

TIME



**‘WITHOUT
UNITY, THERE
IS NO PEACE’**

JOE BIDEN
46TH PRESIDENT
OF THE UNITED STATES

DOWNLOAD

CSS Notes, Books, MCQs, Magazines



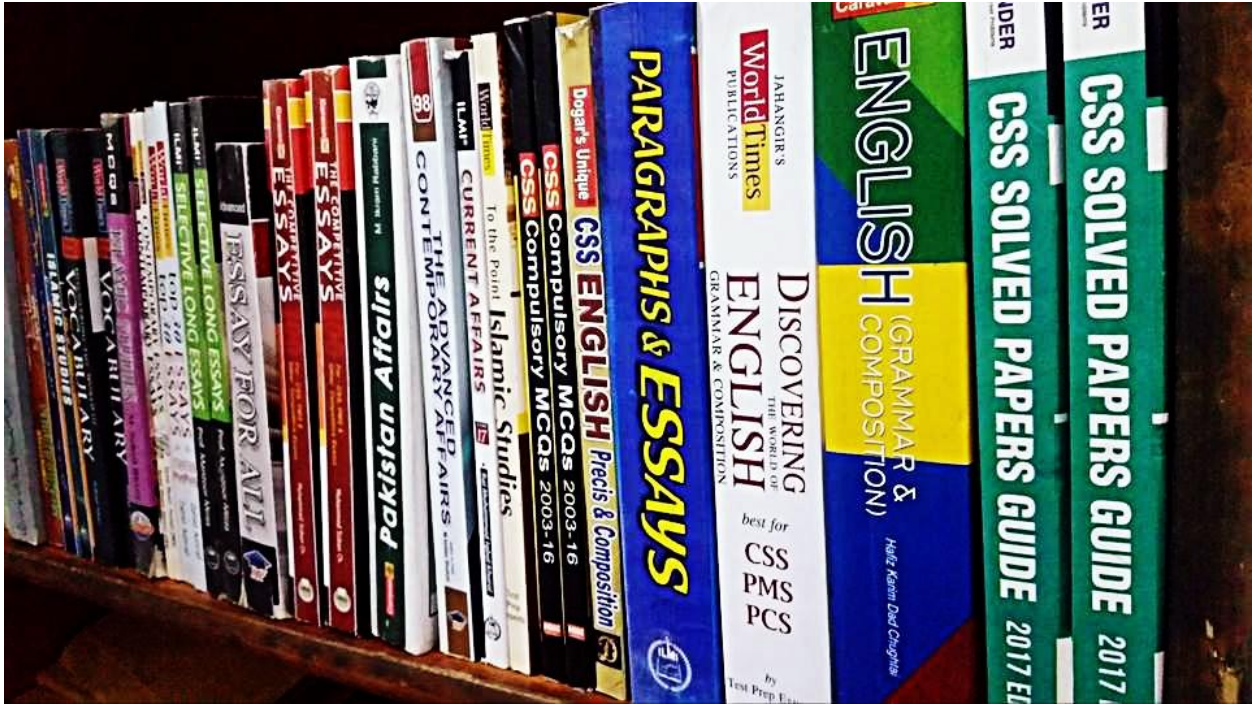
THE CSS POINT
Yes We Can Do It!

WWW.THECSSPOINT.COM

- **Download CSS Notes**
- **Download CSS Books**
- **Download CSS Magazines**
- **Download CSS MCQs**
- **Download CSS Past Papers**

*The CSS Point, Pakistan's The Best
Online FREE Web source for All CSS
Aspirants.*

Email: info@thecsspoint.com



BUY CSS / PMS / NTS & GENERAL KNOWLEDGE BOOKS
ONLINE **CASH ON DELIVERY** ALL OVER PAKISTAN

Visit Now:

WWW.CSSBOOKS.NET

For Oder & Inquiry
Call/SMS/WhatsApp

0333 6042057 – 0726 540141

FPSC Model Papers

50th Edition (Latest & Updated)

By Imtiaz Shahid

Advanced Publishers



CLICK HERE TO ORDER NOW!

50th Edition 2020
FPSC Model Papers
By Imtiaz Shahid
Advanced Publishers

ORDER NOW

ADVANCED Edition 50th
FPSC
& Other Federal Model Papers
(Previous papers of FPSC, NTS & OTS)
New Papers of FIA, ASF, SST,
Motorways Police & Anti Narcotics

Best Books for:
FPSC Screening Tests,
FPSC One Paper Tests, NTS, OTS,
UTS, STS, PTS, BTS, and all other allied examinations

Added Features:
Sample Model Papers, English, Mathematics
Arithmetic, General Abilities Tests
Analogy Questions

Solved
Original Book

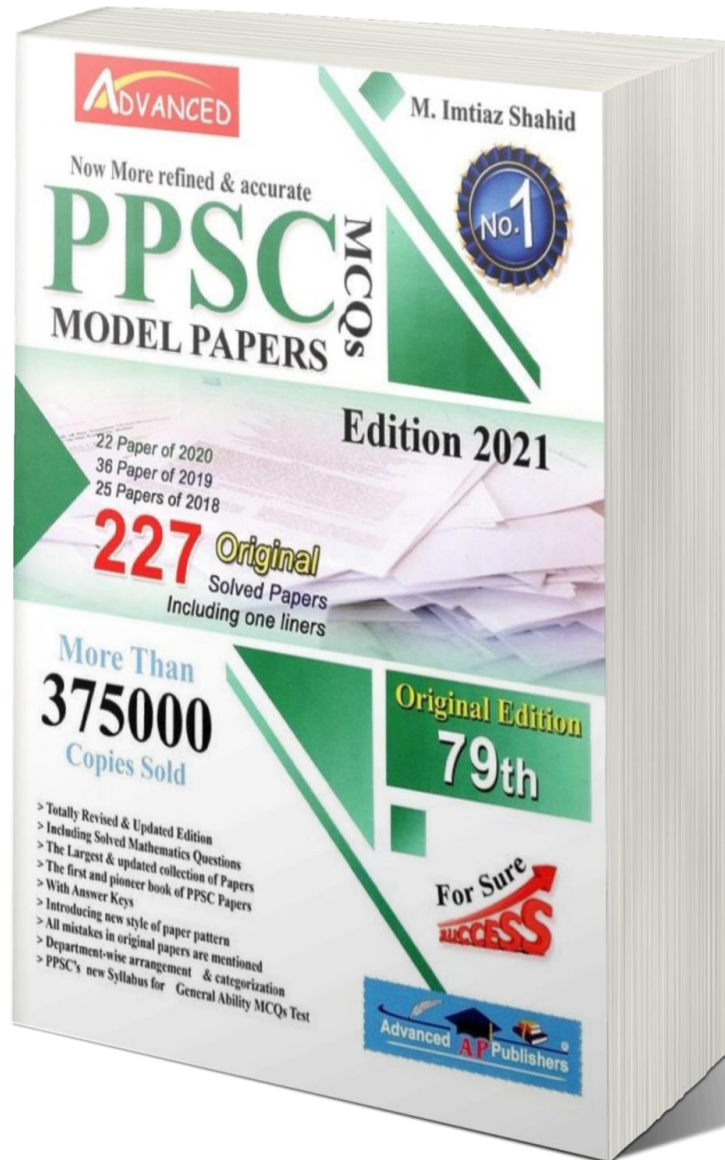
M. Imtiaz Shahid
A Combination of
Original & Model Papers

Advanced AP Publishers

For Order Call/WhatsApp 03336042057 - 0726540141

PPSC Model Papers

79th Edition (Latest & Updated)



[By Imtiaz Shahid](#)

[Advanced Publishers](#)

[For Order Call/WhatsApp 03336042057 - 0726540141](#)





Introducing ATEM Mini

The compact television studio that lets you create presentation videos and live streams!

Blackmagic Design is a leader in video for the television industry, and now you can create your own streaming videos with ATEM Mini. Simply connect HDMI cameras, computers or even microphones. Then push the buttons on the panel to switch video sources just like a professional broadcaster! You can even add titles, picture in picture overlays and mix audio! Then live stream to Zoom, Skype or YouTube!

Create Training and Educational Videos

ATEM Mini's includes everything you need. All the buttons are positioned on the front panel so it's very easy to learn. There are 4 HDMI video inputs for connecting cameras and computers, plus a USB output that looks like a webcam so you can connect to Zoom or Skype. ATEM Software Control for Mac and PC is also included, which allows access to more advanced "broadcast" features!

Use Professional Video Effects

ATEM Mini is really a professional broadcast switcher used by television stations. This means it has professional effects such as a DVE for picture in picture effects commonly used for commentating over a computer slide show. There are titles for presenter names, wipe effects for transitioning between sources and a green screen keyer for replacing backgrounds with graphics.

Live Stream Training and Conferences

The ATEM Mini Pro model has a built in hardware streaming engine for live streaming via its ethernet connection. This means you can live stream to YouTube, Facebook and Teams in much better quality and with perfectly smooth motion. You can even connect a hard disk or flash storage to the USB connection and record your stream for upload later!

Monitor all Video Inputs!

With so many cameras, computers and effects, things can get busy fast! The ATEM Mini Pro model features a "multiview" that lets you see all cameras, titles and program, plus streaming and recording status all on a single TV or monitor. There are even tally indicators to show when a camera is on air! Only ATEM Mini is a true professional television studio in a small compact design!

ATEM Mini.....**US\$295**
 ATEM Mini Pro.....**US\$595**
 ATEM Software Control.....**Free**



- 2 | From the Editor
- 4 | Conversation
- 6 | For the Record

The Brief

News from the U.S. and around the world

7 | Inaugurating the second year of coronavirus in the U.S.

9 | The arrest of the Russian opposition figure who lived

10 | What becomes of the border wall

11 | Milestones: billionaire Sheldon Adelson; "Wall of Sound" producer Phil Spector

12 | TIME with ... evangelical leader Russell Moore

The View

Ideas, opinion, innovations

15 | Eben Shapiro on why corporations take political stands

17 | Ian Bremmer on the strings Biden finds attached to China

17 | Koa Beck on the state of feminism

18 | Nancy Gibbs on a moral leadership void

19 | Madeleine Albright names the two most dangerous words

20 | Lynn Steger Strong on missing her non-mom self

Features

A New Beginning

The ultimate challenge facing President Joseph R. Biden Jr. By Charlotte Alter 28

Plus: The first 100 days By Alana Abramson and Brian Bennett 34

How to meet the moment By Karen Finney 38

A sundered Republican Party By Molly Ball 40

Relative discomfort By Belinda Luscombe 46

The double danger of domestic terrorism By Simon Shuster; photographs by Christopher Lee 52

Anatomy of a botched rollout By W.J. Hennigan, Alice Park and Jamie Ducharme 56

TIME 2030

Bold steps toward a sustainable world: fake meat, doughnut cities, a democracy-friendly Internet, plus ideas from Bill Gates, Angelina Jolie, José Andrés and more 67

Time Off

What to watch, read, see and do

95 | A winter survival guide

102 | Buoyant audiobooks

104 | 18 Questions for author Joan Didion

President Joe Biden and First Lady Jill Biden at the White House entrance on Jan. 20

Photograph by Evan Vucci—AP

Countdown 2030



We can mistake this inflection point for just another news cycle. Or we can roll up our sleeves

RECENTLY, I ZOOMED INTO A WASHINGTON-BASED VIRTUAL LEADERSHIP PROGRAM THAT opened on a series of TIME covers from the past two decades. The covers (*see inset*) focused on the risk of pandemics from SARS, in 2003, to a 2017 story warning about a virus that “hops a plane out of China and onto foreign soil, where it could spread through the air like wildfire.”

We all knew what was coming. Why, the moderator asked, were we so unprepared?

The turning of the page to this New Year has only underscored the durability of the world’s multiple crises. 2020, the dark joke goes, refuses to concede.

The challenges—a health crisis, a trust crisis, an inequality crisis, a climate crisis, an economic crisis, a democracy crisis—are disparate. And yet one thing unites them: they were entirely foreseeable, from the pandemic to last summer’s apocalyptic wildfires to the Jan. 6 insurrection on Capitol Hill. “It should have required no imagination to foresee an uprising that was planned, promised and promoted in plain sight,” my predecessor Nancy Gibbs, now director of Harvard’s Shorenstein Center, writes in this issue.

Why do we ignore crises that we can clearly see coming, and how do we embrace this moment to change that? As the world resets for a post-COVID future, we have a collective choice. We can mistake this inflection point for just another news cycle. Or we can roll up our sleeves.

THAT’S WHY WE’RE LAUNCHING an ambitious, decade-long project called TIME 2030. It will be a guide to the post-COVID world, an ongoing exploration of potential solutions and the leaders and innovators driving them. The timing could not be more urgent, starting with the pandemic itself. This week, the U.S. passed the devastating marker of 400,000 deaths from COVID-19, meaning that about 1 in every 825 Americans has died from the virus. More than 2 million people across the world have died from the virus.

TIME 2030 will focus on how we build a healthier, more resilient, more just world. We’ll talk to some of the world’s most innovative thinkers about what comes next, from the future of education and work to the future of truth itself. And we’ll focus on solutions, drawing on the wisdom of a committee of leaders from around the world and across fields. In this issue, you’ll find Bill Gates wrestling with climate change, TIME’s Shanghai-based Charlie Campbell examining the impact of China’s changing diets on the globe and Ciara Nugent of our London bureau reporting on how new economic thinking is inspiring cities like Amsterdam to live differently.

Our advisory committee, which we’ll continue to expand as the project grows, includes chef José Andrés, epidemiologist Larry Brilliant, Ghanaian entrepreneur and educator Fred Swaniker, Ford Foundation president Darren Walker, designer Christian Siriano, actor and humanitarian Angelina Jolie, Duke Energy CEO Lynn Good and the extraordinary 2020 TIME Kid of the Year, 15-year-old Gitanjali Rao. Each of them offers in this issue a proposed solution to a major problem that we must address. Over the course of the TIME 2030 project, our TV and film division TIME Studios will also bring many of these stories to life, helping us imagine how this movie plays out over the next decade.

Why 2030? That is the year by which the U.N.’s sustainable-development goals—targets on equality, poverty, health, growth and sustainability—will be met or missed. Adopted in a rare moment of global consensus by every member state of the U.N., these SDGs have become key benchmarks for commitments by policymakers and business leaders alike. By 2030, we will know whether we’re on the path toward a better planet. This is a shared enterprise, in which we all have a role to play, with opportunities for our readers to participate.

We are all, as we say in the journalism world, on deadline.



Edward Felsenthal,
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF & CEO
@EFELSENTHAL



Join us as we
commit to 2,021
acts of good.

lead with love



Let's make a positive impact for communities, equality and our planet in 2021.

Visit [PGGoodEveryday.com](https://www.pggoodeveryday.com) to take action and earn points to redeem for rewards you love, while P&G donates to your selected cause.



PANTENE



always



Conversation



WHAT YOU SAID ABOUT...

THE MIRACLE MOLECULE Readers lauded Walter Isaacson's Jan. 18/Jan. 25 cover story on the science behind COVID-19 vaccines. "The article should put readers' minds at rest," wrote Richard Mellen, a former biology teacher from Chesterfield, N.H., "knowing the science behind [vaccine] development was not an over-the-night rush job, but one that has taken many years and many scientists' work." Cheney Bonaudi of Gambier, Ohio, wrote that she will be sharing the "extremely convincing" coverage with a family member wary of being vaccinated. Other readers praised the piece's narrative. "A totally scientific subject and its processes [turned] into a wonderfully exciting story of struggle and success," wrote Barbara Howard of Harwich, Mass. "It read like one of the best novels ever."

THE SOCIAL MEDIA MILITIA In the same issue, readers were horrified by Simon Shuster and Billy Perrigo's profile of a white-supremacist militia using Facebook to recruit new members. "Americans especially need to know about this potentially dangerous-to-democracy activity," wrote Gayl Woityra of Maysville, Ky.

"The article is highly pertinent given the recent insurrection in Washington, D.C., on Jan. 6." But even if such groups are deplatformed, their effect on their members is likely long-lasting, Twitter user @MohammedAbbasi noted: "It's going to be very difficult to deradicalise them all."

"The path... to the solution was just thrilling! I got goose bumps!"

DALE F. CRISLER,
Rice Lake, Wis.

"This edition of TIME is the most incisive and frightening issue I have read."

THE REV. J.H.
ROBNOLT,
Sherwood, Ark.

Back in TIME

Alongside the debut of the TIME 2030 initiative, focused on "a sustainable and equitable future" (page 67), TIME's "10 Ideas for the Next 10 Years," published March 22, 2010, still holds up. Predictions included a "dropout economy" forcing young people into alternative career paths, "shaken" public trust in authority figures and an "aggrieved white minority" chafing in an increasing diverse U.S. "This country was founded on an idea," wrote managing editor Richard Stengel. "Ideas were, are and always will be the next big thing." Read the full issue at time.com/vault



ON THE COVERS:



Photograph
by Philip
Montgomery for
TIME



Illustration by
Tim O'Brien for
TIME

COVID QUESTIONS TIME's Health editors are soliciting submissions for the "COVID Questions" advice column, which answers coronavirus-related queries such as "How do I get vaccinated early?" and "How can I get my roommate to take the pandemic seriously?" Email questions to covidquestions@time.com



TALK TO US

SEND AN EMAIL:
letters@time.com
Please do not send attachments

FOLLOW US:
[facebook.com/time](https://www.facebook.com/time)
[@time](https://twitter.com/time) (Twitter and Instagram)

Letters should include the writer's full name, address and home telephone, and may be edited for purposes of clarity and space

Back Issues Contact us at customerservice@time.com, or call 800-843-8463. **Reprints and Permissions** Information is available at time.com/reprints. To request custom reprints, visit timereprints.com. **Advertising** For advertising rates and our editorial calendar, visit timemediakit.com. **Syndication** For international licensing and syndication requests, contact syndication@time.com



Please recycle
this magazine, and
remove inserts or
samples beforehand

Supercharge your health with antioxidants.



Living in low-power mode? Recharge your batteries with POM Wonderful 100% Pomegranate Juice. With more antioxidant power on average than red wine or blueberry juice, and four times the potency of green tea, POM has the free-radical-fighting juice your body needs.

'NO MATTER WHAT THEY DO, THE WORLD IS WATCHING.'

BOBI WINE,

Ugandan opposition challenger, as the government cut the country's Internet before a presidential election on Jan. 14, which Wine has since alleged included widespread fraud

'This is a reminder of the danger in having a government that is guided by rumors and hysteria.'

RIK VERWAEST,
city council member in Lier, Belgium, in a Jan. 8 statement apologizing for witchcraft trials that took place in the city in the 16th century

'Keep on with the rescue efforts. We have hope, thank you.'

A GROUP OF CHINESE MINERS, trapped underground since a Jan. 10 explosion, in a handwritten note sent to rescuers on the surface on Jan. 17 and shared with state media



\$5,000

Fine for lawmakers who avoid metal detectors when entering the U.S. House Chamber as of Jan. 21, under a rule proposed after several GOP members pushed past Capitol Police

'He gets very sick if he doesn't eat organic food.'

MARTHA CHANSLEY, mother of "QAnon Shaman" Jacob Chansley, after he was jailed Jan. 9 on charges related to the U.S. Capitol riots

'There has never been a greater betrayal by a President of the United States of his office and his oath to the Constitution.'

LIZ CHENEY,

third ranking member of House GOP leadership, in a Jan. 12 statement before voting to impeach President Trump

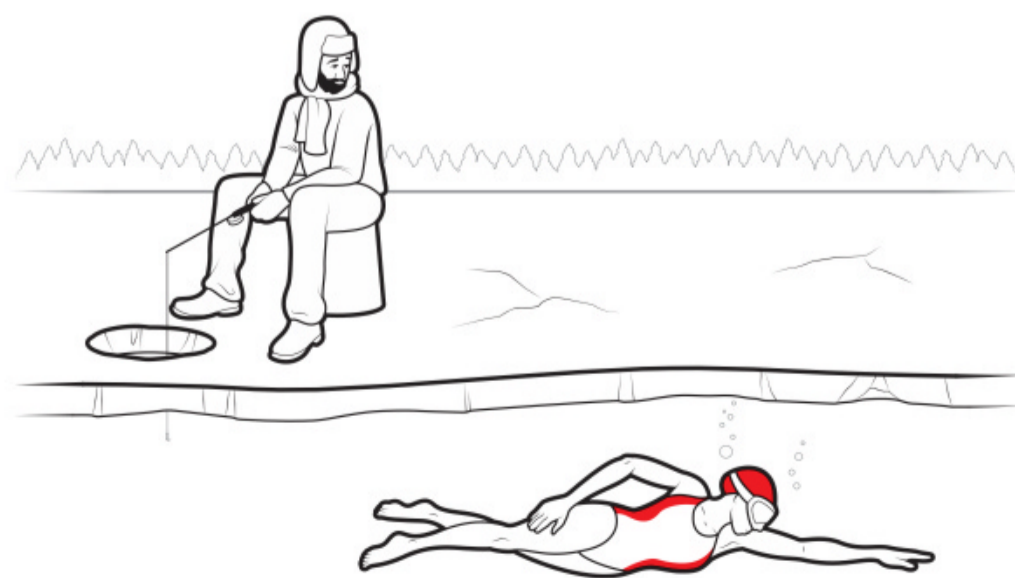


GOOD NEWS
of the week

Australian authorities ruled on Jan. 15 that "Joe the pigeon," originally thought to have flown over 8,000 miles from the U.S., is "highly likely" to be a native bird and won't be euthanized for violating the country's biosecurity regulations

279 ft.

Distance a Russian woman swam under the frozen surface of Lake Baikal in a single breath on Jan. 7, believed to be a world record for under-ice swimming



ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

The Brief



SOLIDARITY
Health care
workers at a
Jan. 19 memorial
ceremony in
Tucson, Ariz., for
those who have
died of COVID-19

INSIDE

OUTCRY FOLLOWS RUSSIAN
OPPOSITION LEADER'S ARREST

TRUMP'S BORDER WALL LOOMS
OVER PRESIDENT BIDEN

REMEMBERING GOP KINGMAKER
SHELDON ADELSON

PHOTOGRAPH BY JOSH GALEMORE

The Brief is reported by Madeleine Carlisle, Suyin Haynes, Sanya Mansoor, Ciara Nugent, Billy Perrigo, Madeline Roache and Olivia B. Waxman

HEALTH

A new chance to lead through science

By Alice Park

ON JAN. 20, 2020, SCIENTISTS AT THE CENTERS for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) confirmed the first case of COVID-19 in the U.S. At the time, we had no hint of the devastation to come—more than 24 million infected; 400,000 dead; and schools, businesses, sports events and indeed our entire economy hinging on the vagaries of a virus we can't even see. Many, including then President Donald Trump, believed the novel coronavirus would eventually peter out and disappear. But as cases started to mount around the world, especially in China and Europe, it became clear that this virus—and the disease it caused—wasn't simply like a “bad flu,” as Trump repeatedly claimed.

It had pandemic potential. The response then should have been to put aside politics and marshal the widely admired and well-proven ability of U.S. public-health experts in protecting Americans against—and defeating—this common enemy. But instead, from day one, our energies were diverted by the Trump Administration's refusal to take the virus seriously and its ultimate shunting of responsibility for that underestimation. That has led to a confused and untrusting public that struggles to tease apart scientific fact from science fiction—a dangerous scenario when an opportunistic virus is on the loose. As a result, the COVID-19 virus has free rein to not just find new people to infect daily but also to morph into different forms, with each mutation inching closer and closer to a version that could resist our drug treatments and even, at some point, the vaccines we develop.

On Jan. 20, 2021, Joe Biden became the new President of the United States, inheriting the urgent task of corralling the out-of-control virus. In sharp contrast to the Trump Administration, he is urging Americans to follow the advice of public-health experts and wear masks in public for 100 days in an effort to thwart the virus from spreading. In that same 100 days, he has also pledged to vaccinate 100 million Americans, pushing the country closer to achieving the critical herd immunity in which enough people are protected to slow the transmission of the virus significantly.

But the cascade of decisions by his predecessor over the past year means Biden and his health team are still playing catch-up. It began with a costly delay in developing and distributing tests to detect the disease—one of the first and possibly strongest ways to stop the virus—because

health officials were sidetracked by having to stamp out the constant fires of misinformation and unscientific claims fueled by Trump's tweets and conflagrated by his supporters at the state level. And while over the past year the U.S. approved an antiviral drug to treat COVID-19 and authorized two vaccines (with a handful more on the way), those victories were won despite, and not because of, the White House. Instead of making COVID-19 the top priority for all arms of government, the Trump Administration diluted the nation's attention and resources with political infighting and misinformation campaigns.

Trump regularly commandeered briefings about the pandemic, stealing the only time that people could hear from scientists on the front lines and using it instead to plant misleading ideas and encourage dangerous behaviors. After the first wave last spring, Trump pushed to re-open businesses against the advice of experts who warned it was too soon, and before long, the virus surged again, this time in even more parts of the country. Even after Trump himself was diagnosed with COVID-19 and hospitalized, he downplayed the gravity of the disease, tweeting, “Don't be afraid of Covid. Don't let it dominate your life.”

And in the final days of his presidency, Trump used the sideshow of unfounded allegations of voter fraud to divert our attention from the disaster compounding around us. If even a fraction of the energy the Trump Administration spent in misleading the public on COVID-19 had been funneled toward science-based messages and recommendations, where might the U.S. be in this fight?

‘WE MUST REJECT A CULTURE IN WHICH FACTS THEMSELVES ARE MANIPULATED AND EVEN MANUFACTURED.’

JOE BIDEN,
speaking at his presidential
Inauguration on Jan. 20

THE BIDEN ADMINISTRATION might give us an answer. Already, Biden and his team have put public health ahead of politics: recognizing that large public gatherings can trigger the spread of COVID-19, he chose to be inaugurated in front of 200,000 flags, representing supporters he did not want to put at risk of infection. His newly appointed CDC director, Dr. Rochelle Walensky, promises regular public briefings and more transparency about the latest COVID-19 science. And the new pandemic team has pledged to right the wrongs of the past year and speed the rollout of vaccines as the first, essential step toward reopening society and returning us to a sense of normality.

All those efforts point toward one critical goal: earning back the trust of the American people. Without that, there may be vaccines but no vaccinations as people remain skittish about getting the shot, and without vaccinations, there will be no herd immunity that serves as a human wall of defense against the coronavirus. One year from today, let's hope that trust—in science, scientists and our political leadership—is strong enough to finally keep the virus under control. We can't afford another year like the last one. □

WHAT IS AVAXHOME?

AVAXHOME-

the biggest Internet portal,
providing you various content:
brand new books, trending movies,
fresh magazines, hot games,
recent software, latest music releases.

Unlimited satisfaction one low price

Cheap constant access to piping hot media

Protect your downloadings from Big brother

Safer, than torrent-trackers

18 years of seamless operation and our users' satisfaction

All languages

Brand new content

One site



AVXLIVE . ICU

AvaxHome - Your End Place

We have everything for all of your needs. Just open <https://avxlive.icu>

NEWS TICKER

Trump issues flurry of last-minute pardons

During his last hours in office early Jan. 20, President Trump **pardoned 74 people and commuted the sentences of 70 more.** The list included his former adviser Steve Bannon, top fundraiser Elliott Broidy and the rapper Lil Wayne.

Apology over child deaths at Irish unwed- mother homes

Ireland's Prime Minister Micheál Martin apologized Jan. 13 after an investigation into 18 Catholic Church-run mother-and-baby homes found an **"appalling level of infant mortality."** About 15% of those born at the homes from the 1920s to the 1990s died, totaling around 9,000 babies and children.

Tiger King zoo must turn over cubs

An Oklahoma judge on Jan. 15 ordered the zoo featured in the hit Netflix docuseries *Tiger King* to **surrender all big cats less than a year old**, as well as the cubs' mothers, to the federal government, citing the owners' "shocking disregard" for the law and the animals' health.



Opposition leader Alexei Navalny boards a plane packed with journalists to return from Berlin to Moscow on Jan. 17, even as Russian authorities warned he would be detained upon arrival. "What do you expect?" one reporter asked Navalny. "Wonderful weather," he replied, and "a warm welcome."

THE BULLETIN

Russian opposition leader's airport arrest sparks outcry

THE KREMLIN'S FIERCEST CRITIC, ALEXEI Navalny, flew straight into the clutches of Russian President Vladimir Putin on Jan. 17 when he returned to Moscow from Germany, where he had been recovering from an assassination attempt he blames on Russia's Federal Security Service (FSB). Navalny was jailed for 30 days on Jan. 18, accused of violating the terms of a suspended sentence in a 2014 embezzlement case he says was fabricated. He faces 3½ years in prison at a hearing set for Jan. 29.

OPPOSITION LEADER Navalny, head of Russia's Anti-Corruption Foundation, has long been a thorn in Putin's side; his street protests and government-corruption exposés have helped unseat Putin's allies in local elections. He was left in a coma after being poisoned by Novichok, a nerve agent, last August; Bellingcat, an investigative news organization, has identified eight FSB officers allegedly behind the attack. The Kremlin denies any involvement.

SANCTIONS Officials around the world have condemned both the poisoning and now Navalny's arrest, with some urging new sanctions against Russia. But many doubt this will do much to help. Eliot Higgins, founder of Bellingcat, calls the global reaction "utterly toothless." "If the international community doesn't do something that Russia cares about, Russia will realize that it can get away with whatever it wants," he says.

ELECTIONS Navalny's return to Russia has high stakes for Putin ahead of parliamentary elections in September. With support for his United Russia party hovering at around 31% and the country battling a deep economic recession, the President faces a challenge in securing a supermajority. Ben Noble, a lecturer in Russian politics at University College London, says, "We're likely to see the Kremlin block opposition candidates, mobilize state employees to support United Russia and further hamper the work of Navalny's team." —MADELINE ROACHE

GOOD QUESTION

What happens to the border wall now?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP ARRIVED IN Alamo, Texas, on Jan. 12 to commemorate his Administration's construction of a wall along the U.S.-Mexico border. The trip was his last as President to champion a cornerstone of his immigration policy.

Although Trump campaigned on building a wall along the entirety of the U.S.-Mexico border, he has not made good on that promise. As of Jan. 4, the federal government has designated \$15 billion toward construction, but only 47 miles of wall have been built where no barrier previously existed, according to U.S. Customs and Border Protection. (The Trump Administration built a total of 452 miles of border wall, but roughly 400 miles were reconstructions of existing barriers, primarily in California, Arizona and New Mexico.)

Trump has, however, succeeded in transforming physical border security—an issue that once earned bipartisan support—into a third-rail political issue. President Joe Biden has promised that not “another foot” of wall would be constructed under his Administration; he would be the first President since George H.W. Bush not to build additional barriers at the border. He has also pledged to end a 2019 emergency declaration Trump approved to divert billions of dollars from other federal programs to build the wall.

Biden has said he instead plans to focus on investing in border technology to increase the

effectiveness of screening at ports of entry and on improving partnerships with Canada and Mexico. He has also said, however, that he would not take steps to remove barriers constructed by Trump.

A January 2019 survey by the Pew Research Center found that 58% of Americans opposed expansion of the border wall—but that 82% of Republicans and those who lean toward the Republican Party supported further construction, an increase of 10% from the previous year.

Trump's supporters have “a magical way of adjusting their expectations to continue to support a President who has failed to deliver,” says John Hudak, deputy director of the Center for Effective Public Management and a senior fellow in Governance Studies at the Brookings Institution, citing other wall-related promises made by Trump—that it would be completed in his first term, for example, and that Mexico would pay for construction—that have gone unfulfilled.

“It's not surprising to me that Biden wouldn't want to remove the wall,” says Jessica Bolter, associate policy analyst at the Migration Policy Institute. “That's [Trump's] core issue, that's the issue that really riles up his base,” she continues. “Removing this symbol of Trump's presidency would invite such a political firestorm ... that it might infringe on [Biden's] ability to move forward with other actions.” —JASMINE AGUILERA

NEWS TICKER

Honduran migrant caravan dissolves

After clashing with Guatemalan security forces, a large group of migrants headed for the U.S. **was mostly dispersed on Jan. 18.** Despite a desperate economic situation in Honduras, many of those making up 2021's first migrant caravan are now returning home.

3 executed in Trump's last days in office

The Department of Justice **put to death three federal inmates**—Lisa Montgomery, Corey Johnson and Dustin Higgs—just days before President Biden took office and amid a COVID-19 outbreak at the prison. The Trump Administration is now responsible for the most federal executions ever undertaken during a presidential transition.

Nepali climbers set world record

A team of 10 Nepali climbers made history on Jan. 16, becoming **the first people to reach the summit of K2 in winter.** Just 200 m shorter than Mount Everest, K2 has long been known as the “savage mountain” because of its dangerous passages.

FOOD AND WINE

Space munchies

A dozen bottles of French Bordeaux landed safely back on earth on Jan. 13 after a yearlong experiment aboard the International Space Station (ISS) to see how weightlessness affected the wine's aging process—and its taste.

Here, more giant leaps for astronaut foodies. —*Madeleine Carlisle*

COSMIC COOKIES

In December 2019, astronauts aboard the ISS prepared the first-ever baked goods in space. Their batch of chocolate-chip cookies reportedly smelled great but couldn't be eaten pending safety tests back on earth.

GALACTIC GREENS

To help astronauts stay well fed on long-haul space missions, a 2019 experiment saw red romaine lettuce grown on the ISS in a “passive orbital nutrient delivery system”—PONDS units for short.

TO BOLDLY BREW ...

Two hundred and fifty six-packs of a special Space Barley Sapporo beer were sold via a 2009 charity lottery in Japan, made with grains descended from malting barley kept on the ISS for five months in 2006.



Milestones

DIED

Siegfried

Fischbacher, one half of magician duo Siegfried & Roy, from pancreatic cancer, on Jan. 13. He was 81.

➤ New York socialite and publishing scion **Harry Brant**, from an accidental drug overdose, on Jan. 17. He was 24.

FILED

The **National Rifle Association**, for bankruptcy, on Jan. 15, a move the gun-advocacy group's CEO, Wayne LaPierre, described as a "restructuring plan."

PAROLED

A 20-year-old man who in 2015 became **the youngest convicted terrorist in U.K. history**, after a parole board ruled him "suitable for release," on Jan 18.

APOLOGIZED

The **Amazon Prime show *Tandav***, an Indian political-drama series, after it was accused of showing disrespect for the Hindu community.

CHARGED

Former Michigan governor Rick Snyder, on Jan. 13, with **two counts of "willful neglect of duty,"** for his role in the Flint water crisis.

SENTENCED

Former civil servant Anchan Preeert, to **43½ years in prison**, on Jan. 19, for sharing audio clips a Bangkok court ruled critical of the Thai monarchy.

ENGAGED

President Trump's 27-year-old daughter **Tiffany Trump**, to Michael Boulos, per her announcement on Jan. 19, after a Rose Garden proposal.



DIED

Sheldon Adelson

High roller, political donor

SHELDON ADELSON HAD LITTLE USE FOR REGRET. A SELF-MADE man whose net worth topped \$33 billion at the time of his death on Jan. 11 at 87, he had a largesse and ruthlessness that gave the casino mogul a near unrivaled influence over American politics.

From an early age, Adelson showed an appetite for risk and entrepreneurship. His big break came in 1979. As personal computers made their way into Americans' homes, Adelson decided the computer industry should make its way to Las Vegas for COMDEX, a must-see trade show. In 1995, he and his business partners sold the expo to a Japanese software developer for some \$860 million.

COMDEX introduced Adelson to Sin City and sparked his next big step: developing the country's largest exhibition space, with hotel rooms to match. He bought the then Sands Hotel and Casino in 1989 and soon after broke ground on what would become the Venetian complex—a love letter to the Italian city where he had honeymooned with his second wife Miriam—that now stands on Las Vegas Boulevard. A subsequent expansion to Macau paid dividends. At one point, Adelson's personal wealth was growing at a rate of \$1 million an hour.

During the past three White House races, the Adelson family was the single largest Republican donors in the U.S. Since 2010, the Center for Responsive Politics estimates that they have given more than \$500 million in federal contributions to conservative politicians, groups and GOP super PACs.

