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FINE

The inside story of **CHARLOTTESVILLE**—and Trump's decision to go soft on **WHITE SUPREMACISTS**

PEOPLE'

UNDER THE HIGH PATRONAGE OF HSH PRINCE ALBERT II OF MONACO

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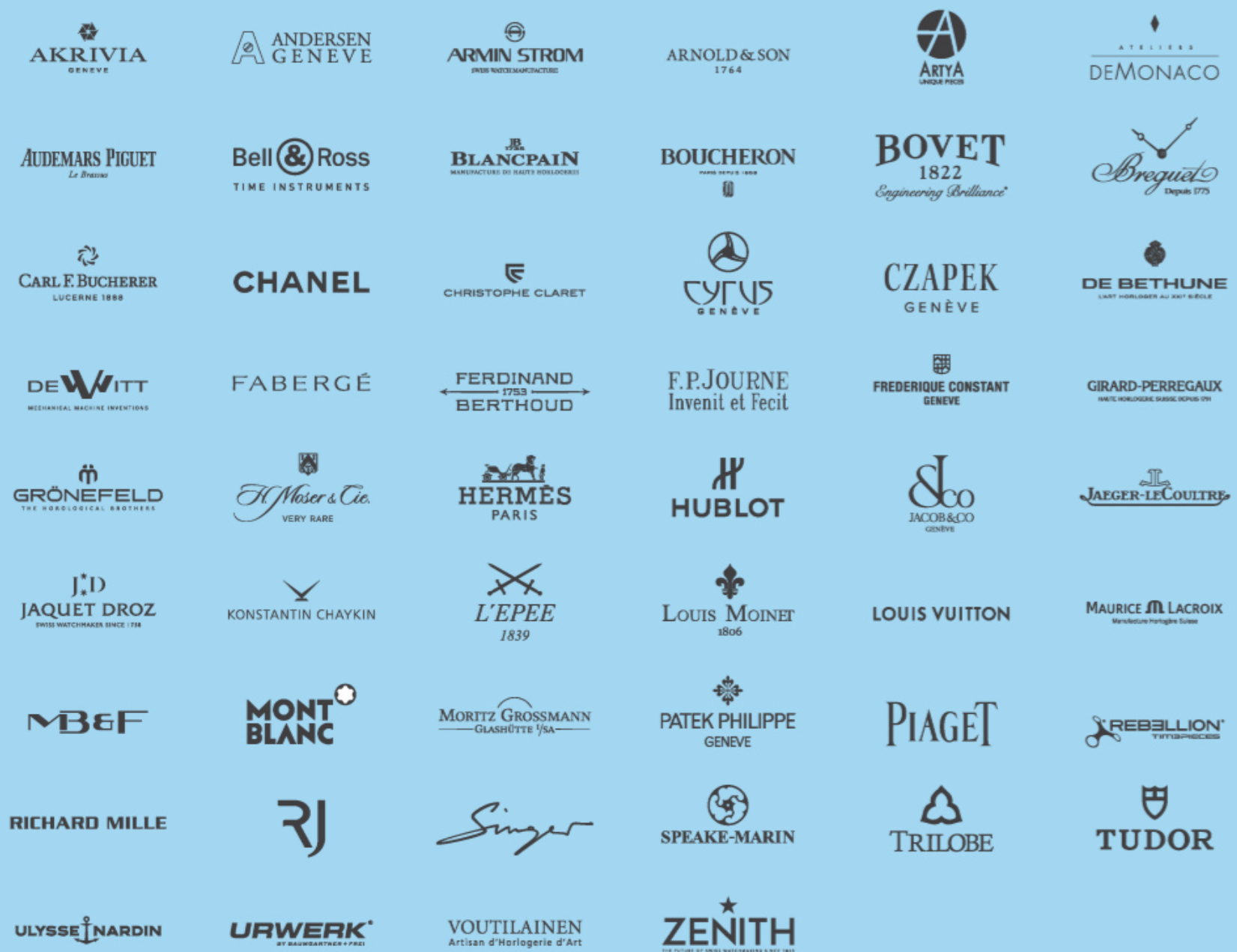
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FEATURES

STOP SIGNS

Demonstrators in East Jerusalem early last year trying to prevent the destruction of the Palestinian village of Khan al-Ahmar.

COVER CREDIT

Photo-illustration by Gluekit for Newsweek; Source images Getty (10)



