

Rightfully, people across the country are demanding change—both in our criminal justice system and in how we ensure access to education, health care, housing and more. To the millions of people across the globe who have lent their voices to peaceful

protests in their community, we stand with you and we are committed to using our positions in leadership to enact real, meaningful change.

Since the beginning of our administration, we have been working hard to address the inequities Black communities in our state face every day. This is not a crisis we can solve overnight—but there are tangible steps we are taking to help ensure everyone, no matter who they are, is treated fairly under the law.

We have been committed to enacting criminal justice reforms since the day we took office. Our motivation has been to reduce people's contact with the justice system, while making sure we treat

people with dignity and humanity and that we are preparing a path to success for everyone involved. For example, last year, we raised the age of who is considered a juvenile or an adult under the criminal justice system from 17 to 18 years old, joining 46 other states in ending the unjust practice of charging and punishing our children as adults when they make mistakes.

And in April of 2019, we created the bipartisan Michigan Task Force on Jail and Pretrial Incarceration, chaired by Lieutenant Governor Gilchrist



THREE DAYS IN DETROIT Clockwise from top left: Addressing demonstrators at Detroit Police headquarters, May 31. A protester puts his hands on his head, May 30. Demonstrators kneel at a police station, May 30. Riot shields, May 29.

and Michigan Supreme Court Chief Justice Bridget McCormack, which reviewed the state's jail and court data to expand alternatives to jail, safely reduce jail admissions and length of stay and improve the effectiveness of the front end of Michigan's justice system. The task force has produced



a report and made recommendations. Now, it's time for the Republican-controlled legislature to take action on these measures.

Michigan has also taken a number of steps to reform our law enforcement agencies. The Michigan Senate recently passed a bill to require incoming law enforcement officers to go through training on implicit bias, de-escalation techniques and mental health screenings. Now, the Michigan House needs to pass this bill so that we can sign it into law and ensure our

Rightfully, people across the country are demanding change—both in our criminal justice system and in how we ensure access to education, health care, housing and more.

law enforcement agencies incorporate these reforms.

We have made changes to the commission that sets the standards for our law enforcement agencies in order to ensure more community leaders and the director of the Michigan Department of Civil Rights have a seat at the table when making decisions

Going forward, we need to enhance our training and policies to create a police culture where all Michiganders are treated with dignity and respect under the law. So



THE GOOD FIGHT Michigan Governor Gretchen Whitmer weighs in on reforms to advance racial justice.

educators that have been starved of the resources they need to thrive in Michigan. And they are models of the work we must continue in order to build a more equitable and just state.

Communities of color have been disproportionately impacted by the COVID-19 pandemic. This crisis has held a mirror up to our society and reminded us of the very real health disparities Black Americans face every day. Early on, we created the Michigan COVID-19 Task Force on Racial Disparities, chaired by Lieutenant Governor Gilchrist, to investigate and recommend actions to address these outcomes. It is our hope that if future pandemics hit Michigan, we will be better prepared to protect communities of color.

Again, we stand with those of you who have demonstrated peacefully—which is why we marched together in Detroit with community and faith leaders earlier this month. This is a generational opportunity to create systems that support the dreams and potential of Black people and others whose access to opportunity has been blocked by implicit and explicit prejudice. So stay encouraged and engaged. Justice will not come overnight, but when we continue to use our collective voices, whether it is in the street during a peaceful protest or at the ballot box, we can be the generation that puts an end to the plagues of COVID-19, systemic racism and police brutality in America. ■

what does that look like? We have urged the commission to provide guidance to law enforcement agencies on continuing education that will help officers keep up with the ever-changing landscape of new laws and issues facing the community. We have also urged our law enforcement agencies to enact duty-to-intervene policies, and have taken swift action to ensure transparency in reporting. These steps are a start, but there is more work to do to ensure the safety of Black Michiganders everywhere.

Real and robust change will come when we work together to fund public schools in communities of color and ensure affordable health care, housing and transportation for everyone in our state. We made great strides

We are simultaneously facing two of the most consequential crises of our lifetimes: COVID-19 and the persistence of police brutality.

→ **Gretchen Whitmer** is governor of Michigan. **Garlin Gilchrist II** is lieutenant governor of Michigan. The views expressed in this article are the writers' own.

NEWSMAKERS

Talking Points

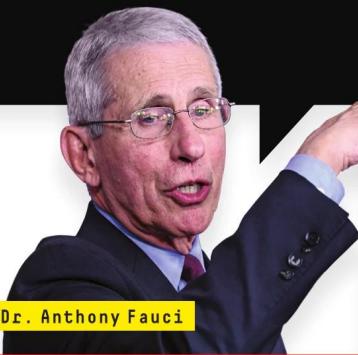
CNN

"None of the allegations of being a hoax will break me or tear me down."

—NASCAR DRIVER BUBBA WALLACE ON THE NOOSE FOUND IN HIS GARAGE STALL

"IT'S THE OPPOSITE. WE'RE GOING TO BE DOING MORE TESTING, NOT LESS."

—DR. ANTHONY FAUCI



Dr. Anthony Fauci

Twitter icon

"Immigration has contributed immensely to America's economic success...Disappointed by today's proclamation—we'll continue to stand with immigrants and work to expand opportunity for all."

—SUNDAR PICHAI, CEO OF ALPHABET INC.

Twitter icon

"The Disney movie I never even dared to dream. Thoroughly speechless."

—ACTOR LESLIE ODOM JR. ON THE UPCOMING HAMILTON



Leslie Odom Jr.

YouTube icon

"BEING BLACK, MAYBE THAT'S THE REASON WHY THEY ALWAYS MAD."

—Beyoncé in her new single "Black Parade"



Beyoncé

Twitter icon

"As someone who's been performing without an audience for the last 3 months, Mr. President, you get used to it."