It will be politics that will define Adelson's legacy to many. But that legacy will be more than raw dollars: it represents the vanguard of a new era in U.S. politics when the ultrarich can determine the shape, tenor and rules of elections. —PHILIP ELLIOTT

DIED

Phil Spector

Defining music producer, monster

TO CONSIDER WHERE PHIL Spector began, and where he ended up, is to reckon with tragedy. Spector died on Jan. 16 at 81 while serving a prison sentence for murder; in 2009, he was convicted of killing actor Lana Clarkson. Even before that heinous crime, his second wife Ronnie Spector, of '60s girl group the Ronettes, had attested to his abusive behaviors.

But if not for Spector, we wouldn't have that unadulterated slice of heaven "Be My Baby," which the Ronettes recorded in 1963. Spector produced the track using his signature technique, building lush sonic textures into an aural Garden of Eden—what came to be known as the "Wall of Sound." Though he worked only intermittently from the mid-'60s, producing the occasional record for the Beatles, the Ramones and others, Spector forever changed the face of rock 'n' roll. The life he took can never be brought back, but music itself—its qualities, its capacity to delight—shares no blame. Even in the wake of Spector's fall, the poetry he wrought from sound remains.

—STEPHANIE ZACHAREK



Conservative Christian **Russell Moore** has a message for believers who also worship Trump

By **Belinda Luscombe**

THE PAST FEW YEARS HAVE NOT BEEN AN EASY time to be God's lobbyist. A lot of folks claiming to represent the Almighty have been jostling for space in the corridors of Washington, with a lot of conflicting agendas. Their methods often seem mutually exclusive with the Christian tenet that one should love one's neighbor. So perhaps it's not surprising that shortly after the events of Jan. 6, the guy whose actual paid job it is to try to get those in power to think about a higher power got about as ticked off as a polite Southern gentleman of faith is allowed to get.

"If you can defend this, you can defend *anything*," wrote Russell Moore, a theologian who is also the president of the Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission (ERLC) of the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC), in an excoriating editorial to his fellow evangelicals about the breach of the Capitol. The intruders displayed JESUS SAVES signs next to those calling for the hanging of Vice President Mike Pence and, once in the building, thanked God for the opportunity "to get rid of the communists, the globalists and the traitors" within the U.S. government. "If you can wave this away with 'Well, what about ...'" added Moore, "then where, at long last, is your limit?"

Many Christian leaders and thinkers decried the attack on the Capitol, but few went as far as Moore; he laid the blame squarely at the feet of a man many evangelicals believe to be their hero: President Trump. "This week we watched an insurrection of domestic terrorists," Moore wrote, "incited and fomented by the President of the United States." When asked about that statement during an interview from his book-lined Brentwood, Tenn., home office a week later, he doubles down. "He called them to the rally. He told them that the future of our country was at stake, that the election had been stolen from him and that weakness could not be an answer," Moore says. "And after the attack took place with our Vice President under siege, with people calling for him to be executed, the President continued to attack the Vice President on Twitter. It's indefensible."

In criticizing President Trump, Moore has diverged from such influential evangelicals as Franklin Graham, who compared Republicans who voted for Trump's second impeachment to Judas Iscariot; Jerry Falwell Jr., who said he'd give Trump a

third honorary degree if he were still head of Liberty University; and author Eric Metaxas, who devoted almost his entire Twitter feed after the election to increasingly bizarre and implausible conspiracy theories on the method by which it was stolen. Moore's position differs even from that of the guy tipped to be the next head of the SBC, the Rev. Albert Mohler, who voted for Trump in 2020 and said—even after the events at the Capitol—that he'd do it again.

"It's—it's been lonely," says Moore of his stance. "But I think many people have experienced that sort of loneliness over the past four or five years. I don't know a single family that's not been divided over President Trump, and politics generally. I don't know a single church that hasn't been." Moore's opinions are not new. He has been a Never Trumper since at least 2015 and scoffs at the notion put forward by many evangelical leaders that Trump converted to Christianity just before being elected. "It is not a position that I find rational," he says. "Especially when Mr. Trump has been very clear about his own spiritual journey, or lack thereof."

The usually mild-mannered author's stance has come at a cost. He says both he and his family have been the subject of threats and that people have tried to dig up information that would prove he is a liberal. (Heaven forbid!) In February 2020, the executive committee of the SBC formed a task force to look into whether the ERLC was fulfilling its "ministry assignment" after 100 or so churches withheld their giving, citing Moore's political positions.

Moore's loneliness is of a particular sort, however, since unlike most of Trump's most vocal critics, he is a dyed-in-the-wool social conservative, staunchly opposed to same-sex marriage, abortion and premarital sex, and he has worked to limit the spread of the first two. (He acknowledges he's walking into a cold breeze on the third.) In a way, he is a weather vane for the cold front much of the evangelical church is now facing. What is the future for a group that preaches truth, peace and moral living, after it gambles all its chips on a man who embodies none of those but will play along—and loses?

THE PUSHBACK AGAINST MOORE is surprising. Born in Biloxi, Miss., and ordained at 23, he checks dozens of typical conservative boxes, from his gentle demeanor, to his five sons, two of whom are adopted from Russia, to the family photos he posts of the entire clan clad in khaki pants and navy sport coats. He publicly supported the right of a Colorado baker to decline to make a wedding cake for a gay couple. He would love to see *Roe v. Wade* overturned. He believes gay Christians should remain celibate. He has also championed protection for Deferred Action for Childhood

MOORE QUICK FACTS

Books he loves

Moore is a big fan of Wendell Berry's work, especially *Jayber Crow* (2000).

Books he's published

In addition to theology and culture, he has written extensively on adoption.

Evaluation of the word evangelical

In 2016, Moore looked in vain for a replacement with no political connotations: "So I find that I spend a lot of time talking about what I think the word means and what it doesn't mean."



Arrivals recipients, undocumented immigrants and refugees. He helps guide church thinking on living wills and end-of-life decisions, weighing in on the role of doctrine if people are in terrible pain.

In many ways, Moore's job is to pull his fellow Baptists into the future. In others, it is to try to prevent the culture from abandoning convictions that are several millennia old, some of which—like celibacy outside marriage—no longer seem to make sense to most people. "I think the problem with evangelical Christianity in America is not that we are too strange but that we are not strange enough," says Moore. "We should be counter-cultural in loving God and loving our neighbors in ways that ought not to make sense except for the grace of God."

Often Moore has to tap-dance around the gap between his church's beliefs and its behavior. He dismisses as a "manufactured controversy" the criticism of six SBC seminary presidents who in November released a public condemnation of critical race theory. "I don't find any postmodern theory motivating those who are concerned for

'The biggest threat facing the American church right now is not secularism but cynicism.'

RUSSELL MOORE,
on the future of
the church

racial reconciliation and justice," says Moore. "I find that what motivates such things is the Bible." And while Moore has set himself apart from those who support the President, he declines to condemn those who opted to vote for Trump because they believed in the platform, not the man.

Moore thinks reports of the death of American Christianity are overblown. But as increasing numbers of Americans tell pollsters that they are not affiliated with any kind of religion, and in the wake of Trump, he wants the church to take a harder look at its priorities. "The biggest threat facing the American church right now is not secularism but cynicism. That's why we have to recover the credibility of our witness," he says. It's one thing to dismiss the teachings of his faith as strange and unlikely, he notes, but "if people walk away from the church because they don't believe that we really believe what we say, then that's a crisis." This is what he fears will be the legacy of an era in which people of faith put so much faith in a President. "There is an entire generation of people who are growing cynical that religion is just a means to some other end." □

ONE MORE CHECK IS NOT ENOUGH



**MAYORS FOR A
GUARANTEED
INCOME**

Michael D. Tubbs (Founder)
Thomas G. Ambrosino (Chelsea, MA)
Ras J. Baraka (Newark, NJ)
Stephen Benjamin (Columbia, SC)
Keisha Lance Bottoms (Atlanta, GA)
Aja Brown (Compton, CA)
LaToya Cantrell (New Orleans, LA)
Melvin Carter (Saint Paul, MN)
Jenny Durkan (Seattle, WA)
Jorge O. Elorza (Providence, RI)
Benjamin Florsheim (Middletown, CT)
Eric Garcetti (Los Angeles, CA)
Robert Garcia (Long Beach, CA)
Kamal Johnson (Hudson, NY)
Jim Kenney (Philadelphia, PA)
Chokwe A. Lumumba (Jackson, MS)
Alex Morse (Holyoke, MA)
Svante Myrick (Ithaca, NY)
Ron Nirenberg (San Antonio, TX)
Shawyn Patterson-Howard (Mount Vernon, NY)
William Peduto (Pittsburgh, PA)
Adrian D. Perkins (Shreveport, LA)
Lauren Poe (Gainesville, FL)
Jerome A. Prince (Gary, IN)
Satya Rhodes-Conway (Madison, WI)
Katie Rosenberg (Wausau, WI)
Andre Sayegh (Paterson, NJ)
Libby Schaaf (Oakland, CA)
Steve Schewel (Durham, NC)
Sumbul Siddiqui (Cambridge, MA)
Levar Stoney (Richmond, VA)
Edward A. Sundquist (Jamestown, NY)
Sylvester Turner (Houston, TX)
Alan Webber (Santa Fe, NM)
Victoria R. Woodards (Tacoma, WA)

**We are 34 mayors
representing
16 million people
and counting.**

PAID FOR BY MAYORS FOR A GUARANTEED INCOME



Dear Washington,
We are struggling. Send
recurring checks until the
end of the pandemic.
Sincerely,
The American People



The View

BUSINESS

CEOS STEP INTO THE BREACH

By Eben Shapiro

For decades, American CEOs studiously avoided wading into controversial issues of the day. There was no possible upside, only risk. But the apolitical CEO is one of the many norms shattered by President Donald Trump. The 45th President has made it acceptable—and now necessary—for corporate leaders to be more outspoken. ▶

INSIDE

BIDEN FACES LIKELY TENSION
WITH CHINA OVER TAIWAN

AMERICA'S TROUBLING ABSENCE
OF MORAL LEADERSHIP

MADELEINE ALBRIGHT ON
US-VS.-THEM THINKING

The View Opener

It's sort of a no-brainer to speak out, as National Association of Manufacturers president and CEO Jay Timmons put it on Jan. 6, against "armed violent protesters who support the baseless claim by outgoing President Trump that he somehow won an election that he overwhelmingly lost."

There are a number of factors driving this new embrace of the bully pulpit. For one, insurrection, sedition and violence in the streets is bad for business. Big organizations require stability. Tear gas and bear spray make it hard to achieve the "visibility" into future earnings much prized by Wall Street. "With our country in the midst of a pandemic, business leaders recognize that ongoing division and distrust in our political system threatens the economic recovery and job creation our country desperately needs," says the Business Roundtable, an organization of CEOs of the nation's biggest corporations.

Trump's persistent and unfounded assault on the rule of law and his degradation of a federal election risked undermining the foundations of the system that made the American economy the most dynamic and successful on earth.

At its heart, the capitalist system requires honoring contracts, which made Trump's flouting of rules a profound threat to financial institutions, capital markets and corporate governance. "We believe in investment in the rule of law, not the law of rulers," says Jeffrey Sonnenfeld, senior associate dean for leadership studies at the Yale School of Management. "CEOs say that about investing abroad—now that has to apply at home too."

Defending that system helps explain why in the week after the Capitol attack, a *Who's Who* of the nation's most prominent blue-chip companies, including Marriott, AT&T, American Express and Amazon, said they would halt campaign donations to members of Congress who voted to challenge the presidential-election results. Unsentimentally, Hallmark Cards, based in Kansas City, Mo., took the additional step of asking two Republican Senators who objected

to certifying the results to refund the company's donations. Other companies, including JPMorgan Chase and Citigroup, called a temporary halt to donations to both Republican and Democrats. "We are taking a pause on federal contributions and using this as an opportunity to really evaluate the candidates that we have supported, and do their actions and values align with ours," Lynn Good, CEO of Duke Energy, said in an interview with TIME. Good said the decision was informed by the strong reaction of many of the company's employees and customers.

CORPORATIONS ARE MULLING more dramatic steps. Sonnenfeld, who has convened three emergency summits with CEOs since the election, said the majority of CEOs at a recent meeting said they would "reconsider their investments in

states of seditious Congressmen."

One marker of transformation is the emergence of a new vocabulary. Deplatforming—kicking bad actors off the tech infrastructure—has become a mark of corporate activism. Twitter, Facebook and YouTube have deplatformed President Trump. Amazon's cloud-services business kicked right-wing social network Parler off its servers.

Whether this deplatforming was a bold act of corporate leadership—or the equivalent of closing the digital barn door after the rabid horse had already kicked the stable manager in the head—is a complex question. The moves largely resulted in a collective short-term sigh of relief but were a stark demonstration of the inordinate power of America's tech giants.

A final driver forcing CEOs to come off the sideline is the expectation of today's more politically engaged younger workers. "We govern with the consent of the governed, and the governed are restless," one CEO of a small firm tells TIME, voicing concern over the expectation that a CEO statement was now considered de rigueur after any development of note. That's fine on big issues like climate change, but there is a growing unease about where it will lead. In a post-Trump world, "no comment" is no longer an option. □



Arne M. Sorenson, CEO of Marriott, at a meeting with President Trump to discuss COVID-19 in March

SHORT READS

► Highlights from stories on time.com/ideas

Just the beginning

The Democrats' Senate wins in Georgia mark a sea change in America, writes *Eloquent Rage* author Brittney Cooper:

"Do not let the war cries of angry white people drown out the resounding and clarion calls from Black women organizers and strategists and voters of color who have made clear that Trump's America is not their America."

Remaking America

Impeaching President Trump is important but insufficient, says *Begin Again* author Eddie S. Glaude Jr.

"America faces a crisis that has its roots in what caused the Civil War and what led us to turn our backs on the promise of the civil rights movement," he writes. "We have never really faced those demons."

After the insurrection

How to hold rioters at the Capitol accountable? There's no single statute that makes domestic terrorism a crime, writes former U.S. Attorney Joyce White Vance, so **"the entire criminal code becomes part of the prosecutor's playbook."**

THE RISK REPORT

Biden inherits a China policy with strings attached

By Ian Bremmer



DONALD TRUMP HAS left Joe Biden with plenty of knots for the new President to untie. For foreign policy, the most important of these is the increasingly complicated and contentious relationship with China, and of all the subjects on which Washington and Beijing are at odds, the most intractable is Taiwan.

On Jan. 9, Secretary of State Mike Pompeo sprang a surprise on both Biden and China's President Xi Jinping by announcing that the U.S. will drop self-imposed restrictions on how its government and military interact with Taiwan. This move doesn't shred the "one-China policy" that Washington adopted in 1979, which recognizes the People's Republic as China's only legitimate government but refuses to explicitly recognize Chinese sovereignty over Taiwan. And the Trump team could have gone even further. Plans to send U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Kelly Craft to Taipei in January were canceled. But Craft did speak with Taiwan's President, a provocation for Beijing, and China responded with "sanctions on responsible U.S. officials who have engaged in nasty behavior on the Taiwan issue." Beyond those minor penalties, China's government will wait to see what kind of tone Biden will set.

By promising that the U.S. and Taiwanese governments will meet more often and at higher levels of government and the military, Pompeo's move to regularize higher-level contacts puts Biden in a bind as he works to set his own relationships with both China and Taiwan. If Biden reverses the policy, China hawks in Washington will accuse him of appeasing Beijing. If he doesn't, he inherits a tough bone of contention with China.

WHAT IS BIDEN'S PLAN? In general, the new President wants to lower the temperature with China, at least in the

near term. He'll leave Trump's tariffs in place for the time being, both to maximize his bargaining power with Xi and to avoid charges in Washington that he's soft on China. Biden's longer-term strategy, built on the conviction that it's better to bring friends when headed into a potential fight, will be to enlist the support of allies in Europe and Asia to help contain China's growing influence. He will also be more openly critical of China on questions of human and civil rights—in Hong Kong, the

focus of China's crackdown on democracy activism, and in Xinjiang, where China has imprisoned an estimated 1 million Muslim Uighurs in camps. (On his last full day at State, Pompeo termed this "genocide," as the Biden campaign had.)

But beyond statements of principle, Biden will avoid provoking China when there

is little chance of reward for it. On Taiwan, he'll continue support in the form of military sales and technology sharing, an approach that has bipartisan support in Washington, and he'll reassure Taiwan's leadership that U.S. backing remains steadfast. He could also reverse Pompeo's announcement as part of a broader reset of U.S.-China relations. But even if Biden's approach is more cautious, his team's contacts with Taiwanese officials will revert to the standard practices of previous Administrations.

It's unlikely the U.S. and China are headed toward military confrontation anytime soon. That fight could inflict enormous costs on both sides. But the problem isn't going away, because there is no issue more important for Xi Jinping, and no American President wants to be the one who abandoned democratic Taiwan. Yet the status quo shifts in China's favor a little more every year as the gap between U.S. and Chinese military capabilities narrows. Gone are the days when warnings from Washington were enough to lower the temperature. □

It's unlikely the U.S. and China are headed toward military confrontation anytime soon

SOCIETY

The state of feminism

The pervasive narrative that COVID-19 has been a disaster of feminism, when that description clearly refers only to its effect on professional women, reflects a myopic view of gender rights. Since the early 20th century, the white-feminist ideology has equated white collar earnings and individual accumulation of wealth and power with feminism, but for many women and other marginalized genders, earnings have proved elusive. The disruption of the middle- to upper-class home during the pandemic reveals the ways in which mainstream feminism has not evolved beyond an empowering anthem for white women and those aspiring to their privilege.

It's telling, for instance, that the massive job losses among house cleaners have not been shorthanded as a "disaster for feminism." In the wake of the pandemic, we must advocate for policies that support all women rather than continuing to center only white heterosexual women of a certain income level.

—Koa Beck, author of *White Feminism: From the Suffragettes to Influencers and Who They Leave Behind*



A mom takes her child to pick up school meals in December

America's moral vacuum

By Nancy Gibbs

LIKE OUR PANDEMIC RESPONSE, THE U.S. CAPITOL RIOT IS the latest cataclysm to be blamed on a failure of imagination. Who could imagine a virus that crashes the entire global operating system, or an attack that narrowly fails to decapitate the U.S. government?

And the obvious answer? Anyone who was paying attention.

Just as epidemiologists long warned of a pandemic, the insurrectionists helpfully advertised their violent intentions all over social media. The phrase *storm the Capitol*, unleashing countless QAnon furies, appeared 100,000 times in the month before the attack, according to Signal Labs. The President clashed his cymbals and stoked the lie; party leaders largely ignored or pampered him. The day before the attack, an FBI office shared the warnings from online: “Be ready to fight. Congress needs to hear glass breaking, doors being kicked in ... Get violent. Stop calling this a march, or rally, or a protest. Go there ready for war.”

Which means that it should have required no imagination to foresee an uprising that was planned, promised and promoted in plain sight. So how is it that so many people were once again caught by surprise, watching the American flag brandished as a bayonet, the portraits of American revolutionaries looking out over their wannabe heirs whose “patriotism” was poisoned by the cynical lies of their leaders?

For one thing, surprise can be a form of privilege. The battle cries of Jan. 6 rhymed with American insurrections past: the toxic white supremacy, the bloodlust of mobs, the defense of indefensible means to achieve unworthy ends. “Being a Black woman and feeling unsafe is not new,” observed Representative Ayanna Pressley of Massachusetts. “The experiences of Wednesday were harrowing and unfortunately very familiar in the deepest and most ancestral way.” To be shocked by political violence expressed with impunity is a privilege of those of us who’ve never had our rights violated, our safety dismissed or our vote suppressed.

MAYBE JAN. 6 WAS MORE a failure of moral imagination, of grasping what people are capable of. And that failure reflects the collapse of moral leadership that we have seen in the past year not just in our politics but in what should have been the shared national purpose of fighting a pandemic that threatened us all. The President in particular showed no impulse to summon the nation to a higher calling by persuading enough people that something as simple as wearing a mask was an act of decency and patriotism.

In a year defined by loss and isolation, generosity is both medicinal and contagious. Caring for one another can reduce stress, decrease depression, restore a sense of self-worth and improve physical health. But too many leaders used the pandemic to divide and conquer rather than unite and inspire. It’s no coincidence that the twin viral threats of COVID-19 and QAnon flourished together. Detached from normal bonds



of community, sick of quarantine, stressed by trying to keep their jobs or teach their kids, it’s even easier for people to tumble into online cesspools of conspiracy, enlisting in what they were promised was a global battle against evil.

Then after a hard autumn election, rather than working through the normal disappointment of defeat, millions of people heard from leaders that their vote had been stolen, their voice silenced. This time, the President and his enablers did rally their most devoted followers to a higher purpose—defending his right to remain in power by any means, at any cost.

In the wake of the riots, as lawmakers wrestle with the limits of accountability, the moral leadership vacuum has been cautiously filled by private corporations withdrawing their support from insurrectionists, technology companies belatedly acknowledging their complicity in contaminating our information streams and engineering radicalization, and rebel Republicans affirming their public commitment to basic truth and facts. But until we find our way back to a shared reality, lack of moral imagination will remain a national-security threat. Lack of moral leadership at a moment like this imperils democracy itself. In our schools and sanctuaries and clubs and communities, in our dealings with alienated friends and family, the vital work of replacing toxic fantasies with hard realities falls to each of us.

Gibbs, a former *TIME* editor-in-chief, is director of Harvard’s Shorenstein Center



◀ Caution tape blocks a stairwell inside the Capitol in Washington on Jan. 9

country. The trend has been evident for at least a quarter-century but has, in the past four years, assumed the strength of a hurricane. Our nerve endings have been rubbed raw. Political rallies have devolved into exhibitions of hate. Public figures are threatened and harassed, their homes vandalized. Debates have been supplanted by shouting matches. At the very highest level, democratic institutions have been undermined and mocked. Surveys indicate that a growing number of Americans view partisan opponents as agents of evil.

Many among us would apparently prefer to live in a country where there is no place for the rest of us, i.e., “them.” Confronted by this reality, many citizens are tempted either to retreat more deeply into their respective group identities or to insist piously that such categories are irrelevant and should not matter. Neither approach works. Exacerbating our differences is one road to disaster; denying them is another. Instead of fantasizing about a harmony that is out of reach, we should focus on ensuring that our inevitable disagreements lead whenever possible to constructive outcomes. Democracy was designed to aid such a process, based on the premise that voters will ultimately prefer builders to bullies.

AS I APPROACH the midpoint of my ninth decade, I see glimmers of light amid the darkness. Voter turnout this year was at a record high. President Joe Biden has been setting exactly the right tone, and judges and officials in key swing states deserve medals for valor. The recent pandemic relief act was a gift, albeit an imperfect one, from moderates in both parties. Senator Mitch McConnell and some other Republican leaders, after waiting far too long, ultimately chose loyalty to the Constitution over obeisance to a demented Commander in Chief. We should be conscious, too, that America has shown resilience in the past when dealing with sharp divisions, up to and including a civil war.

It should be clear given both our national experience and world history that no group has a monopoly on truth or virtue. However we conceive of “us,” we have ample grounds for humility. There is no question that we all have a right to quarrel with one another; that’s the democratic way. But we also have a responsibility to talk frankly and to listen carefully, to recognize our own faults and to refrain from dehumanizing labels on those with whom we disagree. It would be helpful, too, if the professional political class would stop describing America as split between red states and blue.

Notwithstanding the recent tumult, we remain one country, not two. Going forward, let us advocate vigorously on behalf of causes that concern us as individuals or groups; but let us also never forget that we belong in addition to a larger circle. No matter how we define *us*, no matter how we define *them*, *We the People* is an inclusive phrase.

Albright is a former Secretary of State

Our destructive cycle of us-vs.-them thinking

By Madeleine Albright

AT THIS MOMENT OF SHOCK, SADNESS AND HOPE, IT MIGHT be wise to reflect on the two most dangerous words in the human vocabulary: *us* and *them*. On Jan. 6, we received a dramatic reminder of this peril when our nation’s political divisions erupted into a spectacle of lawlessness on Capitol Hill.

The impulse to choose sides is inherent in our species. Psychologists point to our desire to be safe by joining groups with which we have an affinity, our fear of the unknown and our vanity; we want to think of ourselves as better or smarter than the other. These traits are ingrained.

When I was a child in Europe, my own life was knocked off course early on by Hitler’s race-based conception of “us vs. them” and later by Stalin’s more ideological one. When I was in the U.S. government, my daily preoccupations were with blood-drenched rivalries in the Balkans, the Caucasus, Africa and the Middle East. In those years, the U.S. worked hard to help countries in faraway places to cool clashes, and we often pointed to our nation as a model, citing the motto “E pluribus unum”: Out of many, one.

Now, we do not see ourselves as much of a model. Immensely destructive forces have been unleashed in our

It would be helpful if the professional political class would stop describing America as split between red states and blue

TheView Essay



Missing my identities beyond motherhood

By Lynn Steger Strong

I WENT ON A WALK WITH A FRIEND NOT TOO LONG AGO. He'd come to meet me during a three-hour break I had while my kids did "sports" with a couple of other kids in the park. When he got there, I was still watching the kids play, and they ran over, asking where I was going. They're 8 and 6, but after months of lockdown and remote schooling, and as all my jobs have gone online, they're no longer used to being separate from me—we're no longer used to being separate from one another—and they clung to me, wanting to know how long I'd be gone.

On the walk, I kept dipping back into mentions of my children: we were talking about a book, and this somehow switched to a sad thing my 6-year-old had said about first grade. We were talking about teaching on Zoom, and I began comparing it to online third grade.

When I teach, I sometimes tell small anecdotes to relate what we've been reading to more concrete occurrences: a conversation overheard on the subway, an interaction or observation I had or made getting my coffee on the way. None of these experiences exist for me any longer; instead, when I reach for some moment to convey to my students, I more often than not come up with something about my kids, comparing existentialism to my daughter's struggle with the seam in her sock, relating a novel's frantic narrator to a tantrum.

I have a sense memory of a feeling that I used to have every weekday morning. At our kids' school, the pre-K and kindergarten classrooms were in a basement; I would extricate our younger daughter from my leg, hand her off to her teachers, and then climb up the stairs and out the door into the day. The way my body felt then: I was often going to teach, going running, meeting a student. Sometimes I would see a friend. I was moving through the world as something

other than a mother, even, of course, as my children were somewhere in my brain.

And yet it feels right now that that way of being in one's body, separate from one's children, able to pretend at least a little while that we are more than just their mothers, has largely disappeared. There is not full-time in-person school for many of us, but also, there are not dinners out with friends or with our partners. There are not commutes, sitting on the bus, in the car, silent, not quite Mom but also not quite the person you are when you get to work.

ONE WEEKEND MORNING, I left our apartment early and ran over to a friend's house. He put his mask on. We walked around his neighborhood. About an hour in, I started to get anxious. I hadn't been that far from my kids in months. "I feel like a nursing mother again," I said, "the way my body gets confused when I am far from them."

Physical space gives us more than a shift in location; it also, often, gives us the opportunity to shift the way and what of who we are. With so many fewer spaces accessible to us, we've also lost hold of parts of ourselves that depend on them for ways of being, for ways of breathing, for feeling at least a little removed from the obligations that we always have. I am never not my children's mother when I am in my home—looking around to see if there's laundry that needs folding, looking ahead to the next meal. I am never not worried about their schooling now that their physical school has been taken from them. I can still hear the questions they ask their teachers. I remember suddenly that they need a Flair pen and run out to hand it to them, even as I try to talk to a student, teach a class in the next room.

We've lost a lot in the past year. So much of it concrete and quantifiable. But we've also lost all those spaces that function as release valve, as opportunities for being something other than the person we are in our domestic spaces, even as we continue to pretend, as we continue to have to perform as if we're still those other people too.

With so many fewer spaces accessible to us, we've also lost hold of parts of ourselves that depend on them for ways of being

*Strong is the author of the novels *Want and Hold Still**

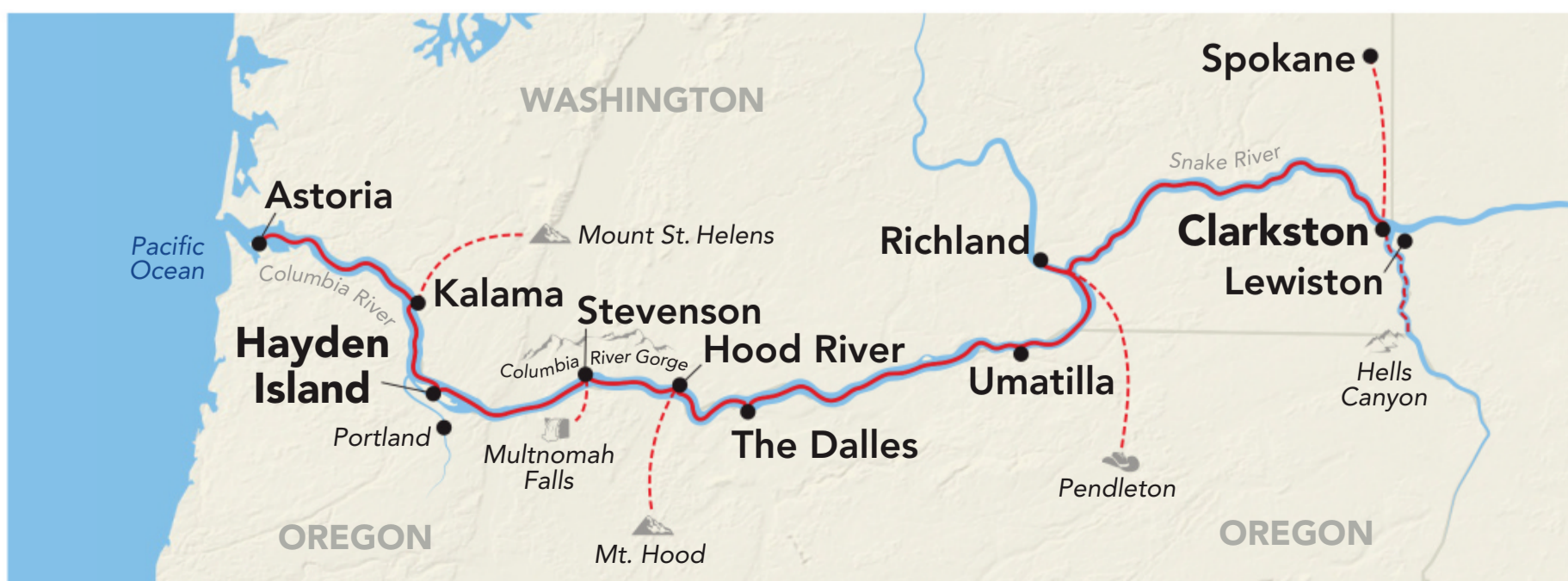
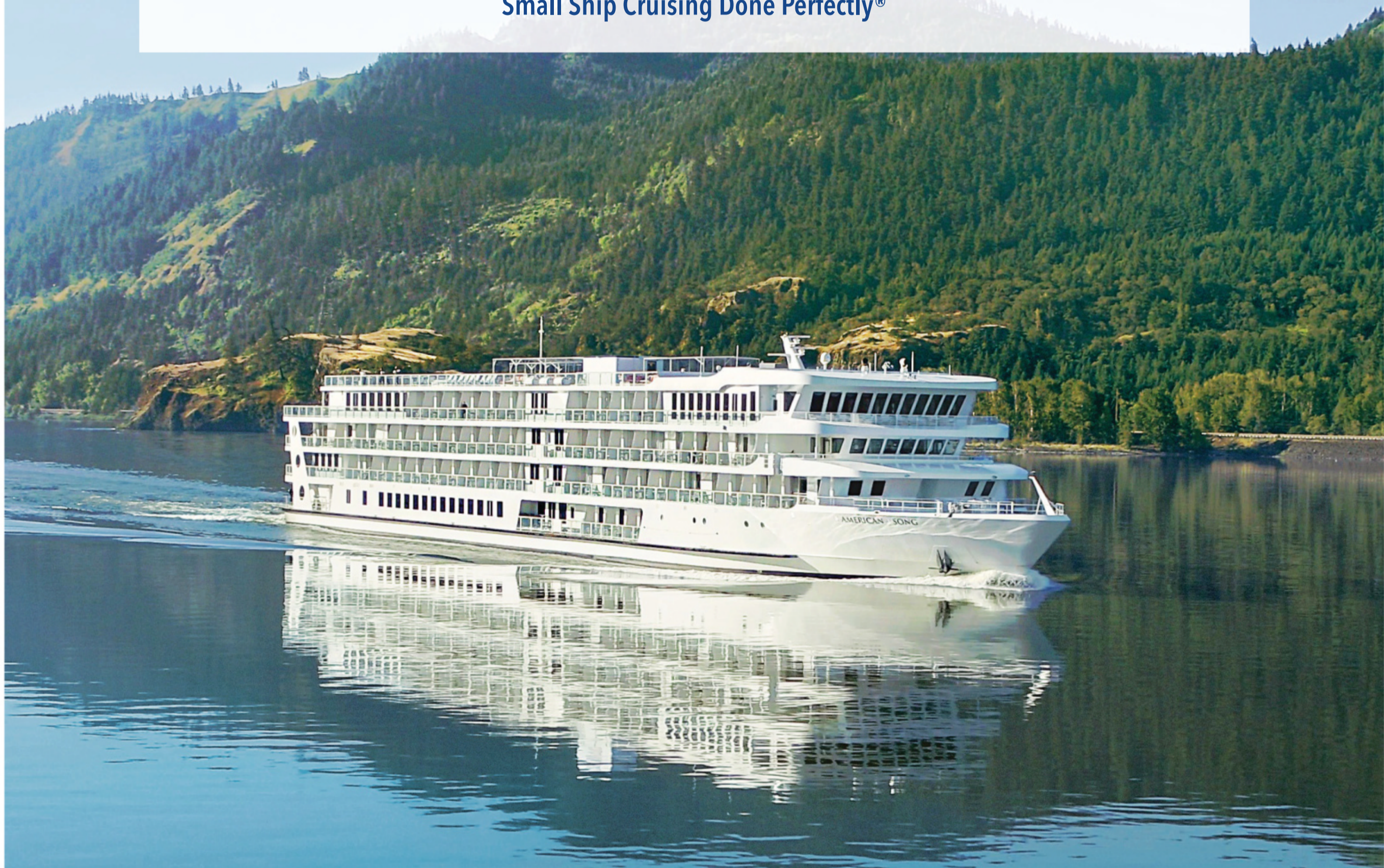


ON THE TRAIL OF *Lewis & Clark*

COLUMBIA AND SNAKE RIVERS

Follow Lewis and Clark's epic 19th-century expedition along the Columbia and Snake Rivers aboard the newest riverboats in the region. Enjoy unique shore excursions, scenic landscapes, and talented onboard experts who bring the region to life.