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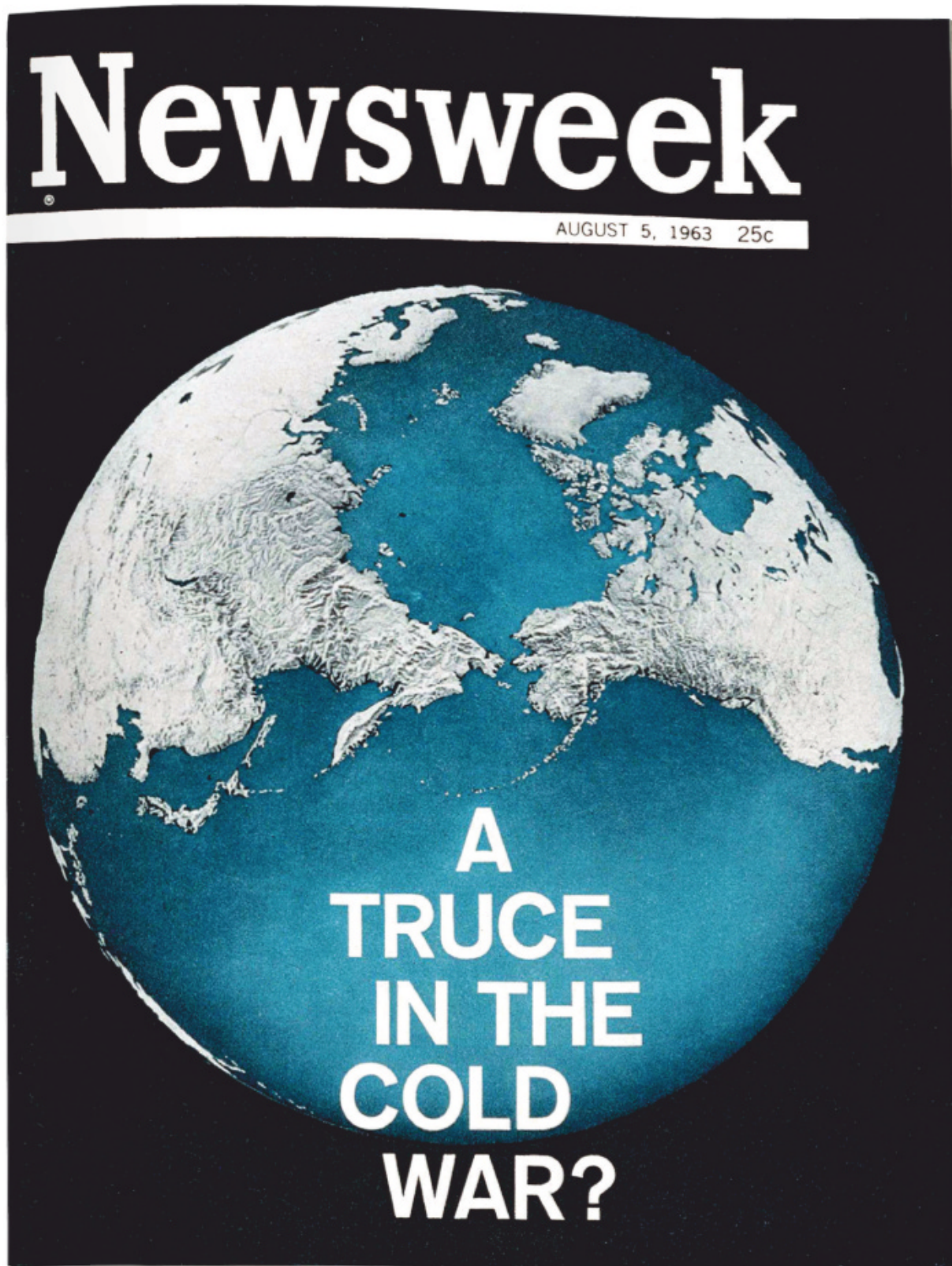
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The Archives

1963

“Five long years of torturous negotiation came to a dramatic end last week as representatives of the U.S., Great Britain and Russia initialed a limited test-ban agreement,” *Newsweek* reported of the long-sought treaty to de-escalate the race for nuclear weaponry. The ban “committed the world’s three major nuclear powers to halt all tests in the atmosphere, underwater and in outer space.” A fearful world in the “glacial grasp of the cold war” rejoiced at the agreement, but it turned to be far less of a “turning point” than hoped.



1977

“Le jazz is hot,” *Newsweek* remarked of the musical genre’s 1970s rebirth. “Eclipsed by rock during the ’60s,” jazz was back with “album sales up, clubs thriving and concerts ‘standing room only.’” With an audience “freshly defected from rock,” the undercurrents of culture are ever-changing.



1993

“In an orgy of blatant racism,” America “virtually cut off immigration,” *Newsweek* said about the 1920s. And despite it “ranking with corn and cars as a mainstay of American economic growth,” 1990s Americans were “again asking fundamental questions about the desirability of accepting so many newcomers”—a recurring policy question. ■

CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT: RAND MCNALLY & COMPANY; CAL BERNSTEIN; SCOTT MCKOWEN

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In Focus

— THE NEWS IN PICTURES



JOHANNES EISELE/AFP/GETTY



FLUSHING, NEW YORK

World-Class Relief

On day three of a brutal heat wave—with temperatures remaining in the low 80s even at night and the heat index reaching as high as 110—some New Yorkers beat the heat in the refreshing spray of the Unisphere fountain at Flushing Meadows Corona Park on July 21.

→ JOHANNES EISELE



CLOCKWISE FROM BOTTOM LEFT: PATRICIA DE MELO MOREIRA/AFP/GETTY; KHALED DESOUKI/AFP/GETTY; ARMEND NIMANI/AFP/GETTY



CAIRO, EGYPT

Ole, Ole, Ole!

A football fan from Senegal cheered before Algeria and Senegal faced off in the 2019 Africa Cup of Nations at the Cairo International Stadium on July 19. Ultimately, Algeria's "Desert Warriors" would defeat Senegal's "Lions of Teranga" with a 1-0 victory, with the game's only goal scored a mere two minutes into play. Algeria last won the trophy in 1990 and Senegal has yet to win.