—STEPHEN COLBERT

Twitter icon

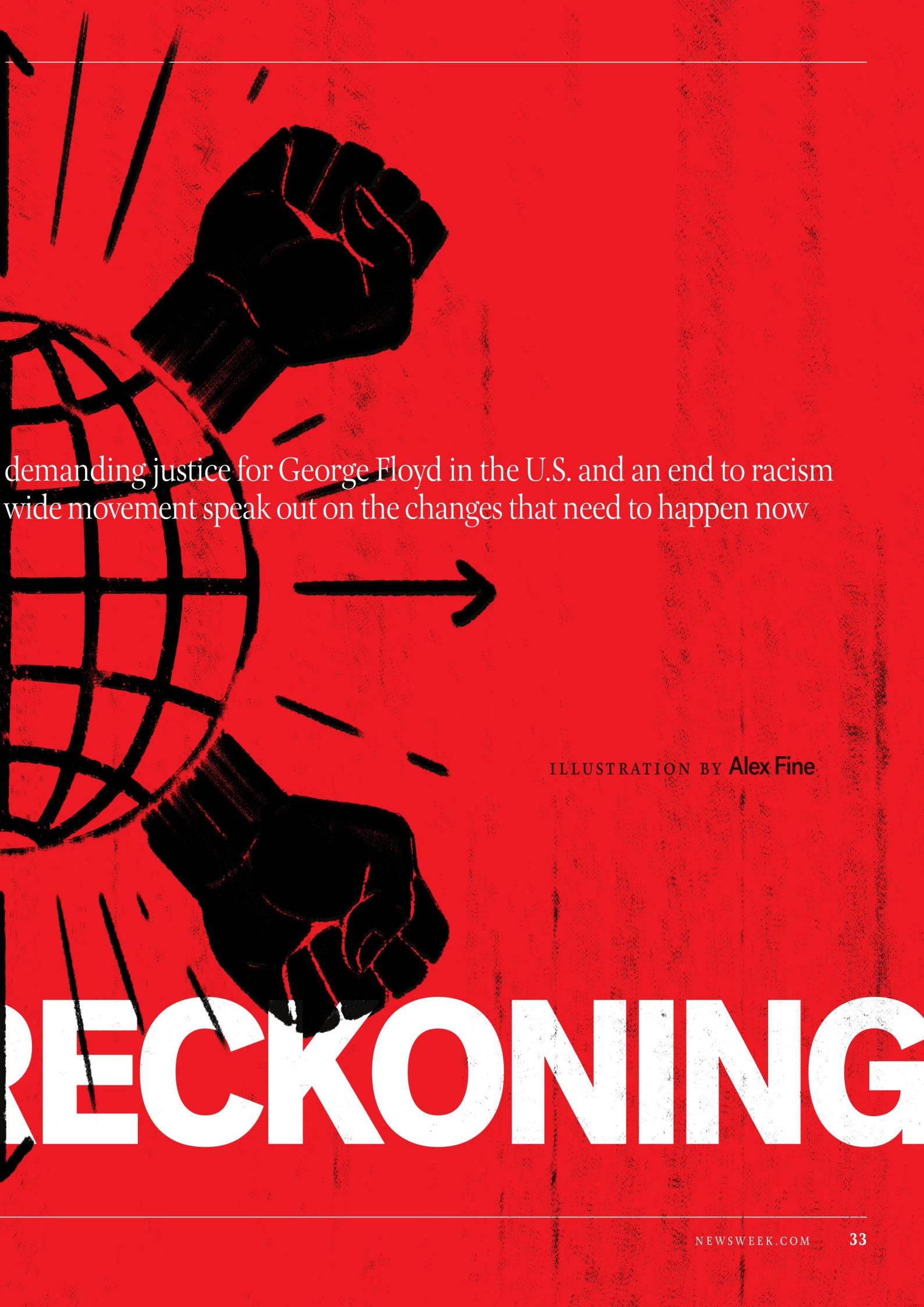
"RAYSHARD BROOKS WASN'T JUST RUNNING FROM THE POLICE. HE WAS RUNNING FROM A SYSTEM THAT MAKES SLAVES OUT OF PEOPLE."

—Rev. Raphael Warnock, senior pastor of Ebenezer Baptist Church

BLACK LIVES MATTER protests have sprung up in dozens of countries, and police violence within their own borders. Leaders of the world

BY Chantal Da Silva

A GLOBAL R



demanding justice for George Floyd in the U.S. and an end to racism
wide movement speak out on the changes that need to happen now

ILLUSTRATION BY Alex Fine

RECKONING

C

AN EIGHT MINUTES AND 46 seconds change the world?

From London to Lisbon, Berlin to Brisbane, Pretoria to Paris, as well as Toronto, Tokyo, Rio de Janeiro and scores of other cities in dozens of other countries across the Americas, Europe, Asia, Africa and Australia, the answer, increasingly, seems to be yes.

In the month that's passed since George Floyd was killed and that horrifying, heartbreakingly nearly nine-minute video revealed his treatment by four Minneapolis police officers, protests have spread beyond the U.S. and around the globe. The themes are at once universal—demonstrators demand justice for Floyd, and call for police reform and an end to systemic racism—and unique to the particular challenges of racial justice in each country. Protestors invoke the names of Black people killed in their country along with Floyd's, topple symbols of racism specific to their culture, and point to what they believe are egregious examples of inequality particular to where they live.

The overarching message that ties the global protests together: "Black Lives Matter."

"This is a watershed moment," said Patrisse Cullors, who co-founded the Black Lives Matter movement in 2013 in response to the acquittal of the man who killed Black teenager Trayvon Martin as he was walking home from a convenience store. People are saying, said Cullors: "Enough is enough."

Why now? In part, it's the singular brutality of what happened to Floyd, coming on the heels of a recent series of racially-charged encounters sparking outrage (the killings of Ahmaud Arbery and Breonna Taylor, the birdwatching-while-Black incident in New York City's Central Park). Add in the coronavirus pandemic hitting the health and economic well-being of the Black community particularly hard, and the combination is proving to be a tipping point. The result, said Hawk Newsome, a prominent New York civil rights activist who started Black Lives Matter of Greater New York, an unofficial chapter of BLM, is nothing less than a seismic shift in global awareness around the realities of racism.

"I've heard from people in Thailand who are having rallies with Black Lives Matter of Greater New York t-shirts; I've had people in Paris taking pictures in front of things on fire with their fist up...I've had people FaceTime me to show me what's happening in London," Newsome said. "It feels like