Small Ship Cruising Done Perfectly®



Call

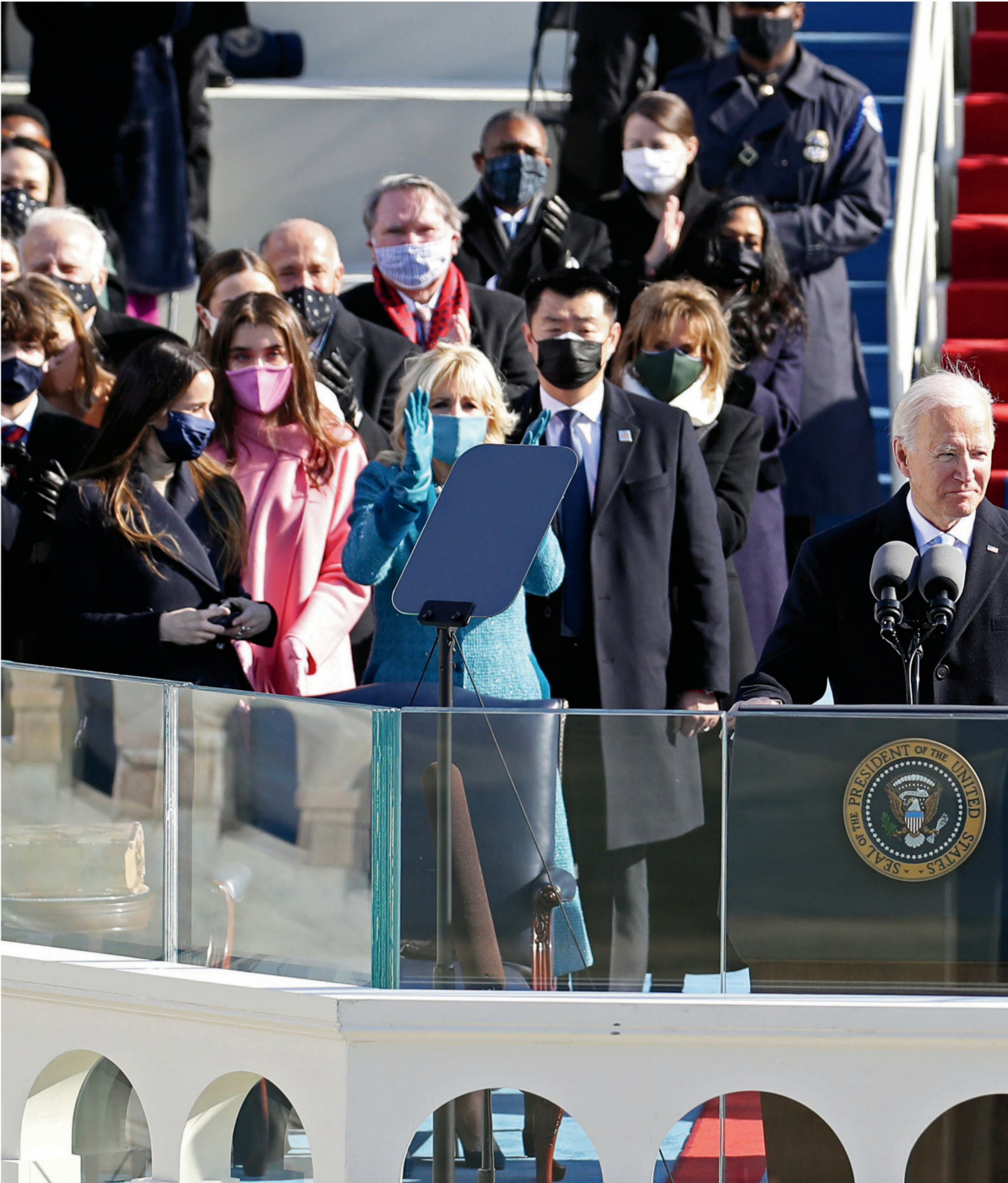
1-800-981-9139

to request a

★ **FREE** ★

cruise guide

'DEMOCRACY



CY'S DAY'

"Politics doesn't have to be a raging fire, destroying everything in its path," Biden said at the U.S. Capitol on Jan. 20



*Harris and
husband Doug
Emhoff arrive at
the U.S. Capitol
for her historic
swearing-in*

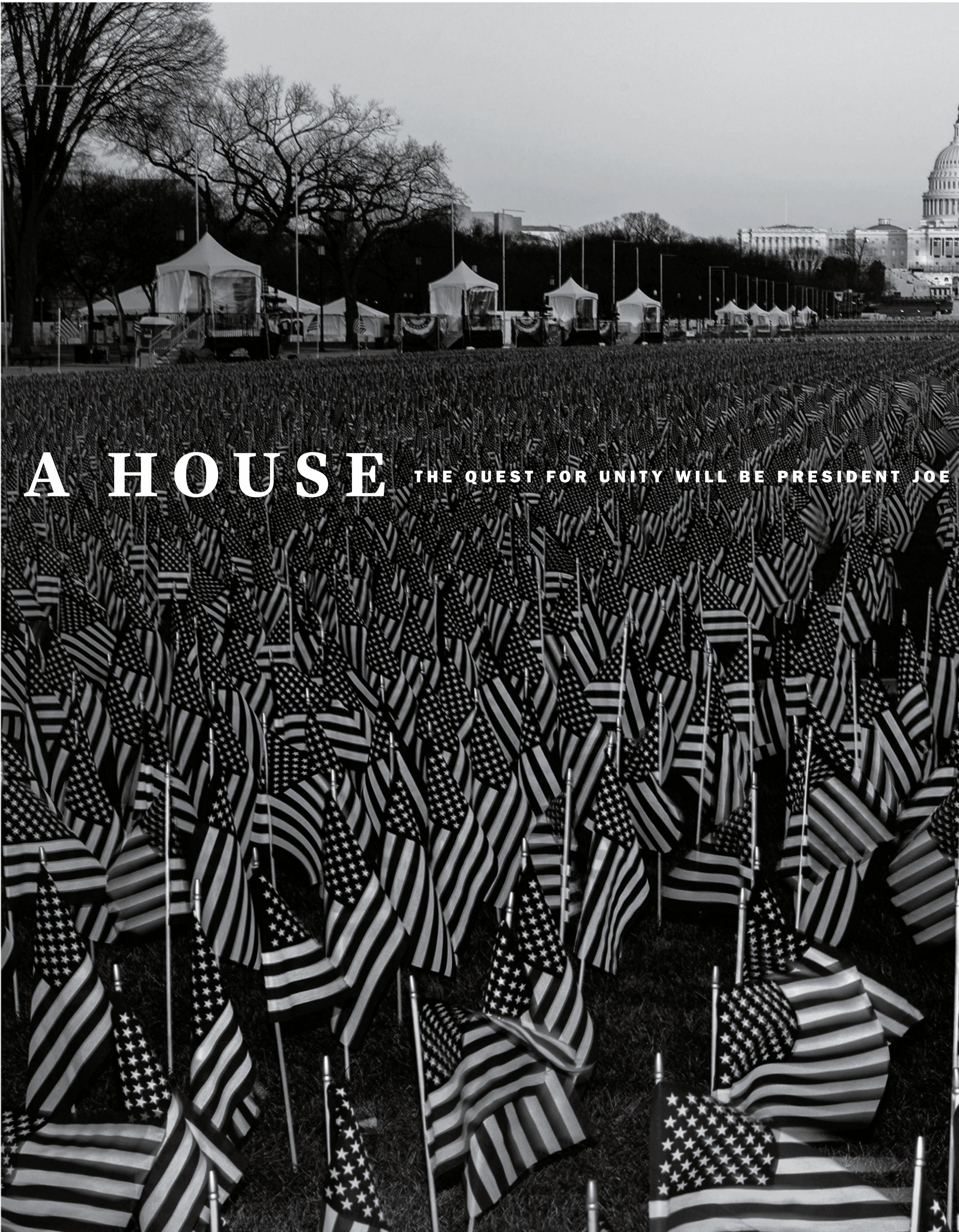






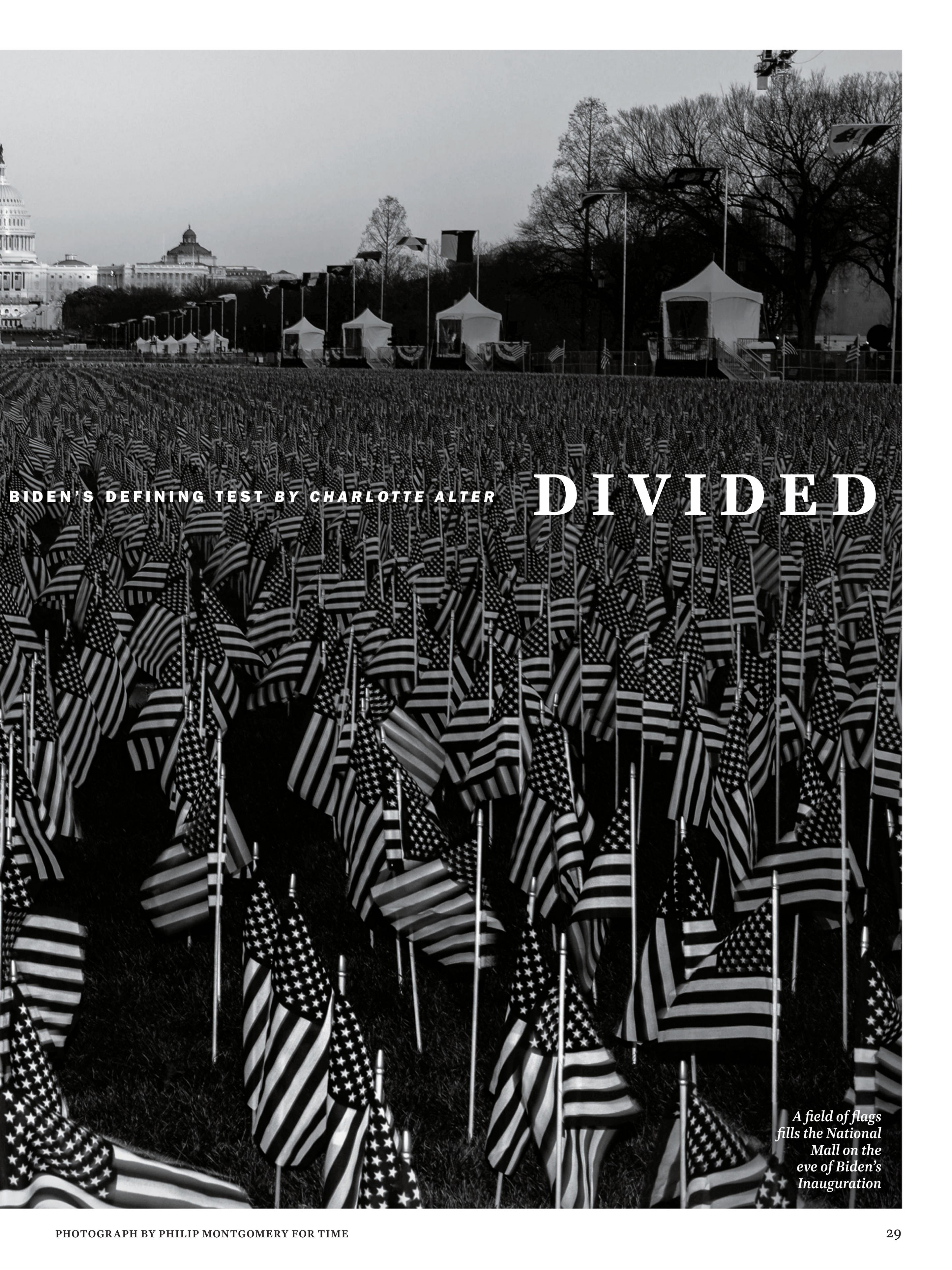
Biden and the extended First Family cap off the Inaugural parade by walking to the White House, a trek shortened by security concerns





A HOUSE

THE QUEST FOR UNITY WILL BE PRESIDENT JOE



BIDEN'S DEFINING TEST BY CHARLOTTE ALTER

DIVIDED

A field of flags fills the National Mall on the eve of Biden's Inauguration

JUST BEFORE NOON ON JAN. 20, JOSEPH ROBINETTE BIDEN JR. PUT HIS HAND ON A BIBLE AND VOWED TO UPHOLD THE CONSTITUTION AS THE 46TH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

It was a first step toward restoring a semblance of normalcy to a shaken democracy. His predecessor, after two months of trying to stay in power by overturning the people's will, told the American people to "have a good life" before skipping the ceremony. The National Mall was nearly empty, cleared of crowds because of the threat of violence. Biden's words rang out over a capital under lockdown, fortified by some 25,000 National Guardsmen. It felt like a wartime Inauguration.

"We must end this uncivil war," said the new President, "that pits red against blue, rural vs. urban, conservative vs. liberal."

Biden stood on the West Front of the Capitol, a building that two weeks earlier had been invaded for the first time since the War of 1812. He was flanked by members of Congress who had spent that day fleeing the armed mob that desecrated the citadel of democracy with the encouragement of Donald Trump, breaking windows, destroying artifacts, smearing blood on the marble. "We've learned again that democracy is precious, democracy is fragile," Biden said. "And at this hour, my friends, democracy has prevailed."

But only barely. Biden now leads a country divided between Americans who believe in facts and Americans who distrust them, between those who want a multiracial Republic and those who seek to invalidate nonwhite votes, between those with faith in democratic institutions and those who put faith only in Trump.

A democracy is only as strong as the faith of its participants. At the very least, that faith must be rooted in some sense of shared reality, a willingness to agree to disagree according to the laws laid out in the Constitution. At the dawn of Biden's presidency, when millions of Republicans believe the false conspiracy theory that the election was stolen, and thousands turned to violence to "stop the steal," even that simple foundation seems wobbly. Biden seeks to unite a country whose differences are not political but epistemological. "The people who already believe that the election was stolen and that Joe Biden isn't a legitimate President, I don't know if there's anything we can say to them," says Whitney Phillips, an associate professor of communications and disinformation at Syracuse University. "That would require these believers to

completely reconfigure their sense of self and their identity."

The Civil War historian Eric Foner says this moment reminds him less of the start of that conflict and more of the end of the postwar Reconstruction, a bloody period of armed insurrection and racial terror. Trump's refusal to accept the outcome of the election resembles the "Lost Cause" narrative, in which white Southerners romanticized their defeat, telling themselves, "We lost, but really, we won," Foner explains. "Things happen that you don't like. You've got to find somebody to blame, so you glorify the loss." The narrative of the Lost Cause provided the emotional underpinnings of more than a century of white-supremacist glorification that endures to this day; it's no coincidence that at least one of the rioters was waving a Confederate flag.

The siege at the Capitol may be the start of a similar period of division sharpened by delusion. How Biden handles it will help determine his legacy. Uniting a nation this fractured may be beyond the powers of any American President. Yet if Trump could use the presidency to undermine the foundational consensus of our nation, Biden is betting he can use the same bully pulpit to rebuild it. He spoke of the "better angels" of American democracy surviving Civil War and World Wars, the Great Depression and 9/11. "In each of these moments, enough of us have come together to carry all of us forward, and we can do that now," the new President said. "History, faith and reason show the way."

IT MAY BE HARDER than Biden thinks. Watching the mob storm the Capitol, I was reminded of a Trump protest I'd covered in September, outside a Biden campaign event in Warren, Mich. As Biden spoke, a scrawny man in his 60s looked me straight in the eye and said that if Democrats won the election, "We will eliminate them."

He told me his name was Mark. "If they win, the American people are going to personally, bodily remove them from

>
*A National Guard member
stands sentry outside
the Capitol on Jan. 18*



office,” he repeated. “Bare hands. Go.”

I asked if he planned to join this violence. Mark said he usually was more of “a guy that stands by and watches,” but that could easily change. “If I was told, ‘Hey, you got to do or die,’ I’m there,” he said.

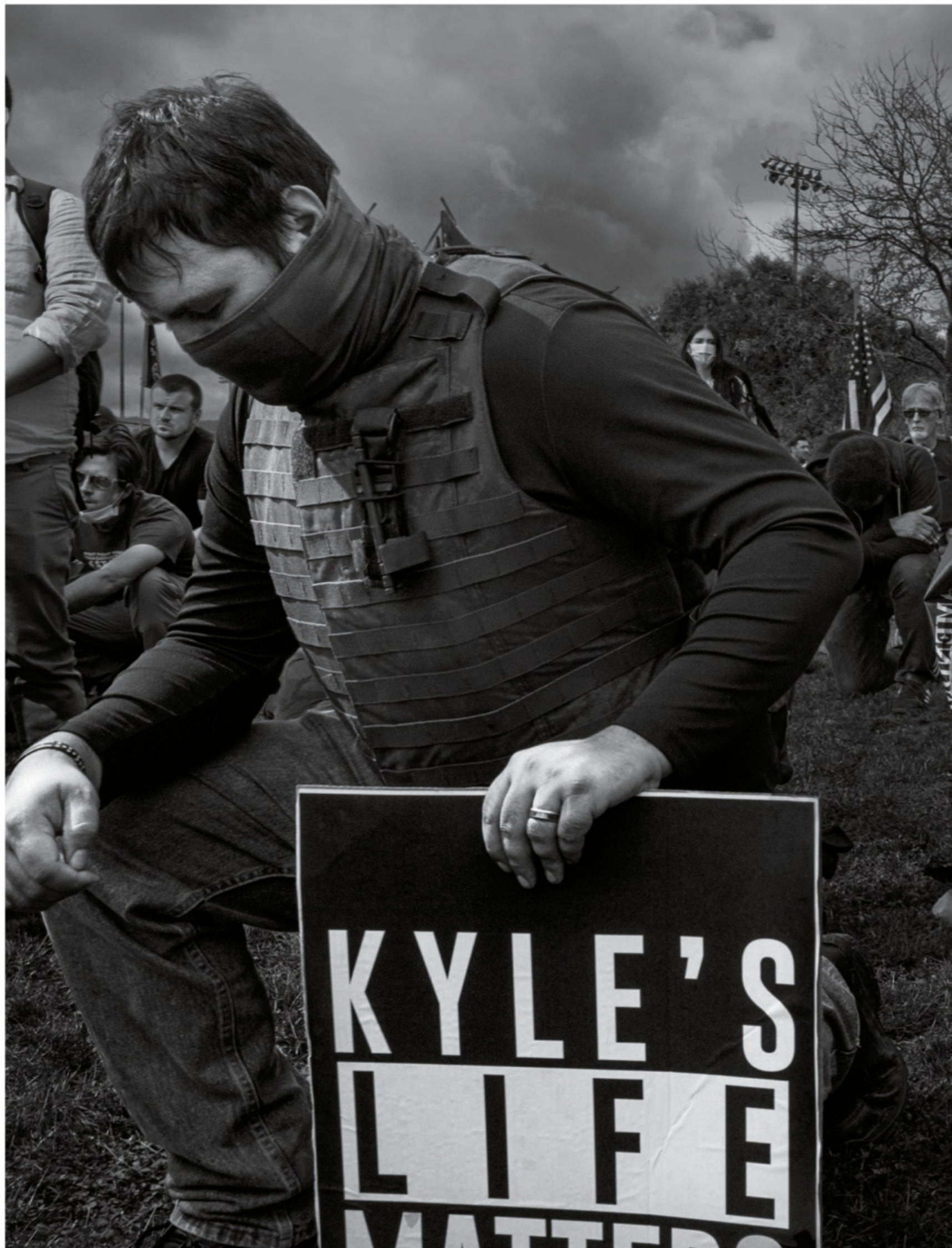
Over the next six months, Trump and his enablers in the GOP told people like Mark that the stakes were, in fact, “do or die.” They fed the conspiracy-addled base more and more lies to inspire more and more devotion. It was this mass delusion, not the facts of the election, that motivated GOP lawmakers to object to the certification of Biden’s victory. The faith of the voters demanded it, explained Senator Ted Cruz as he claimed (inaccurately) that 39% of the nation thinks the election was rigged. “You may not agree with that assessment,” Cruz said, “but it’s nonetheless a reality for nearly half the country.”

Biden addressed the reality gap head-on. “Recent weeks and months have taught us a painful lesson: there is truth, and there are lies,” he said. “Lies told for power and for profit.” He called on fellow leaders to “defend the truth, and defeat the lies.”

Faced with such rampant and cynical senselessness, the word *unity* seems to have lost its meaning. House Republicans pleaded for “unity” as they voted against impeaching Trump; to them, *unity* meant something closer to political impunity. When Biden calls for unity, he envisions bipartisan collaboration, a kind of peace through process. For some on the left, unity is achieved through change. “Unity is policy,” says Nelini Stamp, director of strategy and partnerships for the Working Families Party. “If you satisfy people’s economic needs and the racial inequities, there will still be divides, but it would go much further toward unity than just words.”

Unity is not the same as uniform opinion or even widespread agreement. By those standards, the United States of America has rarely been unified, and never for long. Our deep divisions date from the original sin of chattel slavery. White supremacists, conspiracy theorists and right-wing militias have stalked American history, from the Ku Klux Klan to the John Birch Society to the Oklahoma City bombing. Even achievements that now unite us were divisive in their time. Most Americans opposed intervening in World War II after the Nazis swept across Europe, most Americans disapproved of the civil rights movement as it was happening, and the space race was controversial because of its high price tag. Disunity is as American as putting a man on the moon.

Biden realizes this. “Every disagreement doesn’t have to be cause for total war,” he said in his Inaugural Address. “And we must reject the culture in which facts themselves are manipulated and even manufactured.” But the 46th President now



must lead a vast swath of the electorate that has declared its allegiance not to a particular party or political creed but rather to a single individual—a scenario the founders feared so much they designed a system of checks and balances to prevent it from defeating their experiment in self-government.

Many Trump voters, of course, did stand up for the rule of law in the bitter aftermath of the election: the Republican lawmakers who certified the result in their states; the local officials who refused to bend to Trump’s pressure; the conservative judges who threw out baseless lawsuits; the GOP members of Congress who risked their political futures to vote for his impeachment. Many received death threats in response. “I got one around my birthday in the middle of November that said, ‘Enjoy your last cake,’” recalls Georgia GOP election official Gabriel Sperling, who repeatedly shot down Trump’s false claims of election fraud. U.S. District Judge Matthew Brann, a conservative who dismissed Trump’s legal attempt to invalidate nearly 7 million votes cast in Pennsylvania, says he got threats “that would make a sailor blush.” At least one GOP lawmaker who voted to impeach Trump for inciting the mob bought body armor to protect himself.



▲
Trump supporters gather in Delta Park in Portland, Ore., on Sept. 26

BUT BIDEN'S INAUGURATION marked a turning of the page. If Trump's rhetoric invited conspiracy theorists and white supremacists into the middle of the political arena, Biden has wagered his presidency on an ability to banish them to the fringes, and to restore a sense of calm and decency, if not total agreement. "Hear me clearly: disagreement must not lead to disunion," he said. "I pledge this to you: I will be President for all Americans. And I promise you, I will fight as hard for those who did not support me as for those who did."

Although the nation braced for violence, Biden took the oath without interruption. Speaking from the site of a violent insurrection, he argued the events of recent weeks had vindicated the strength of American institutions—a message he sought to project to the world. "America has been tested," he said from the Capitol steps. "And we've come out stronger for it."

But unity will require more than agreeing not to over-

DISUNITY IS AS AMERICAN AS PUTTING A MAN ON THE MOON

throw elections. It will require convincing Americans in the throes of Trumpism to stop thinking of their political opponents as their enemy.

For Republicans like Glenn Centolanza, the attack on the Capitol was a breaking point. Centolanza, 63, owns a limo business in Bensalem, Pa. Normally it works up to 600 weddings a year, but COVID-19 canceled almost all of them. A couple of weeks ago, a woman called looking for a ride to Washington on Jan. 6. "She said, 'Are you for Trump or against us?'" Centolanza recalls.

Centolanza voted twice for Trump but had since grown disillusioned by his lies. "I'm a Republican with common sense and a heart," he says. "I don't believe the Kool-Aid with Trump, but I thought he was 80% right until the last two months." Since he was driving clients to D.C. anyway, he figured he'd go and see Trump speak.

At first, it seemed like a rally full of peaceful protesters who were just as mad as he was. "My business is upside down, the world is upside down, I'm not happy about anything," Centolanza says. When Trump urged the crowd to march to the Capitol, Centolanza joined them. Along

the way, he saw two rough-looking guys screaming about "taking our country back." At the steps of the Capitol, the two men started to push at the police barricade, confronting the officers guarding the building. One of them turned to face the people behind them, Centolanza recalls, "and said, 'If you're not willing to die here today or go to jail, you have to leave.'"

That was enough for Centolanza. "I turned and started to walk backward," he recalls.

Joe Biden may never unify America. That may not even be possible in a nation so riven by disinformation and delusion. But if he can get Americans who disagree on everything else to agree on the democratic process, if he can help restore political debate to the realm of truth, if he can deliver enough solutions to restore some small faith in government, that would be a start. America still won't be united, but it could be united enough. The retreat of Glenn Centolanza is a place to start. He says he plans to give Biden a chance. "I didn't hate Joe Biden," he says. "I like him. I'm gonna give him the benefit of the doubt." —*With reporting by* JULIA ZORTHIAN □

CRISIS MODE

**INSIDE JOE BIDEN'S AGENDA
FOR THE FIRST 100 DAYS**

BY ALANA ABRAMSON AND BRIAN BENNETT

WHEN FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT was sworn in as President on March 4, 1933, a quarter of Americans were unemployed and multitudes were living in shantytowns. By the end of his first 100 days in office, he had pushed 15 bills through Congress, revamped the financial and agricultural systems, expanded unemployment relief and laid the foundation for economic recovery.

Nine decades later, another Democrat, Joseph R. Biden Jr., ascends to the White House at a time of extraordinary crisis. A once-in-a-century pandemic has killed more than 400,000 Americans and erased nearly 10 million jobs. The new President has to contend with climate change, a national reckoning on racial justice and a bitterly divided electorate.

As he plots his first months in office, President Biden has been studying Roosevelt's model. "We are coming to this with a determination to meet these challenges with solutions as big as the problems are," White House chief of staff Ron Klain tells TIME. "Our goal is to rally the country behind that, mobilize the Congress behind that, start to make the changes we need to make to tackle these horrible problems."

That mission was reflected in Biden's opening flurry of executive actions. Within hours of his Inauguration, Biden rejoined the Paris Agreement and the World Health Organization and rescinded the Trump Administration's so-called Muslim

ban, which restricted immigration from a host of Muslim-majority countries. The moves were intended to telegraph that his presidency would eschew the isolationist tendencies of his predecessor.

Biden's first three months in office will be about far more than just signaling a shift in tone. Interviews and briefings with more than a dozen aides and outside advisers to the Administration make clear that the new President will be focused on two primary objectives: curbing the spread of COVID-19 and delivering economic assistance to families in need. By April 30, Biden's 100th day in office, the Administration hopes to have vaccinated 100 million Americans, authorized the Defense Production Act to increase the vaccine supply, and safely reopened the majority of elementary and middle schools.

Biden's aides and policy wonks—most working remotely, gathering over Google Meet—have been scrambling to line up a battery of policies, regulatory changes and legislative language to roll out within the first week. Programs that Biden can run out of the West Wing, like overseeing orderly vaccine distribution and encouraging Americans to get vaccinated, will require a level of discipline and organization that the White House has not seen in four years.

There are also challenges outside its control. The Biden Administration will be dependent on a fractious Congress to authorize funding for

both its vaccine distribution and economic stimulus plans. Biden has urged lawmakers to act quickly to pass a version of the \$1.9 trillion relief package he proposed on Jan. 14. But it is not yet clear how much Republican support he can muster. And even with narrow Democratic control of both chambers, the pace of the negotiations may be slowed by the Senate's impeachment trial of former President Donald Trump.

The Administration hopes to leverage broad support for economic stimulus to push a progressive agenda, including raising the national minimum wage to \$15 and more funding for community health





some employers are giving workers extra benefits in an attempt to encourage them

clinics—policies it says will usher in a long-term recovery. “It is the domestic equivalent of the domino theory,” says former White House chief of staff Rahm Emanuel, who served in the role when President Barack Obama took office amid the Great Recession in January 2009. “If you get COVID under control, you’re gonna get an economy that flips a switch.”

The goal, Klain says, is to manage the multiple crises facing the U.S. in such a way that the nation emerges from a troubled period stronger and more unified. Here’s a cheat sheet on what to expect from the Biden Administration over its first 100 days.

CURBING THE PANDEMIC

The COVID-19 vaccine is rolling out more slowly than expected, infection rates are worsening, and some experts predict that as many as 700,000 Americans could die from the disease before it is contained. Biden intends to change that by speeding vaccine distribution and reducing new infections in the meantime. “You can’t do it with half measures,” says Klain. “You need to throw everything you have at it.” The vaccine rollout plan hinges on a \$20 billion federal program that would provide direct assistance to local officials. Whereas the Trump Administration saw its role as getting

President Biden prepares to sign Executive Orders on Jan. 20

vaccines to the states, then allowing them to figure out how to dispense doses, Biden’s team will be involved in distributing vaccine supplies to priority populations. “We want to see the federal government coordinating more doses between states and even within states between nursing homes and the general public, so that we’re not allowing inventory to sit unused in areas where there’s lower demand,” says Dr. Howard Forman, a professor of public health and management

at Yale University who has advised Biden's campaign.

To run this federal program, the new Administration has tapped a team of public-health experts, including a former commissioner of Chicago's health department, Dr. Bechara Choucair, who will be the White House vaccinations coordinator, and Dr. David Kessler, a former head of the Food and Drug Administration. Kessler will work with the Department of Health and Human Services to increase vaccine supplies, while Choucair will run the response from the West Wing. The Administration plans to use the Defense Production Act to ramp up production of vaccine supplies and protective equipment. The Biden Administration will also push to make it easier for working Americans to receive the vaccine. The proposed relief bill would fund sick days for low-income workers who may need to take time off to get vaccinated or to recover from any side effects.

In the months before vaccinations become ubiquitous, President Biden will launch a campaign to depoliticize mask wearing. He plans to call on business and religious leaders—including pastors, rabbis and imams—to normalize face coverings. Biden will also appeal directly to Americans to take a 100-day mask “challenge,” in which they agree to cover their noses and mouths in public for at least the first three months of his presidency.

Administration officials put some of the blame on their predecessors for the magnitude of the challenges they've inherited. “The Trump Administration has never had a federal comprehensive strategy. They've never put the infrastructure in place to ensure vaccinations make it into the arms of the U.S. population,” says Jeffrey Zients, who is coordinating the Biden Administration's response to the pandemic. And health experts say convincing skeptics to don masks almost a year into the pandemic will be no small feat, especially after Trump made them a cultural fault line. “There has been nearly a year of disinformation around the pandemic, and to repair that is going to be an extraordinary



task,” says Dr. Leana Wen, a former health commissioner of Baltimore and current visiting professor at the George Washington University School of Public Health. Biden's “major problem is going to be winning hearts and minds of half the country that not only did not vote for him but may actively distrust what he has to say.”

REVIVING THE ECONOMY

Most economists believe that as soon as the threat of COVID-19 abates through mass vaccinations and herd immunity, the economy will begin to rebound on its own. But the timeline is tough: even if Biden's plans to speed up vaccine distribution are successful, the country is not expected to achieve this milestone until summer or fall. The economic stimulus proposal Biden released Jan. 14 is largely

▲
*Distributing
Thanksgiving meal boxes
in Arlington, Texas*

focused on easing the pain until then.

The proposal would extend weekly enhanced unemployment insurance through September, increasing the allotted amount from \$300 to \$400, and send \$1,400 in direct payments to most Americans. The plan would also funnel \$130 billion to schools to help them reopen safely as well as \$15 billion in grants to small businesses to help supplement lost revenue. (Biden says he will propose a second round of legislation in February focusing on job creation.)

To pass such legislation in an evenly divided Senate, Biden will need not only unified Democratic support but also the votes of at least



A HONEYMOON PERIOD MAY BE THE NEW PRESIDENT'S BEST CHANCE TO MAKE A MARK

insurrection at the Capitol. “Leaders of both parties are looking hard at just how divided we are and recognizing we need to show the American people that Congress can work and can get things done,” he says.

Not all of Biden’s economic agenda hinges on Congress. He has asked the requisite agencies to extend the federal moratorium on evictions and foreclosures through March 31, and the pause on federal student loan payments through Sept. 30. But there’s ultimately a limit to what the Executive Branch can do on its own. “There’s no set of buttons and levers the President can push and pull to generate the optimum mix of economic growth, unemployment and inflation,” says Kenneth Mayer, a University of Wisconsin–Madison professor who studies Executive Orders.

CLIMATE AND RACISM

The dual crises of racial justice and climate change also loom large in the President’s mind, advisers say. On Jan. 20, he became the first President in history to explicitly condemn white supremacy in an Inauguration speech. The Administration’s proposed stimulus plan also addresses several items raised by the Black Lives Matter movement. That includes assistance for communities of color hit disproportionately hard by the pandemic, funding to expand community health centers and prioritizing relief for minority-owned small businesses.

Biden has tasked Susan Rice, the head of the Domestic Policy Council, with overseeing the Administration’s racial-equity initiatives, which will assess how the government can maximize resources for minority communities and ensure diversity within its own ranks. And Biden is launching initiatives to expand access to health care for women of color and re-

form the criminal-justice system.

Another raft of early moves will reposition the U.S. response to a warming planet. In addition to rejoining the Paris Agreement, Biden rescinded the Keystone Pipeline permit and ordered federal agencies to reinstate environmental regulations his predecessor had rolled back, like rules on methane emissions in oil and gas production. And Biden has previously said he would use the federal government’s purchasing power to drive demand for green products, a move experts expect him to do early on by mandating federal agencies to buy low-emission vehicles and other eco-friendly goods.

The Administration also plans to reverse a slew of Trump-era policies on immigration. Already, Biden has put forward a bill that would create a path to citizenship for millions of undocumented immigrants and boost development aid to Central American countries. He plans to create a task force to try to reunite more than 600 children separated from their parents after crossing the U.S.-Mexico border under Trump’s “zero tolerance” policy. Biden is also expected to reverse Trump’s policy that tried to exclude undocumented immigrants from the Census.

While Biden’s top aides and advisers emphasize that none of America’s interlocking crises will be solved in the first 100 days, they also know that a honeymoon period may be the new President’s best chance to make a mark. “What we’re promising the American people is progress in those 100 days, a lot of hard work, getting things from moving in the wrong direction to moving in the right direction,” says Klain. “That’s going to be the measure of our success.”

—*With reporting by* JEFFREY KLUGER and SIMMONE SHAH/NEW YORK and ABBY VESOULIS and JUSTIN WORLAND/WASHINGTON

10 Republicans, several of whom have already expressed sticker shock. Democrats could dodge the 60-vote requirement by employing an arcane budget procedure known as reconciliation, but doing so would likely restrict the scope of the package and could undermine Biden’s message of bipartisan cooperation.

Klain, the incoming chief of staff, is cognizant of these challenges. Republican Senators who have been briefed about Biden’s plans, he says, are skeptical. “Many of them have said they think the price tag is big,” he says. “Our response is the challenges are big.”

Delaware Senator Chris Coons, a Biden protégé and close adviser who helped broker last December’s \$900 billion bipartisan relief deal, says he is cautiously optimistic, particularly in the wake of the Jan. 6



< Biden signs his first official documents as President at the U.S. Capitol

VIEWPOINT

MOVE FORWARD, BUT DON'T FORGET

**THE MOMENT DEMANDS BOTH ACTION
AND ACCOUNTABILITY BY KAREN FINNEY**

PRESIDENT JOE BIDEN AND VICE President Kamala Harris take office at a time when the stakes are historically high for America's democracy, requiring them to balance holding themselves accountable to their pledge to move America forward with holding Trump, the Republican Party and all who participated in the Jan. 6 riot at the Capitol accountable for their actions.

To tackle the significant challenges before them, they must do two important things: First, they must stay focused on implementing the agenda that a record 81 million Americans voted for in the face of a deadly global pandemic, voter suppression, and a barrage of dangerous lies and misinformation. Second, after four years of Donald Trump's politics of polarization, which exploited and deepened historic racial, social, gender, religious and economic divisions, they must acknowledge that what we saw on Jan. 6

is a part of who we are, but it is not who we have to be as a nation.

TO THE FIRST IMPERATIVE, Biden and his team moved consistently throughout the transition to provide a transparent road map to his first actions as President. Adeptly touching on issues that directly affect the broad coalition of voters who elected him, as well as the country as a whole, Biden also made clear that he will use Executive Orders, presidential memo-

**WHAT WE SAW ON
JAN. 6 IS A PART
OF WHO WE ARE,
BUT IT IS NOT WHO
WE HAVE TO BE
AS A NATION**

randa, directives to Cabinet agencies and political capital in addition to his legislative agenda to make policy changes that honor his campaign promises. His multipronged approach to combatting the pandemic not only counters the damaging incompetence of Trump's "you're on your own" response, it also puts the resources of the federal government to work across the country so Americans can quickly see and feel a change in how the crisis is being handled.

The Biden Administration should work closely with Democratic congressional leadership to leverage the GOP's newfound calls for unity to press for immediate action on laws that would help the American people. And as his Department of Justice works to undo the damage done under Trump and implement criminal justice and policing reforms, they should continue to pursue and hold accountable both those who had a role in the attack on the Capitol and those who are still planning and plotting against our democracy. After coddling Trump throughout his presidency, Mitch McConnell and congressional Republicans cannot be allowed to use impeachment proceedings to slow down the process, minimize the violence, shift blame, or push a false equivalence or grievance narrative.