📷 → KHALED DESOUKI



MACAO, PORTUGAL

Too Hot to Handle

Two years after wildfires ravaged central Portugal killing more than 60 people and injuring dozens, the flames returned. This time some 1,700 firefighters and 400 vehicles were sent out to battle three blazes that raged across the heavily-wooded Castelo Branco region, over 100 miles north of Lisbon. As a firefighter looked at a wildfire at Amendoa in Macao on July 21, much of Europe was still sweltering through a heatwave.

📷 → PATRICIA DE MELO MOREIRA



GJAKOVA, KOSOVO

Taking the Plunge

For nearly seven decades, ambitious divers have launched themselves into rivers near Gjakova in Kosovo in an annual open-air high diving competition. In years past more than two dozen competitors have competed for the 500 euro (\$556) prize money. On July 22 hundreds of spectators watched on as divers leaped off Ura e Shenjte, a 72-foot high bridge, and into the water below.

📷 → ARMEND NIMANI



MONEY TALKS

What makes money work is the shared willingness of people to receive it in exchange for their time, things or knowledge.


If you're Facebook and nobody likes you, that's a problem. » P.16



ECONOMICS

How To (Re)Make Money

On the 75th anniversary of the Bretton Woods Agreement, a new financial era is dawning. Call it Money 3.0

 MONEY IS ONE OF THE WORLD'S MOST WIDELY used but least understood technologies.

We often wonder how human society could have evolved—or even existed—without language. But could we have cooperated without money? Language enables us to share information, our inner worlds. With collaboration and trade, later improved upon by money, we share our value, in the form of our goods and services. Without people to use it with, money is powerless—and yet we live with the feeling that money holds a tremendous amount of power over us.

As we commemorate the historic Bretton Woods Agreement, which took place 75 years ago last month and ushered in the modern era of money, the world is on the verge of a new financial age—one potentially driven by people rather than financiers. It's an appropriate juncture to take stock of how our system of money began, what it's evolved into and where we go from here.

This much has been true throughout: Money functions as a collective accounting system, to help us keep track of who has given what to others, and thus who is entitled to how

much from others. That's it. That's all money is supposed to do.

But as we know, it's far from that simple.

What makes money work as intended is the shared willingness of many people to receive it in exchange for their time, things or knowledge. This network effect of belief in a particular money is the only actual condition for anything that we use as money to have value.

Take gold, for example. Put aside that it has actual utility in manufacturing processes: Because gold is widely recognizable, divisible (by melting), hard to counterfeit and scarce, it is also said to have intrinsic value. But gold's value is actually due to its almost religious power—the fact that many people believe they will be able to exchange it for goods and services. Same goes for national currencies. We accept them as long as we are confident someone else will accept them later. Lose that belief, and currencies lose their value—as we see in crisis after crisis around the world.

Our methods for creating and maintaining this belief throughout society have changed dramatically over time, and with it, so has our money.

BY

GALIA BENARTZI

 [@galiabenartzi](https://twitter.com/galiabenartzi)

MONEY'S EARLIEST INCARNATION

In the beginning we used rocks, shells, sticks and eventually metals to perform money's functions: giving and getting of units of account to maintain each individual's balance with the greater system over time. We used materials we could touch, hold and move. Shells of a certain kind were recognized by a tribe that used them. Gold was uniformly recognized and hard to replicate, hence the elusive alchemy.

Money allowed us to separate the act of buying from the act of selling with greater ease. Rather than trade real items directly with others in real time, we could use money to all trade our items for the same thing, preventing us from needing to find buyers or sellers with similar and opposite needs. This is what's known as the "Double Coincidence of Wants Problem" in economics: Money allowed us to trade with those near and far, and greatly expand our circles of collaboration, knowledge, creativity and productivity.

This was Money 1.0—and as far as archeologists can tell, it worked for centuries, all around the world.

In the next era, money came from governments. Emperors, kings, presidents and parliaments, for centuries and still today, have assumed the responsibility of defining what we use as money. From stamped coins to printed bills to digital ledgers, governments everywhere—democratic, communist, dictatorial and otherwise—have decided what money is, how much of it there is, and most importantly, who gets it first. They require tax payments in these currencies alone, so all citizens are using the shared governmental money. They often outlaw, sometimes by force, the use of other forms of money (see Venezuela). They create cooperation

agreements between governments to honor each other's money.

Since those in charge can both create and sanction money, they gain increasing control over the assets and means of production within a society. This was not the case when money came from the earth, when presumably anyone could find it, mine it or make more of it.

This is Money 2.0, the era most of us are exclusively familiar with and can hardly imagine beyond.

WHAT BRETTON WOODS WROUGHT

In this era, no event has been more significant than the Monetary Conference of Bretton Woods, a small gathering you might have read about in high school history class.

In July of 1944, about 700 delegates from 44 nations convened in the picturesque town of Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, to

determine the fate of the post-war economic order. This year's 75th anniversary of that historic gathering provides an opportunity to reflect on the grand legacy of the conference and the institutions created there.

Almost a year prior to the end of the World War II, the United States gathered the Allied Nations, far from the chaos of Washington or the carnage of Warsaw, to design the economic framework that would define the post war economic arrangements between nations, aiming to end world wars. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt issued an optimistic entreaty to participants at the beginning of the conference, emphasizing that "the economic health of every country is a proper matter of concern to all its neighbors, near and distant. Only through a dynamic and a soundly expanding world economy can the living standards of individual nations be advanced to levels which will permit a full realization of our hopes for the future."