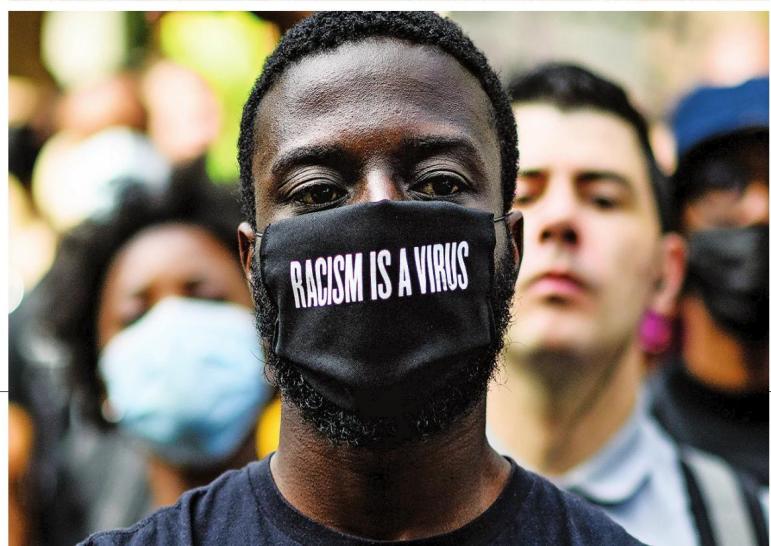
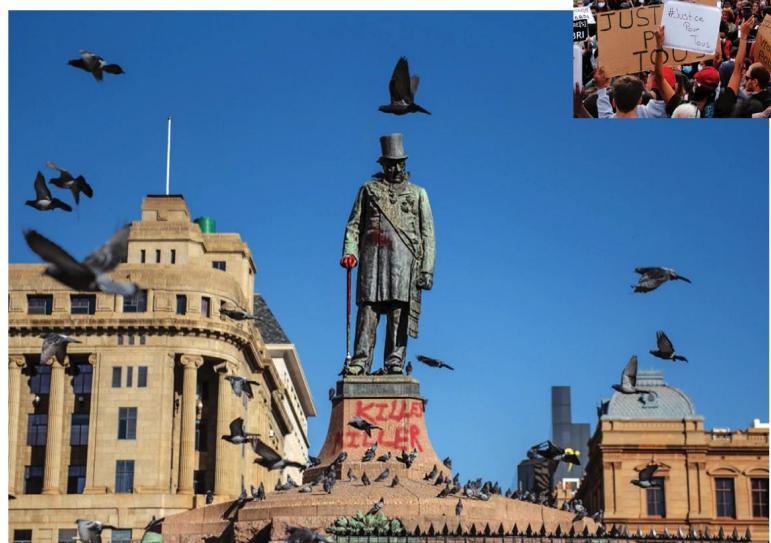
there is actually change happening right now. And it's opened the door to new conversations about what's needed in the future: a pathway to liberation, a pathway to justice."

The big question for Cullors, Newsome and other activists leading Black Lives Matter movements in countries around the world: How do you turn those conversations into real and lasting change—and what kinds of change is needed most? Here is a look at what is happening on the ground in many places at this moment of global reckoning and what the leaders guiding those movements see as the path ahead.

Europe Rising

VIRTUALLY EVERY COUNTRY IN EUROPE HAS SEEN ongoing demonstrations in multiple cities, as protesters defied strict lockdown guidelines barring large gatherings to protest in solidarity with Black communities in the U.S.—and to demand an end to police violence and systemic racism in their own countries as well.

In London, demonstrators have chanted "No justice, no peace" outside the U.S. Embassy but also in front



FROM TOP: NOAM GALAI/GETTY; GEOFFROY VAN DER HASSELT/AFP/GETTY; ALET PRETORIUS/GALLO IMAGES/GETTY; LEON NEAL/GETTY



SOCIETY



GLOBAL SPREAD
(From top) Hawk Newsome, head of BLM of Greater New York, at a rally in Times Square; a protest in Paris; in Pretoria, a statue of Boer leader Paul Kruger has been vandalized repeatedly as a symbol of oppression; a protestor in London wears his feelings.

Wales, the number of people fatally shot by police in 2019 was three.

But while the number of violent encounters is small, the racial pattern is similar. "A disproportionate number of Black people are stopped and searched and a disproportionate number of Black people are dying in interactions with the police," says Arike Oke, managing director of the Black Cultural Archives, a cultural heritage center that preserves and celebrates the histories of African and Caribbean people in Britain. In fact, of the 292 people in England and Wales who died while in police custody or soon after over the past 15 years, 23, or 8 percent, were Black, according to the Independent Office for Police Conduct, even though they make up just 3 percent of the population.

"It feels like there is actually change happening right now. And it's also opened the door to new conversations about what's needed in the future: a pathway to **BLACK LIBERATION**, a pathway to justice."

—HAWK NEWSOME, *Black Lives Matter of Greater New York*

of Britain's Houses of Parliament. And the protestors invoke the names of Britons like Mark Duggan, Sheku Bayoh, Sean Rigg, Sarah Reed and Cherry Groce—all members of the Black community who died during interactions with law enforcement—along with the names of slain Americans like George Floyd, Breonna Taylor, Tamir Rice and Philando Castile.

The incidence of police violence in Britain, where officers do not generally carry firearms, is dramatically lower than in the U.S. Since 2015, police in the U.S. have shot and killed around 1,000 people each year, with Black people twice as likely to die at the hands of law enforcement as white people, according to an online database maintained by *The Washington Post*. In England and

of historical reckoning being one that is echoed in the growing Black Lives Matter movement in the U.S. and other countries. She says, "Slavery existed since the dawn of time, but the specific trade and enslavement of Africans that America's wealth is built on and that Britain's modern wealth is built on came from Europe."

That's why it was especially symbolic when earlier this month protestors in Bristol, in southwest England, toppled a statue of 17th-century slave trader Edward Colston, heaving it into a nearby harbor. It wasn't the only statue to meet its demise in the protests. In London, a statue of former Prime Minister Winston Churchill was branded with the words "Churchill was a racist," just as Confederate statues in the U.S. have been pulled down or vandalized over the past few weeks.

The incidents led to a rebuke from British Prime Minister Boris Johnson, who said he could not "support or indulge those who break the law, or attack the police, or desecrate monuments" in a statement published by *The Voice*, a British news outlet serving Black communities. He also said he could not condone protesters flouting Britain's "rules on social distancing" amid the pandemic while acknowledging that Britain still has "much more to do" in "eradicating prejudice and creating opportunity."

What Oke would like Britain to do is use this moment to tackle the issues laid bare by George Floyd's death and dedicate substantial resources and funding to understanding why racism persists in Britain and how it needs to be addressed. She seems to be, at once, both optimistic and skeptical about the likelihood of success. "We hope this is a movement of genuine social change across our nation," Oke said. But, "we feel almost nervous to believe in what the longevity could be of the change."

In Germany, protesters have been fighting a similar, yet unique, battle in a country determined to draw a firm line between its present and its painful past.

Speaking with *Newsweek*, Berlin-based activist Diana Arce, who was born in the U.S. before moving to Germany in 2004 in her early 20s, said she feels that the realities of racism in the country are largely swept under the rug. In a post-Holocaust Germany, Arce explained, "The argument is that Germany has dealt with its racist past. Like, 'we really messed up with the Holocaust, but we've learned everything now and we're good. We don't see color.'"

For years, said Arce, she has struggled to explain

racist in Germany. "Can you imagine activists in the U.S. fighting to get the government to recognize the N-word as a bad word?" Arce said. "So, if you are a Black person and someone screams the N-word at you over and over again while attacking you, it won't be tried as a hate crime."

Even since Floyd's death, with protests being held under the BLM banner in Berlin and a global conversation taking place about systemic racism, Arce believes many Germans continue to view it as a largely U.S. problem. "No one here is talking about this, it's extremely rare," she said. When Arce and other advocates do get contacted by the press, she said, it's to be asked to comment on racism in Germany "from a personal anecdotal level," rather than to talk about it "from a structural level."