Long before the insurrection, the COVID-19 pandemic or the death of George Floyd, Joe Biden recognized that the soul of our country is long overdue for healing. Now, as he and Vice President Harris work toward a better America, he must continue to demonstrate the understanding that there can be no unity without the accountability that this moment and our historic divisions call for.

Finney, a Democratic strategist and CNN commentator, served as deputy press secretary for Hillary Clinton and deputy director of presidential scheduling during the Clinton Administration

TIME



It's not just you

Big-hearted advice for anxious times



BY SUSANNA
SCHROBSDORFF

A new kind of newsletter, served weekly

Learn more at time.com/notjustyou



A photograph of the Supreme Court building in Washington, D.C., featuring its iconic neoclassical architecture with a pediment filled with sculptures and a portico of columns. A helicopter is visible in the upper right corner of the frame against a clear blue sky with a few wispy clouds.

BREAKING P

Marine One, with Trump aboard, departs the White House on the morning of President Biden's Inauguration



OINT

**REPUBLICANS SPLIT OVER A SECOND
TRUMP IMPEACHMENT—AND THEIR
PARTY'S FUTURE BY MOLLY BALL**

‘WHAT ARE YOU AFRAID OF?’ JAIME HERRERA BEUTLER, A REPUBLICAN CONGRESSWOMAN FROM WASHINGTON STATE, DEMANDED OF HER COLLEAGUES

as they considered the second impeachment of Donald Trump. “I’m not afraid of losing my job,” Herrera Beutler said. “But I am afraid that my country will fail.”

There is more than fear swirling around the GOP these days. For years, Republicans stood by their President, muttering their doubts in private. They pretzeled themselves to defend his shifting whims, reframed his outrages as silly showmanship and rejected his first impeachment as partisan overreach. Absolute loyalty was what their voters demanded; any sign of deviation was swiftly punished.

But in the dramatic final weeks of his term, Trump finally pushed his party to its breaking point—first demanding it reject truth and the democratic process by overturning the election he lost, then siccing his mob on the seat of government, with deadly results. Finally, on Jan. 13, 10 of the 211 House Republicans broke ranks and voted to impeach him for inciting an insurrection.

Trump may be done with Washington, but Washington—and particularly his adopted party—is not done with him. How the Senate will dispense with the first-ever postpresidential impeachment is an open question. Numerous Republican Senators have expressed openness to convicting Trump and potentially barring him from future office. That number includes the party leader, Mitch McConnell, who said bluntly on the Senate floor on Jan. 19, “The mob was fed lies. They were provoked by the President and other powerful people. And they tried to use fear and violence to stop a specific proceeding,” the ratification of President Joe Biden’s election win.

The Senate will try Trump for the second time once the House sends the impeachment over. McConnell has so far given his fellow partisans little guidance, leaving them to wrestle with their consciences and their political calculations alone. But the impeachment vote is just one of many questions confronting the GOP as Trump leaves office—questions that will determine the future of American politics and the shape of the Biden presidency, from congressional policymaking to voters’ choices in future elections.

How will the minority party respond to the new Adminis-



House Republicans huddle during the vote to impeach Trump on Jan. 13

tration, whose visions of unity Republicans can dash by withholding cooperation? What should the GOP stand for if not the cult of personality Trump forged? How much influence will Trump and his family continue to have on the party going forward? And how can Republicans win elections if they are trapped between a fanatical base of delusional conspiracists and a broader electorate that despises Trump?

Some top Republicans are hoping Trump’s hold on the party will loosen now that he’s out of office. Others believe a clean and deliberate break must be made to regain lost credibility. “You can’t just do things and act like they never happened,” says Republican John Kasich, the former Ohio governor. “Of course they are going to pay a price for what they did.” If the GOP doesn’t find a way to dump Trump and start anew, Kasich says, “the party will fall in on itself.”

THE IMPEACHMENT DILEMMA

The first turning point for the post-Trump GOP is fast approaching. It would take 17 of the 50 Republican Senators



voting with all 50 Democrats to convict Trump of the impeachment charge of inciting insurrection. The Senate could then vote to punish the ex-President by prohibiting him from holding federal office in the future. That's an appealing prospect for Republicans who would like to see the party move past a man who has mused about running again in 2024.

During Trump's first impeachment trial a year ago, McConnell vigorously defended Trump against the accusation that his pressuring of the Ukrainian President for political favors in exchange for military aid constituted an abuse of power, and that he obstructed Congress by refusing to cooperate with its inquiry. This time, the taciturn Senate leader has not tipped his hand as the trial nears. "McConnell is not prone to hyperbole or theatrics," making his recent forceful statements notable, says Scott Jennings, a Kentucky-based GOP strategist and former McConnell adviser. "We have a strong sense of fairness in this country, and I don't know how you can look at the behavior of the President and not conclude he deserves some kind of punishment; whether it's impeachment and conviction, I don't know."

Twelve more Republican Senators have said they are open to hearing the evidence presented in the impeachment trial, while 23 have indicated they would not vote to convict Trump and 14 have made no statement, according to a whip count maintained by the *Washington Post*. Alaska Senator

Lisa Murkowski, a sometime Trump critic, has gone so far as to say that Trump's conduct made her reconsider her membership in the GOP. "Such unlawful actions cannot go without consequence," she said. The Senators opposing conviction have mostly said it is pointless or constitutionally questionable for a President no longer in office; few have defended Trump's actions.

THE OPPOSITION PARTY

Even as they consider impeachment, Republicans, as the minority party in both houses of Congress, must decide what posture to take toward the new Administration. When Barack Obama took office in 2009, Republican congressional leaders made the cynical—and ultimately correct—calculation that their fastest path back to power was to thwart his agenda. Biden hopes this time will be different. McConnell has been negotiating with the newly minted Democratic majority leader, Chuck Schumer, over how the two will share power in the 50-50 Senate. The two met on Jan. 19, and McConnell pushed to preserve the 60-vote filibuster requirement for most policy legislation, but no agreement was reached.

Normally, the Senate gets to work confirming the Cabinet before a new President takes the oath of office, but Trump's behavior made that impossible. A push to quickly approve Biden's national-security team was derailed Jan. 19 by an objection from GOP Senator Josh

Hawley, who expressed concern over prospective Homeland Security Secretary Alejandro Mayorkas' views on immigration. Democrats are girding for a replay of the Obama years, when Republicans, led by McConnell, put up a wall of opposition even to traditionally bipartisan or conservative proposals, and used procedural tactics to block executive and judicial picks. Republicans charge that turnabout is fair play after many Senate Democrats rejected Trump's appointees wholesale.

Biden is preparing an ambitious agenda to confront the coronavirus and economic crises, but the Democrats' majorities in the House and Senate are razor-thin. Whether the GOP decides to play ball or obstruct will have huge consequences for the country's direction. "There's nothing that says they have to go along with the Democrats' plans, but they have to develop legitimate alternatives," says Kasich. "They're most comfortable being against things. But if you're a party and you don't have ideas, I don't know what you exist for."

THE IDENTITY CRISIS

There was a paradox to the party's policy shifts during the Trump years. The outgoing President upended the GOP's traditional stances on fiscal, social and national-security issues. He blew up the deficit, imposed tariffs that scrambled

trade relationships, restricted immigration and embraced the world's most despicable dictators. Yet he was generally disengaged with policy and lawmaking, never presented a health care plan and claimed a massive corporate tax cut as his only significant legislative accomplishment. Trump policed GOP lawmakers' fealty to him with vigilance, yet rarely punished ideological deviations. Critics charged that the real substance of "Trumpism" was the racial and cultural grievances Trump delighted in inflaming.

In 2020, for the first time in the GOP's 166-year history, the Republican National Committee (RNC) did not draft an electoral platform at all. Instead, it simply issued a statement of support for the President. The upshot is that what the party should stand for is more or less a blank slate, with some party veterans aiming to resurrect the orthodoxies of the past while others strive to reformulate policies in light of Trump's rise.

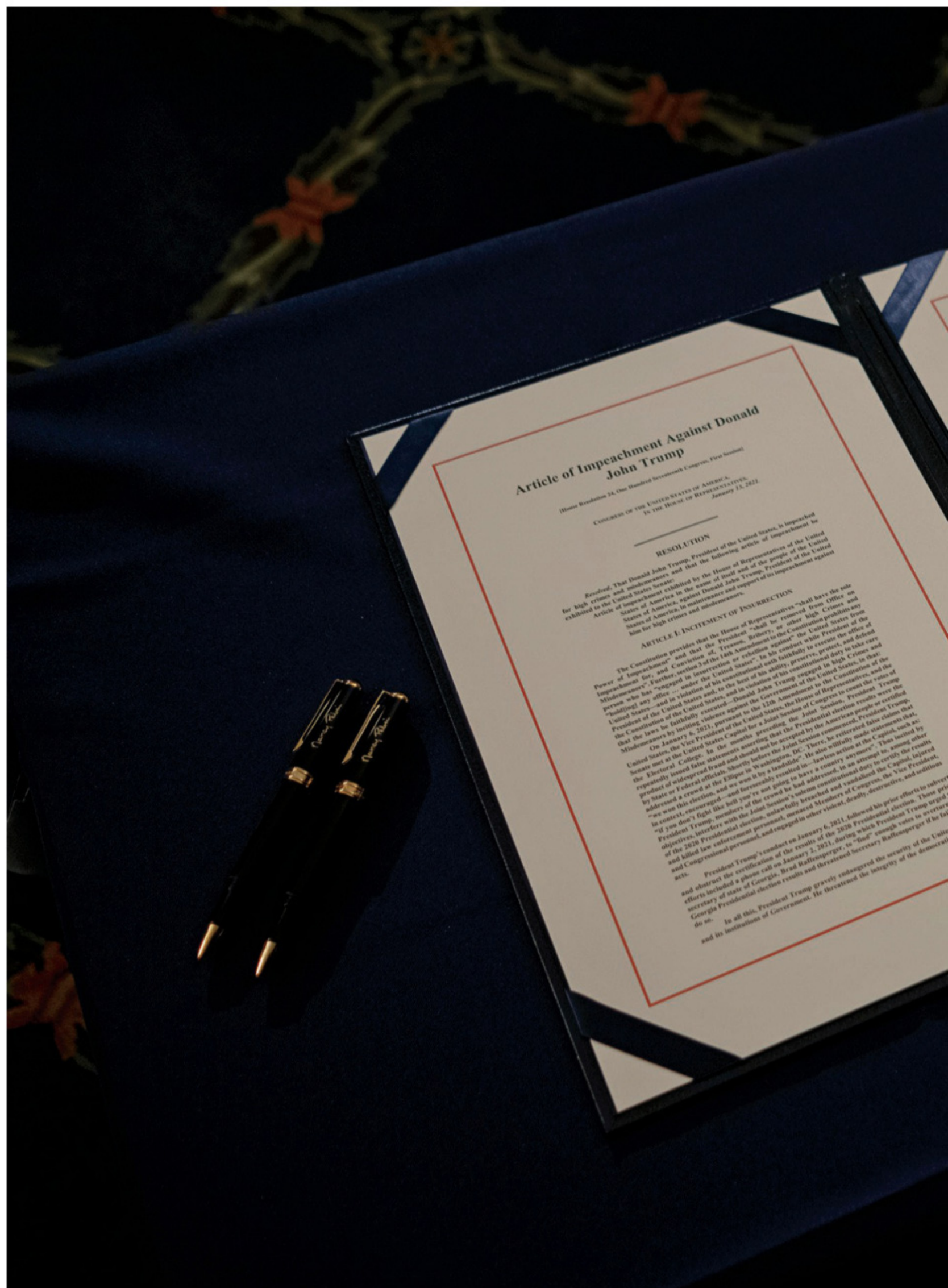
"Republicans are going to have to figure out how to channel the ideas and themes that got Trump elected while moving away from the most damaging aspects," says Joe Grogan, former director of the White House Domestic Policy Council under Trump. As examples of those ideas, he cited support for manufacturing and working-class jobs, deregulation, limited government and "American exceptionalism." The question, however, will be whether any of those ideas exerts a pull on voters comparable to the force of Trump's personality. "A cult of personality is always dangerous in a republic, because it leads to events like what we just witnessed" on Jan. 6, Grogan says. "That's a result of people thinking an individual is more important than the Constitution."

THE LEADER IN EXILE

No one yet knows how ex-President Trump plans to stay involved in politics, but few expect him to sit on the sidelines.

"I don't think he's going to ride off into the sunset. I think he's going to enjoy being a former President much more than he enjoyed being President, quite frankly," a former GOP official says. But the Capitol siege throws Trump's future appeal into question, the official notes. "Three weeks ago, I would have told you he loves to be kingmaker, loves to hold an endorsement over someone's head and can be a factor as long as he wants to be. But now it's just so up in the air."

If he is not barred from office, he is expected to keep a 2024 candidacy on the table in an attempt to freeze the field and maintain his influence in the party, even if he doesn't go through with another presidential run. Trump retains control of a millions-strong email fundraising list that delivered more than \$200 million even after he lost the 2020 election—

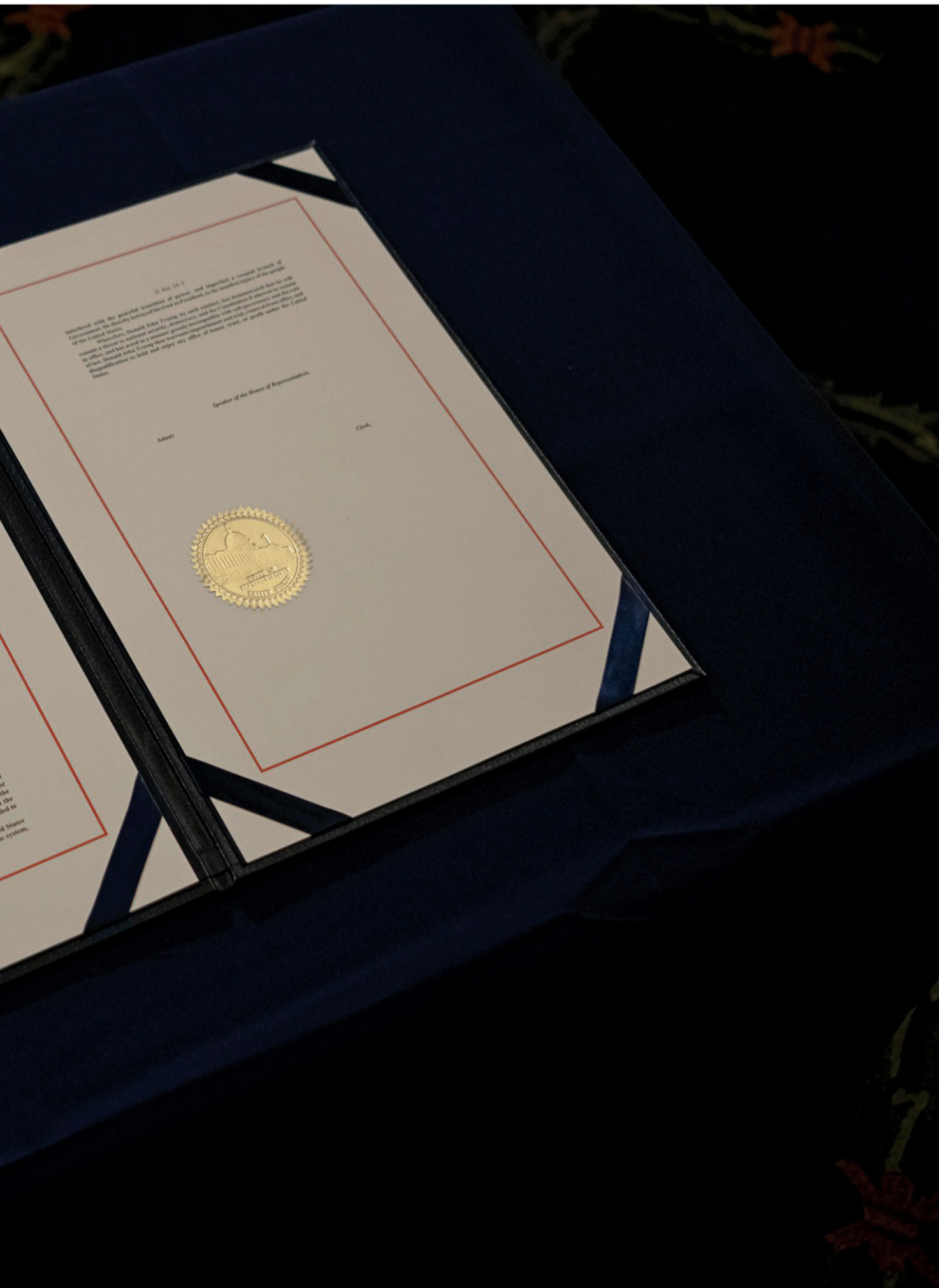


with most of the funds going to his own political coffers, not the party's. And while not all his handpicked candidates won their races, his endorsement has been a powerful force in GOP primaries. Already, Trump allies are seeking to purge those perceived as disloyal, from House GOP Conference chair Liz Cheney, who supported impeachment, to the governors of Arizona and Georgia, who rebuffed Trump's election attacks. "I want you to know," Trump said in a farewell video released Jan. 19, "that the movement we started is only just beginning."

Trump's political clout could be curbed by his bans from

'IF YOU'RE A PARTY AND YOU DON'T HAVE IDEAS, I DON'T KNOW WHAT YOU EXIST FOR.'

—John Kasich, former Ohio governor



▲
Trump became the first President in U.S. history to be impeached twice, as well as the first to face a postpresidential trial in the Senate

major social media platforms including Facebook and Twitter. Then there are the legal and financial challenges he faces: state and federal investigations into numerous scandals he's implicated in, and hundreds of millions in debt about to come due for his businesses. But even if he's done with elected office, it's clear that politics has become a Trump family business. His daughter-in-law Lara Trump is considering a Senate run in North Carolina, her home state, and there is talk of a political future for his children Ivanka and Don Jr.

TIRED OF WINNING

Polls were eerily static throughout Trump's term, unmoved even by such calamities as COVID-19. But for the first time,

a significant chunk of Republicans moved away from Trump following the Capitol riot. Trump's approval rating plummeted from the 40s to the 30s overall. Among those who consider themselves Republicans, 33% said the party should stop following Trump and take a new direction, and 12% said he should be criminally charged for his actions, in a recent *Washington Post/ABC News* poll.

If such defections hold, it would be a devastating development for a party already dependent at a national level on structural quirks that embed minority dominance, such as the Electoral College and the Senate's overrepresentation of rural states. The siege also spurred a revolt among the traditionally conservative business class, as corporate political action committees announced they would no longer support lawmakers who objected to certifying Biden's victory. The billionaire Home Depot retired co-founder and longtime Republican donor Ken Langone, for example, said on CNBC that he felt "betrayed" by Trump and would support Biden going forward. With Trump as their standard bearer, Republicans lost the House, the Senate and the presidential popular vote—twice.

Dissatisfied with the party's insufficient loyalty, Trump has reportedly discussed forming a third party in recent weeks. But whether his faction is inside or outside the GOP, the party will be grappling with his influence for a long time to come. "That percentage of Republicans who continue to believe that the election was stolen will continue to be very vocal about it, and it's just going to be a huge problem for us," says Jeff Larson, a former RNC chief of staff who

worked on behalf of the party's Senate campaigns in 2020. "And you'll have people that will try to appease them, and then it becomes worse. We need strong leaders."

Pulling in the opposite direction are efforts by anti-Trump conservatives such as the Lincoln Project to reshape the party into a kinder, gentler, less authoritarian force. But as long as the rank and file remain loyal to Trump, the moderates will have a difficult job. "A mob of pro-Trump radicals and neofascists sacked the Capitol and forced Congress to flee. I hope that's enough to make some sane Republican politicians ask, 'How did we come to this?'" says Geoffrey Kabaservice, political director of the Niskanen Center think tank and author of an influential history of moderate Republicans. "Part of it is that Donald Trump is a sociopath, but there are also real problems tearing the country apart, and the Republican Party needs to try and address those problems if it wants people to turn away from Trump's toxic legacy. It might not work. But it's the only thing that might work, and it's the right thing to do." —*With reporting by* LESLIE DICKSTEIN *and* MARIAH ESPADA □





FRAYED TIES

**THE PAST FOUR YEARS
HAVE DIVIDED FAMILIES.
IS THE DAMAGE DONE?**

BY BELINDA LUSCOMBE

STACEY PAVESI DEBRÉ'S YOUNG DAUGHTERS HAD A HABIT WHEN THEY SAW PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP ON TV IN THEIR PARIS APARTMENT.

They'd hold their noses and boo. That is, until Stacey's mother Lonnie Pavesi came to visit for a week, to help take care of her grandchildren. After she left, the elder Debré child, who was about 7, had some strong words for her mother. "Mom, you lied to me," she said. "You told me Trump was bad. Actually he's not. Ama told me he's making America better."

It transpired that Lonnie had mixed in some political discourse with her grandmotherly duties. "She had brainwashed our daughters behind our back," says the girls' father, Guillaume Debré, with amusement. He's a French journalist who has written a book on Trump, but he maintains that he does not have as intense feelings about him as his American wife. "I was like, This is getting out of hand. The mother and the grandmother are fighting for the soul of their granddaughter. This is crazy. Even the French people don't do this."

Disagreements about politics have been the specter of every family get-together since dinner was invented. But after one of the most divisive presidential administrations in U.S. history followed by an election the outgoing leader claims was fraudulent (without any evidence that has stood up in court) and an attack on the Capitol, those rifts are as wide as anyone can remember. A postelection Pew Research Center survey found that fewer than 2% of voters felt those who voted for the other party understood them very well, and only 13% of Joe Biden's voters and 5% of Donald Trump's voters expressed any desire for future unity.

President Biden won the election partly on the promise that he would heal the fissures between those who voted for him and those who voted for Trump. "Now it is time to turn the page," he said in a speech after the Electoral College affirmed his victory. "To unite. To heal."

For some families, that is going to be a very heavy lift.

An October study from the University of Missouri found that since 2016, family interactions have been more likely to drive highly partisan relatives apart than bring them together. One of the authors, associate professor of communication Ben Warner, says he had initially thought that having a

family member who was on the opposite side of the aisle might lead to less stereotyping or dismissing of that person and their views. The study proved him wrong. "For people who are highly polarized, having a parent or child who is a member of the other party didn't make things any better," he says. "And it looked like it probably made things even worse, perhaps because it was such a point of tension in their family dynamic."

So it is not surprising that most of the dozens of people TIME spoke to for this story didn't want their names used. One woman said she has found it difficult to maintain communication with her Trump-loving twin sister; another said she has found herself trying to be the bridge between her African-American children and her white father. A mother of five began to feel increasingly isolated from her children and six siblings because of her support for Trump. One Black woman wept as she recalled helping her white mother register to vote for the first time, knowing she would vote to re-elect the then President.

Every parent spoke of how much they cherish their children, despite their differences. Most of the offspring, in turn, talked about how they believed their parents were good people. But a lot of people have quietly blocked family members on social media, or speak sadly of siblings or grandparents with whom they surreptitiously try to avoid spending time, and they worry that talking about it will further inflame the feud. Nevertheless, several families gamely tried to explain their differing points of view and how they were trying to navigate them.

IN OCTOBER, GARY AND MARY BLIEFNICK of Missouri texted their son Soren and his sister Amy that they wanted to visit their children in early November instead of for Thanksgiving. They wondered if everyone could "commit to ignoring politics." Soren texted back: "If you think Trump should be able to be re-elected, then we will have a problem regardless of the time of year." His father asked what kind of problem. "I said, 'A moral problem,'" says Soren. "And it just kind of went from there."

Soren, who lives in Los Angeles, finds it incomprehensible that the same parents who taught him the importance of civility, politeness and decency could have supported President Trump. He is mystified as to why they couldn't see the same homophobic and racist behavior and instincts that he saw, and why they didn't recognize that a vote for Trump was a vote against justice. "They voted for him for a second term for vague reasons that are more important to them than undermining my rights," he says. "It was so incredibly hurtful that they would do something like that and seem to be so either oblivious or indifferent." And once his father became convinced the election was fraudulent, he wished "they could see what I see, because then they would know why it makes me sick with grief."

His parents meanwhile are equally mystified as to why their son can't let them vote for whom they want to vote for. "For



^
Stacey Pavesi Debré with her parents, Dave and Lonnie Pavesi, and daughters, in Paris in 2017

me,” says Mary, “it was very hurtful that neither of our kids could appreciate our decision to make our own decision based upon the things that we thought were important,” which for her were largely around law and order. His father sees it simply as identity politics. “He basically thinks Trump is antigay,” says Gary Bliefnick, who says he didn’t vote in 2016 but liked what Trump had done with the economy and employment levels and in standing up to the media, and so cast his ballot for him in 2020. He has no problem with the fact his son is gay but feels the President represented no real threat to LGBTQ rights.

Experts say family political disagreements can chafe more than disagreements among friends or colleagues, because of how deeply humans identify with their family members, how much they feel they come from the same place. In 2016, Bill Doherty, a University of Minnesota social-science professor and family therapist, founded Braver Angels, an organization that runs workshops to help people of differing political views talk to one another. “The two biggest reasons people give for coming to the workshops are that they’re worried about polarization in the country,” he says, “and they’re worried about their families.” So many families approached the group for help in 2020 that it began offering online family political sessions, where volunteer moderators take people through a series of exercises to help them engage with family members who have strongly different political opinions. Doherty also added a lecture on political divisions to the postgraduate family-therapy courses he teaches.

Gary and Mary Bliefnick attribute their differences at least in part to geography. They feel their son changed when he went to college, and here Gary adjusts his tone slightly, in *Boston*. “I think my son and my daughter were—well, my choice of words would

‘THERE’S SORT OF A BUBBLING OVER, THIS NEED TO EXPRESS THEMSELVES POLITICALLY.’

—Stacey Pavesi Debré

be *warped*—in the wrong direction about how awful America is,” he says. “They’re teaching them a different history than I learned.”

The Bliefnicks’ experience mirrors a 2018 study that showed that families in which the hosts and guests lived in different, highly partisan areas spent up to 50 minutes less over the 2016 Thanksgiving dinner than families who didn’t. The researchers estimated that this led

to a cumulative loss of almost 34 million hours of family time.

Another issue making these schisms harder to deal with is that political preference is a more all-encompassing set of beliefs than it used to be, what academics call a “mega-identity.” If you are Republican, you don’t just believe in low taxes and robust defense spending. You’re more likely to be white, evangelical, and from a rural or small-town environment. And if you’re gay, African American or Latinx, and you live in a city, you’re more likely to vote Democratic. It’s not just about policy.

In many ways, the Pavesi clan embodies these identity differences. The senior Pavesis, who live in a small red outpost in Northern California, are devout Christians, and have been on mission and mercy trips all over the world. Stacey’s father Dave Pavesi was in the military. Stacey has spent most of her career in media and event planning, and the Debrés are more secular. Guillaume’s father is a French politician, and the couple got together when Guillaume was a correspondent for French TV in D.C. But for the elder Pavesis, politics takes a back seat to faith. “At the end of the day when everybody goes home, it doesn’t really change our life any,” says Dave. “I don’t believe either of us are persuaded by our individual arguments. That’s why I tend to avoid it more than not.”

Stacey, for whom politics is more important, describes the situation differently. To her, it felt as if Trump’s election altered her parents’ behavior. “There’s sort of a bubbling over, this need to express themselves politically. It’s completely foreign to me,” she says. And she’s distressed by what she hears. Her father maintains that the election was stolen and that the attack on the Capitol was “a slight overreaction,” the result of frustration over “problems with the election which are being ignored rather than lawfully investigated.” When Stacey tried to dissuade her parents of that view, she says her mother announced she didn’t want to talk politics anymore.

This time-honored way of handling such issues—just not talking about it—is not a viable option, however, for many

families, because people are apt to air their views on social media anyway and also because it puts distance between people who are used to discussing things openly. Dr. Paul Groen and his son, also called Paul, are both very serious about their Christian faith, and talk about it regularly, but find their beliefs lead them to different conclusions. The elder Groen, 84, who for half his 50-year career as a physician was founding hospitals in Africa and now spends his days visiting those in his retirement community who are isolated because of COVID-19 restrictions, declines to say whom he voted for in 2020, but says it's not hard to guess because he believes in small government. "I don't condone a lot of his antics," he says of the 45th President, "but I think a lot of things he's done have been good." He lays the blame for the current divisions more at the feet of Congress and its push to impeach the first time, and he doubts Biden will be able to offer much in the way of unity.

His son, an opera singer who lives in London, says he finds it hard to overlook Trump's cuts to the number of refugees, disparagement of women, mishandling of the virus and use of "alternative facts." For families like the Groens, the new landscape is difficult to navigate—it's like they're reading different maps. "I don't know how to have a conversation with family when you can't agree on facts," says the younger Groen. Dr. Groen doesn't really follow the news, while his son regards a grasp of current affairs as important. "As a Christian," he continues, "what I find fundamentally disturbing is the abandonment of the idea that there is objective truth."

THE END OF THE TRUMP PRESIDENCY doesn't mean the end of the Trump era—or that the barriers between those who disagree with each other are dissolving. Despite the disputes, most of these families are still intact and finding ways to hang on to their relationships. There are many voters, however, for whom the bridges seem to be irrevocably burned. This is the group in which Lynette Villano has landed.

As recently as April 2016, Villano's older sister, Susan Paraventi, took her and three relatives on a girls' trip to the Florida Keys for Villano's 70th birthday. Several years earlier, Paraventi had rushed to her sister's side to help when Villano's son had a medical procedure. Now the sisters never speak. Villano, from eastern Pennsylvania, is also estranged from two of her children. She says she was invited to Thanksgiving in 2018 and then uninvited when other family members protested.

Villano has always been a political enthusiast and a Republican, both traits she shared with her now deceased mother. When she ran to be the local delegate, she says, the rest of her family cheered her along. But things shifted, some of her family say, as soon as Trump came down the escalator at Trump Tower in 2015 and announced his candidacy. "It's just all Trump all the time with her," says Paraventi, who lives in Massachusetts. Villano's social media fervor—her constant celebration of Trump's behavior, family, opinions and denigration of his enemies—rankled other relatives, who



^
Paul Groen, center, flanked by his parents, Paul and Maxine, and his twin sons in Florida in 2019

felt she was hyping him to advance her own political career.

At one point, she shared selected texts from family members with a reporter, who put them in a book in a chapter titled "Trump's Biggest Fan." These missives, which her relatives say were edited to make them look bad and were used without permission, led to their receiving threatening messages. (They requested that TIME not use their names, citing safety concerns.) But Villano says she has also suffered. "I don't think people realize how much hatred Trump supporters get," she says.

For a while, Paraventi blocked her sister on social media but kept talking to her. Things reached a low just before Christmas 2019, when Villano, a two-time cancer survivor, was in New York City for medical reasons and Paraventi was there for a Bob Dylan concert (she has been to Dylan concerts in 48 states and several countries). The sisters planned a museum trip together. Their stories differ in some details, but they agree that just before meeting, Paraventi asked Villano to remove the large Trump flag pin she always wore, and in return she would wear no political regalia. Villano, who considers the pin her signature, declined. The excursion was called off. Paraventi's husband went to his sister-in-law and tried to coax the two together, to no avail. "My mother is rolling in her grave," says Paraventi. "The one thing she always said was that she just wanted her children to get along. We were a very close family."

'I THINK MY SON AND MY DAUGHTER WERE—WELL, MY CHOICE OF WORDS WOULD BE WARPED—IN THE WRONG DIRECTION ABOUT HOW AWFUL AMERICA IS.'

—Gary Bliefnick

As far as Villano is concerned, her relatives are the ones being unreasonable. “If I was a good mother, sister and aunt all these years, and they loved me, what changed?” she asks. “Nothing changed about me. This is who I am. I support a candidate because of where they stand on the issues.” Her sister disagrees. She has other Trump-supporting relatives, but they don’t talk about it so much, or choose to promote the President if it has a negative effect on the rest of the family. “I think it changed her,” says Paraventi. “And the way she supported him changed my feelings toward her. I can’t see how she doesn’t understand some of the harm he’s done to this country.”

IN SOME WAYS, disagreements within families have surfaced for the same reasons they have rumbled across the U.S. and even the planet. Trump is a divisive figure. Different generations have different values. People tend to take on the culture of the region they live and work in. The decline of trust in such institutions as the media, the church and the courts has left the two sides with no agreed-upon set of premises from which to start. Social media encourages people to live in an echo chamber and keeps amplifying views that could once be kept quiet for the sake of harmony. The pandemic has widened the chasm, since people don’t get to do things together. (One woman remarked that if she saw her estranged cousin, she’s pretty sure the muscle memory would lead her to hug her.) And, perhaps with fewer blockbusters, sports games and social events to discuss, and an unfiltered leader tweeting regularly until recently, politics has become the most tempting source of conversational fodder.

But even more than that, in the Trump era, many Americans don’t see voting as a decision about a set of policies, they see it as a moral imperative, an act that will make or break the country, in a way a vote for George W. Bush or Bill Clinton wasn’t. Villano, Gary Bliefnick and Dave Pavesi are steadfastly persuaded that the country has been a victim of election fraud. (Dave Pavesi insists that Biden is a puppet, whose controllers will soon be revealed.) Their left-leaning relatives are just as certain that their family members are on the wrong side of history. “My parents professed to love America and the Constitution and all of these things, and it’s like they’re trying to directly undermine that,” says Soren Bliefnick.

The Groens as well as the Pavesis and Debrés are in different countries; their interactions are mostly virtual and thus more tightly controlled. The Groens Zoom every week for at least an hour. “I would say we have good rapport, but I don’t know what [my son] would say because we probably will never agree politically,” says Dr. Groen. “For us it’s been hard to have a low-key discussion; they usually kind of get pretty energetic.” Some of the more difficult conversations are hashed out among the Pavesi clan over text. Dave Pavesi says Trump’s departure probably won’t change his family dynamic, which he doesn’t think is that bad. He’d like the election to be investigated but says, “I’m



▲
Lynette Villano, left, and her sister Susan Paraventi (and Wuzzy the cat) at a family Christmas in the pre-Trump era

not going to let that hurt my family.” Villano is not sure she can ever reconcile with her sister or other relatives. Paraventi says she has stopped missing her: “I don’t know that things will get better anytime soon because she will never admit that anything she has done was over the top.” Soren Bliefnick says he thought about cutting his parents out of his life but decided against it, partly because his mother pointed out that she’d never do that to him. “As of right now, I feel separated from them more than I have because of this,” he says. “It’s hard to want to talk to them with that sort of shadow hanging over me.” His mother Mary, “sick of the entire mess,” is not confident the election was fair, but was disgusted by Trump’s behavior after November when he should have been focused on COVID-19. “I just refuse to let my family be broken by politics,” she says.

Doherty, the family therapist, hopes that this relational fracturing shall pass. “People underestimate the tremendous pain and hurt involved in a family cutoff,” he says. “We all need time-out sometimes from family intensity, but that’s a whole different thing.” In an era dominated by a highly infectious disease, even a temporary break in communications, he notes, could be final: “Somebody gets COVID—what, you don’t call?”

Villano heard over Christmas that one of her relatives was ill. She texted a get-well message. She hasn’t heard back. “I don’t think they want anything to do with me,” she says. “The theme of Joe Biden’s Inauguration is supposed to be unity, but I don’t see anything taking place from him or Congress that is going to unify the country. I don’t see anybody working to try and bring us together on either side. How are we ever going to get together to solve all the problems that we have?” □

THE COST OF TERROR HITS HOME

AS LAWMAKERS CALL FOR A CRACKDOWN ON DOMESTIC TERRORISM, CIVIL LIBERTARIANS FEAR A ROLLBACK OF RIGHTS

BY SIMON SHUSTER

PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHRISTOPHER LEE FOR TIME

MARYANNE LARREA, A YOUNG DEVOTEE OF Donald Trump, felt the sting of tear gas for the first time in her life on Jan. 6, when she marched among the crowd that Trump incited to storm the Capitol. A gun-rights activist and hard-line conservative Christian, Larrea, 22, says she did not go inside the building that day; the tear gas was enough to force her away from the front of the mob. But when she got back home to Pennsylvania and started scrolling through reactions to the violence, she realized she might be in trouble. “Everyone is saying it was a terrorist attack,” she told TIME about a week after the riot. “Everyone thinks I’m a terrorist because I was at that event.”