The two key players in the dramatic unfolding of Bretton Woods were John Maynard Keynes, an intellectual economist from the U.K., and Harry Dexter White, a realpolitik senior official in the U.S. Department of Treasury—each fiercely evangelizing conflicting plans for global economic rehabilitation. Keynes' unconventional proposal outlined the creation of a new supranational currency called Bancor, which would have a fixed exchange rate to all national currencies as well as gold. Keynes called for a quota system on the amount of Bancor that each nation could amass in proportion to the nation's share of world trade. His framework was ostensibly meant to create more equilibrium between rich and poor nations, while jump-starting weaker economies. It could also be

**Without people
to use it with, money
is powerless—
and yet we live with
the feeling that
money holds a
tremendous amount
of power over us.**





CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT: ANTHONY BRADSHAW/GETTY; BRENDAN SMIALOWSKI/AFP/GETTY; ROSS DURANT PHOTOGRAPHY/GETTY

said that the Bancor was an attempt at undermining reliance on the U.S. dollar and positioning the U.K. for continued global leadership after London's reconstruction.

According to Benn Steil, an economist and author of *The Battle of Bretton Woods*, White disliked the idea of the Bancor, and was determined instead to establish the U.S. dollar as the world's dominant currency. By the end of the 21-day conference, White had managed to unanimously pass the Articles of Agreement, which instantaneously established the (then gold-backed) U.S. dollar as the global reserve currency—the standard that's still in place today, minus the gold backing, of course.

Between establishing U.S. dollar dominance and creating pivotal global monetary organizations—the International Monetary Fund, the

World Trade Organization and the World Bank—the Bretton Woods Conference of 1944 determined the trajectory of global cooperation. What is most apparent here, as in every era of money, is that a system of agreements is needed to govern the world economy, which is itself made of countries with currencies, which are themselves domestic systems of agreements. As FDR so wisely stated, each economy's well-being is intimately tied to the

FUTURE SHOCK Will the new age of digital money forever change the landscape of the human condition?

others'. We are all parts of a holistic system on which we all depend, and to which we must all agree.

THE DAWN OF A NEW AGE

Today, 75 years after Bretton Woods, we are entering the next era of money. Thanks to new technologies like the Internet and blockchain, we now have globally scalable ways of “stamping” and transferring digital assets, or tokens, with widespread, provable legitimacy—the kind that has the power to create networks of belief on which all money depends.

This is Money 3.0, in which money comes from people.

Which people? The people who created Bitcoin. The people who created Ethereum. The people who created Facebook, now launching a cryptocurrency of its own called Libra. The people who created any of the thousands of cryptocurrencies available today, many of which function like money in that they can be given to another person in order to unlock their energy and receive their goods or services. That's exactly what makes money, money. And the ability to create it is now becoming open source, to people, corporations, organizations and communities—in a way that's never been possible before at scale.

Sure, many of these monies will not gain the network effect of belief needed for them to be accepted and they won't last very long. But some will. A few already have. And many more new monies will cross this chasm in the years and decades to come. Perhaps currencies created by other companies, competing with Facebook. Perhaps currencies created by cities, where over half of

the world's population, and quickly rising, currently lives. Perhaps currencies created by people you know, or people you follow online.

Money is, after all, a belief system between people. And thanks to increasingly sophisticated digital networks, we can create, monitor and upgrade the interactions and patterns that connect us, more than ever before. We can believe in people we don't know, and in money not backed by countries, because we can believe in the technologies that connect us globally, like the Internet.

Money is now programmable, like software, and can be designed according to any criteria. Imagine a currency that is programmed to pay its taxes, bit by bit, with every transaction. Imagine a currency

programmed to donate a tiny proportion of each purchase to charity, or to cleaning pollution. Imagine a currency used by a growing network of parents, allowing them to better meet each other's needs even when traditional money is scarce.

These monetary experiments and more are under way in the emerging field of tokenization. And due to the decentralized nature of these tech-

nologies, they are very hard to stop. We will likely soon see tokens for artists, art, neighborhoods, non-profits, startups, schools, teams and more, creating new interoperable network models and embedding localized incentive structures into online and offline communities across the globe.

This is Money 3.0—and it will forever change the landscape of human collaboration, just as Money 2.0 and Money 1.0 did before it.

Economics, often believed to be the science of money, is actually about incentives. Money is the tool we use to represent the value of our diverse interests, and it's a pretty blunt instrument at that. We have a hard time using it to account for things like well-being and connection. We don't feel comfortable involving it in matters of the heart, which also vie for our attention.

A more complete economic framework for why people do what they do might take into account the crucial work performed at home (which prepares labor to enter the workforce decades later); new evidence from neuroscience that human capital is affected by the quality of our environment; the ethics and costs of growing inequality; metrics beyond GDP that distinguish between healthy and unhealthy growth; natural resource limitations; the air and oceans that we all share and rely on; and a host of other elements that could make for an economics that is rooted in humanity—where it belongs.

After all, humans invented money. We can now reinvent it so that it works for us, and not the other way around. **N**

→ **Galia Benartzi** is the co-founder of Bancor, a protocol enabling decentralized liquidity between digital assets, named in honor of Keynes' 1944 monetary proposal by the same name.