Beyond the West

IN COUNTRIES ACROSS AFRICA, PROTESTERS HAVE ALSO MARCHED IN SOLIDARITY with Black communities in the U.S., while also calling on their governments to address police brutality. Those calls were strengthened after African Union chairman Moussa Faki Mahamat called on the U.S. to intensify its efforts to address police brutality, leading demonstrators to question whether their own governments would commit to doing the same.

Protests have ignited across the continent's capitals, with people marching in Accra, Lagos, Nairobi and beyond, with demonstrators in the Kenyan capital demanding justice after a rise in the number of police killings since a curfew was enforced in March to help slow the spread of coronavirus.

In Australia, rallies organized by indigenous groups were also held in solidarity

"We hope this is a movement of **GENUINE SOCIAL CHANGE** across our nation [but] we feel almost

to white people, including fellow activists, that for Black people, racism is very much alive in the country she calls home. And by at least one measure, it's on the rise: Hate crimes in Germany more than doubled from 2014 to 2018, rising from 3,059 cases to 8,113 within five years, according to the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights.

The fact that Black people are still fighting to see the use of the German equivalent of the "N-word" deemed racist, Arce said, should be telling. In December, the State Constitutional Court of Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, the equivalent of a state Supreme Court in the U.S., issued an ambiguous ruling suggesting that, while the term's use can be pejorative, whether it should be considered discriminatory depends on the context in which it is used.

The ruling sparked an outrage, with more than 130,000 people signing an online petition published on Change.org to see the N-word deemed

—ARIKE OKE, *Black Cultural Archives*



with the Black Lives Matter movement. Protesters marched in Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane, Adelaide and elsewhere to call on the U.S. to address police brutality, but also for Australia to reckon with its own treatment of indigenous and minority groups in the country. According to data published by the Australian Human Rights Commission, of all the complaints received by the Commission under the Racism Discrimination Act in 2015 to 2016, 54 percent were submitted by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, even though indigenous Australians account for just 3 percent of the country's population.

Indigenous people in Australia are also disproportionately represented in the country's criminal justice system. A study by the Australian Institute of Criminology found that indigenous prisoners made up 28 percent of the country's prison population during fiscal year 2017 to 2018 and accounted for 22 percent of in-custody deaths.

In Sydney, the name of David Dungay, an Aboriginal man who died in the Long Bay Prison Hospital in 2015 after being restrained by at least four prison officers, was invoked at protests to highlight the disproportionate rate of indigenous deaths in custody. Like Floyd, Dungay's family has said he too uttered the words "I can't breathe" before he died.

Meanwhile, in Tokyo, protest organizer Sierra Todd, a 19-year-old U.S. student studying art abroad through Temple University, said that while racism in Japan might manifest itself in different ways from the U.S., it "definitely exists" for the country's 2.9 million foreigners, who make up 2.3 percent of the population.

In 2017, a landmark survey conducted by Japan's justice ministry found that nearly a third of 4,252 foreign residents surveyed said they had faced derogatory remarks over their backgrounds. Many participants, more than half of whom were Chinese and Korean, also said they believed discrimination played a critical role in being denied jobs, equal pay and housing.

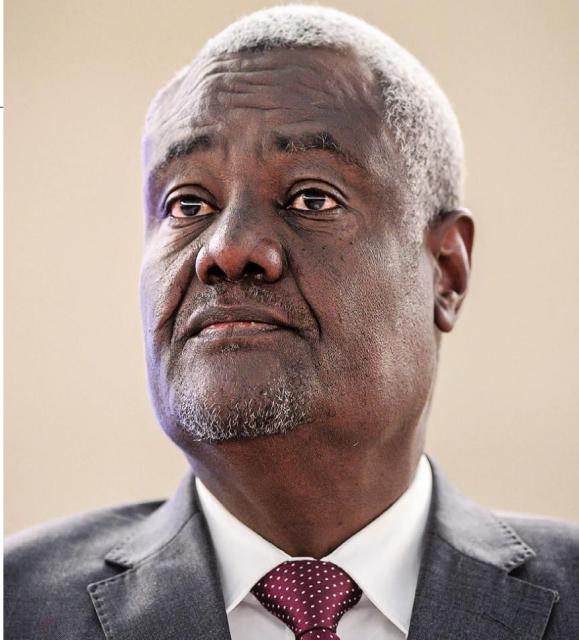
While police brutality in Japan may not be as strong a focus as in the U.S., Todd, who is Black, said that protesters, who she said were "largely foreigners," but also Japanese citizens, rallied to demand justice over a recent case of alleged police brutality that unfolded in Tokyo just days before Floyd's death. In that case, a 33-year-old Kurdish man has alleged that police officers shouted at him and shoved him to the ground after he refused to allow them to search his car after they had stopped him while driving.

"So, there have been protests about police brutality," Todd said, "but not only about what is happening in the U.S., but about something that happened in Japan."

Whether or not discrimination played a role in

CALL FOR CHANGE
(Below) Demonstrators kneel in front of police during a Black Lives Matter protest at Hyde Park in London. (Right) African Union chairman Moussa Faki Mahamat, who has urged the U.S. to do more to address police brutality; in Sydney, Aboriginal protestors perform a traditional smoking ceremony before the start of a demonstration.

nervous to believe."



the incident, in the wake of Floyd's death, it has sparked a wider discussion in Japan about the pervasiveness of racism and discrimination in the country. "It's becoming more of a talking point," Todd said.

The Protests in the Americas

ANTI-RACIST PROTESTS ARE ALSO SPRINGING UP ACROSS Latin America and Canada. In Brazil, which was the last country in the West to abolish slavery, rising anti-racist fervor has been additionally fueled by the disparate impact of the coronavirus outbreak on the country's predominantly Black and mixed-race population. As of late June, Brazil had the second-highest number of COVID-19 cases after the U.S., and the Brazilian Health Ministry has been sounding the alarm for months about disproportionately high death rates among residents who identify as "Black" and "brown."

Gabrielly Nunes, an organizer of Vidas Pretas Importam, the Brazilian chapter of Black Lives Matter, told Newsweek that Black people in Brazil "are tired. Every day, a Black person is dying, a Black person is being killed."

And the coronavirus is not the only killer. In Rio de Janeiro, police have killed nearly 9,000 people in the

last decade, according to Human Rights Watch. More than three quarters of those who died were Black men.

Meanwhile, in the first four months of 2020 alone, Rio police killed 606 people, by their own count. Even in April, with robberies and other crimes dropping dramatically amid COVID-19 lockdown measures, police violence surged, according to HRW, with police killing nearly six people a day, representing a 43 percent spike from the same month last year.