It isn’t just the people in her news feed. A growing chorus of security experts and politicians has cast the mob, or parts of it, in terms that are typically reserved for ISIS and al-Qaeda. Some commentators have even begun to call for a new American war on terror in response to the Capitol riot, one aimed at Trump’s more radical supporters on the right.

That has stirred a broader debate about how best to fight domestic terrorism: with criminal laws already on the books or with new powers modeled on those crafted to fight Islamist terrorism after 9/11. At the same time, it is raising new fears among rights advocates that civil liberties already eroded after 9/11 will be further diminished.

In the days after the storming of the Capitol, House Speaker Nancy Pelosi referred to the rioters as “domestic terrorists,” a phrase that President Joe Biden has also used to describe them. Senate majority leader Chuck Schumer has called for them to be put on a



Capitol police officers view pro-Trump rioters through broken glass at the U.S. Capitol on Jan. 6





1

“no-fly list” of terrorism suspects, a measure that the FBI said it was “actively looking at.” Even veterans of the Trump Administration have urged the government to unleash the tools of counterterrorism against the rioters and their supporters.

“We have to go after the people doing the incitement, the people who are very serious about doing these attacks, with the same intensity that we did with al-Qaeda,” says Elizabeth Neumann, who served for three years in the Trump Administration as an Assistant Secretary of Homeland Security. “This might be a slight overstep,” says Neumann, who resigned in April 2020, but for the mob that stormed the Capitol, Trump “was that spiritual leader that Osama bin Laden was for al-Qaeda. He was that face, and that spokesperson, that rallied the troops.”

Such comparisons point to a turn in the debate about terrorism that many security experts have wanted to see for years. The majority of deadly extremist incidents in the U.S. are motivated by far-right ideologies, especially white supremacy, according to the U.S. Government Accountability Office. Yet the threat of Islamist radicalism commands a far greater share of government resources. Heidi Beirich, former head of the Intelligence Project at the Southern Poverty Law Center, calls this disparity a sign of the “great hypocrisy” on the issue of terrorism in America. “When it comes to white supremacy,” she says, “it is a battle to prove that it is also terrorist violence.”

The prospect of a crackdown on the far right has still raised concerns among some civil-liberties advocates, who warn that it could threaten the constitutional rights to free speech, assembly and due process, much as the post-9/11 crackdown threatened the rights of Americans accused of siding with al-Qaeda. “In my view, the government’s terrorism blacklists are a cautionary tale, not a promising model,” Jameel Jaffer, the director of the Knight First Amendment Institute at Columbia University, told the Intercept.

Such notes of concern have been muted in the past week.

PORTFOLIO

To see more of Christopher Lee’s photos from inside the Capitol under siege, go to time.com/capitol-riot



2

Few if any of the biggest U.S. civil-liberties organizations have publicly urged caution in the rush to find, blacklist or prosecute the Capitol rioters. Speaking to TIME on Jan. 14, a director at one of these organizations did express concerns “as a private person” about responding to the riot with the tools of counterterrorism. “I do have grave concerns,” he said, asking not to be named, as he was not authorized to speak to the media on this issue. “If you are profiling on the basis of characteristics not linked inherently to terrorism, you come out with a whole bunch of problems.”

THE DANGERS LIE in the legal gray zone between political speech and incitement to violence. Under President Barack Obama, the U.S. launched a Hellfire missile at Anwar al-Awlaki, an American imam who served al-Qaeda as a recruiter.

His assassination in Yemen in 2011 remains a stain on Obama’s legacy to many civil-liberties defenders, in part because al-Awlaki’s role was not to commit acts of violence himself. “It was an inspirational job,” says Ali Soufan, a former FBI special agent focused on counterterrorism. “He was instigating.”

Among far-right extremists in the U.S. today, there are countless radicals who play similar roles.

But attempts to silence them are sure to face legal challenges as even Trump’s most radical supporters have constitutional protections, including the First Amendment right “peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.”

Rolling back those freedoms has served in other countries as a prelude to authoritarianism, and it is easy enough to imagine a future U.S. President deciding to label opponents terrorists before stripping them of their fundamental rights. During his presidency, Trump attempted to designate Antifa, a loose band of left-wing radicals, as a terrorist organization, a move that civil-liberties groups successfully resisted.



3

Since the assault on the Capitol, the American Civil Liberties Union has taken a different approach. “The ACLU has always been about the right to protest, the right to speak,” Jeffrey Robinson, its deputy legal director, said in a panel discussion on Jan. 8. “This has nothing to do with protest.” The target of the mob, he noted, was the seat of American democracy, a chamber that was in the process of certifying the results of a presidential election.

Among the crowd that took part in the violence, there were dozens whose names are already on a government watch list of extremists, according to a *Washington Post* report that cited people familiar with the FBI’s investigation. Vice News reported separately on Jan. 14 that one of the Trump supporters outside the Capitol that day had once served time for fire-bombing an abortion clinic.

Known extremists and terrorism suspects make up a small fraction of the people who assaulted the Capitol, and they are even smaller when compared with Trump’s base of hardcore supporters. In a YouGov survey published a week after the riot, two-thirds of Republicans said that Jan. 6 was a “bad” or “tragic” day for America. The same survey found that 16% of Republicans approved of the takeover of the Capitol.

LARREA, THE YOUNG TRUMP SUPPORTER, counts herself among this minority, as do many members of her church group in rural Pennsylvania. Known as the Rod of Iron Ministries, the church uses assault rifles in religious ceremonies, and its followers believe that Trump’s presidency was a literal godsend.

The day after the riot, they gathered at the Tommy Gun Warehouse, a massive firearms emporium in the town of Greeley, to take stock of what had happened at the Capitol. “The people at the Capitol signified the people of the world,” Larrea says. “We are taking back, the people are taking back the world from the evils of the world. That’s what my congregation has been talking about.”

U.S. law enforcement sees it differently. On Jan. 19, the FBI

1
Pro-Trump rioters ransacked lawmakers’ offices in the Capitol. One member of the mob documents the scene

2
A lone Capitol Police officer faces down rioters as they approach the Senate chamber

3
A pro-Trump mob confronts police as rioters try to block confirmation of Joe Biden’s election as President

charged three people with planning to attack the Capitol with the aim of hunting down lawmakers and placing them under “citizens’ arrest.” Neumann, the former DHS official, says people who marched alongside these attackers could find themselves under suspicion, if not also in legal jeopardy. “Who you associate with matters,” Neumann says. “If you don’t want the violence, then don’t provide the cover for the violence.”

By that rationale, many who heeded Trump’s incitements could be guilty of covering for the violence. So where should the U.S. justice system draw the line? At what point does a protester become a rioter, and a rioter a terrorist? Some lawmakers have little time for such questions. “On Jan. 6, terrorists attacked the United States of America,” Representative Veronica Escobar, a Texas Democrat, said on the House floor before it voted to impeach Trump on Jan. 13. “Those who came and participated must be found and prosecuted,” she said. “Those who aided and abetted must be found and prosecuted.”

Now the Biden Administration, facing calls to designate far-right extremist groups as terrorist organizations, will have to come up with its own answers. Soufan, the former FBI special agent, has long pushed for such designations against neo-Nazi and white-supremacist groups. “They are on par with the jihadis, if not worse,” he says. The Capitol riot could create the political will to designate them as such, much as the U.S. did with Islamist radicals after 9/11. “I look at it as one of these events in our history,” Soufan says, “like Pearl Harbor, like 9/11, that woke up a sleeping giant.” □

HEALTH

ANOTHER SHOT

INSIDE THE FAILURES OF THE U.S. VACCINE
ROLLOUT—AND HOW IT CAN BE FIXED

BY W.J. HENNIGAN, ALICE PARK AND JAMIE DUCHARME

On a frigid morning in January, **Trudy Ronnel** settled into her favorite sofa chair at the Westminster Place senior-living community in Evanston, Ill., pulled down the neckline on her red blouse and braced herself for a shot she'd anticipated for almost a year. At 92 years old, with multiple medical conditions, she spent most of 2020 fearful of contracting the COVID-19 plague that ravaged the world outside her first-floor window.

To protect herself, for the past few months she'd avoided Westminster's communal rooms, which had provided a means to stay active and engaged but risked becoming a pathogenic petri dish.



Ronnel, 92, hopes the vaccine will allow her to embrace her children and grandchildren, whom she hasn't seen in person since the fall

Whenever she left her room, she dutifully wore a surgical face mask and maintained the mandated 6-ft. distance. The most difficult change came in the fall, when visits from her son, daughter and five grandchildren were cut off.

Living in relative isolation was not how Ronnel envisioned spending her golden years. Like millions of Americans, as soon as the first coronavirus vaccine was authorized, she began anxiously counting down to the day she'd receive her shot. As an elderly resident of a long-term-care facility, Ronnel is at higher risk of getting infected and experiencing serious symptoms, and thus belongs to one of the first priority groups to get vaccinated, along with health care workers. So, when a Walgreens pharmacist finally appeared in her doorway with the shot on Jan. 6, it came as a welcome sight. After getting the injection, Ronnel allowed herself to feel something that she hadn't felt since the pandemic first began: the prospect of normality. "I hope this all begins to end soon," she says.

That will depend. TIME spent the past year observing, traveling and speaking with dozens of people involved in the development, distribution and administration of the coronavirus vaccine. A month into the operation it has become clear that health experts, military logisticians and government authorities have often been at odds with one another over miscues, miscommunications and mistrust as they grappled with overcoming a tangle of logistical challenges in building an unprecedented health campaign from scratch.

According to local health officials, the Trump Administration's decision to limit the federal government's role in administering the vaccines left each state to create its own plans for locally distributing the shots and launching programs for getting them into people's arms. That already-complicated logistical task, they say, was compounded by a lack of funds and a health care workforce already overwhelmed with COVID-19 testing, contact tracing and pandemic-control campaigns, not to mention mixed messages that left states in the dark about how many doses they could expect, and when.

In rolling out the vaccine, the U.S. in many ways repeated the same mistakes it made with COVID-19 testing last spring. Lack of federal leadership first in coordinating distribution of the tests, and later in supporting states to set up and staff testing sites, led to limited access and critical delays in getting results. Public-health officials across the country, as well as many experts TIME spoke with, say there has been a similar lack of coordinated planning and infrastructure to distribute and administer vaccines at the local level. "This vaccination program is complicated, and the way it's gone so far is a microcosm of the 11 months of failed federal response," says Dr. Tom Frieden, former director of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC)

under President Barack Obama. "There has been a lack of organization, a lack of a systemic approach and a lack of a public-health approach coming out of the White House."

The Biden Administration enters office exactly a year into the U.S. pandemic, with the country's tally of COVID-19 cases at 24 million, along with 400,000 related deaths. Those numbers are only growing. The Administration's new health leaders will come in with their own ideas for how to control the pandemic and answer the critical question of what went wrong. Their answers won't simply be a matter of administrative accountability, but a matter of public health and economic urgency. If the current slow pace of getting vaccines from the assembly lines into people's arms continues, it could lead to weaker population-level protection, enabling the virus to continue spreading—especially with a new, more contagious variant afoot. And the more it spreads, the more likely it is that new, mutant forms will emerge, some of which could be resistant to any hard-won protection from vaccines. Health officials warn that current delays and problems in moving vaccines will only be amplified when tens of millions more Americans become eligible for COVID-19 shots in coming months.

Biden's team has indicated it will erase the brand name Operation Warp Speed (OWS) from the federal vaccine initiative, and introduce a new structure with the immediate goals of vaccinating 100 million people by the 100th day of his presidency while working toward reopening most schools by spring. Getting there will require a more aggressive federal response to support states, the President says, involving the National Guard and the Federal Emergency Management Agency to set up thousands of mass-vaccination centers and mobile teams to reach people living in more remote areas. Whether these efforts will be enough to efficiently immunize hundreds of millions of people in a matter of months will depend on how well the Biden Administration, in contrast to the Trump White House, can persuade the public to trust the science behind the vaccines, and the public-health experts who maintain that until most of the population is vaccinated, the virus will retain the upper hand.

THE ONLY WAY OUT of this pandemic, public-health officials say, is to use vaccines to achieve herd immunity, a type of biological fortress in which the vast majority of the population is protected against disease, blocking a roaming virus from finding new human hosts. The U.S. authorized two vaccines in mid-December: the first from Pfizer-BioNTech and the second from Moderna, both roughly 95% effective in protecting against the disease. The government-led effort to develop and test COVID-19 shots stands as a record-setting feat that reduced standard vaccine development time from 10 years to under one (and

**13.6
MILLION**

Number of vaccinations administered in the U.S. as of Jan. 20

48%

Share of vaccine doses allocated that have actually been administered

4.1%

Share of the U.S. population that has received a vaccine

34%

Share of the U.S. population President Biden has promised will receive a vaccine in his first 100 days in office



Walgreens pharmacy manager Mariam Naim prepares doses of the Pfizer-BioNTech COVID-19 vaccine for delivery to a nearby long-term-care facility

there are a handful of others currently in testing).

But having an authorized vaccine isn't the same as having a vaccinated public. Getting the shot to some 300 million Americans was never going to be trivial, but Donald Trump's Administration fell well short of its projections. The Trump team had boasted that by Jan. 1, 2021, some 20 million Americans were expected to be vaccinated against COVID-19. Instead, when the New Year rang in, just 3.5 million people had received the shot.

The quest to develop and manufacture a safe and effective vaccine for a new infectious disease was always going to be a gamble, even for pharmaceutical companies with deep experience in mass-producing vaccines. To motivate the industry, the Trump Administration established OWS, a so-called whole-of-America public-private partnership that coordinated pharmaceutical leaders, government health experts and the military to incentivize and pave the way for developing COVID-19 vaccines as quickly as

possible. The White House compared the crash program, in its size and scope, to the Manhattan Project, which produced the world's first atomic bomb that helped end World War II.

By the spring, billion-dollar contracts were drawn up to support the research-and-development and manufacturing costs for millions of doses from Moderna, AstraZeneca, Novavax, Sanofi-GlaxoSmithKline and Johnson & Johnson. Pfizer-BioNTech chose not to accept support from OWS to develop its vaccine but signed a nearly \$2 billion contract to supply 100 million doses with an option for 500 million more even before its vaccine received federal approval. To lead the group, Trump chose Moncef Slaoui, the former head of research and development for pharmaceutical giant GlaxoSmithKline, who had brought 14 vaccines to market over his career.

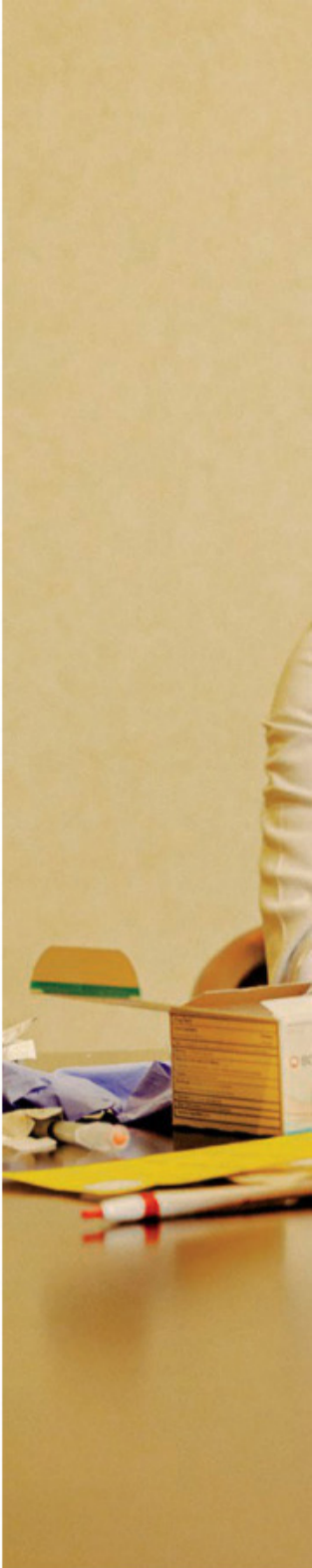
The creation of a vaccine was just one item on a long list of needs. Inoculation on such a mass scale meant truckloads of supplies had to be located and

obtained—little things like glass vials to hold the vaccines, alcohol pads, masks and other personal protective equipment for people giving the shots. To oversee logistics, Trump tapped Gus Perna, a four-star Army general who spent his career working to ensure that soldiers stationed in the world's most hard-to-reach places were still able to get food, fuel, weapons and supplies. Perna quickly handpicked his staff—the best officers and civilians he's worked with over the past 37 years—and familiarized himself with the practices, players and perplexing jargon of this new unfamiliar terrain of public health.

The national COVID-19 vaccination campaign is an unlikely collaborative effort led by the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) and the Department of Defense out of a low-rise Brutalist office building in the shadow of the U.S. Capitol in downtown Washington, D.C., where HHS is headquartered. From the start, the military's regimented, top-down approach clashed with the more casual culture at HHS, particularly at the CDC. Many at the agency had a difficult time understanding why Trump was bringing in soldiers to carry out a core CDC mission: controlling a disease. For decades, the CDC has been managing, without major issues, the Vaccines for Children Program, the country's largest vaccination initiative—working with manufacturers and distributors to determine supply and storage of more than a dozen childhood immunizations, and collaborating with states to oversee shipment of the shots. Dr. Nancy Messonnier, director of the CDC's National Center for Immunization and Respiratory Diseases, which researches vaccine-preventable diseases and works with CDC committees to set national policies on any vaccines distributed in the U.S., including childhood immunizations, repeatedly pushed back against the Pentagon's taking the driver's seat. She made it clear during conference calls with OWS that she and her team felt it already had a solid vaccine-distribution plan in hand, based on one that had been drawn up to deal with the H1N1 swine-flu pandemic in 2009.

But when Perna began establishing daily “battle rhythm” meetings between federal agencies and health-industry leaders to discuss the latest progress or problems with the vaccine program, they were led by HHS and the military, not by CDC, as the agency had done during previous outbreaks. Weekly phone conferences with states, broken into groups by region, were also arranged by OWS to ensure public-health leaders had the latest information and could ask questions. Although CDC had a seat at the table, agency officials felt they were consistently sidelined. (The agency did not respond to requests for comment on this story.)

OWS officials determined CDC's plans were old and not nearly extensive enough to accomplish the mass vaccination they were faced with. In the end, though, OWS contracted with McKesson, a private health care distribution company CDC had used



since 2006 to get its childhood vaccines around the country. McKesson subcontracted the work to logistics behemoths such as UPS and FedEx. OWS also created partnerships with pharmacy retailers, such as Walgreens and CVS, to administer vaccines to residents and staff at long-term-care facilities. Overall, OWS has spent nearly \$25 billion in federal funding to more than 120 companies to develop, manufacture and deliver vaccines across the nation. Authority under the Defense Production Act was invoked 18 times to mobilize U.S. private-production capacity to manufacture the supplies. Much of the material wasn't even in the U.S. For example, Goldbelt, an FDA-authorized company that manufactures in China, was granted a \$125 million contract to deliver 530 million needles and syringes.

The blueprint for the national strategy is represented in a dozen maps and charts Scotch-taped to the walls of Perna's seventh-floor office at HHS headquarters. And yet, despite the attention to detail and months of strategizing, he acknowledged that success is far from certain. “Our vulnerability will be: we're too confident,” he tells TIME. “So we have to constantly check ourselves and ensure the plans work and make sense.”

AS THE DELIVERY TRUCK snaked its way over Northern California's interstates and two-lane highways on Dec. 15, a team of distribution analysts in Washington, D.C., watched over nearly every aspect of its journey in real time. They could see the stops the driver took, they knew the weather outside and, most important, they knew the condition of the precious cargo onboard: thousands of doses of COVID-19 vaccine.

In the back of the truck, containers packed with

▲ **Left:** “I never thought I'd be part of a historic project like this,” says UPS driver Regina Vaughan after delivering her first box of COVID-19 vaccines to a Chicago-area Walgreens on Jan. 6

Center: Each shot must be thawed out and mixed with diluent before it's injected, a process executed by pharmacist Kyle Kwak at Westminster Place

Right: Lil Parks, a nurse's assistant at Westminster and a Jamaica native, often sings Bob Marley songs to keep residents' spirits up. She got her first shot the same day



vials of Pfizer-BioNTech's newly authorized vaccine were loaded onto customized trays, resembling small pizza boxes, each container carrying at least 975 doses. The containers were also packed with dry ice, tracking devices and sensors, which enabled the team to watch as the temperatures of two of the trays—one destined for Napa, Calif., the other to Sonoma, Calif.—plunged to -133.6°F , more than 21° below the accepted threshold. A call was made to the truck driver to stop and keep the trays in the vehicle.

Thousands of doses of vaccines made by Pfizer-BioNTech and Moderna have been wasted since shipments began in early December, according to government officials. The reasons vary—sometimes doctors inadvertently leave vials out too long; sometimes the day ends with doses that were supposed to be administered left over because patients never showed—but several deliveries have encountered temperature problems.

If the doses deviate from their target destination in each of the nearly 42,000 U.S. ZIP codes, or if the temperature of the vials exceeds -76°F (-60°C) or falls below -112°F (-80°C), officials at Pfizer-BioNTech and the government are immediately alerted. “We want to see everything,” says Marion Whicker, who spent decades moving tanks and armored vehicles around war zones for the Army and now serves as OWS's head of logistics for vaccine distribution. “Just like you track your Christmas gift from Amazon.”

The information streams into the Vaccine Operations Center, known as the VOC. The windowless, conference-hall-size command hub at HHS headquarters is where uniformed military members, HHS officials, private contractors and U.S. marshals keep a watchful eye over logistics. On the operations floor, dozens of analysts work behind rows

of computer monitors. Along the far wall in front of them, four large flat screens glow with real-time information about the day's deliveries, which enables them to track shipments from manufacturing facilities to their destinations across the nation. But once the vaccine vials leave OWS's hands, the daunting task of distributing the shots to the people who need them falls to the states.

ALREADY FACING SHRINKING BUDGETS and overwhelmed by the demands of managing the pandemic over the past year, state public-health departments have struggled with the additional obligation to distribute and administer vaccines. Last fall, the CDC asked every state health department and jurisdiction the agency supports for a plan; most were vague by necessity and in some cases relied too heavily on existing programs and call centers designed for childhood-immunization programs, but which may not have been robust enough to handle COVID-19. “They underestimated the uniqueness of vaccinating 30% of Americans in a few months,” says Joshua Walker, co-founder of Nomi Health, which helped the health departments of Iowa, Florida, Nebraska and Utah set up COVID-19 testing programs and is now supporting dozens of cities, counties, states, hospitals, airports, hotels and other groups to quickly manage vaccination programs.

In addition, many states found that initial federal funding for COVID-19-related response wasn't adequate, making it hard to form concrete plans to buy the ultra-cold freezers needed to store the Pfizer-BioNTech vaccine, for example, or to hire staff for vaccination clinics. Funding for COVID-19 response authorized by Congress last spring expired at the end of the year, says Dr. Jinlene Chan, acting deputy secretary for public health services for the Maryland

\$25 BILLION

Amount Operation Warp Speed has spent to develop, manufacture and deliver vaccines in the U.S.

\$20 BILLION

Amount of Biden's \$1.9 trillion COVID-19-response bill allocated for the national vaccination program moving forward

100,000

Number of new public health care workers who would be hired under the Biden plan, with funds separate from that \$20 billion

department of health, and “we had no anticipation of any additional dollars of support for all of these efforts.” As the number of cases in her state started to climb, and to ensure that citizens would get vaccinated, Chan says, other pandemic-related efforts, like the depth of the contact-tracing interviews, had to be temporarily scaled back to prioritize vaccination. As Kris Ehresmann, director of infectious disease at the Minnesota department of health, puts it, “We got an amazing vaccine, the Cadillac of vaccines, and yet we’re skimping on resources for getting it out.” New funding to support state COVID-19 programs was authorized only in the last days of 2020.

On the weekly calls, Perna and Slaoui informed state health officials that the federal government would get them the vaccine but that it was up to them to work with the CDC in order to form and execute “last mile” inoculation plans. “We’re solving problems ahead of execution,” Perna said on one call, observed by TIME in early December. “Does this mean perfection? No. The plan is only good to get you started. What’s important is the open collaboration and communication between everyone.” To keep track, a government contractor developed a new software platform called Tiberius, which enables states and federal agencies to see their orders and track vaccine shipments. After vaccine producers say how many doses are available for distribution in the upcoming week, each state then has the opportunity to place an order up to a certain amount allocated by OWS. Once approved, that order is locked into Tiberius every Tuesday.

Even with the system, states at first complained they didn’t know exactly how many doses they could expect. Some say they expected a certain amount based on what the federal government had told them (which Perna says were based on rough population-based estimates) only to find out just the day before delivery—or sometimes on the delivery day itself—that they’d be getting fewer than anticipated. That made it nearly impossible to adequately plan vaccination campaigns. Dr. Eric Dickson, CEO of Massachusetts’ UMass Memorial Health Care, says his hospital system received half the number of doses it expected during the first two weeks of vaccinations, which led to “vaccine envy” among staff members who could not get vaccinated along with their colleagues. Though the situation has improved since then, Dickson says communication from the federal government was sorely lacking at first. “It could have been a lot better than going to the loading dock with the FedEx guy and saying, ‘How many did we get?’”

THE COVID-19 VACCINES authorized so far, from Pfizer-BioNTech and Moderna, require two shots spaced about a month apart. In the initial push, OWS sent out the first dose but held back a reserve of second doses, because Perna did not want to be caught shorthanded if manufacturing faltered and

supply dried up. Vaccinemakers, however, have proved their reliability. A steady stream of more than 4 million doses were available for distribution for each of the past three weeks.

Because of that, on Jan. 8, Biden’s team announced that it planned to release nearly all available vaccines in order to inoculate as many people as possible, rather than hold vaccines back to ensure that anyone who received a first dose would get the second one. It didn’t take long before the Trump Administration said it would adopt this immediate distribution system—but states expecting an additional windfall of vaccines were frustrated to learn on Jan. 15 that the government did not in fact have vaccines on reserve to release. The discovery was neither the first nor the last disappointment states would face as the rollout unfolded.

Amid the chaos and confusion, many states simply aren’t administering the shots delivered to them. Though the pace is picking up, CDC data published Jan. 19 show only about 15.7 million doses have been administered, out of 31.1 million delivered to the states. Some of the shortfall may be a reporting lag as states learn new tracking systems. Another possible factor is winter storms delaying some deliveries and forcing office closures. But it’s clear there are entrenched problems.

States don’t have the staff or infrastructure to manage the volume. When Florida’s Miami-Dade County opened up 2,000 or so vaccination appointments, they were gone in under a minute as 80,000 people slammed the reservation site during those 60 seconds. Believing that their existing childhood-vaccination programs could handle the load, many states failed to fully account for the overwhelming demand from a desperate and impatient public. County health offices around the country are inundated daily with phone calls from residents bewildered by the mixed messages from federal, state and local officials.

Vaccine eligibility requirements have contributed to that confusion. Though the CDC provides recommendations about who should get the shots first, states make their own rules. For example, New York began vaccinating all people over age 65 on Jan. 11, while in Maryland, that group is set to gain eligibility on Jan. 25. Such differences are causing potentially dangerous confusion that could lead some to miss their opportunity for a shot or decide not to get one at all.

Making matters worse, once a vial (which contains at least five doses in the case of the Pfizer-BioNTech vaccine and 10 doses in the case of Moderna) is opened, it needs to be used within six hours or discarded. As a result, in situations where someone changes their mind about getting vaccinated or misses an appointment, nurses, doctors or pharmacists, holding doses that would otherwise go to waste, are deciding to give

LESS THAN 1%

Share of Americans living in long-term-care facilities

37%

Share of total COVID-19-related deaths in the U.S. accounted for by long-term-care facility residents

1.9 MILLION

Number of COVID-19 vaccine doses administered in long-term-care facilities as of Jan. 20



them to anyone who happens to be around—regardless of whether they are in the right priority group. This, in some cases, has become regional policy; Michigan’s chief medical executive, Dr. Joneigh Khaldun, says she has told providers to aim to use 90% of their vaccine supplies within seven days of receiving them, even if that means straying from state guidelines in “a good-faith effort to use the vaccine.”

The lack of federal leadership has resulted in state health departments scrambling to figure out solutions, creating a patchwork approach to allocating and administering allotted doses. Health officials in Florida decided to offer a number of vaccines through Eventbrite, a website primarily known for obtaining tickets to sports events, concerts and even monster-truck shows. In southwest Florida’s Lee County, officials decided against building an appointment-based system, so senior residents instead had to spend more than seven hours, some overnight, in line, hoping to snag one of the limited vaccines available. “It’s only now that the states are starting to realize the gravity of the situation and the volume required to vaccinate

their populations,” says Dr. Peter Hotez, a vaccine scientist from Baylor College of Medicine in Texas.

Given the diverse population and topography of the U.S., and the differences from state to state, local health departments are trying to come up with creative and flexible strategies to reach people in as short a period of time as possible. In Alaska, for example, health workers have been taking planes, boats and sleds to reach the 80% of the state’s communities living in places that cannot be accessed by road, and setting up makeshift clinics inside bush planes or going door-to-door in villages to vaccinate Indigenous communities. And because of the travel challenges, the state requested and now receives its allotments for these groups from the Indian Health Service (IHS) monthly rather than every other week, so doctors and nurses can plan in advance, and distribute and use the vaccines more efficiently.

In Carlton County, Minnesota, health officials plan to rely on drive-through vaccination clinics to make the process more convenient. After months of planning, the county’s drive-through clinic opened for

▲ Judith Brenner, 83, traveled the world with her husband David before settling at Westminster Place. She was vaccinated there on Jan. 6

two days in December to vaccinate first responders; the health team plans to reopen it soon, along with a number of other drive-through locations, to accommodate all of the county's residents when it's their turn to get the shots. "The drive-through model allows us to potentially vaccinate thousands of people in a day," says Ali Mueller, emergency-preparedness coordinator for the county. Other states have taken similar approaches, such as converting professional sports stadiums into mass-vaccination sites, some of which operate 24/7.

Carlton County also worked with Redlands, Calif.-based Esri, a geographical information systems software company, to set up a tracking tool that offers real-time information on the ebb and flow of people through the county's drive-through clinic. In theory, that will help Carlton's health team anticipate what times of day demand will likely be highest at their next clinics, so they know ahead of time how many vaccines they will need and thus don't waste any doses. Many other states and counties are working with similar companies to build software to manage the higher demand and to answer people's questions about where and when they can get vaccinated.

Without solutions to such challenges, the national vaccination effort will only grow more difficult in the coming weeks. After all, health care workers and long-term-care residents are both fixed populations that are relatively easy to locate; when vaccines are opened up to everyone in the country, things could rapidly deteriorate into an even more chaotic state than they are in today.

IT'S DIFFICULT TO SAY whether this is a uniquely American problem. Some countries, such as Israel and the United Arab Emirates, have outpaced the U.S. in vaccinating more people out of every 100—about 32 and 20, respectively, compared with less than five in the U.S. In Israel, that success can be traced to a combination of centralized vaccination programs and saturated messaging campaigns to educate people about the public-health benefits of vaccines and encourage them to get immunized. In contrast, rollouts in European countries have been slower, partly because the E.U.'s regulatory agency lagged behind both the U.S. and the U.K. in authorizing the first shots.

What we do know is that vaccinating the general public in the U.S. will take more of everything that has been in short supply during the first phases of rollout: vaccines themselves, storage for those doses, facilities that can accommodate mass vaccine clinics, staff or volunteers to run them, and communication with people who will ultimately receive the shots.

More doses are on the way. Not only are Pfizer-BioNTech and Moderna perfecting their manufacturing and distribution systems, but other vaccine candidates are moving closer to emergency-use authorization, perhaps getting the green light as early

as next month. The crucial challenge will be ensuring that as supply ramps up, so too does the machinery of vaccination. While each state has its own challenges and considerations to make, the federal government can even the playing field by ensuring each one has the resources and information required to implement a system that works at the local level. To actually turn vaccines into vaccinations, states also need support and transparency from the federal government; enough money to furnish a robust network of well-staffed public vaccination centers; and coherent public-information campaigns, both for building trust in COVID-19 vaccines and for conveying who is eligible to get vaccinated, when and where.

Biden plans to address those weaknesses and change the current pace of the U.S. vaccination program. "The vaccine rollout in the United States has been a dismal failure, thus far," he said in a Jan. 15 speech. He's already asked Slaoui to submit a letter of resignation from leading OWS scientific development. Internally, officials with OWS expect further personnel changes in the weeks to come, although—for the time being—the Biden team plans to keep Perna in his current role.

Meanwhile, Biden's proposed plan does indeed give the federal government a more central role in ending the pandemic, which includes establishing more federally funded and operated vaccination sites. "On my first day in office," he said, "I'll instruct the Federal Emergency Management Agency, FEMA, to begin setting up the first of these centers," he said in that speech. He set a goal of standing up 100 such sites by the end of his first month in office. To get this done, Biden has proposed a coronavirus-relief package that calls for at least \$20 billion for vaccine distribution and additional funds to support the hiring of 100,000 public-health workers. If approved by Congress, that could significantly relieve the burden on cash-strapped states with exhausted health care workforces. Biden has also promised "a massive public-education campaign" to address another major roadblock in the quick administration of vaccines: rebuilding trust among people who have been hardest hit by the pandemic, in racial and ethnic minority groups including Black, Latinx and Indigenous Americans.

As the rollout continues, more vaccines are administered each week, and many states are falling into a rhythm of knowing how many vaccines to expect on a regular basis. But each day the demand far exceeds the supply of shots is a day the virus can gain the upper hand by infecting more people, sending them to the hospital or contributing to their deaths. Vaccines can lead us to the end of the pandemic, but only if we find a way to move them more efficiently from the government's hands and into the arms of Americans. —*With reporting by* ALEJANDRO DE LA GARZA, SIMMONE SHAH *and* LESLIE DICKSTEIN □

Enjoy the ease of **Showering Safely**

So you can stay in the home you love!

Upgrade your bathroom, upgrade your life. With a new walk-in shower, you can make sure your bathroom ages as gracefully as you do. This shower was designed by experts, with you in mind, focusing on safety and convenience when it matters most. Discover how a walk-in shower can help reduce the risk of falling, giving you the freedom to enjoy your bathroom again.

- ✓ Commercial Grade Non-Slip Floor
- ✓ Easy-to-reach Shower Wand
- ✓ Professionally Installed in 1 day
- ✓ Fold Down Safety Seat
- ✓ Luxurious 8" Rainfall Shower Head
- ✓ Ergo L Shaped Grab Bar
- ✓ Lifetime Warranty
- ✓ *Optional* Barrier Free Wheelchair Accessible

Call today and receive
exclusive savings of up to

\$750 OFF

FOR A LIMITED TIME ONLY
Call Toll-Free 1-800-788-4418

SAFE STEP
WALK-IN SHOWER
www.SafeStepShower.com

With purchase of a new Safe Step Walk-In Shower.
Not applicable with any previous walk-in shower purchase.
No cash value. Must present offer at time of purchase.



Call Now
Toll-Free **1-800-788-4418**

for more information and ask about our Senior Discounts

FINANCING
AVAILABLE
WITH APPROVED
CREDIT



LIFETIME
LIMITED WARRANTY





Clinically Proven to *Relieve Pain*

Back, Knee, Ankle, and Foot Pain

According to a 2017 double-blind study conducted by Olive View UCLA Medical Center.

And **ease discomfort** associated with:

- Plantar Fasciitis
- Arthritis
- Joint Pain
- Heel Spurs
- *And More!*

91% LESS BACK PAIN

85% LESS KNEE PAIN

75% LESS FOOT PAIN

92% LESS ANKLE PAIN



Patented VersoShock® Sole
SHOCK ABSORPTION SYSTEM

gdefy® Mighty Walk \$155

WIDE SHOES AVAILABLE



Men Sizes 8-15 M/W/XW

- TB9024MLU** Blk/Blue
- TB9024MGS** Gray
- TB9024MBL** Black



Women Sizes 6-11 M/W/XW

- TB9024FWP** White/Purple
- TB9024FWS** White
- TB9024FLP** Black/Purple



\$50 Value

FREE Corrective Fit Orthotics
podiatrist-grade support
with every shoe purchase
Excludes sandals.