Money is now programmable, like software, and can be designed according to any criteria.



BRETTON WOODS CREATED MONEY 2.0

A small gathering in New Hampshire determined the fate of the post-war economic order.

Talking Points

AP

"You're getting hit too much, Max."

—TRAINER BUDDY MCGIRT TO BOXER MAXIM DADASHEV DURING BOUT WITH SUBRIEL MATIAS (MAXIM DIED)

BBC
"THE BUCK STOPS WITH ME."

—BORIS JOHNSON



Boris Johnson

CNN

"My staff and I carried out this assignment with that critical objective in mind: to work quietly, thoroughly, and with integrity so that the public would have full confidence in the outcome."

—ROBERT MUELLER

The New York Times

"There is no prize for someone who tries to hold accountable a powerful man who is good at his day job."

—SENATOR KIRSTEN GILLIBRAND ON FORMER SENATOR AL FRANKEN

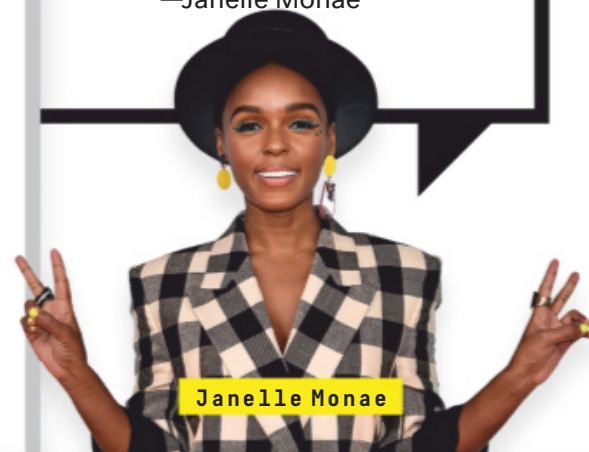


Kirsten Gillibrand



"I SCARE MYSELF .. IN LIKE THE BEST POSSIBLE WAY I THINK."

—Janelle Monae



Janelle Monae

THE KANSAS CITY STAR

"Donny Trump, he stole half my act to become president."

—ANDREW 'DICE' CLAY



"I THINK IF YOU LOOK AT AMAZON, ALTHOUGH THERE ARE CERTAIN BENEFITS TO IT, THEY'VE DESTROYED THE RETAIL INDUSTRY ACROSS THE UNITED STATES."

—Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin

FROM LEFT: VICTORIA JONES/PA IMAGES/GETTY; SCOTT OLSON/GETTY; CHRIS DELMAS/AFP/GETTY

SILICON VALLEY

Does It Matter if We Hate Facebook?

The company has become one of the most disliked businesses anywhere. Here's how it will hurt them.

➤ CONGRATULATIONS ARE IN ORDER. Facebook has managed to do something that climate change, the national deficit, the opioid crisis, student debt and income inequality could not: unite Democrats and Republicans. Last year, CEO Mark Zuckerberg spent 10 hours as a Congressional piñata, with legislators from both sides of the aisle pushing and shoving

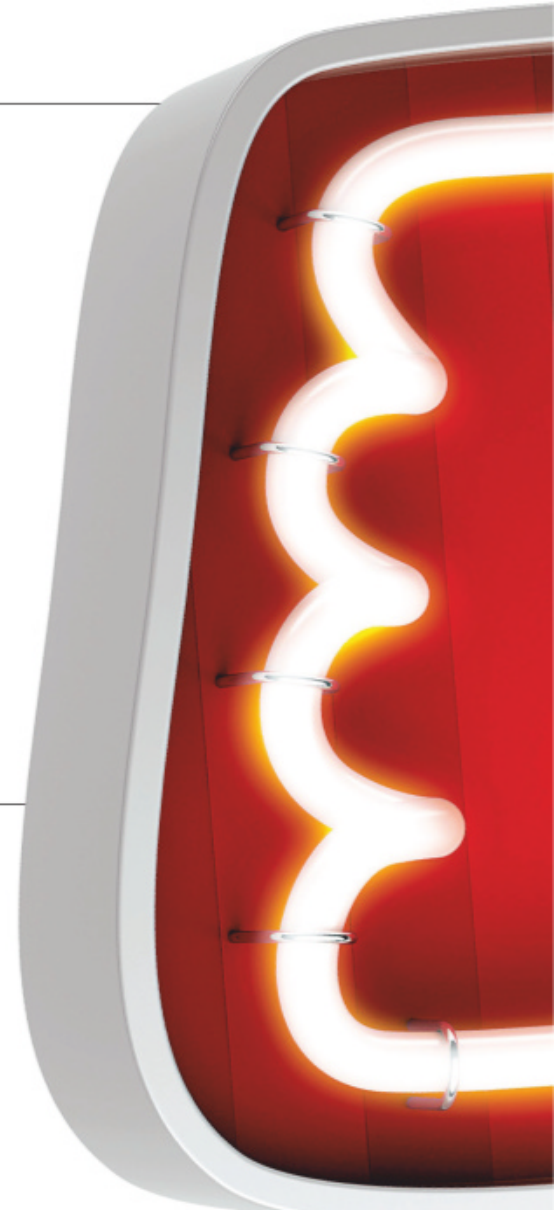
for their chance to take a swing. Recently, it was executive David Marcus' turn. The company has climbed to the top of the "most-hated corporation" list over some pretty stiff competition, including Purdue and Wells Fargo, not to mention perennial contenders Walmart, Dow Chemical, Microsoft

BY

SAM HILL



CALL FOR ACTION One hundred cutouts of Facebook founder Mark Zuckerberg appeared on the southeast lawn of the U.S. Capitol in Washington, D.C. last year. The source: Avaaz, a global civic movement, that was demanding Facebook quickly ban bots and other forms of disinformation before the 2018 November midterm elections.