All told, in the month of April, police were responsible for 35 percent of all killings in Rio de Janeiro state. "To put that in perspective, imagine police in the United States killing at a similar rate; they would be responsible for more than 36,000 deaths each year," HRW said in a recent report.

Adding to the rising unrest: the increasingly authoritarian leadership of President Jair Bolsonaro, who has been in power since 2019 and has a history of making discriminatory comments about both Black and indigenous communities in the country, with the Brazilian leader once suggesting he did not believe indigenous people were fully "human."

For Nunes, Bolsonaro's rhetoric is both a symptom and contributing factor of racism in Brazil. "He is not above God," she said, in Portuguese. "The voice of the people is the voice of God and the government is just a hand that is dirty and that we can clean."

To the north in Canada, as demonstrations have cropped up across the country, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has expressed support for the goals of the movement, making headlines as he kneeled before protesters in a public show of solidarity. Trudeau, whose office did not immediately respond to *Newsweek* for comment, has acknowledged that "racism still exists in Canada" and said the country needs to "be better."

But for many, his words were not enough. Leaders of the movement are looking for more concrete actions to address longstanding issues of police brutality and racism and greater awareness of the role both the U.S. and Canada have historically played in creating the inequities that Black and Indigenous communities face today.

"Both of these things are very related, especially when it comes to police violence," Sandy Hudson, the founder of BLM Canada told *Newsweek*, pointing out that early policing in both nations came in the form of slave patrols. "That's the history and you see the impact of that history today in the way that police



continue to view and treat Black people and Indigenous people as people to be patrolled, to be surveilled."

Just as in the U.S. and other parts of the world, the protests in Canada have been given a very human face by recent deaths resulting from encounters with police, including that of Regis Korchinski-Paquet, a Black and Indigenous Toronto woman who fell from her 24th-floor balcony after her mother called police to help her daughter through a mental health crisis. The exact circumstances of her death are unclear but her mother has said she called police in hopes that they would de-escalate the situation. Instead, she believes their presence made things worse.

Also adding to unrest: the death earlier this month of Chantel Moore, an Indigenous woman who was fatally shot by police in Edmundston, New Brunswick, during what was meant to be a wellness check. The Edmundston Police Force had been asked to check on Moore's wellbeing, but when they arrived, police said Moore was holding a knife and making threats. An officer responded by firing their weapon at her five times, killing her.

What Comes Next

THE DEATHS OF KORCHINSKI-PAQUET AND MOORE within a week's span have prompted debate in Canada about why police are responding to non-criminal crises in the first place. It's a question being asked a lot lately as global activists embrace an idea that's been gaining traction in the U.S. since Floyd's death: defunding the police.

Black Lives Matter co-founder Cullors is an advocate of defunding, which redirects money typically budgeted for law enforcement to other community-serving initiatives, including education, healthcare, mental health



HONORING THE DEAD
 (From top) A vigil in Sydney; flowers for Regis Korchinski-Paquet, a Toronto woman who fell from her 24th floor balcony during an encounter with police; Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau takes a knee; fresh graves in Brazil, where more than 55,000 people have died from COVID-19.



Black people in Brazil “are tired. Every day, a Black person is dying, a Black person is **BEING KILLED.**”

— GABRIELLY NUNES, *Vidas Pretas Importam*, the Brazilian chapter of Black Lives Matter

services and social services programs. “This is a watershed moment,” Cullors told *Newsweek*. “And we need bold and courageous approaches.”

Already, in the U.S. and in Canada, the idea is taking root, with city council members in Minneapolis voting to dismantle the police department implicated in Floyd’s death and replace it with a new community-based public safety system. Meanwhile, officials in Toronto are discussing a motion seeking to slash that city’s police department budget by 10 percent.

“A significant re-allocation of resources away from ineffective or harmful police approaches and toward programs that demonstrably reduce crime could actually improve public safety,” said Paul Hirschfield, an associate sociology and criminal justice professor at Rutgers University. “Much of what the police do—random patrols, patrolling schools, traffic enforcement, and drug enforcement—do far too little for public safety to justify the enormous expense.”

In fact, Hirschfield pointed out, some tasks

routinely handled by law enforcement in the U.S. are not assigned to them in other countries. “Public schools in Europe maintain order and safety without stationing police inside them,” he said. “And the much greater accessibility of mental health care and income and housing supports in Europe reduces the need for police to regulate the behavior and movements of the unhoused or respond to mental health crises.”

While advocates can point to some specific actions being undertaken or at least seriously discussed on police reform, the larger question of whether calls for deeper understanding of the impact that colonialism and slavery have had on modern day society will translate to concrete action remains open. Likewise, it’s too soon to tell whether policy changes that address system racism in healthcare, education, housing and employment will result from the movement.

For Cullors, just seeing the calls for such changes reverberate around the world has “been a really powerful moment for Black folks.”

While the BLM movement has grown, however, it is not without detractors and global momentum could subside if that criticism gains strength. Some commentators have derided the movement as a “neo-Marxist” effort to dismantle critical institutions like the police and redistribute wealth via reparations for slavery and endemic racism. Others have criticized the violence and looting that have marred some protests in the U.S. and abroad.

Cullors, however, has long heard from detractors and says calls for reform will not be deterred by them. Like it or not, she told *Newsweek*, change is happening: “People on the ground are making the changes now.”

For the time being at least, this much is true: No matter what language is spoken, there are serious conversations happening in many countries about police violence, the long-term impact of slavery and the economic and public health risks of systemic racism—and that feels like progress for many in the international Black Lives Matter movement.

“People who were on the periphery of all of these issues are, all of a sudden, here. There are grandmas now talking about prison abolition,” Berlin activist Diana Arce told *Newsweek*. “We’ve gone from zero to 100. It’s exciting.” **N**

"THE ENTIRE WORLD IS SAYING: BLACK LIVES MATTER"

BLM co-founder **PATRISSE CULLORS** talks about where the movement for racial justice goes from here

S

even years have passed since Patrisse Cullors and fellow activists Alicia Garza and Opal Tometi launched the Black Lives Matter movement in response to the acquittal of the man who killed Trayvon Martin, an unarmed Black teenager shot while walking home in Miami Gardens, Florida. Cullors talked with Newsweek chief correspondent Chantal Da Silva about what's changed since then, what hasn't and what the BLM movement means today in the wake of George Floyd's death and its impact on the movement for racial justice. Here are edited excerpts from the interview.

Q. In the years since you started the BLM movement up until George Floyd's death, did you feel like progress was being made?