Gravity Defyer Medical Technology Corp. 10643 Glenoaks Blvd. Pacoima, CA 91331



VersoShock® Technology U.S Patent #US8,555,526 B2. May be eligible for Medicare reimbursement. This product is not intended to treat, cure or prevent any disease. \$30 off applies to orders of \$100 or more for a limited time. Cannot be combined with other offers. Free socks only available directly from Gravity Defyer. 9% CA sales tax applies to orders in California. Shoes must be returned within 30 days in like-new condition for full refund or exchange. Credit card authorization required. See website for complete details.

\$30 OFF
 Plus **FREE \$50 Orthotics**
An \$80 Value
Promo Code PP4BNP8
www.gdefy.com
Expires May 31, 2021
Free Exchanges • Free Returns
100% Satisfaction Guaranteed
Call 1(800) 429-0039

TIME

2030

Thirty-six hundred days sounds like a lot. It's roughly the number remaining until the year 2030 draws to a close and, with it, a decade likely to determine whether the planet will remain fit for human habitation.

The search for a path to a sustainable and equitable world has already begun, and we will spend many of the days ahead marking its progress.

Welcome to TIME 2030.

THE SOARING TWENTIES

A cascading cluster of problems requires big solutions. This will be the decade we make them happen

BY JUSTIN WORLAND

TWO DECADES AGO, people around the world rang in the new millennium with a growing sense of optimism. The threat posed by the Cold War was fading slowly in the rearview mirror. Leading thinkers like Francis Fukuyama touted the benefits of globalization, saying it would bring democracy and prosperity to the developing world. The nascent Internet economy promised to bring us closer together.

The following 20 years took some of the air out of the assumption of steady progress, but when future historians assess the 21st century, the year 2020 is likely to serve as the point at which the optimism bubble burst. The COVID-19 pandemic has exposed a complex web of interlocking problems that have morphed into full-blown crises. The coronavirus laid bare the dangers of endemic poverty not only in the developing world but also in rich countries like the U.S., where millions lack health care and are one paycheck away from living on the street. Around the world,

racial and ethnic minorities have demanded justice after centuries of structural discrimination. Woven through it all, the earth's climate is increasingly unstable, posing an existential threat to human society as we know it. In the next decade, societies will be forced to either confront this snarl of challenges, or be overwhelmed by them. Our response will define the future for decades to come.

The recognition that these challenges are fundamentally linked isn't new. Activists and academics have for many years pointed to the cascading effects of various social ills. Whether it's the way racism contributes to poor health outcomes or gender discrimination harms economic growth, the examples are seemingly endless. But this understanding has made its way into the conversation about solutions too.

Notably, for the past five years, the U.N. has touted 17 interrelated sustainable development goals, objectives for building a more viable world, and called for a push to achieve them by 2030. The goals, which

cover environmental, social and economic progress, are nonbinding but have become key benchmarks for commitments at a national and corporate level. Countries from China to the Maldives, as well as companies like Amazon, Microsoft and PwC, have committed to rolling out policies over the next decade that will set them on a path to eliminate their carbon footprints.

The understanding that

New ways of thinking will come from government leaders, activists, entrepreneurs and academics

these problems require holistic solutions has only grown amid the pandemic and its fallout. President Joe Biden has referred to four urgent crises—the pandemic, the economic crisis, racial injustice and climate change—and promised a push to tackle them all together. The European Union's program to propel the bloc out of the COVID-19 crisis targets climate change, while incorporating equity concerns. As stock markets soared last year, institutions with trillions of dollars in assets demanded that their investments deliver not only a good return for their wallets but also a good return for society.

All these developments and many more have created new opportunities for bold ideas. These new ways of thinking will come from government leaders, to be sure, but also from activists, entrepreneurs and academics. Here, our eight inaugural members of the 2030 committee offer their own specific solutions—and in them, perhaps, the seeds of 21st century optimism.

Tackle the climate crisis before we run out of time

BY ANGELINA JOLIE

FOR YEARS WE WERE WARNED THAT A GLOBAL pandemic was inevitable, yet our response has shown a gigantic failure of imagination, preparation and global cooperation. The parallels with the climate emergency are obvious. We are on track for a catastrophe that dwarfs the COVID-19 crisis. The latest data shows heating on its way to 3°C above preindustrial levels by the end of this century—well beyond the 1.5°C to 2°C ceiling the world’s governments have agreed to work toward.

There is still time to get this critical situation under control, but none to lose. The climate crisis is already playing out not just in extreme weather and degradation of the natural environment but also in food insecurity and the displacement of millions. Climate-change impacts are already a common thread of destruction and violence from the Sahel and South Sudan to Central America. We’ve always relied on peace to enable refugees and the internally displaced to return home, but when people are forced from their homeland by climate change as well as conflict, some may have nowhere viable to return to.

In the words of climate activist Hindou Oumarrou Ibrahim, “There is no vaccine against climate change.” We know what needs to be done: keep fossil fuels in the ground, switch to renewable

energy, and help countries and communities on the front lines to adapt and prepare for what is to come. And we must find ways to resolve conflicts and bring down refugee numbers globally. Speed and scale are of the essence—we are counting on political leadership at all levels. People often ask, how many people could be displaced by the climate emergency? The answer depends on us.

Jolie is an actor and activist



Find a way to rekindle a sense of global unity

BY DR. LARRY BRILLIANT

Modernity has exacerbated a class of problems that we’re going to have to solve in the next 10 years: climate change, nuclear proliferation, scarcity of resources, pandemics and the knock-on effects that we aren’t even aware of. And a characteristic of this class of problems is that they are multinational. They can’t be solved at the national level.

The last time we had problems of this scale, after WW II, we created alliances that would keep us together—NATO, the U.N., that whole alphabet soup of acronyms. All we had to give up was the illusion that we were not all interdependent on one another.

To exchange a bit of our rugged individualism for curiosity about people who look different from us.

Today, we’ve lost the willingness to make that trade. Nationalism is on the rise, as well as distrust of globalism and alliances. We’ve lost interest in creating institutions that have



the resources and the power to tackle the challenges we face.

I don’t know how we solve all these problems. It’s part education. It’s part redistribution of wealth and opportunity. But in doing so we need to find a way to think differently—to appreciate and understand this beautiful, wonderful experiment called humanity, and kindle a collective feeling that we’re all in it together. Just 75 years ago, leaders joined in the quest for something larger than the self and larger than country. We need to find our way back to that kind of optimism.

Brilliant is an epidemiologist and the CEO of Pandefense Advisory

Invest in green stoves that will help feed the world

BY JOSÉ ANDRÉS

Today, nearly half the world's population still depends on open fires and solid fuels to cook their meals. Millions of people—mostly women, who do the cooking, and their children—die every year because of the smoke and pollution from these fires. Their children, usually daughters, may spend hours each day gathering wood, keeping them out of school and putting them into dangerous situations as they go out alone and unprotected. Cutting trees for fuel leads to deforestation, causing landslides and erosion of fertile land that

can run off into the ocean, damaging coral reefs and marine ecosystems. It is a negative feedback loop with huge consequences, and it costs the global economy trillions of dollars annually.

The solution to this global crisis is simple but amazing: clean cooking. If we are able to introduce cleaner, modern cooking energy, and cookstoves for families and communities around the world, we can reverse this negative cycle with a positive one: mothers can cook safely for their families; more daughters can earn an education;



forests, soils and reefs can be restored; and the climate can start to heal. Clean cooking is truly the best investment we can make for a healthier humanity and a healthier planet.

Andrés is a chef and the founder of World Central Kitchen

Make every vehicle electric by 2030

BY LYNN GOOD

Countries, companies and communities are talking about the need to significantly reduce carbon emissions by 2030. But simply eliminating carbon from the nation's power supply is not enough. The transportation sector is now the largest source of carbon emissions in the U.S. The solution: electrifying vehicles. It benefits the utility, the customer, the environment and the economy. It's a win-win for all.

If we ensured 100% of vehicles sold by 2030 were electric, we'd create hundreds of thousands of new jobs, secure American global EV manufacturing leadership, improve public health and significantly reduce pollution.

The next decade will be critical in implementing federal policies that accelerate this transition. Reducing carbon in power generation and transportation fleets is the only way we can meet this challenge.

Good is CEO of Duke Energy



Enshrine Internet access as a human right

BY DARREN WALKER

IN THE AGE WE LIVE IN, THE DIGITAL highway is where opportunity lies. But the COVID-19 crisis has exposed the fact that millions of Americans are being denied access to that highway because of the often exorbitant subscription rates of broadband

Internet. Schoolchildren across the country who are supposed to be learning remotely cannot do so because they have no equipment or ability to connect. Opportunity is going to be foreclosed to millions of low-income people because they can't afford to gain access to the digital highway through Internet service providers.

We need a bold and ambitious plan to ensure that every person in America is able to get online—and I believe that begins with making access to the Internet a fundamental human right. Investment and innovation in fiber-optic and 5G infrastructure opens up the potential for extraordinary connectivity but also for leaving poor and working-class families even further behind.

The government should work with ISPs so they are fairly compensated, while also regulating them in a way that ensures affordable access for all. But that requires making that access a right and not a privilege, ensuring that this country's legacy for being a place of economic and social mobility can continue into the future.

Walker is president of the Ford Foundation



Say no thanks to fast fashion

BY CHRISTIAN SIRIANO

Consumption is a big challenge for us as humans—we need, we want, we like a lot of things. The fashion retail world today, where a knockoff designer bag is available for \$20, only fuels this unsustainable consumerism. What's special anymore? Do we really need to own 10,000 bags? The vast majority of these products end up in landfills, and over 60% of fabric fibers are synthetics derived from fossil fuels, so they don't decay.

That's why we recently stopped our wholesale business and moved to smaller collections. I don't want my clothes to be considered unaffordable, but I do want people to think about why they cost more. It's because a couture seamstress spent 15 hours sewing them. Perhaps, if more people valued the craft that goes into fashion, they'd realize the value of investing in one beautifully made item rather than in 10 other pieces. If human beings are going to consume, let's make sure we do so thoughtfully.

Siriano is a fashion designer

Use the Internet to level the educational playing field

BY GITANJALI RAO

IN THE COMING DECADE, WE NEED TO alleviate problems regarding the availability of educational resources around the world, especially in economically disadvantaged countries. About 258 million children and youth worldwide do not have access to education, putting them in real danger and limiting their opportunities for the rest of their lives.

To tackle this issue, we must invest in opening up the ways in which we connect with students and schools. Many of the common problems in mass education today—such as lack of infrastructure, inability to physically go to a school and shortage of teachers—can all be eliminated through remote teaching, right in a student's home with the option to learn anytime. We are already being forced to innovate in this area because of COVID-19, but the pandemic has also highlighted how many families lack the resources to participate in online education. With the leaps we've made in wireless network bandwidths and 5G, it is possible to provide accessible quality education and learning to anybody, anywhere, through

virtual learning, augmented reality and holograms. And using these collaboration tools, students of all ages can have a collective learning experience across nations and boundaries.

Rao is TIME's 2020 Kid of the Year



Solve the global housing crisis by printing 3-D homes

BY FRED SWANIKER

Africa is urbanizing rapidly. According to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, its cities will be home to an extra 950 million people over the next 30 years, creating challenges with sanitation, security, traffic, governance and the environment.

One of the most critical challenges will be housing. Today, it can cost up to \$30,000 to build a decent home for a small family in an African city and typically takes several years. I know this firsthand, as it took my parents about 20 years to build their home

in Accra, Ghana, because they did not have access to mortgage finance. They had to build it slowly, brick by brick, from their savings each year. It's not just an African problem; by 2030, 3 billion people, or 40% of the world's population, will need affordable housing.



One way to solve this challenge is the 3-D printing of homes. In Mexico, innovative startups have already made it possible to build a two-bedroom home in 24 hours for less than \$4,000, making it accessible for families earning less than \$3 a day.

I like to say that constraints drive innovation. Rapid urbanization presents a massive constraint. Let's leapfrog it and provide clean, safe and affordable housing to billions of people by 2030.

Swaniker is founder of the African Leadership Academy

GREEN JOBS

The city launched a \$94 million package in October to create 3,800 more jobs in sectors that will help the city transition away from fossil fuels in the coming years, such as renovating and insulating buildings and installing solar panels on roofs

TIME 2030

DOUG CITY

SOCIAL SPACE

Residents of the western Frans Halsbuurt neighborhood spontaneously began using parking lots to hold dinners with their neighbors over the summer, and convinced the municipality to convert parking spaces into community gardens



DOUGHNUT

Amsterdam tries to live by a radical new economic theory

BY CIARA NUGENT

SUSTAINABLE FASHION

In October, the city government, textile suppliers, jeans brands and others in the denim supply chain signed a deal to run denim recycling collections, set up a joint repair shop and produce 3 billion garments made of 20% recycled materials

EDUCATION

During the pandemic, members of the citizens' group Amsterdam Doughnut Coalition coordinated with elementary schools that had to go down to four days of teaching a week to replace the fifth day with a "doughnut day"—lessons focusing on social and sustainability issues

Marieke van Doorninck, deputy mayor for sustainability, is trying to make Amsterdam a “doughnut city”

ONE EVENING IN DECEMBER, AFTER A LONG day working from home, Jennifer Drouin, 30, headed out to buy groceries in central Amsterdam. Once inside, she noticed new price tags. The label by the zucchini said they cost a little more than normal: 6¢ extra per kilo for their carbon footprint, 5¢ for the toll the farming takes on the land, and 4¢ to fairly pay workers. “There are all these extra costs to our daily life that normally no one would pay for, or even be aware of,” she says.

The so-called true-price initiative, operating in the store since late 2020, is one of dozens of schemes that Amsterdammers have introduced in recent months as they reassess the impact of the existing economic system. By some accounts, that system, capitalism, has its origins just a mile from the grocery store. In 1602, in a house on a narrow alley, a merchant began selling shares in the nascent Dutch East India Company. In doing so, he paved the way for the creation of the first stock exchange—and the capitalist global economy that has transformed life on earth. “Now I think we’re one of the first cities in a while to start questioning this system,” Drouin says. “Is it actually making us healthy and happy? What do we want? Is it really just economic growth?”

In April 2020, during the first wave of COVID-19, Amsterdam’s city government announced it would

recover from the crisis, and avoid future ones, by embracing the theory of “doughnut economics.” Laid out by British economist Kate Raworth in a 2017 book, the theory argues that 20th century economic thinking is not equipped to deal with the 21st century reality of a planet teetering on the edge of climate breakdown. Instead of equating a growing GDP with a successful society, our goal should be to fit all of human life into what Raworth calls the “sweet spot” between the “social foundation,” where everyone has what they need to live a good life, and the “environmental ceiling.” By and large, people in rich countries are living above the environmental ceiling. Those in poorer countries often fall below the social foundation. The space in between: that’s the doughnut.

Amsterdam’s ambition is to bring all 872,000 residents inside the doughnut, ensuring everyone has access to a good quality of life, but without putting more pressure on the planet than is sustainable. Guided by Raworth’s organization, the Doughnut Economics Action Lab (DEAL), the city is introducing massive infrastructure projects, employment schemes and new policies for government contracts to that end. Meanwhile, some 400 local people and organizations have set up a network called the Amsterdam Doughnut Coalition—managed by Drouin—to run their own programs at a grassroots level.

It’s the first time a major city has attempted to put doughnut theory into action on a local level, but Amsterdam is not alone. Raworth says DEAL has received an avalanche of requests from municipal leaders and others seeking to build more resilient societies in the aftermath of COVID-19. Copenhagen’s city council majority decided to follow Amsterdam’s example in June, as did the Brussels region and the small city of Dunedin, New Zealand, in September, and Nanaimo, British Columbia, in December. In the U.S., Portland, Ore., is preparing to roll out its own version of the doughnut, and Austin may be close behind. The theory has won Raworth some high-profile fans; in November, Pope Francis endorsed her “fresh thinking,” while celebrated British naturalist Sir David Attenborough dedicated a chapter to the doughnut in his latest book, *A Life on Our Planet*, calling it “our species’ compass for the journey” to a sustainable future.

Now, Amsterdam is grappling with what the doughnut would look like on the ground. Marieke van Doorninck, the deputy mayor for sustainability and urban planning, says the pandemic added urgency that helped the city get behind a bold new strategy. “Kate had already told us what to do. COVID showed us the way to do it,” she says. “I think in the darkest times, it’s easiest to imagine another world.”

IN 1990, RAWORTH, now 50, arrived at Oxford University to study economics. She quickly became frustrated by the content of the lectures, she recalls over



Zoom from her home office in Oxford, where she now teaches. She was learning about ideas from decades and sometimes centuries ago: supply and demand, efficiency, rationality and economic growth as the ultimate goal. “The concepts of the 20th century emerged from an era in which humanity saw itself as separated from the web of life,” Raworth says. In this worldview, she adds, environmental issues are relegated to what economists call “externalities.” “It’s just an ultimate absurdity that in the 21st century, when we know we are witnessing the death of the living world unless we utterly transform the way we live, that death of the living world is called ‘an environmental externality.’”

Almost two decades after she left university, as the world was reeling from the 2008 financial crash, Raworth struck upon an alternative to the economics she had been taught. She had gone to work in the charity sector and in 2010, sitting in the open-plan office of the antipoverty nonprofit Oxfam in Oxford, she came across a diagram. A group of scientists studying the conditions that make life on earth possible had identified nine “planetary boundaries” that would threaten humans’ ability to survive if crossed, like the acidification of the oceans. Inside these boundaries, a circle colored in green showed the safe place for humans.

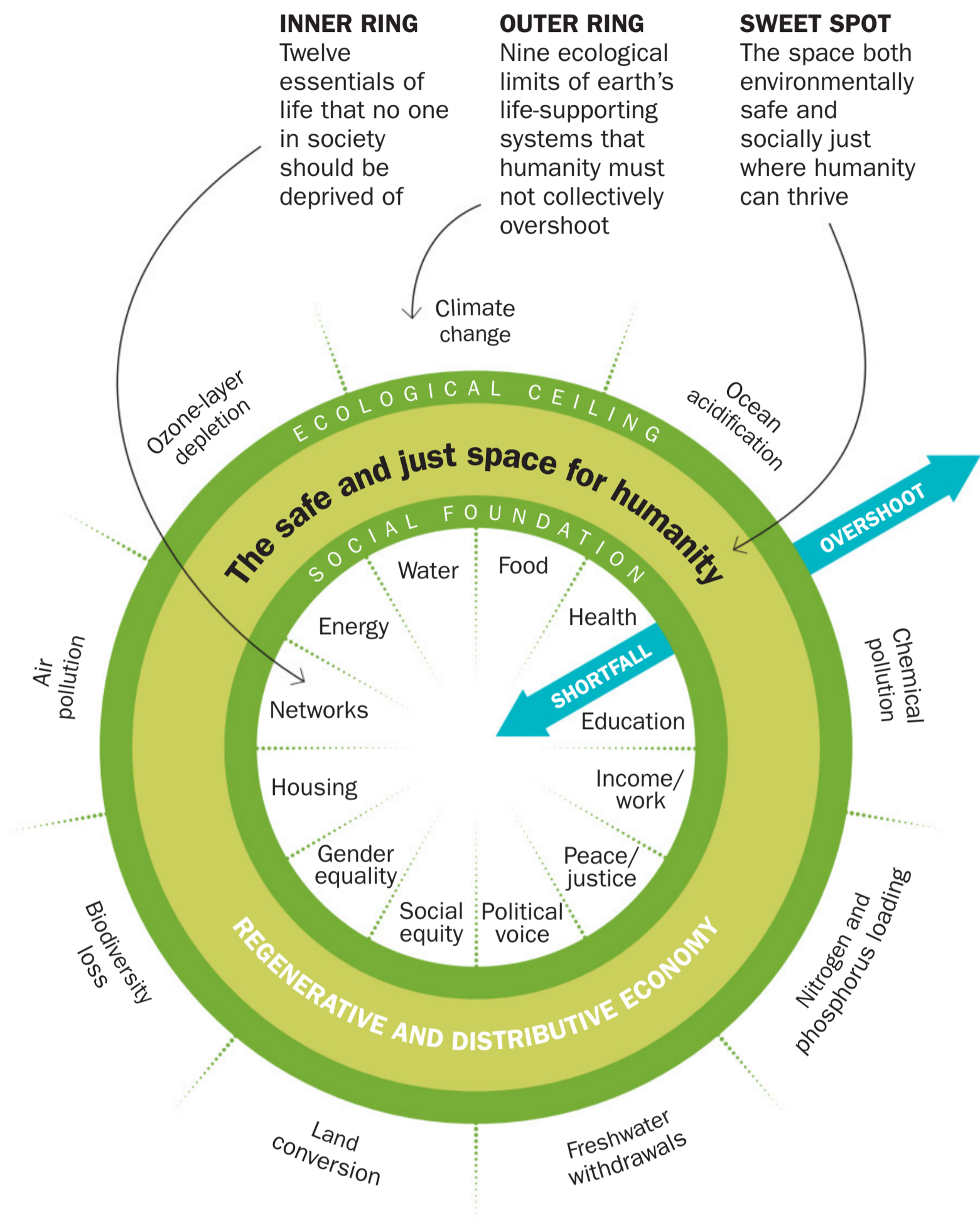
But if there’s an ecological overshoot for the planet, she thought, there’s also the opposite: shortfalls creating deprivation for humanity. “Kids not in school, not getting decent health care, people facing famine in the Sahel,” she says. “And so I drew a circle within their circle, and it looked like a doughnut.”

Raworth published her theory of the doughnut as a paper in 2012 and later as a 2017 book, which has since been translated into 20 languages. The theory doesn’t lay out specific policies or goals for countries. It requires stakeholders to decide what benchmarks would bring them inside the doughnut—emission limits, for example, or an end to homelessness. The process of setting those benchmarks is the first step to becoming a doughnut economy, she says.

Raworth argues that the goal of getting “into the doughnut” should replace governments’ and economists’ pursuit of never-ending GDP growth. Not only is the primacy of GDP overinflated when we now have many other data sets to measure economic and social well-being, she says, but also, endless growth powered by natural resources and fossil fuels will inevitably push the earth beyond its limits. “When we think in terms of health, and we think of something that tries to grow endlessly within our bodies, we recognize that immediately: that would be a cancer.”

The doughnut can seem abstract, and it has attracted criticism. Some conservatives say the doughnut model can’t compete with capitalism’s proven ability to lift millions out of poverty. Some critics on the left say the doughnut’s apolitical

The doughnut explained



nature means it will fail to tackle ideology and political structures that prevent climate action.

Cities offer a good opportunity to prove that the doughnut can actually work in practice. In 2019, C40, a network of 97 cities focused on climate action, asked Raworth to create reports on three of its members—Amsterdam, Philadelphia and Portland—showing how far they were from living inside the doughnut. Inspired by the process, Amsterdam decided to run with it. The city drew up a “circular strategy” combining the doughnut’s goals with the principles of a “circular economy,” which reduces, reuses and recycles materials across consumer goods, building materials and food. Policies aim to protect the environment and natural resources, reduce social exclusion and guarantee good living standards for all. Van Doorninck, the deputy mayor, says the doughnut was a revelation. “I was brought up in Thatcher times, in Reagan times, with the idea that there’s no alternative

to our economic model,” she says. “Reading the doughnut was like, Eureka! There is an alternative! Economics is a social science, not a natural one. It’s invented by people, and it can be changed by people.”

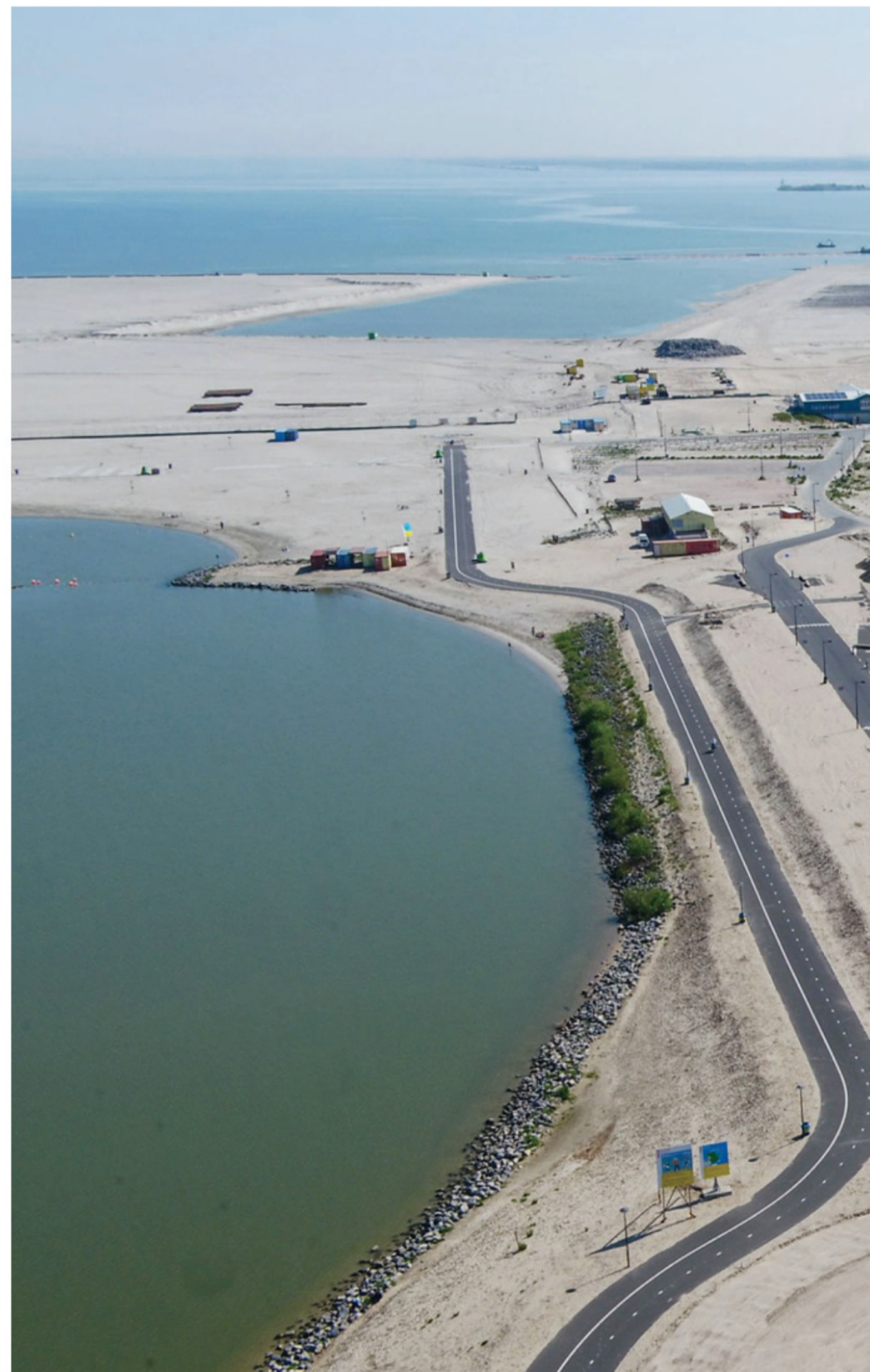
THE NEW, DOUGHNUT-SHAPED WORLD Amsterdam wants to build is coming into view on the southeastern side of the city. Rising almost 15 ft. out of placid waters of Lake IJssel lies the city’s latest flagship construction project, Strandeiland (Beach Island). Part of IJburg, an archipelago of six new islands built by city contractors, Beach Island was reclaimed from the waters with sand carried by boats run on low-emission fuel. The foundations were laid using processes that don’t hurt local wildlife or expose future residents to sea-level rise. Its future neighborhood is designed to produce zero emissions and to prioritize social housing and access to nature. Beach Island embodies Amsterdam’s new priority: balance, says project manager Alfons Oude Ophuis. “Twenty years ago, everything in the city was focused on production of houses as quickly as possible. It’s still important, but now we take more time to do the right thing.”

Lianne Hulsebosch, IJburg’s sustainability adviser, says the doughnut has shaped the mindset of the team, meaning Beach Island and its future neighbor Buiteneiland are more focused on sustainability than the first stage of IJburg, completed around 2012. “It’s not that every day-to-day city project has to start with the doughnut, but the model is really part of our DNA now,” she says. “You notice in the conversations that we have with colleagues. We’re doing things that 10 years ago we wouldn’t have done because we are valuing things differently.”

The city has introduced standards for sustainability and circular use of materials for contractors in all city-owned buildings. Anyone wanting to build on Beach Island, for example, will need to provide a “materials passport” for their buildings, so when ever they are taken down, the city can reuse the parts.

On the mainland, the pandemic has inspired projects guided by the doughnut’s ethos. When the Netherlands went into lockdown in March, the city realized that thousands of residents didn’t have access to computers that would become increasingly necessary to socialize and take part in society. Rather than buy new devices—which would have been expensive and eventually contribute to the rising problem of e-waste—the city arranged collections of old and broken laptops from residents who could spare them, hired a firm to refurbish them and distributed 3,500 of them to those in need. “It’s a small thing, but to me it’s pure doughnut,” says van Doorninck.

The local government is also pushing the private sector to do its part, starting with the thriving but ecologically harmful fashion industry. Amsterdam



claims to have the highest concentration of denim brands in the world, and that the average resident owns five pairs of jeans. But denim is one of the most resource-intensive fabrics in the world, with each pair of jeans requiring thousands of gallons of water and the use of polluting chemicals.

In October, textile suppliers, jeans brands and other links in the denim supply chain signed the “Denim Deal,” agreeing to work together to produce 3 billion garments that include 20% recycled materials by 2023—no small feat given the treatments the fabric undergoes and the mix of materials incorporated into a pair of jeans. The city will organize collections of old denim from Amsterdam residents and eventually create a shared repair shop for the brands, where people can get their jeans fixed rather than throwing them away. “Without that government support and the pressure on the industry, it will not change. Most companies need a push,” says Hans Bon of denim supplier Wieland Textiles.

Of course, many in the city were working on sustainability, social issues or ways to make life better



in developing countries before the city embraced the doughnut. But Drouin, manager of Amsterdam’s volunteer coalition, says the concept has forced a more fundamental reckoning with the city’s way of life. “It has really changed people’s mindset, because you can see all the problems in one picture. It’s like a harsh mirror on the world that you face.”

DOUGHNUT ECONOMICS MAY BE on the rise in Amsterdam, a relatively wealthy city with a famously liberal outlook, in a democratic country with a robust state. But advocates of the theory face a tough road to effectively replace capitalism. In Nanaimo, Canada, a city councillor who opposed the adoption of the model in December called it “a very left-wing philosophy which basically says that business is bad, growth is bad, development’s bad.”

In fact, the doughnut model doesn’t proscribe all economic growth or development. In her book, Raworth acknowledges that for low- and middle-income countries to climb above the doughnut’s social foundation, “significant GDP growth is very

The city says the Beach Island development will prioritize balancing the needs of humans and nature

much needed.” But that economic growth needs to be viewed as a means to reach social goals within ecological limits, she says, and not as an indicator of success in itself, or a goal for rich countries. In a doughnut world, the economy would sometimes be growing and sometimes shrinking.

Still, some economists are skeptical of the idealism. In his 2018 review of Raworth’s book, Branko Milanovic, a scholar at CUNY’s Stone Center on Socio-Economic Inequality, says for the doughnut to take off, humans would need to “magically” become “indifferent to how well we do compared to others, and not really care about wealth and income.”

In cities that are grappling with the immediate social and economic effects of COVID-19, though, the doughnut framework is proving appealing, says Joshua Alpert, the Portland-based director of special projects at C40. “All of our mayors are working on this question: How do we rebuild our cities post-COVID? Well, the first place to start is with the doughnut.” Alpert says they have had “a lot of buy-in” from city leaders. “Because it’s framed as a first step, I think it’s been easier for mayors to say this is a natural progression that is going to help us actually move out of COVID in a much better way.”

Drouin says communities in Amsterdam also have helped drive the change. “If you start something and you can make it visible, and prove that you or your neighborhood is benefiting, then your city will wake up and say we need to support them.” In her own neighborhood, she says, residents began using parking spaces to hold dinners with their neighbors during summer, and eventually persuaded the municipality to convert many into community gardens.

Citizen-led groups focused on the doughnut that are forming in places including São Paulo, Berlin, Kuala Lumpur and California bring the potential to transform their own areas from the bottom up. “It’s powerful when you have peers inspiring peers to act: a teacher inspires another teacher, or a schoolchild inspires their class, a mayor inspires another mayor,” Raworth says. “I’m really convinced that’s the way things are going to happen if we’re going to get the transformation that we need this decade.”

COVID-19 has the potential to massively accelerate that transformation, if governments use economic-stimulus packages to favor industries that lead us toward a more sustainable economy, and phase out those that don’t. Raworth cites Milton Friedman—the diehard free-market 20th century economist—who famously said that “when [a] crisis occurs, the actions that are taken depend on the ideas that are lying around.” In July, Raworth’s DEAL group published the methodology it used to produce the “city portrait” that is guiding Amsterdam’s embrace of the doughnut, making it available for any local government to use. “This is the crisis,” she says. “We’ve made sure our ideas are lying around.” □

BUILDING A BETTER INTERNET

For democracy to flourish, Big Tech must change how it does business

BY BILLY PERRIGO

THE TRUMP ERA ENDED IN 2021 WITH A violent mob storming the seat of American democracy. Among the many factors behind the riot—from white supremacy to President Trump’s inflammatory rhetoric—experts largely agree that the flourishing of misinformation online played a major part. But when we look back on the 2020s, will that dark day in January be seen as a crescendo, or as an omen?

For many of the most thoughtful analysts of 21st century democracy, any answer to that question runs through the terrain of Silicon Valley. Social media has connected families across oceans, allowed political movements to blossom and reduced friction in many parts of our lives. It has also led to the rise of industrial-scale misinformation and hate speech, left many of us depressed or addicted, and thrust several corporations into unprecedented roles as the arbiters of our new online public square. Our relationships, the way we’re governed and the fates of businesses large and small all hinge on algorithms understood by few and accountable to even fewer.