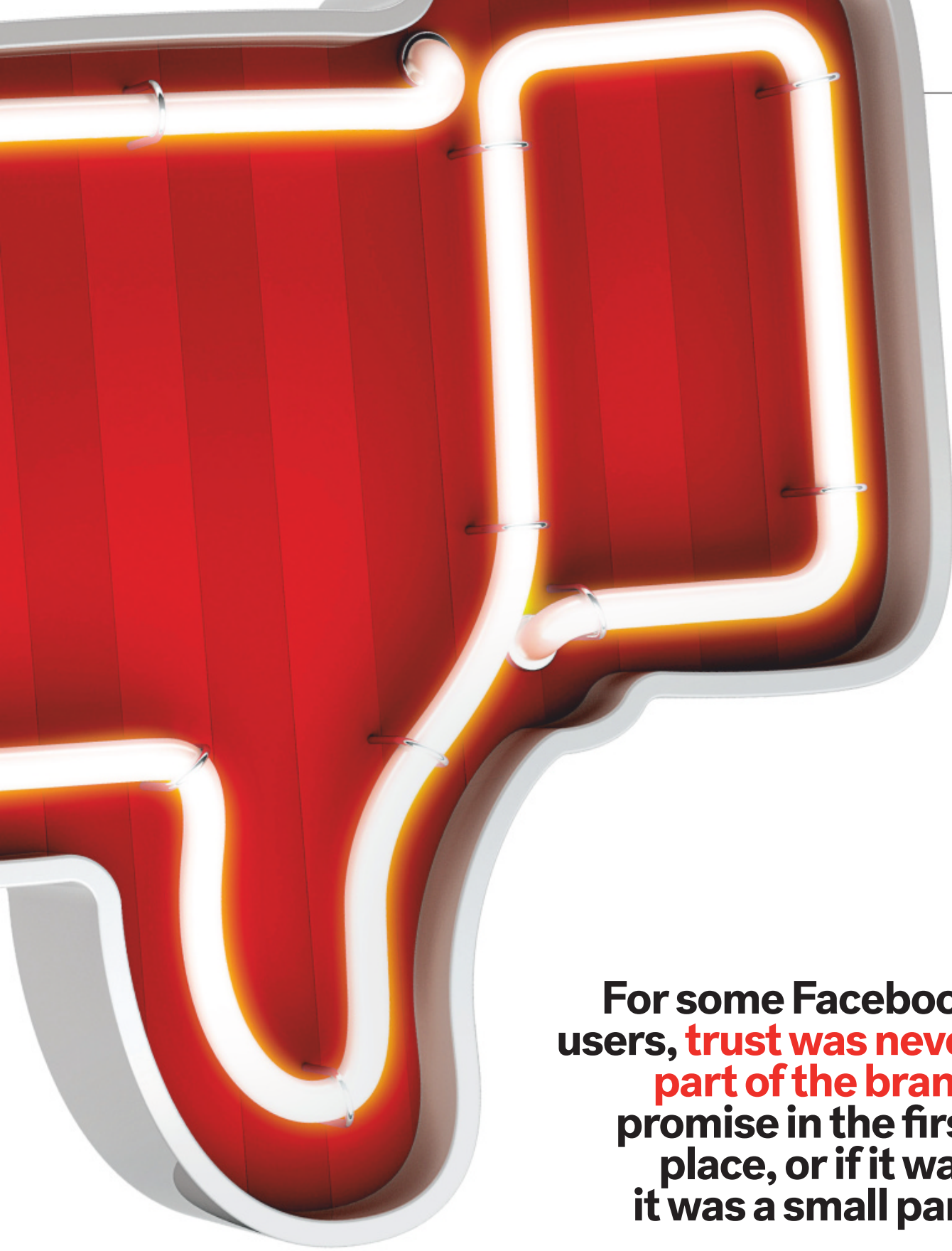
and Phillip Morris.

Which raises the question: So what? Does being hated, or at least mistrusted, really matter? The answer is yes, but probably not in the way most of us think.

The Facebook marketing department is surely rattled. To marketers, trust is sacred and once lost can never be regained. But consumers are likely the least of Facebook's worries. For some Facebook users, trust was never part of the brand promise in the first place, or if it was, it was a small part relative to convenience and connectivity. Consumers make trade-offs. A lot of people who don't love McDonald's still take their kids there after soccer practice. Anyway, consumers tend to be pretty forgiving. J&J has been accused of killing its customers at least four times—the Tylenol contamination, toxic shock syndrome, talc and now opioids, and yet consumers still buy their baby shampoo.