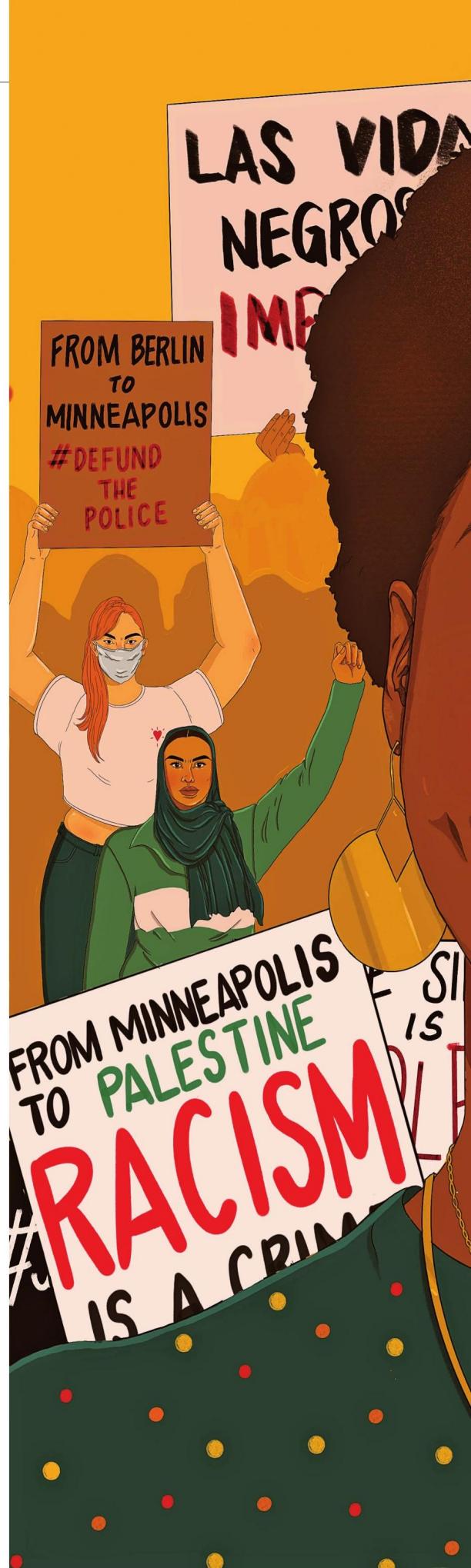
A. It depends on how you define progress. I think that we had created an environment where police and the use of policing was being questioned, whereas before Black Lives Matter, there was an allegiance to law enforcement that they

didn't deserve and that really needed to be challenged. So, when it comes to cultural conversation and popularizing this idea that the use of police inside our communities is incredibly toxic, I think we've had a lot of progress.

When it came to police discontinuing the killing and the brutality and the maiming and torturing of Black people, we've had less progress there. And I think that has a large part to do with the dedication that many elected officials, appointed officials and community members had to maintaining law enforcement's hold on the community.

Q. What was it about George Floyd's death that sparked this international response?

A. A number of things. I think it's seven years of viral videos of Black people dying. I think it's multiple years of us watching white women call the police on Black people. I think it's multiple years of viral videos of Black men being kicked out of places like Waffle House, kicked





out of everyday dining experiences. I think it's living under COVID-19 and Black people having the highest rates of dying and having little access to health care. I think it's millions of people being unemployed, including Black communities. And just a despair...And we're tired of this. Enough is enough.

It is a watershed moment. The entire world is saying, "Black Lives Matter."

Q. You have also been a leader in calls to defund the police. Do you believe law enforcement should be defunded entirely?

A. Yes. I think we need to reimagine public safety. I think the way in which policing works right now in its current iteration is toxic, harmful and dangerous. When we're calling for defunding of law enforcement, we're actually calling for a reimagining of what keeps everybody safe and trying to challenge this idea that the way we hold people accountable is through more violence and more harm.

Q. There are fears that protests might lead to further spread of COVID-19, but it's also being said that police brutality and racism are as much public health issues as coronavirus. What's your take?

A. I think it's scapegoating. [President Donald Trump], from the very beginning, when it came to the pandemic, has consistently undermined both science and the needs of communities across the country. I do not believe protesting has caused more COVID-19 positives. I think that it's Trump, who has opened up the country way too early and didn't provide the resources that communities demanded.

Q. How do you feel seeing people in countries around the world say those words, Black Lives Matter?

A. It's powerful. I feel very grateful... It was really moving. I also feel scared. Whenever we're effective in our organizing, there's a serious backlash. And I think we have to be mindful that in these moments, when we're winning, we have to be ready and prepared for the backlash, of what that looks like and how to counter it.

Q. How are you feeling about the path ahead?

A. I feel optimistic. I feel inspired. ■

Culture

HIGH, LOW



SHOW BIZ VETERAN

Ready for his close-up: the filmmaker promoting his 2011 thriller *Trespass* at that year's Toronto International Film Festival.

MATT CARR/GETTY; TOP RIGHT: LEON BENNETT/WIREIMAGE/GETTY



THE NEWEST HOUSEWIFE

"I just wanted to be me. Bring my sass, my fun, my reality." » P.48

The Singular Life of Joel Schumacher in Seven Stories

The late director was a lot more than the guy who put nipples on Batman

MOVIES

DIRECTOR JOEL SCHUMACHER, ONE OF

Hollywood's most versatile directors, died in New York City at 80 years old on June 22 after a battle with cancer. He made several era-defining films in the '80s and a still-notorious superhero fiasco in the '90s. He also lived a big, wild and unapologetic life.

Schumacher, who didn't pursue a career in film until his thirties, had an impressive resume once he got into the biz. He directed *St. Elmo's Fire* (1985), *The Lost Boys* (1987), *Flatliners* (1990), *Batman Forever* (1995), *Batman & Robin* (1997) and *The Phantom of the Opera* (2004). Before turning to directing, he had served as costume designer on Woody Allen's *Sleepers* (1973), *Bloom in Love*

(1973) and *Interiors* (1978).

Throughout his career, he recognized young talent, such as Demi Moore and Rob Lowe in *St. Elmo's Fire*, Kiefer Sutherland in *The Lost Boys*, Julia Roberts in *Dying Young* (1991) and Colin Farrell in *Tigerland* (2000).

Schumacher was also known for the way he lived. He was open about his drug and alcohol use, boasted of thousands of sexual partners and gave costume designers the go-ahead to put nipples on Batman. Here are some stories from his wild ride, as told by Schumacher himself

He started drinking at age 9.

DURING A 2019 INTERVIEW WITH *VULTURE*, SCHUMACHER REVEALED THAT HE BEGAN DRINKING AT AN EARLY AGE. "Looking back now, I was born for drugs and alcohol. I had no period of adjustment at all. A lot of people throw up, they have blackouts. I never did. I loved it. I have an enormous tolerance for drugs and alcohol."

He quipped, "I started drinking at 9, smoking at 10, and fooling around sexually when I was 11."

He had sexual relationships with older men from a young age.