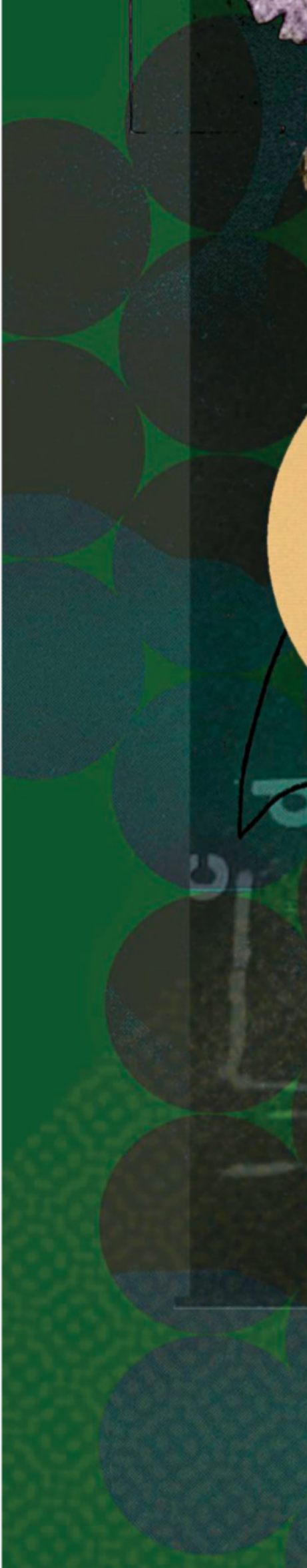
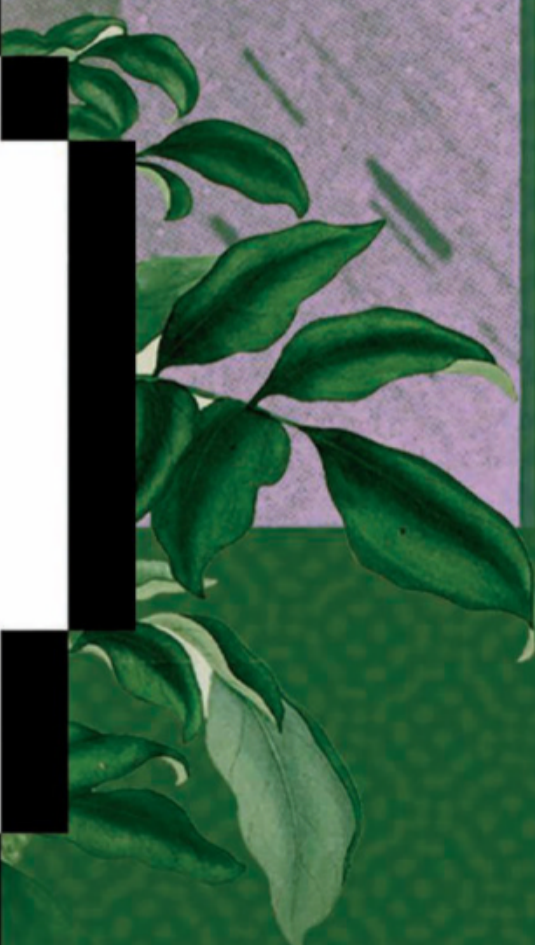
This was made clear to many Americans in the days after the Capitol riot, when Trump was

suspended from Twitter, Facebook and eventually YouTube for his role in inciting the violence. Some denounced the moves as censorship; others wondered why it had taken so long. One thing most agreed on: Silicon Valley CEOs should not be the ones making such momentous decisions.

Under President Joe Biden, tech reform will take on a new, almost existential urgency for American democracy. With the new Congress, his Administration can set the terms to regulate an industry that, since its birth amid the tech optimism of the 1990s, has produced the most powerful corporations on earth while escaping almost all oversight. “This decade is critical,” says Shoshana Zuboff, a professor emerita at Harvard Business School and the author of *The Age of Surveillance Capitalism*. “Our sense of the possible has been crippled by two decades of helplessness and resignation under the thumb of the tech giants. That is changing as we come to understand the wizard behind the curtain. Right now, we are eager for change.”

The global tide of public opinion is turning against the tech companies. Activists have been sounding the alarm bell for years, particularly after 2017 Rohingya genocide in Myanmar, when hate

Illustration
by Eleanor
Shakespeare
for TIME



speech shared by extremists on Facebook fanned the flames of ethnic cleansing, which the platform later admitted it did not do enough to prevent. The Cambridge Analytica scandal of 2018 brought home to people that personal data they had given up so freely to Facebook could be used against them. And while the platforms say they are doing all they can to scrub misinformation, hate speech and organized violence from their sites at scale, they're often failing. The consequences of those so-called online harms appear in the offline world, in ISIS recruitment, white-supremacist terror, vaccine skepticism and the mainstreaming of conspiracy theories like QAnon.

“Social media has introduced this large-scale vulnerability into our media ecosystem,” says Joan Donovan, research director of the Shorenstein Center on Media, Politics and Public Policy at Harvard University. “And they want to deal with it on a case-by-case basis rather than looking at the design of their products.” Like other experts, Donovan says the core problem with the social platforms lies in their algorithms that choose to amplify content according to the amount of “engagement” it provokes. Posts that are hateful or controversial or play into preconceived biases tend to gain more likes, comments and shares than those that are thoughtful, lengthy or nuanced.

“The platforms want people to stay on their sites as long as possible, and so there was always an incentive for content that was going to be emotionally resonant,” says Whitney Phillips, an assistant professor at the Syracuse University department of communication and rhetorical studies. “It’s not that these platforms love hate speech. It’s that their algorithms were designed to make sure people were seeing the kinds of things that were going to keep them on the site.”

The unaccountable power of the tech platforms lies not just in the algorithms that dictate what posts we see, but also in how that translates to profits. As Zuboff argues, the wealth of the Big Tech companies has come from extracting data about our behaviors and using the insights from those data to manipulate us in ways that are fundamentally incompatible with democratic values. Our emotions and behavior can now be intentionally, and secretly, manipulated by the platforms: in 2014, Facebook revealed it had conducted a study that found it could successfully make people more happy, or sad, by weighting posts differently in the News Feed. And it has long boasted that its I VOTED sticker increases voter turnout.

The business models of Facebook and Google are grounded in that manipulative power, because advertisers who want to know how people will behave will pay handsome sums to steer that behavior. But the same business model has produced personal news feeds that let anyone choose their own reality, and a shared delusion that propelled thousands of Americans toward the U.S. Capitol gates.



Mark Zuckerberg, founder and CEO of Facebook, testifying remotely during a Senate hearing on Section 230, on Oct. 28

IN THE BRIGHTER FUTURE proposed by Donovan, Phillips and others, the deplatforming of a figure like Trump would be a last resort—something that could be avoided entirely, given time, by tweaking the algorithms so as to push misinformation, hatred and violence out of the center of our political discourse and back to the fringes where it came from.

Movement is already under way to build that future. Even before Biden took office, federal and state enforcers were pursuing new antitrust cases against Facebook and Google with renewed vigor, which could result in the platforms facing massive fines or even being broken up. Still, experts say, breaking up the firms will do nothing unless fundamental safeguards are put in place to limit their business models in a way similar to how strict regulations exist for food safety and aviation, for example.

One measure touted by President Biden has been the repeal of Section 230 of the Communications Decency Act, the federal law that protects social media companies from being sued for hosting illegal content (a provision that allowed them to scale quickly and without risk). The platforms oppose the outright repeal of Section 230, arguing that it would force them to censor more content. Experts say Biden will need to not just repeal the law but to replace it with a progressive, future-oriented version that gives social platforms the protections they need to exist but also offers built-in mechanisms to hold them to account for their worst excesses.

Across the Atlantic, there is already a model that American reformers could choose to follow. In December, the E.U. and U.K. each proposed sweeping new laws that would force tech companies to make their algorithms more transparent and, eventually,

accountable to democratically elected lawmakers. A key part of the E.U.'s proposal is that large tech companies could be fined up to 6% of their annual global revenue (several billions of dollars) if they don't open up their algorithms to public scrutiny and act swiftly to counter societal harms stemming from their business models. Crucially, however, the law would safeguard platforms from liability for hosting illegal content unless they were shown to be consistently negligent about removing it.

The architects of those laws say the U.S. should not act too hastily. "Repealing Section 230 would probably have massive unintended consequences for privacy and free speech," says Felix Kartte, a former E.U. official who helped draft the bloc's proposed Big Tech regulation. "Instead, U.S. lawmakers should join the E.U. in forcing tech companies to protect the rights and safety of their users and to mitigate large-scale threats to democracy. Rather than regulating content, this would imply holding Big Tech to account for the ways in which their design features curate and amplify content." Welcoming Biden's Inauguration as a "new dawn" on Jan. 20, European Commission president Ursula von der Leyen said she would like to work with the new U.S. President to write a common digital "rule book" to rein in the "unbridled power held by the big Internet giants."

Even under Biden, one significant roadblock remains: the fact that business as usual is highly profitable for the Big Tech companies. Social media's appeal is in creating community, Zuboff notes. "But Facebook's \$724 billion market capitalization doesn't come from connecting us," she says. "It comes from extracting from our connection."

While tech CEOs say they welcome regulation, Silicon Valley lobbyists in Washington are frantically working to pre-empt any restrictive legislation that might affect their burgeoning wallets. (Facebook and Amazon each spent more money on federal lobbying in the first three quarters of 2020 than in the same period in any previous year, according to the nonpartisan Center for Responsive Politics.) "It's really going to matter who specifically the Biden Administration listens to," Donovan says. "If you get the platform companies' conceptualization of the problem, it's individual pieces of content. If you get the researchers' approach to the problem, it's the design of the service."

Fixes to these problems won't happen overnight. Phillips, the Syracuse professor, offers a metaphor of the platforms as factories leaking toxic waste into our democracies. As well as plugging the leak, and regulating the factories, and maybe looking for a cleaner form of energy altogether, the process of detoxifying more than a decade's worth of pollution will take time. Still, if democracy reasserts itself over the tech giants in the years to come, the year 2030 will be a brighter one for our humanity and our democracies. □

Living up to the promises of the digital age

THE AGE OF SURVEILLANCE CAPITALISM AUTHOR
SHOSHANA ZUBOFF ON HOW TO USE THE NEXT 10 YEARS

How do you begin to regulate the murky world of Big Tech platforms?

We have backed ourselves into an untenable social framework, where a few giant companies own and operate the Internet. The companies are black boxes, outside of societal influence and democratic control. They simply claimed the right to treat our private lives as raw material for their profit. The data come from us, but they are not for us. These systems can be regulated, but the fact is that we've barely even tried so far. Important new legislative proposals in the E.U. and the U.K. would for the first time insist that the largest tech platforms are accountable to audit and oversight, the rule of law and the established rights of citizens. The message is that democracy is finally on the move after two decades of surveillance capitalism having all the power.

Casting your gaze forward to 2030: How can we embark on a new course for democracy?

Conversations about democracy, technology and the economic dominance of surveillance capitalism are now inseparable. Looking ahead to the year 2030, I put my bet on democracy because it's the best idea humanity has ever had, despite all of its obvious imperfections. When I wake up every morning, I'm thinking about what I can do to contribute to this so that our societies mobilize to double down on democracy. This begins with saying out loud that the current state of affairs is intolerable. As citizens, we begin by joining together in our communities,

organizations, associations, political networks to demand an end to commercial surveillance. Our lawmakers hear from the tech lobbyists every day. They need to feel us at their backs instead. We are poised at a new beginning, and not a moment too late.

In this better future, what benefits can tech platforms still bring to the world?

Facebook entered our lives with great promise. We want to be connected. Then the whole project turned extractive and adversarial. The boundaries between the virtual and real worlds have melted, and therefore the laws and rights that protect us must govern both. People should have the rights to decide what becomes data and what remains private. We must have the rights to decide how those data are shared, and for what purpose. We will need new institutions and pathways so that data can be used to enhance our lives, communities and societies.

This was the original promise of the digital age, and it remains within our reach. Instead of massive concentrations of data to manipulate our commercial and political behavior, data becomes a critical resource for people and society. We use it to enhance our cities, towns and neighborhoods: to make sure everybody's got food, everybody's got a doctor and a teacher. We cure diseases and work on the climate crisis. We clear the space for new kinds of businesses that actually care about people and want to solve our problems. There's no tweaking any of this to get us where we need to go. We need a fundamental reset toward a democratic digital future.





A customer tucks into a meat-free banquet at Green Common café in Shanghai on Jan. 13

Photographs by Xiaopeng Yuan for TIME

THE VEGAN DYNASTY

*How China could change the world
by taking meat off the menu*

BY CHARLIE CAMPBELL/SHANGHAI



IT'S LUNCHTIME IN SHANGHAI'S LEAFY former French Concession, and every table is crammed at David Yeung's new café and grocery, Green Common. Office workers and shoppers huddled against the January chill are wolfing down plates of *katsu* curry, noodles and spicy dumplings.

For Yeung, the popularity of his first outlet on the Chinese mainland is a source of considerable pride, given that its doors opened barely two weeks earlier. But he's more pleased by its other distinction: no animal products grace the menu at all. Instead, plant-based alternative proteins, sourced from China, Korea and the U.S., are used in these traditionally meat-based dishes. "The idea is to showcase some of the best products from around the world so that people can enjoy a mind-blowing vegan meal," says Yeung, who is also the founder of the Hong Kong plant-based-protein firm OmniFoods.

The buzz around Green Common is another sign that China is on the cusp of a plant-based-protein revolution that has investors as well as diners licking their lips. China came by its love of meat only recently; in the 1960s, the average Chinese person consumed less than 5 kg of meat annually. But as incomes soared following Deng Xiaoping's market-driven "reform and opening" of the late 1970s, consumption rose to 20 kg per capita by the late 1980s and has now reached 63 kg. Today, China consumes 28% of the world's meat, including half of all pork.

But as in rapidly modernizing societies everywhere, today's Chinese are embracing healthier lifestyles, not least following health crises like the coronavirus pandemic and African swine fever (ASF), which wiped out half of China's hog herd between 2018 and 2019. China's market for plant-based meat substitutes was estimated at \$910 million in 2018—compared with \$684 million in the U.S.—and is projected to grow 20% to 25% annually. KFC has begun selling plant-based chicken nuggets. Yeung's pork substitute OmniPork is now on the menu across China at thousands of Taco Bell and Starbucks branches, where it is used to make everything from tacos to salads. Competitor Z-Rou—*rou* is Mandarin for meat—is offered by supermarkets, restaurants and two dozen school canteens.

The implications could be transformative not just for China but also for the world. More than any other nation, China has the ability to leverage economies of scale. It has done so many times before: some of China's richest entrepreneurs positioned themselves at the vanguard of breakthrough technology slated to receive huge state backing, such as solar panels, mobile payments and electric vehicles. Li Hejun, dubbed the nation's solar-panel king, rose to become China's richest man in 2015 with a fortune worth \$30 billion by riding a wave of renewable-energy subsidies that also caused prices to plummet and spurred widespread their adoption. State backing for



AI unveiled in 2016 helped spawn top tech firms including TikTok parent ByteDance, the world's most valuable unicorn, worth some \$100 billion.

Could the state do the same for meatless meat? Just as international food conglomerates like Nestlé, Unilever and Cargill are plowing millions into plant-based protein, Chinese competitors are jostling for market share in anticipation of huge state contracts and government perks like tax breaks and free factory space. David Ettinger, a partner at Keller and Heckman LLP's Shanghai office, says now is "the most exciting time" of his two decades specializing in food law: "Rather than managing things, I think China will let the industry lead."

The largest impact may be not on the economy but on the environment. China has already pledged to see carbon emissions peak by 2030 and make the world's worst polluter carbon-neutral by 2060. As livestock farming produces 20% to 50% of all man-made greenhouse gases, finding alternative protein sources is crucial to meeting these targets. Halving China's animal-agriculture sector could result in a 1 billion metric-ton reduction of CO₂ emissions. Crucially, state action could have real consequences—China's authoritarian system enables it to dictate commercial priorities and consumer behavior across



consumers alike. “After the last few years, it’s no secret that meat production is infinitely risky,” he says. “Disease and extreme climate issues are sadly not going to change unless we make a change first.”

UNTIL RECENTLY, the primary motivation for people to shun meat was concern for animal welfare. Not anymore. Today, broader concerns about the environment and health are energizing millennials and Gen Z globally to embrace flexitarian lifestyles, where animal products are purged from diets at least some of the time. As in the U.S., China’s cosmopolitan cities are leading the way. In 2008, just 5% of Hong Kongers classified themselves as vegan or flexitarian, according to a Hong Kong Vegetarian Society survey. Today, it’s 40%.

Following the coronavirus outbreak, which was first detected in China, governments and consumers around the world are more cognizant of the swelling risks posed by industrial farming and reliance on imported food. But COVID-19 wasn’t the only, or even the first, alarm bell. The ASF outbreak that decimated China’s pig population in 2019 resulted in national pork output hitting a 16-year low. In December, Japan suffered its worst avian flu outbreak on record, which led to the culling of 5 million chickens. Vince Lu, the founder of Beijing-based alternative-protein firm Zhenmeat, says the pandemic, the trade war and environmental degradation are galvanizing interest in plant-based proteins. “China urgently needs an alternative meat supply,” he says. “It’s about national security.”

Signs are building that the state will put its weight behind plant-based meat. China’s government has published guidelines to cut meat consumption in half by 2030 to reduce pollution and combat obesity. In August, President Xi Jinping launched a “clean plate campaign,” calling food waste “shocking and distressing” and highlighting the need to “maintain a sense of crisis about food security” in China. For David Laris, an Australian celebrity chef and environmentalist who has had restaurants in New York, Hong Kong, Shanghai and London, “It’s just a matter of time before Xi says we’ve all got to eat less meat in a big way.”

Culturally, the Chinese are perhaps better placed to embrace plant-based protein than Americans indoctrinated by a powerful meat lobby and a founding myth built around cowboys and beef ranches. (Even so, many Americans are fast changing their eating habits; alternative milks like soy, oat and almond accounted for less than 1% of the overall U.S. market a decade ago. Now it’s 12% and growing.)

In China, by contrast, “mock meat” has been popular with Buddhists, who often do not eat meat, since the Tang dynasty, with tofu a substitute for fish and taro for shrimp. Fried dough sticks dunked in soy milk—records of which date back 1,000 years—

its 1.4 billion population. While Donald Trump disparaged global warming as “an expensive hoax,” Joe Biden has called it “an existential threat.” Whether the superpowers can work together on this issue may ultimately define whether the world can meet its emissions targets over the next decade. “You can’t do anything on climate change unless you bring China with you,” says professor Nick Bisley, dean of humanities and social sciences at Australia’s La Trobe University.

The ripple effects would be felt globally. Apart from reducing carbon emissions, water consumption and the risk of zoonotic pathogens entering the human population, switching to plant-based protein can help safeguard rain forests cleared for the cultivation of animal feed and protect people against the heart disease, cancer and diabetes associated with heavy meat consumption.

There’s still some way to go before China eagerly embraces novel proteins. The higher cost and unfamiliar taste of meat substitutes may prove to be obstacles to turning plant-based protein into an everyday staple across the world’s largest population. Regulators also need to give the industry sufficient room to flourish. But entrepreneurs like Yeung say it’s getting easier to make a case to bureaucrats and

From left: staff at the BrewDog pub in Shanghai flip meat-free burgers; a server at Green Common



remain a popular breakfast across the Middle Kingdom. Vegetarian restaurants are commonplace near Buddhist temples and shrines. Every Chinese supermarket stocks a dazzling array of bean curd and substitute meat products made with gluten.

This kind of familiarity is helping plant-based protein go beyond the purview of “tree huggers,” as Yeung puts it. In January, Chinese fried-chicken franchise Dicos—a KFC rival and one of China’s top three fast-food chains—swapped the real egg in all its breakfast sandwiches with an alternative derived from mung beans made by California-based Eat Just. At the BrewDog pub in Shanghai, customers quaff craft porters and pilsners over games of shuffleboard while ordering nachos and burgers from a menu that proudly offers both meat- and plant-based options. “Around 30% of sales today are plant-based,” says

Chinese consumers have turned plant-based meat alternatives into a \$910 million industry and growing

general manager Gabriel Wang. Eat Just CEO Josh Tetrick, who recently opened his first foreign office in Shanghai, predicts that by 2030 the majority of eggs, chicken, pork and beef consumed by urban Chinese won’t require animal ingredients. “It’s going to happen a lot faster than people realize, and Asia will lead the way,” he says.

But popularizing plant-based meat beyond China’s cities might be a greater challenge. Government guidelines promoting plant-based proteins for factory canteens and school cafeterias would play an enormous part in reducing costs and raising public awareness. Some private schools are already electing to feed students with meat alternatives; for example, Dulwich College high school in Shanghai serves weekly meals prepared with Z-Rou. But as budgets for lunches in government-run schools stand around

7 rmb (\$1.08) per student, state intervention in the form of subsidies and mandatory quotas may be necessary to make plant-based options feasible across the board. Given the potential size of school contracts, this could be transformative—and also familiarize the next generation with meat alternatives. “If we want to win a customer for life, students are a great place to start,” says Z-Rou founder Frank Yao.

The fact that plant-based proteins are currently priced considerably higher than their animal equivalents is an undeniable hurdle for notoriously thrifty Chinese consumers. Yet this is expected to change as competition and scale drive down costs. Moreover, snowballing agricultural crises like avian flu and ASF can make meat prices extremely erratic. Pork prices more than doubled in China in 2019 following an ASF outbreak, making it extremely difficult for restaurateurs to both keep customers smiling and turn a profit. That plant-based proteins are largely immune to such fluctuations—and help mitigate disease outbreaks that cause spikes in meat prices—is a huge boon across the industry.

THE BIGGEST BARRIER to plant-based meats might be its most elemental: taste. While the industry has come on by leaps and bounds over recent years, elderly Chinese so obsessed with freshness that they trawl wet markets that sell meat and fish could prove a stumbling block to widespread adoption of processed, packaged alternatives.

That will change over generations, for sure, although now the race is on to engineer plant-based meat products specifically to Chinese tastes. Whereas the popularity of ground beef in the West makes it the obvious starting point, Chinese diners typically have far wider tastes, including meatballs for hot pot, filling for dumplings or strips of meat for stir-fries. Zhenmeat is even working on a plant-based shrimp substitute. “Right now, the technology’s not ready for plant protein to make the texture of a chunk or slice of meat,” says Zhenmeat’s Lu. “It will require investment and patience.”

Still, the technology is so undeveloped that there is endless potential to improve taste and cut costs. There are existing protein-synthesis techniques—incorporating fermentation, microalgae and insects—used in cosmetics, biomedicine or industry processes that could potentially be repurposed for food. “We’re starting from scratch here,” says Yao of Z-Rou. “So why can’t China create brands and have a seat on the table for what the future of food is going to be?”

Albert Tseng, co-founder of impact investment

firm Dao Foods, is backing 30 startups that focus on the Chinese plant-based-protein market, including established player Starfield. One venture is utilizing cell-based meat, or animal protein grown in a laboratory. Although more controversial than synthesizing meat from everyday plant materials like soy or wheat, the technology is growing fast. In 2017, China signed a \$300 million deal to import cultured-meat technology from Israel. At last year’s Two Sessions annual parliament, Sun Baoguo, president of the Beijing Technology and Business University, argued cell-based meat alternatives were a matter of “strategic importance” to “guarantee China’s future meat supply.” For Tseng, “there are the talent, resources and capital in China to really build this industry.”

It’s already happening elsewhere. In November, Eat Just, the maker of Just Egg, became the first firm anywhere to receive regulatory approval for sell-

ing cultivated meat, after being given the green light in Singapore for its lab-grown chicken. With the coronavirus galvanizing anxiety over the fragility of food supply chains, the tiny city-state has set ambitious new targets to produce 30% of its food domestically by 2030. But given that less than 1% of Singapore’s 270-sq.-mi. area is agricultural land, innovations like vertical farming and cellular meat will be key. Many other governments are becoming more accepting of alternatives. “In places like China and Singapore, there’s less of a fixation about what happened yesterday and more on what makes sense for today and tomorrow,” says Tetrick.

There would be losers in a major shift toward meat alternatives. Beyond the disruption to China’s \$82 billion meat market, there’s also the fact that 60% of

soy grown across the world is currently shipped to China, mainly for animal feed. The success of plant-based protein may decimate crop demand and prices worldwide, upending markets and roiling politics. The question for all, says Yeung, “is do the collective wins outweigh the losses?”

Given the weight of scientific evidence, it’s growing ever harder to justify eating meat as simply a personal choice. Much like smoking in public, Yeung says, eating steak and bacon every day has collateral environmental impact that jeopardizes the future of everyone. China, like the world, is waking up to the risks of asking our planet to support 7.7 billion people as well as 677 million pigs, 1.5 billion cattle, 1 billion sheep and 23 billion chickens. “The reality is that industrial livestock farming isn’t sustainable,” says Yeung. “We don’t have a choice. We have to change.” —*With reporting* by MADELINE ROACHE/LONDON □

‘It’s just a matter of time before Xi says we’ve all got to eat less meat in a big way.’

A GREEN PREMIUM

Where we should spend money on climate innovation

BY BILL GATES

I CAME TO FOCUS ON CLIMATE CHANGE indirectly—through the problem of energy poverty. In the early 2000s, I learned that about a billion people didn't have reliable access to electricity and that half of them lived in sub-Saharan Africa. (The picture has improved since then, though today roughly 860 million people don't have electricity.) In remote villages, Melinda and I met women and girls who spent hours every day collecting firewood so they could cook over an open flame in their homes. We met kids who did their homework by candlelight.

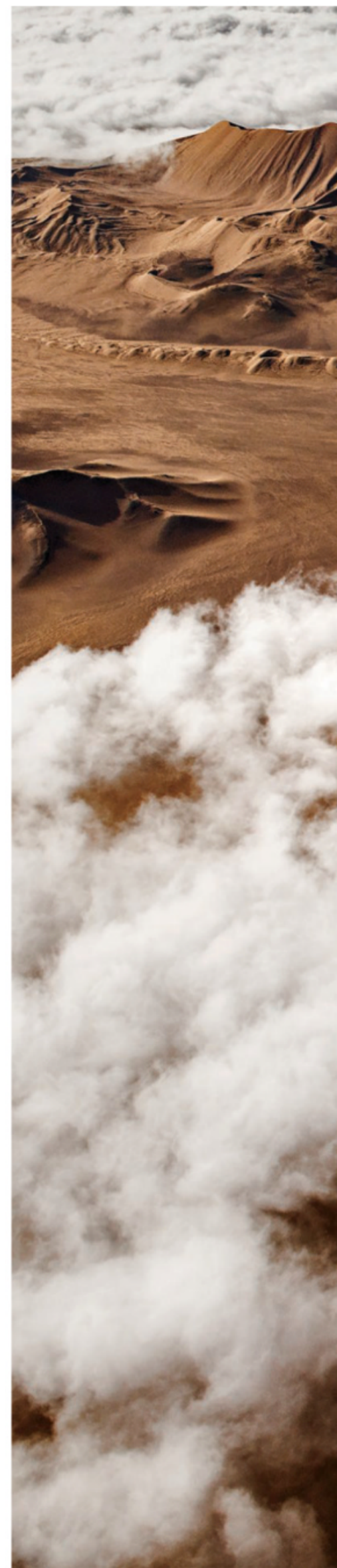
I thought about our foundation's motto—"Everyone deserves the chance to live a healthy and productive life"—and how it's hard to stay healthy if your local medical clinic can't keep vaccines cold because the refrigerators don't work. And it's impossible to build an economy where everyone has job opportunities if you don't have massive amounts of reliable, affordable electricity for offices, factories and call centers. I began to think about how the world could make energy affordable and reliable for the poor. But the more I learned, the more I came to understand the dilemma of energy and climate change: although the world needs to provide more energy so the poorest can thrive, we need to provide that energy without releasing any more greenhouse gases. In fact, we need to eliminate our emissions, all the way to zero.

The climate is like a bathtub that's slowly filling up with water. Even if we slow the flow of water to a trickle, the tub will eventually fill up and water will come spilling out onto the floor. That's the disaster we have to prevent. To stop filling the tub—to get

to zero—we have to understand everything we do to cause emissions. Did you brush your teeth this morning? The toothbrush probably contains plastic, which is made from petroleum, a fossil fuel. If you ate breakfast, the grains in your toast and cereal were grown with fertilizer, which releases greenhouse gases when it's made. They were harvested by a tractor that was made of steel—which is made with fossil fuels in a process that releases carbon—and ran on gasoline. If you had a burger for lunch, as I do occasionally, raising the beef caused greenhouse-gas emissions—cows burp and fart methane—and so did growing and harvesting the wheat that went into the bun. In short, fossil fuels are practically everywhere.

Some sources of emissions, like electricity and cars, get lots of attention, but they're only the beginning. The biggest contributor to climate change is manufacturing—making things like steel, cement and plastic—at 31% of global emissions. Second in line is producing electricity, at 27% of emissions; after that comes growing things like crops, at 19%. Transportation comes in fourth, at 16%, followed by the emissions from heating and cooling buildings. These percentages are less important than the overall point: any comprehensive plan for climate change has to account for all the activities that cause emissions, and that's much more than making electricity and driving cars. Unless you're looking across all five areas—how we plug in, make things, grow things, move around, and keep cool and stay warm—you're not going to solve the problem.

It's also crucial to understand how much getting to zero will cost. Right now, the primary reason the





world emits so much greenhouse gas is that fossil-fuel technologies are by and large the cheapest energy sources available. In part, that's because their prices don't reflect the environmental damage they inflict. In other words, moving our immense energy economy from "dirty," carbon-emitting technologies to ones with zero emissions will cost something. These additional costs are what I call Green Premiums. For example, the average retail price for a gallon of jet fuel in the U.S. over the past few years is \$2.22. Advanced biofuels for jets, to the extent they're available, cost on average \$5.35 per gallon. The Green Premium for zero-carbon fuel, then, is the difference

between these two prices, which is \$3.13. That's a premium of more than 140%.

During every conversation I have about climate change, Green Premiums are in the back of my mind. Once you've figured Green Premiums for all the big zero-carbon options, you can start having serious discussions about trade-offs. How much are we willing to pay to go green? Will we buy advanced biofuels that are twice as expensive as jet fuel? Will we buy green cement that costs twice as much as the conventional stuff? I mean "we" in the global sense. It's not just a matter of what Americans and Europeans can afford. We need the premiums to be so low that

Green Premiums have helped solar power plants—like this one near Copiapó, Chile, shown in July 2017—become cheaper sources of energy than fossil fuels

everyone will be able to decarbonize. That's the solution to the dilemma of providing affordable energy for everyone without causing a climate disaster. Green Premiums help us answer questions like these:

Which zero-carbon options should we be deploying now? Answer: the ones with a low Green Premium, or no premium at all. In the U.S., electricity is a good example. The Green Premium is the additional cost of getting all our power from non-emitting sources, including wind, solar, nuclear power, and coal- and natural-gas-fired plants equipped with devices that capture the carbon they produce. Changing the entire U.S. electricity system to zero-carbon sources would cost roughly 15% more than what most people pay now. That adds up to a relatively low Green Premium of \$18 a month for the average home, and it's due largely to substantial drops in the cost of solar infrastructure over the past decade. Europe is similarly well situated.

These low Green Premiums mean that renewable energy sources like solar and wind can play a substantial role in getting the U.S. and Europe to zero. In fact, we need them to. We should be deploying renewables quickly wherever it's economical to do so, and building the infrastructure to let us make the most of them—things like power lines capable of carrying clean electrons from wherever they're created to wherever they're needed.

Unfortunately, few countries are as lucky as the U.S. in this regard. They might have some sun but no wind, or some wind but little year-round sun, or not much of either. And they might have low credit ratings that make it hard to finance big investments in new power plants. So, they'll have to get their electricity from other zero-carbon options.

Here's another question the Green Premiums can answer: Where do we need to focus our research and development spending, our early investors and our best inventors? Answer: wherever we decide Green Premiums are too high. For example, advanced biofuels cost 600% more than the bunker fuel that cargo ships run on. No shipping business is going to voluntarily raise its fuel costs by that much.

In cases like this, there's an opening for new technologies, companies and products that make it affordable. Countries that excel at research and development can create new products, make them more affordable and export them to the places that can't pay current premiums. Then no one will have to argue about whether every nation is doing its fair share to avoid a climate disaster; instead, countries and companies will race to create and market the affordable innovations that help the world get to zero.

There's one last benefit to the Green Premium concept: it can act as a measurement system that shows us the progress we're making toward stopping climate change. What would it cost to use the zero-carbon tools we have now? Which innovations will

make the biggest impact on emissions? The Green Premiums provide the answer by measuring the cost of getting to zero, sector by sector, and highlighting where we need to innovate.

Leaders around the world will need to articulate a vision for how we can lower the Green Premiums and make the transition to zero carbon. That vision can, in turn, guide the actions of people and businesses. Government officials can write rules regarding how much carbon that power plants, cars and factories are allowed to emit. They can adopt regulations that shape financial markets and clarify the risks of climate change to the private and public sectors. They can invest more in scientific research and write the rules that determine how quickly new products can get to market. And they can help fix some problems that the market isn't set up to deal with—including the hidden costs that carbon-emitting products impose on the environment and on humans.

In the U.S., states can play a crucial role in demonstrating innovative technologies and policies, such as using their utilities and road-construction projects to drive technologies like long-duration storage and low-emissions cement into the market. And cities can do things like can buy electric buses, fund more charging stations for electric vehicles, use zoning laws to increase density so people travel less between work and home, and potentially restrict access to their roads by fossil-fuel-powered vehicles.

But you don't have to be a politician or a policymaker to have an impact. If you're a voter, you can hold your elected officials accountable for having plans to reduce Green Premiums and put us on a path to zero. As a consumer—or someone running a business—you can also send a signal to the market that people want zero-carbon alternatives and are willing to pay for them. When you pay more for an electric car, a heat pump or a plant-based burger, you're saying, "There's a market for this stuff. We'll buy it."

With the threat of climate change upon us, it can be hard to be hopeful about the future. But as my friend Hans Rosling, the late global health advocate and educator, wrote in his amazing book *Factfulness*: "When we have a fact-based worldview, we can see that the world is not as bad as it seems—and we can see what we have to do to keep making it better." When we have a fact-based view of climate change, we can see that we have some of the things we need to avoid a climate disaster, but not all of them. We can see what stands in the way of deploying the solutions we have and developing the breakthroughs we need. And we can see all the work we must do to overcome those hurdles.

■ ■

Although the world needs to provide more energy so the poorest can thrive, we need to provide that energy without releasing any more greenhouse gases

■

Gates is a philanthropist and the co-founder of Microsoft. This essay is adapted from How to Avoid a Climate Disaster, to be published Feb. 16

ONE ASSET SOARS ABOVE ALL OTHERS

GET YOUR FREE ULTIMATE GOLD DIVERSIFICATION KIT FROM U.S. MONEY RESERVE!

Gold provides the protection your portfolio needs to stand the test of time.

If you would have taken \$150,000 of your money and bought physical gold in 2000, you would now have over \$1 million at today's gold prices.* That's an incredible increase of over 600%—outperforming the Nasdaq, Dow, and S&P 500. Many analysts believe that the long-term gold bull run has only just begun and predict its current price to rise—even DOUBLE—in the future.

In today's volatile economic environment, it is essential to diversify with gold. If you have been waiting to enter the gold market, this is your opportunity to join the thousands of Americans who are protecting their future by transferring money into gold. Unlock the secret to wealth protection with your free Gold Owners Information Kit—absolutely free from the experts at U.S. Money Reserve.

CALL NOW FOR YOUR FREE GOLD INFORMATION KIT

Order the Ultimate Gold Information Kit from the experts at U.S. Money Reserve, with over 85 pages of "insider" information!

- Why Own Gold NOW
- The Secrets to Gold Ownership
- Maximizing Your Profit Potential
- Exclusive Offers and Intro Savings

CALL TOLL-FREE TODAY!

1-855-425-3297

Vault Code: TIM35



FREE KIT & 2 BONUS REPORTS!

FREE BONUS REPORTS!

Call right now to receive two exclusive BONUS reports: *25 Reasons to Own Gold* and the *Global Gold Forecast!*



*as of 12/19

©2021 U.S. Money Reserve. *Based on the change in gold's price from \$263.80/oz. (10/27/00) to \$1,851.95/oz. (12/16/20). The markets for coins are unregulated. Prices can rise or fall and carry some risks. The company is not affiliated with the U.S. Government and the U.S. Mint. Past performance of the coin or the market cannot predict future performance. Prices may be more or less based on current market conditions. All calls recorded for quality assurance. Coins enlarged to show detail. Offer void where prohibited.



Empowering Employees Professionally and Personally

At **GEICO**, success is led by our **employees**, from the way we talk about insurance to the way we support our customers to the way we evolve our culture.

By amplifying voices with our **Employee Resource Groups**, expanding our reach in **local communities**, conducting **implicit bias training**, and more, we aim to ensure every employee – **current and future** – feels seen, heard, included, and represented.

Make Your Mark
at [geico.com/careers](https://www.geico.com/careers)



GEICO[®]

Time Off

HUNKER DOWN
As we look ahead
to a long, socially
distanced winter,
here's how we'll keep
our collective sanity

WINTER SURVIVAL GUIDE

INSIDE

UNDERRATED MOVIES TO WATCH
WITH THE WHOLE FAMILY

AN ICONIC MEXICAN GAME
GETS A MODERN REINVENTION

THE FUNNIEST AUDIOBOOKS
READ BY THEIR AUTHORS

ILLUSTRATIONS BY NEIL JAMIESON FOR TIME

Time Off is reported by *Simmons Shah*



IT HAPPENED ONE NIGHT

YOU'VE GOT MAIL

WOLFWALKERS: APPLE TV+; EVERETT (5)

soon-to-be princess who's engaged to a man she doesn't love. The women switch identities, and although chaos ensues, so does romance: each falls in love with the guy who's right for her. These movies are made to be watched in pajamas or, better yet, while submerged in a bubble bath.