Nor will it probably matter to inves-

FROM LEFT: MICHAEL ROBINSON CHAVEZ/THE WASHINGTON POST/GETTY; SPF DIGITAL/GETTY



For some Facebook users, trust was never part of the brand promise in the first place, or if it was, it was a small part.

tors. For all the talk of ethical investing and finger-wagging by Laurence Fink of BlackRock and others, it's not clear that investor disapproval affects stock price. And if the price of a stock drops below its intrinsic value, someone or something will snap it up, like a "smart beta" ETF, the holdings of which are selected by algorithms, not people.

Trust does matter to governments. That includes legislators at the federal level, like those Zuckerberg faced today, as well as elected officials at state and local levels. There are also regulators, like the FTC, SEC and IRS, with whom Facebook has daily interactions. And

there are the courts. An executive with IBM once quipped they got sued so frequently that the company was really a giant law firm with a tiny computer business out the back. Facebook operates around the world, which means its regulatory portfolio contains literally hundreds of relationships.

To the extent Facebook is seen as untrustworthy, the lives of those executives and managers charged with dealing with the various government interfaces gets exponentially harder, and the legal and consulting fees exponentially larger. It's happening already. Facebook is launching its own

cryptocurrency, Libra. In the recent hearing, Representative Brad Sherman of California compared Libra to 9/11 in terms of the danger it presented to America. Right now, in a conference room somewhere in Manhattan, highly-paid PR consultants are scrambling for ideas to erase that quote from people's minds. The meter is running.

But there is another group where trust and likability matter even more—employees. For most consumer-oriented companies, the primary metric is market share. But Facebook has essentially 100% share of the market. For companies like it, the metric that matters is "talent share." Can it get and keep the best talent? Employees and potential hires are very sensitive to public perceptions of their company. No one wants to go to a pool party and fib about who they work for or to have their wives ostracized or their kids picked on. During the financial crisis, AIG executives had to take the company name off company credit cards to avoid being accosted by waitstaff in restaurants. The HR costs of being a disliked company are real and significant: higher turnover, needing to pay more for talent, and in some cases, simply not being able to get the best and the brightest at all.

Don't expect Facebook stock to fall off the cliff tomorrow. But the costs of being mistrusted and disliked mount up over time. Executives at disliked companies spend more time in Washington being grilled by Congress, more time trying to persuade potential hires to join them, more time apologizing and explaining, and in short, more time dealing with issues not directly related to the business.

So yes, it matters. **N**

→ **Sam Hill** is a Newsweek contributor, corporate consultant and author.

DIVIDED WE FALL

The white nationalists, neo-Nazis and alt-right attendees of the Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville exchange insults with counterprotesters who attempt to guard the entrance to Emancipation Park on August 12, 2017.

In a new book, Virginia's former governor, Terry McAuliffe, gives a behind-the-scenes look at the rally and how the violence could have been avoided.

CHARLOTTE

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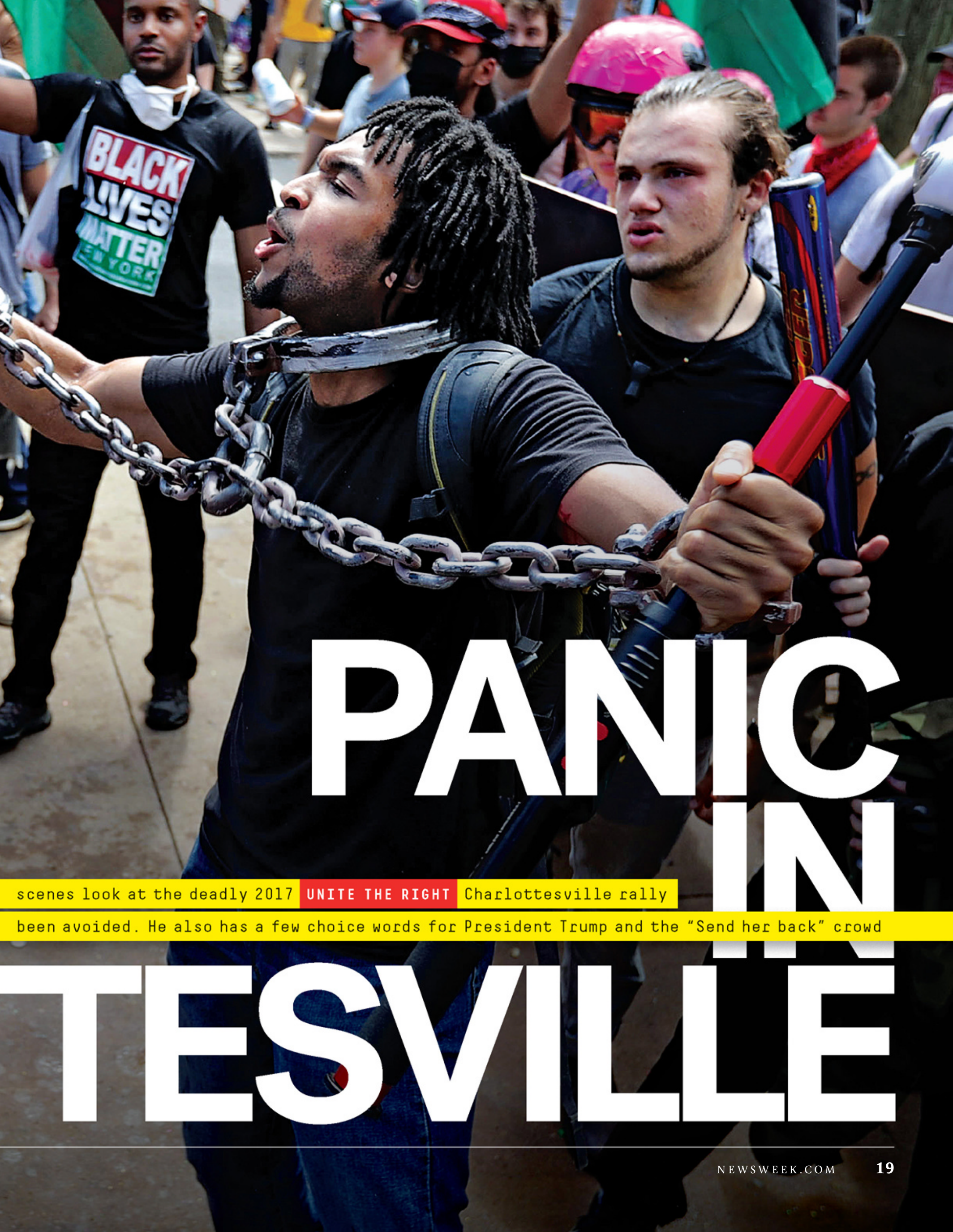
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PANIC IN