SCHUMACHER ADMITTED HE WAS FOOLING AROUND with older men in the 1950s when gay sex was taboo. "When I was a kid, I didn't like very young

people at all. There was a married man in our neighborhood, but we weren't having missionary-style sex. We were, as we would say now, messing around."

He added: "At that particular time, there were no magazines that dealt with homosexuality, no newspaper articles, there weren't books, there was no education about all of this. I just was who I was."

He also claimed he had thousands of sexual partners.

"IT WOULD BE IN THE DOUBLE-DIGIT thousands, but that is not unusual," Schumacher said during his *Vulture* interview. "I've had sex with famous people, and I've had sex with married people and they go to the grave. I've never kissed and told about anybody who gives me the favor of sharing a bed with me."

He spent an entire summer in the '60s high on speed

"THERE WAS A SUMMER TOWARDS THE end of my intravenous-speed run. I was so stoned I wore a Speedo through the whole summer. I was so stoned all the time on speed, I'm lucky to be here," he confessed to *Vulture*. He added that he "lost" about five years in the Pines, the gay community in Fire Island, New York.

"There were pills involved, too" said Schumacher, who got sober in 1992. "Every drug, in my mind, was a pathway to sex. So was alcohol. There was an adventure going on, and sex would be the cherry on that sundae."

***The Lost Boys* was almost a G-rated kiddie movie**

IN A 1999 INTERVIEW WITH *VENICE Magazine*, Schumacher said there had been a different vision in mind for the 1987 teen horror/comedy





The Lost Boys started as “a cutesy, ‘G'-rated movie aimed at young kids. There were no wild teenagers on motorcycles.”



ENSEMBLE PIECES Clockwise from left: 1987's *The Lost Boys* is a time capsule of some of the era's style. Wedding guests Schumacher (left) with designer Diane von Furstenberg and entertainment executive Barry Diller. Batman and Robin sporting those anatomically correct chests.

classic before he came aboard. "Dick Donner was originally going to direct it, then wanted to do *Lethal Weapon* instead, so he gave it to me. What he wanted to do was quite different, which was sort of a cutesy, 'G'-rated movie aimed at young kids. There were no wild teenagers on motorcycles."

He was sorry about Batman's nipples.

"I WANT TO APOLOGIZE TO EVERY FAN that was disappointed because I think I owe them that," he said in a 2017 interview with Vice. "A lot of it was my choice. No one is responsible for my mistakes but me."

He wasn't sorry about Batman's nipples.

"BY THE TIME *BATMAN FOREVER* CAME around, rubber molding had become so much more advanced. So I said, let's make it anatomical and gave photos of those Greek statues and those incredible anatomical drawings you see in medical books. [A designer] did the nipples and when I looked at them, I thought, that's cool." Schumacher said he had no idea the choice would derail his career and haunt him for years. "I really never thought that would happen. I really didn't. Maybe I was just naive, but I'm still glad we did it."

"I just know that I'll always go down over the nipples on Batman starting with *Batman Forever*," he quipped. ■

Culture

01 Kalaupapa

Hawaii

Decades ago, this community—surrounded by sea cliffs towering 3,600 to 3,900-feet—was used as a leper colony. Now a national park whose waters humpback whales, green sea turtles and monk seals call home, the island is still pretty untouched.



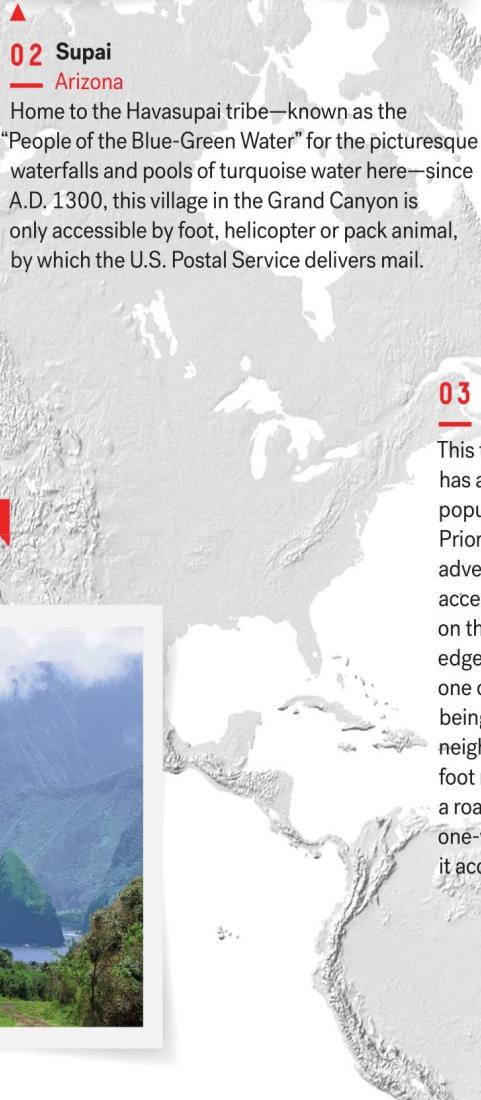
1

02 Supai

Arizona

Home to the Havasupai tribe—known as the “People of the Blue-Green Water” for the picturesque waterfalls and pools of turquoise water here—since A.D. 1300, this village in the Grand Canyon is only accessible by foot, helicopter or pack animal, by which the U.S. Postal Service delivers mail.

2



03 Gásadalur

Faroë Islands

This tiny village has a last recorded population of just 18. Prior to 2004, it was an adventure just to try to access this small town on the breathtaking edge of a cliff, with one of the options being to hike over the neighboring 2,000-foot mountain. Now, a road—with a scary one-way tunnel—makes it accessible by car.



3

04 Tristan da Cunha

British Overseas Territory

This volcanic island is accessible only by boat and has just a single road that twists and turns throughout its only settlement. Sitting about halfway between Cape Town, South Africa, and Buenos Aires, Argentina, it takes about a week to reach the main island from South Africa.

4



01: ROBERT HOLMES/GETTY; 02: CILQHTAC3/GETTY; 03: AEEVARG/GETTY; 04: DAVID FORMAN/GETTY; 05: AG-CHAPELHILL/GETTY; 06: VIEWSTOCK/GETTY; 07: DEAN CONGER/CORBIS/GETTY; 08: PETE ATKINSON/GETTY; 09: MARK RALSTON/AFP/GETTY

UNCHARTED

World's Most Isolated Places

In big cities like New York or Rome, social distancing changes the very mood and vibe of these metropolises, rendering them almost unrecognizable. And yet, in remote reaches of the globe, this kind of seclusion is simply the norm. From islands that are a week's journey from the closest landmass to a small village in Arizona that still uses a mule to deliver the mail, take a page from some of the most isolated places around the world. —*Alexandra Schonfeld*



05 Longyearbyen

Norway

This old coal-mining town in the tough Arctic climate sits amongst a backdrop of snow-covered mountains and fjords and is inhabited by only a handful of people. Because thousands of polar bears live in the area, local laws require residents to carry a rifle for protection when out and about.