But are they really all that mindless? Over a COVID-compliant lunch with a friend, I found myself regaling him with a highly animated summary of the first *Princess Switch* movie. "Oh," he said, between bites of sandwich. "It's Shakespeare." (It's also a device Mark Twain put to use in *The Prince and the Pauper*.) Stories of swapped identities, of one character's being mistaken for another and causing mischief, or falling in love, are nothing new, and they were invented by people with good instincts for what human beings like. Our consistencies across eras unite us.

We turn and return to certain movies or shows because they send out signals too definitive to miss. If you were to break them down into their barest elements, they'd be a sort of semaphore that could be read clearly from a great distance, big squares, circles and triangles that speak in ways that defy words. A comedic pratfall; a hero dispatching baddies with burly, balletic grace; a romance that comes together against all odds: these are antitoxins our brains need from time to time, especially when real life offers only puzzles we can't readily solve. One of the *Princess Switch* movies ends with (spoiler alert!) a wedding, a reconciliation and a coronation, all of which tap out a code that our brains receive gratefully, without having to expend too much effort. Love, forgiveness, the beauty of a sparkly gown: these are oversize signals, easy to read and comprehend, reaching out to us as we watch from our respective isolated islands, or bathtubs. We may think our brains are on holiday, but they're working behind the scenes, helping dissolve our anxieties so that clear thinking can take their place. Sometimes you've got to let go to hang on. □

BEST FAMILY MOVIES YOU MAY HAVE MISSED

If your family has run through the *Paddington* and *How to Train Your Dragon* movies, here are some fresh ideas for films that are great for all ages. —*Eliana Dockterman*

NEW RELEASE



WOLFWALKERS

This Celtic-inspired fantasy was one of the best films of 2020. It centers on two girls—one a hunter, one who can transform into a wolf—defending a mystical forest.

UNDERRATED CLASSIC



MY NEIGHBOR TOTORO

Master filmmaker Hayao Miyazaki possesses a peerless talent for capturing the freedom and innocence of youth. In this movie, a magical creature helps two sisters face life's hurdles.

GREAT ADVENTURE



HUNT FOR THE WILDERPEOPLE

Before he made *Thor: Ragnarok*, Taika Waititi directed this offbeat comedy about a boy and his foster father who are targets of a manhunt. (Best for older kids.)

NOSTALGIC PICK



THE SECRET OF NIMH

This at times dark adventure of a mother rat seeking help for her child against the backdrop of a lab that experiments on rodents remains as thrilling as ever.

UPLIFTING MUSICAL



NEWSIES

A perennial favorite of theater kids, this surprise hit musical about a newsboy strike stars a young and surprisingly earnest Christian Bale.

HIDDEN GEM



MY LIFE AS A ZUCCHINI

This film, about forsaken kids learning love and trust from new caretakers and one another, upends the clichés of grim orphanages.

TELEVISION

THE NEW CLASS OF COMFORT TV

By Judy Berman and Eliana Dockterman

WHAT DID YOU STREAM, IN the early months of the pandemic, to feel normal for an hour? Did you mainline *Tiger King*, as Nielsen says 34 million viewers did in its first 10 days on Netflix? Or did you return to an old favorite—something from NBC’s classic 1990s Must See TV lineup or a prime-time soap that luxuriates in the white noise of rich-people problems?

No matter what show you turned to last spring, chances are that nearly a year later, you could use something new to soothe your still locked-down soul. Happily, TV has over the past year achieved what *New York* magazine calls “Peak Comfort.” Netflix has invested in some diabolically addictive reality shows, and streaming service discovery+ launched in January with lifestyle content from Food Network, HGTV and more. Dozing off to *House Hunters* isn’t just for cable subscribers anymore.

A beloved scripted series is harder to replace, but don’t worry: while *Friends* may be a finite resource, hangout comedies spring eternal. Did you know that the minds behind *Bob’s Burgers* and *The Good Wife* have new shows out? Here are our picks to replace—or just complement—your comfort-TV standbys.

If you’ve finished **FRIENDS**, try **INSECURE**



At under 25 minutes apiece, the 236 featherweight *Friends* episodes might have been a quicker binge than you expected. If you’re looking for a similar young-adult-pals-figuring-out-their-lives-and-loves-in-a-big-city vibe, click over to *Insecure*. Issa Rae’s observant dramedy follows an underachieving L.A. nonprofit worker staring down 30 with three close girlfriends and a parade of imperfect suitors. (HBO Max)

If you’ve finished **THE WEST WING**, try **BORGEN**



During the Trump years, many left-of-MAGA viewers escaped into *The West Wing*’s liberal White House fantasy. The acclaimed

Danish series *Borgen*, which imagines the tenure of the nation’s first female Prime Minister—an anti-corruption crusader—is the perfect binge for this period of regime change. (Netflix)

If you’ve finished **SCHITT’S CREEK**, try **KIM’S CONVENIENCE**



Leave it to Canada to create a show so sweet, it made the U.S. fall in love with family sitcoms again. While *Schitt’s Creek* may be irreplaceable, this CBC gem is still in production. *Kim’s Convenience* follows a Korean-born couple who own a corner store and lovingly meddle in the lives of their adult children. The cultural gulf that separates immigrant parents from their Canadian kids is a recurring theme. (Netflix)

If you’ve finished **BOB’S BURGERS**, try **CENTRAL PARK**



Bob’s Burgers creator Loren Bouchard has a delightful follow-up in Apple TV+ toon *Central Park*. In place of the Belchers, it introduces the equally odd and endearing Tillermans, who live on the grounds of the Manhattan oasis,

thanks to patriarch Owen’s (Leslie Odom Jr.) park-manager gig. In a nod to Broadway, the show is also a musical. (Apple TV+)

If you’ve finished **THE OFFICE**, try **WHAT WE DO IN THE SHADOWS**



Missing *The Office*? *What We Do in the Shadows* is basically just that, but with vampires. Based on a film of the same name from Jemaine Clement (*Flight of the Conchords*) and Taika Waititi (*Thor: Ragnarok*), this hilarious show about undead roomies is shot mockumentary-style. In fact, the series even pays homage to *The Office* through one of its characters, an “energy vampire” who unleashes his dullness on unsuspecting office workers to zap them of their energy. (Hulu)

If you’ve finished **CURB YOUR ENTHUSIASM**, try **DAVE**



With *Curb*, *Seinfeld* co-creator Larry David has brought us two decades’ worth of cringe comedy based on his privileged life. *Dave*, the semi-autobiographical FX sitcom by rapper Lil Dicky, is a millennial take on this character—an essentially well-meaning,

Issa Rae’s *Insecure* brings the charm of *Friends* into the present



1994–2004

2016–present

FRIENDS: GETTY IMAGES; INSECURE (2): HBO; BORGEN: SHUTTERSTOCK; KIM’S CONVENIENCE: CBC; CENTRAL PARK: APPLE TV+; WHAT WE DO IN THE SHADOWS: DAVE: FX

Teenage
Bounty Hunters
assumes
the mantle
from Buffy



1997-2003

2020

hilariously selfish and neurotic Jewish guy navigating showbiz in L.A. (*Hulu*)

If you've finished **BUFFY**, try **TEENAGE BOUNTY HUNTERS**



There will never be another *Buffy*. But *Teenage Bounty Hunters*—in which twins from a rich super-Christian Texas family moonlight as, yes, bounty hunters—does feature smart, tough girls kicking ass, navigating coming-of-age rites and trading witty banter. (*Netflix*)

If you've finished **FULL HOUSE**, try **THE BABY-SITTERS CLUB**



Full House giving you a toothache? For a kid-friendly treat without the saccharine aftertaste, try Netflix's *The Baby-Sitters Club* reboot, which updates Ann M. Martin's beloved books for

a new generation. The characters have depth, their families feel authentic—and plenty of jokes will land with viewers over 13. (*Netflix*)

If you've finished **PARKS AND RECREATION**, try **TED LASSO**



Most comedies earn laughs with cynicism. It's harder to build a show around an unflappably optimistic character, as *Parks and Recreation* did with the ebullient Leslie Knope. But the titular hero of *Ted Lasso* would make Leslie proud. An American football coach tasked with running an English Premier League soccer team, Ted meets fans and players' jeers with can-do aphorisms and basic human decency. What a comforting thought that one kind person can heal a community, one home-baked box of biscuits at a time. (*Apple TV+*)

If you've finished **GOSSIP GIRL**, try **DASH + LILY**



Who has an appetite for spoiled uptown teens and their real-estate-mogul dads these days? *Dash & Lily* is a very different kind of show about the love lives of Manhattan high schoolers: two oddball old souls flirt from afar after he finds her notebook at a bookstore and strikes up a correspondence. (*Netflix*)

If you've finished **SILICON VALLEY**, try **MYTHIC QUEST**



Silicon Valley captured the absurdity of the 2010s tech industry, where a small army of guys with huge egos, high IQs and no common sense competed to build the next Uber. Its spiritual descendant is *Mythic Quest: Raven's Banquet*, a sharp sitcom set at the video-game

studio behind a breakout MMORPG. (*Apple TV+*)

If you've finished **THE GOOD WIFE**, try **THE GOOD FIGHT**



Maybe it's cheating to point *Good Wife* fans toward the show's woefully underappreciated spin-off. But with this newer series, creators Robert and Michelle King have injected adrenaline into the legal drama genre: *The Good Fight* lives up to its name and brazenly skewers real-life political figures. It's perfect for anyone who takes comfort in righteous indignation. (*CBS All Access*)

If you've finished **BOJACK HORSEMAN**, try **HARLEY QUINN**



Harley Quinn has more on its mind than poking fun at superhero tropes. The show begins with Harley's breakup with the Joker, and while the series doesn't shy away from acknowledging just how toxic that relationship is, it quickly turns its focus toward Harley's blooming friendship with a Daria-esque Poison Ivy. Like *BoJack Horseman* before

it, this excellent animated show for adults is interested in the psychology of relationships. Unlike *BoJack* it centers on joyful, not dour, ones. (*HBO Max*)

If you've finished **KILLING EVE**, try **THE FLIGHT ATTENDANT**



The Flight Attendant knows exactly what it is: a pulpy mystery that revels in its twists. Even bloodier and more absurd than *Killing Eve*, the drama centers on a flight attendant accused of murder. She careens her way across the globe, looking for clues to absolve her and drawing police attention in the process. She's a hot mess, and you won't be able to tear your eyes away from her. (*HBO Max*)

If you've finished **DOWNTON ABBEY**, try **BRIDGERTON**



This Shonda Rhimes-produced costume drama scratches the same romantic itch as *Downton Abbey*, but it caters to a more modern audience. Race-blind casting, string arrangements of songs like Ariana Grande's "Thank U, Next" and steamy sex scenes drag a staid genre into the cultural zeitgeist. (*Netflix*)



GAMES

REINVENTING A CLASSIC

By Jasmine Aguilera

IN MID-MARCH, AS THE COVID-19 pandemic swept through the U.S., Rafael Gonzales Jr. watched the news, and all he could do was call the virus by a Spanish swear word: *cabrona*, the bitch. But the worldwide crisis also sparked his creativity, giving birth to an idea that has brought joy to many as the pandemic wears on. “I had a small idea of basically getting out the frustration of having to deal with COVID-19,” he says.

That small idea was a joke, a play on words comparing *cabrona* and corona. He went on to illustrate the joke in a format recognizable to millions of Latinos around the world: Lotería.

Although by day Gonzales works as

a lab manager and compliance officer at the Feik School of Pharmacy at the University of the Incarnate Word in San Antonio, he enjoys doing graphic design on the side. So he created “La cabRONA,” an illustration of the virus designed in the style of Don Clemente Jacques’ classic Lotería, a Mexican game of bingo made up of 54 images like “La Sirena” (the mermaid), “La Rosa” (the rose) and “El Gallo” (the rooster). These iconic images are ubiquitous on surfaces from murals to T-shirts throughout Mexico, Central America and many parts of the U.S. Although Lotería is a board game, its roots go deeper than Monopoly or Scrabble; for many

Latinos, it is a cultural tradition. Now artists like Gonzales are giving it a new life.

Their versions of the game are played the same way Clemente’s Lotería is played. Players pick a *tabla* (board) containing 16 images printed on a 4-by-4 grid. An announcer holds a deck of cards, each containing one of 54 images. One at a time, the announcer will draw from the deck and name the image, or make it more challenging by saying a riddle or developing a story line. If the player sees the image drawn from the deck on their *tabla*, they can mark it. The first player to get four in a row wins Lotería.

The game is popular with families,

COURTESY MIKE ALFARO (7); COURTESY RAFAEL GONZALES (3)

particularly around holiday celebrations, in part because people of all ages. It's also played in public spaces like *ferias* (fairs), where friends and strangers gather and place bets.

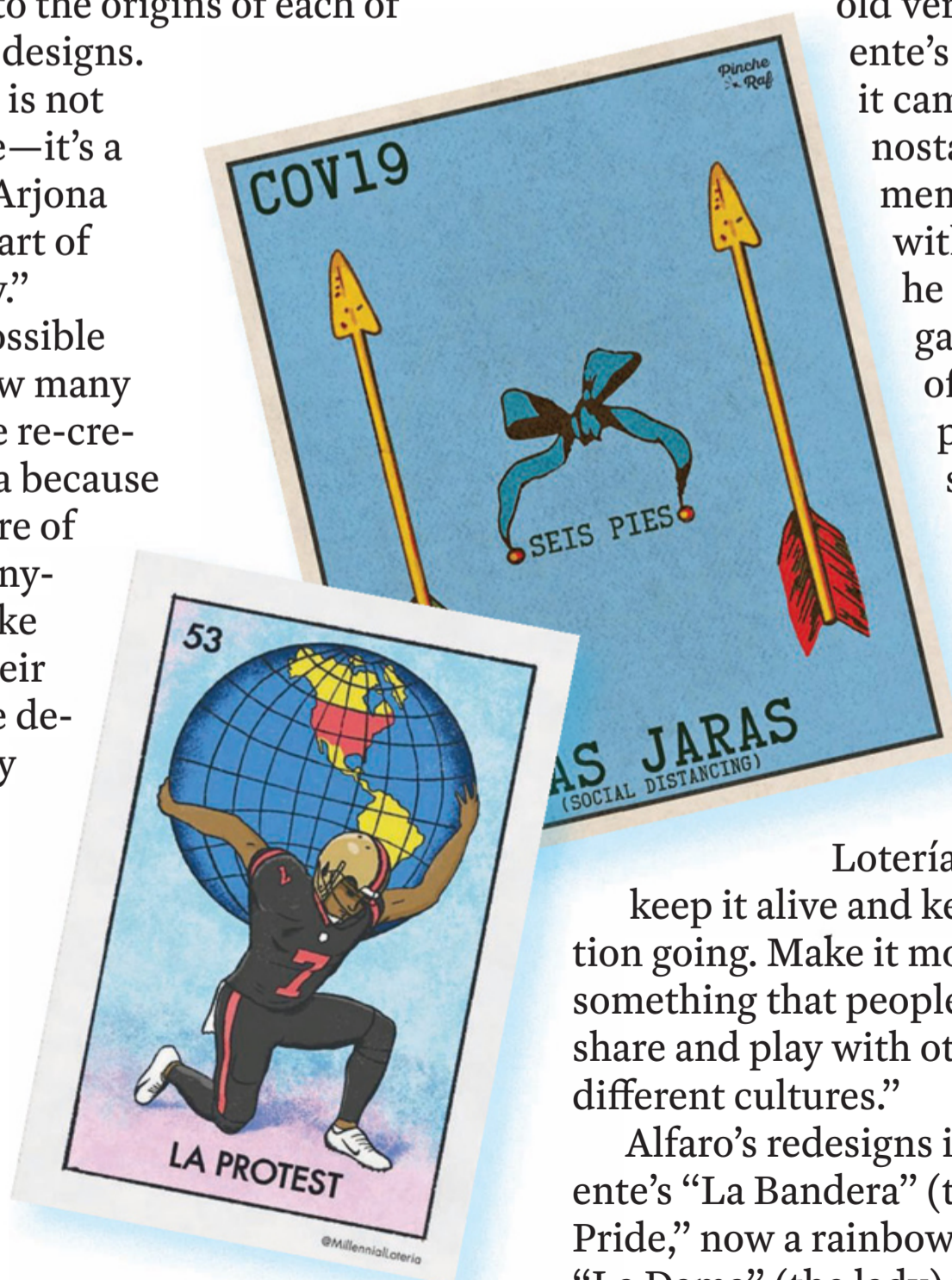
After publishing the “La cabRONA” illustration on Instagram on March 24, Gonzales decided to continue with the COVID-19 theme and design more Lotería cards. His clever, sometimes critical, images were met with hundreds of “likes” and comments. By mid-April, Gonzales had produced 31 images that he and his wife turned into Pandemic Lotería.

GONZALES IS AMONG a range of artists throughout the U.S. and Latin America who have redesigned the classic game, which is now a century old, although none has come close to being as popular as the Clemente version. Created by a French immigrant in Mexico who printed what he named the “Don Clemente Gallo” Lotería in his own factory, the game can be traced back to the early 1920s, according to Gloria Arjona, a Spanish lecturer at the California Institute of Technology who has done extensive research into the origins of each of Clemente’s designs.

“Lotería is not only a game—it’s a tradition,” Arjona says. “It’s part of our identity.”

It’s impossible to know how many people have re-created Lotería because by the nature of the game, anyone can make one with their own unique designs. Today

Artists bring iconic Lotería images into the present



it is most common to purchase a Lotería game online or at *ferias*, flea markets or Latino stores, but before Clemente’s version came along, most people made a Lotería at home. Clemente’s version is itself a re-creation of Loterías that can be traced back to Italy in the 15th century. More recently, artists have made Millennial Lotería, Women Power Lotería, *Estar Guars* Lotería and *Lotería Salvadoreña*.

“Lotería is so important to people and it’s such a fun art form and so visual that it only makes sense that people would make their own cards and give it their own spin,” Mike Alfaro says. “I’m all for all these different Loterías coming out. There’s space for everybody to make this art form their own.”

Alfaro, who is based in Los Angeles but originally from Guatemala, created Millennial Lotería first as an Instagram account in 2017. He says the idea came to him when he visited his hometown and pulled out his old version of Clemente’s Lotería. With it came feelings of nostalgia and happy memories of playing with his family. But he also realized the game’s depictions of people are problematic and stereotypical. “It just felt like it needed to be updated,” Alfaro says. “I didn’t want people to cancel Lotería. I wanted to keep it alive and keep the tradition going. Make it more modern and something that people feel excited to share and play with other people from different cultures.”

Alfaro’s redesigns include Clemente’s “La Bandera” (the flag) as “El Pride,” now a rainbow flag. Clemente’s “La Dama” (the lady) was redone as

‘There’s space for everybody to make this art form their own.’
—Mike Alfaro

“La Feminist.” And Clemente’s “El Mundo” (the world), which depicts a man carrying the world, is now a Black football player carrying the weight of the world on his shoulders. The name of the card is “El Protest.”

The update has become a best seller on Amazon, was featured in the Starz TV series *Vida* and resulted in a publishing deal with Blue Star Press and Penguin Books, which now distribute the game. It has sold more than 70,000 copies.

WHILE ALFARO’S and Gonzales’s Loterías can be considered a snapshot of the world today, Arjona says the

Clemente Lotería is also a reflection of its era, including prejudices. The game features nine people, all stereotypical depictions of Indigenous people, upper-class white people and Afro-Latinos. “It is a reflection of colonial times,” Arjona says. “These images display our prejudices, display the stereotypes.”

In Lotería, Alfaro says he saw an opportunity to design a game that is inclusive of all aspects of Latino identity. “The great thing about Millennial Lotería is that we have so many cards that each card can represent one aspect of what it means to be Latino,” he says. “You can have all these different parts because *Latinidad* is so different.”

Gonzales says his goal with “La cabRONA” was to “bring a quick little laugh” to people dealing with the stress of COVID-19. But as the pandemic continued, there also arose opportunities to share criticism of public officials for their handling of the virus, for example, replacing Clemente’s scythe in “La Muerte” (death) with a gallon of bleach.

“I’m a scientist,” Gonzales says. “Truth telling is important, and that has been a problem with this Administration.” While the game may be fun, it also presented an opportunity for social commentary. “It’s about saying what this pandemic really is,” he says, “and what we can do to curve its impact on us.” □

BOOKS

VOICES TO LIGHTEN THE MOOD

By Annabel Gutterman

JUST WEEKS INTO 2021, THE NEW year already feels uncomfortably similar to the one that came before it. With renewed COVID-19 lockdowns and headlines dominated by news both distressing and sad, let's face it: in this bleak season, we need a laugh. Enter the upbeat audiobook. As regular audiobook listeners know and newcomers will be delighted to learn, the immersive format works especially well for funny and uplifting stories, especially when narrated by celebrated comics like Ali Wong and Steve Martin. Here, in no particular order, are essay collections, memoirs and original audio comedies to bring humor and comfort to the gloomiest of days.

—1—

Let's Never Talk About This Again

When Sara Faith Alterman's father begins experiencing symptoms of early-onset Alzheimer's disease, he asks for her help in continuing his secret career as a sex writer. Alterman narrates the story of their evolving relationship, detailing all the mortifying moments that accompany discovering that your father writes pornographic books.

—2—

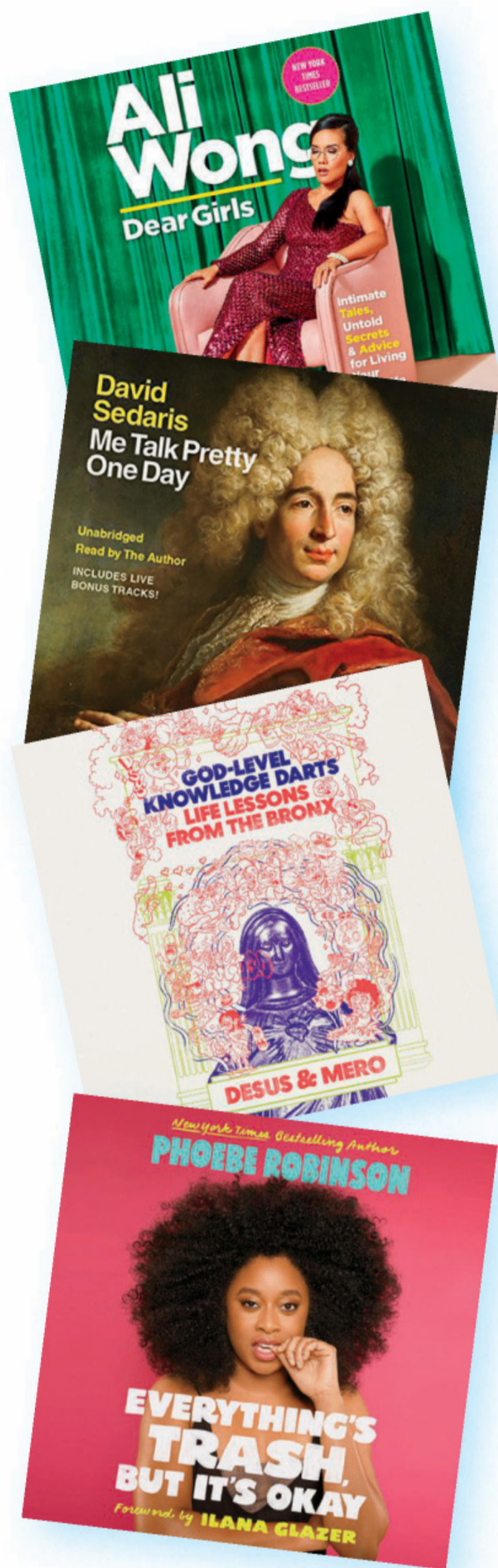
My Sister, the Serial Killer

Oyinkan Braithwaite's satirical thriller, read by Adepero Oduye, tests the bonds of sisterhood as Korede, a nurse, grows increasingly annoyed with her younger, prettier sister Ayoola. But her frustrations have little to do with good looks—Ayoola keeps murdering her boyfriends and calling in Korede to clean up after her.

—3—

A Walk in the Woods

Although he's not at all an experienced hiker, Bill Bryson decides to walk the 2,200-mile Appalachian Trail, which he describes in his memoir, read by Rob McQuay. Bryson and an out-of-shape friend embark on a journey where their lack of preparedness leads to frequent moments of hilarity.



—4—

God-Level Knowledge Darts

It's no surprise that late-night show hosts Desus and Mero, masters of the podcast medium, are captivating narrators of their first book. In this unsparing guide to life, the comedians share entertaining analyses of toxic masculinity, raising children, buying sneakers and more.

—5—

We Are Never Meeting in Real Life

In narrating her second essay collection, Samantha Irby is as self-deprecating and snarky as ever as she tackles everything from *The Bachelorette* to budgeting. Every moment of humor is met with intense honesty, coalescing into a fierce and funny portrait of contemporary Black womanhood.

—6—

You'll Grow Out of It

Jessi Klein, the head writer of *Inside Amy*

Schumer, blends observational humor with wry narration in essays that pick apart her experiences as a woman. They involve her being called "ma'am," her hunt for the perfect wedding dress and her struggles with infertility.

—7—

Born Standing Up

In his 2007 memoir, Steve Martin chronicles the discipline and drive that led to his success in the 1970s stand-up scene, and his decision to walk away from it all. From selling guidebooks at Disneyland as a 10-year-old to appearing on *Saturday Night Live* decades later, Martin tells fascinating stories about show business and the isolation that comes with performing.

—8—

Everything's Trash, But It's Okay

Listening to Phoebe Robinson narrate her book is like catching up with an old friend. Her energetic voice darts between topics: in one essay she navigates her relationship with her body, in another she describes the impact of meeting Bono twice. Throughout, she packs her commentary on feminism and race with ample references to pop culture.

—9—

Me Talk Pretty One Day

The essays in David Sedaris' celebrated collection showcase the sardonic way he views the world. His self-conscious and cynical narration makes for biting observations about language, whether he's recounting the speech-therapy classes he attended as a child or describing the mishaps he faced as an adult in Paris, where he didn't know how to speak French.

—10—

Dear Girls

Ali Wong's essay collection is structured as a set of letters to her two young daughters. She explores her childhood in San Francisco, the bleak realities of single life in New York and her path to stand-up stardom. The result takes listeners inside the comedian's mind, a landscape filled with relatable reflections and raunchy jokes.

—11—

Heads Will Roll

Created by *Saturday Night Live* star Kate McKinnon and her sister Emily Lynne, this 10-episode audio comedy follows a queen and her minion as they try to save the throne after learning about a planned uprising. It's as much about the friendship between the two characters as it is their quest to stop the rebellion, and features performances by Meryl Streep and more.

THE PRESIDENT-ELECT JOSEPH R. BIDEN PROOF COIN

HONORING A HISTORIC U.S. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

78% OFF THE
REGULAR PRICE!

Limited edition Proof richly plated in 99.9% silver



Detailed portrait of Joseph R Biden on the reverse



Depicts the White House plus the mottoes *E Pluribus Unum* and *In God We Trust*

Proof Coin shown larger than actual size of 39mm diameter.

This fine collectible is not legal tender and bears no monetary face value. Design subject to change.

Exclusive golden-accented Privy Mark

EVENT: The historic 2020 election that made former Vice-President Joe Biden our next President-Elect.

ALL-NEW DESIGN: Intended as a collectors' item, this exclusive commemorative is offered in coveted Proof Condition. Richly plated with 99.9% silver, the reverse showcases President-Elect Joseph R. Biden in full color, plus a special privy mark. The obverse features the White House and the mottoes *E Pluribus Unum* and *In God We Trust*.

SECURED AND PROTECTED: Your proof arrives secured in a crystal-clear capsule to enjoy for years to come.

LIMITED RELEASE: Each Proof-quality commemorative is meticulously crafted and mintage is strictly limited. Due to the extremely low quantity available, only the earliest applicants will successfully secure these commemorative Proofs.

By acting fast you can claim a magnificent new Proof honoring the historic election of President-Elect Joseph R. Biden — at a special price! For Joe Biden, public service has been a lifelong passion. One of the youngest people ever elected to the U.S. Senate, he represented Delaware for six terms, followed by two terms as Barack Obama's Vice President. After winning over 75 million votes — the highest number for a presidential candidate in history — the 2020 Democratic Nominee is our new President-Elect. Now *The President-Elect Joseph R. Biden Proof Coin* from The Bradford Exchange Mint honors his ideals and achievements. And you can claim it now at a special price of just \$9.99. That's a 78% savings versus the regular price of \$39.99 (plus \$4.95 shipping and service). Richly plated with 99.9% silver, this superb non-monetary proof arrives in a crystal-clear capsule.

REPLY NOW!

How can we offer you this Proof at 78% off? Because we know that once our customers see the beauty of just one of these Proof-quality tributes for themselves, they'll want to purchase additional issues at the regular price. This could be your only opportunity to claim your *President-Elect Joseph R. Biden Proof* at this special price. So don't delay, return the coupon today!

The presentation of this collectible for sale does not indicate an endorsement of any political candidate or opinion by The Bradford Exchange or its affiliates. The Bradford Exchange Mint is not affiliated with the U.S. Government or U.S. Mint.

ORDER TODAY AT BRADFORDEXCHANGE.COM/BIDENPRES



©2021 BGE 17-02701-041-BI



PRIORITY RESERVATION CERTIFICATE SEND NO MONEY NOW

The Bradford Exchange Mint

9307 Milwaukee Avenue · Niles, IL 60714-9995

YES. Please reserve *The President-Elect Joseph R. Biden Proof Coin* for me as described in this announcement. I need send no money now. I will be billed with shipment. *Limit: one per order.*

\$0 shipping and service on the first issue, and \$4.95 shipping and service on subsequent issues. Sales subject to product availability and order acceptance. By accepting this reservation you will be enrolled in *The President-Elect Joseph R. Biden Legacy Collection* with the opportunity to collect future issues. You'll also receive a deluxe wooden display box — FREE! You may cancel at any time.

Mrs. Mr. Ms. _____
Name (Please Print Clearly)

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

E-mail (optional) _____

911078-E10001

18 Questions

Joan Didion The legendary journalist and author of *Let Me Tell You What I Mean* on boredom, the Central Park Five and plans for Easter

A question that must be asked in these trying times: How are you feeling? I feel fine. Slightly bored, but fine.

You once said that the bout with vertigo and nausea you had in the summer of 1968 was not an inappropriate response to that period. What's an appropriate response to 2020? Vertigo and nausea sound right.

You wrote two of the defining books on grief, *The Year of Magical Thinking* and *Blue Nights*. What would you say to the millions who have lost loved ones in the past year? I don't know. I don't know that there's anything to say.

Do you fear death? No. Well, yes, of course.

Do you have hope? Hope for what? Not particularly, no.

New York has completely changed since the pandemic hit. What do you miss most? I miss having my friends to dinner. On the other hand, my wine bills have gone down.

Which feels more like home: New York or California? Both.

What makes a better journalist: the ability to empathize, or the ability to observe with detachment? Which is your greater strength? I don't know that I'm good at either.

What do you make of the old adage, write what you know? I don't make anything of it.

Do you ever reread your past writing? If so, what do you think? Sometimes I do. Sometimes I think

something is well done, sometimes I think, Whoops.

What does it mean to you to be called the voice of your generation? I don't have the slightest idea.

You famously wrote a piece in 1991 suggesting that the Central Park Five were wrongfully convicted. How did you feel when they were exonerated? However I felt didn't get me or them anywhere.

How does it feel to be a fashion icon? I don't know that I am one.

Is there anything you wish to achieve that you have not? Figuring out how to work my television.

And what would you watch? Aside from the news, nothing comes to mind. Documentaries, maybe. Some series.

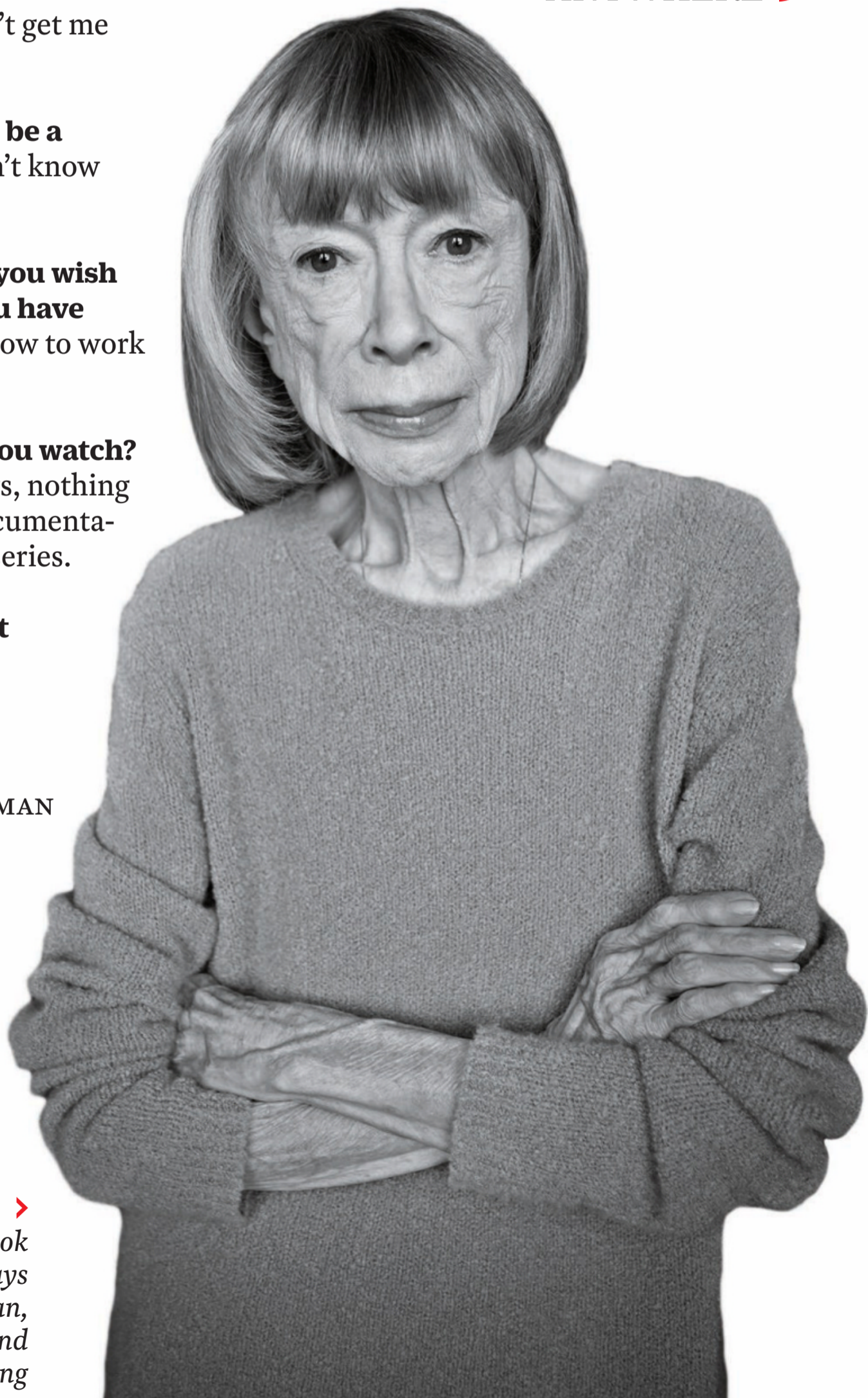
What are you most looking forward to in 2021?

An Easter party, if it can be given.

—LUCY FELDMAN

>
Didion's new book collects essays on Nancy Reagan, Martha Stewart and the art of writing

HOWEVER
I FELT DIDN'T
GET ME
OR THEM
ANYWHERE



Find your resilience

with Psychology Tricks
to Help You Thrive



Inside you'll find "5 Science-Approved Ways to Break
a Bad Habit" and "Psychologists Explain Why You
Procrastinate - and How to Stop"

time.com/livewell