06 Motuo

Tibet

Despite its location on the southern slopes of the Himalayas, this region enjoys a subtropical climate which allows for fruits like bananas and pineapples to grow. Until 2013, the only way to visit was by trekking on foot.



08 Home Island

Cocos (Keeling) Islands

Home to the Cocos Malaya people and very few outsiders, this island of picturesque beaches and crystal-clear waters sits about 1,700 miles from Perth, with flights between them only twice a week.



07 Oymyakon

Russia

This town in the Siberian tundra is the coldest inhabited place on earth. With only 500 residents, Oymyakon's average winter temperature is -58 degrees Fahrenheit, and have dropped to -90. The frigid temperatures and few hours of sunlight in winter make it hard for crops to survive, so residents rely on a diet of mostly meat and fish—sometimes even consumed frozen.



8



09 McMurdo Station

Antarctica

This research station was built on volcanic rock that is the solid land considered furthest south and still accessible by ship. For six months in the winter, there is no sunlight at all, while there is nothing but sunlight the rest of the year.

PARTING SHOT

Garcelle Beauvais

↗ BRAVO'S *THE REAL HOUSEWIVES OF BEVERLY HILLS (RHOBH)* REALITY SHOW broke new ground in 2020 by casting Garcelle Beauvais, the first Black cast member in the series' 10-year history. "I would love to see more diversity in all areas. That's what the world should reflect: what's *really* happening." Beauvais says her *Housewives* castmates "recognized" the groundbreaking nature of her casting, but that at times she was frustrated with them for not inquiring about "what it's like being a Black woman in Hollywood or being a single parent or co-parenting in a multicultural relationship." But she adds "everybody was welcoming and thrilled that I was coming on." Even though it's set in glamorous Beverly Hills, Beauvais feels their stories are very universal. "We're actually running businesses and running households and raising children," just in a "grander form because it's Beverly Hills, it's more glamorous." And even though women are often underrepresented in scripted TV and movies, in reality they dominate, because "when you want a strong presence, a strong voice, women are who you go to."

After a successful acting career, why was *RHOBH* a natural next step for you?

It definitely wasn't a natural next step. I felt like why not try something new? I'm at a place in my life where I'm not scared about what the outcome could be or how it looks to other people.

Do you feel like you're breaking new ground as the first Black cast member on the show?

I didn't want to feel like I had to act in a certain way that showed me in a light that people look at us for, the "angry Black woman," the stereotypes that people put on us. I just wanted to be me. Bring my sass, my fun, my reality to the show and not take it on as I'm representing every Black woman in America.

How have some of your Hollywood peers reacted to your move to reality TV?

I've been in the industry for over 20 years. I've worked with the likes of Denzel Washington, incredible people. I have never gotten more attention than the announcement of being a *Housewife* [laughs].

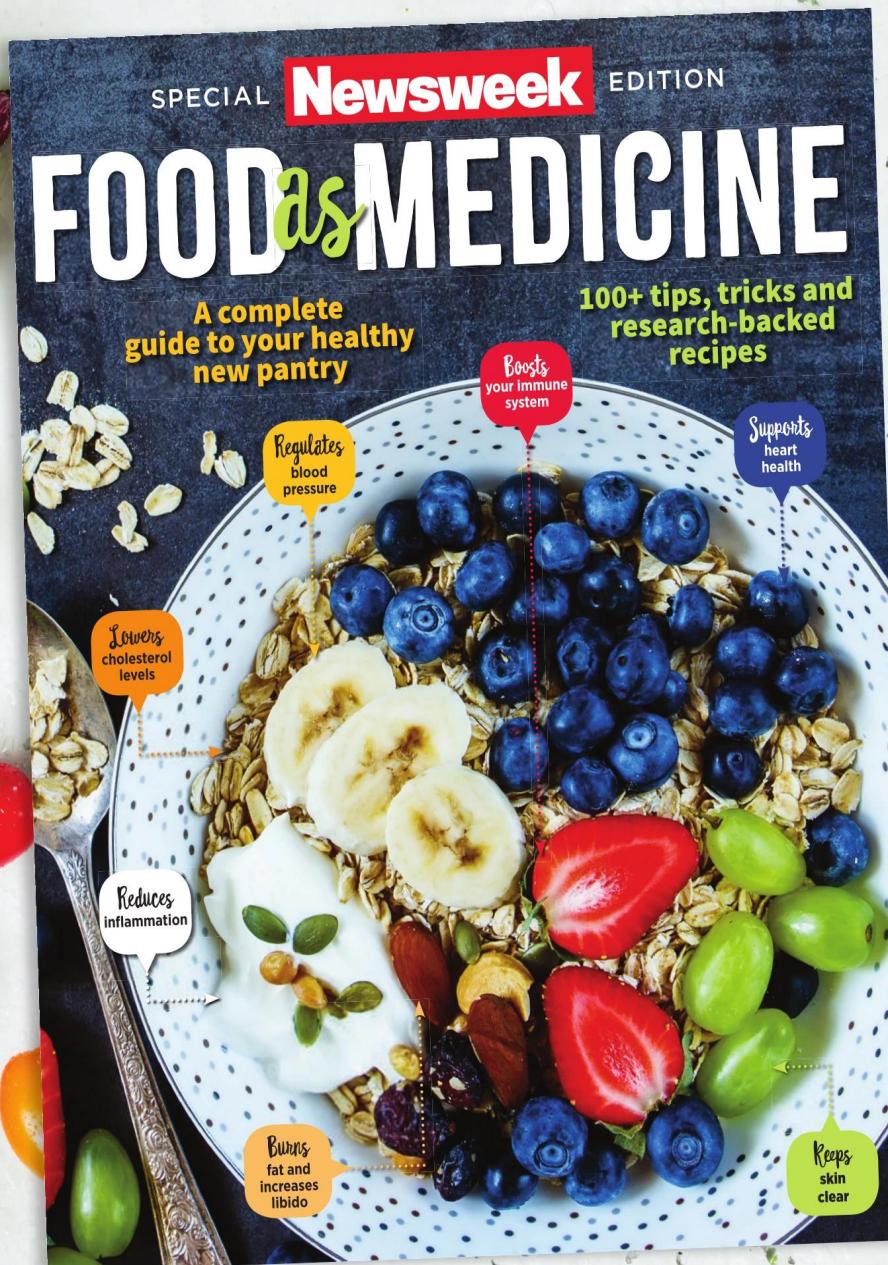
What was it like teaming up again with Eddie Murphy for *Coming to America 2*?

It was really like time stood still. If someone would have said to us when we were shooting the original that some 30-odd years later, we would be back, no one would have believed it.

—H. Alan Scott



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