scenes look at the deadly 2017 **UNITE THE RIGHT** Charlottesville rally

been avoided. He also has a few choice words for President Trump and the "Send her back" crowd

CHARLOTTESVILLE

TERRY McAULIFFE WAS THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA

during a disastrous Unite the Right rally which took place on August 12, 2017 in Charlottesville to protest the removal of a statue of Robert E. Lee—and the renaming of the park where it was located from Lee Park to Emancipation Park (it was since re-named again, to Market Street Park in July 2018). The white supremacist and neo-Nazi protesters and the counterprotesters clashed violently as heavily armed right-wing militia loomed prominently over the proceedings. Governor McAuliffe called in the Virginia National Guard to end the rally even before its official noon start time. Shortly thereafter, one of the neo-Nazis, James Alex Fields Jr., drove his car into a crowd of counterprotesters, killing 32-year-old Heather Heyer, and injuring 35 others.

Fields was recently sentenced on state charges to a second life sentence plus 419 years for his confessed crimes. In a social media post she had written before her death, Heyer said, “If you’re not outraged, you’re not paying attention.” Two Virginia State troopers and close McAuliffe family friends, Jay Cullen and Berke Bakes, also lost their lives when their police

helicopter crashed outside of Charlottesville during their surveillance of the rally.

After the tragedy, McAuliffe was unequivocal: “I have a message to all the white supremacists and the Nazis who came in to Charlottesville today. Our message is plain and simple. Go home.”

In this excerpt from his book, *BEYOND CHARLOTTESVILLE: TAKING A STAND AGAINST WHITE NATIONALISM*, McAuliffe describes the events of the morning of the Unite the Right rally and why he had to act quickly.

McAuliffe’s book is disturbingly relevant given the recent tweets by President Trump in which he told a group of progressive Democratic congresswomen of color—aka “The Squad”—to “go back” to their native countries. He was subsequently condemned by the House for “racist language.” And a few days later, at a political rally in North Carolina, the frenzied crowd shouted “Send her back,” referring to Representative Ilhan Omar.

We asked McAuliffe about the attacks on Omar and the Trump rally chants. His response: “He [Trump] is baiting us, and we should all stop talking about his racist taunts. Let’s get back to healing and fixing our country.”





CLOCKWISE FROM RIGHT: CHIP SOMODEVILLA/GETTY [2]; SALWAN GEORGES/THE WASHINGTON POST/GETTY; MARK WILSON/GETTY; VIRGINIA STATE POLICE/GETTY [2]

THE AFTERMATH

Above: A makeshift memorial surrounds a picture of Heyer, who had written before her death: “If you’re not outraged, you’re not paying attention.” Opposite page (clockwise from top left): The Robert E. Lee statue in Emancipation Park displaying a homemade sign memorializing Heyer; Lieutenant Cullen (far left) and Trooper-Pilot Bates were killed in a helicopter accident while surveilling the riot; Marcus Martin visited the memorial at the site where he and 34 others were injured and Heyer was killed; and Charlottesville mayor Michael Signer after Heyer’s funeral service.

WE’D MADE ALL THE PREPARATIONS WE could at the state level, and had full mobilization of our State Police and National Guard, but I remained apprehensive about what the day would bring. Brian Moran, the Virginia Secretary of Public Safety and Homeland Security, started calling and texting me with updates at 6:30 that morning. He and his deputy, Curtis Brown, attended a 7 a.m. briefing for law enforcement and first responders at the John Paul Jones Arena, where Department of Corrections buses were lined up to take our troopers to downtown Charlottesville.

“I let them know we had the potential for violence, that while precious few of us were from there or ever lived there, that Charlottesville was our city that day,” Colonel Steven Flaherty said later.

Brian called the Charlottesville mayor at 7:15 a.m. to check in with him. We wanted to make sure the mayor was well aware that we were mobilized in force and ready to do anything we could in support. Next, Brian and Curtis, along with Colonel Flaherty,

the superintendent of the Virginia State Police, drove over to a downtown garage. As they were pulling off the ramp onto the third level, they saw a group of heavily armed men in fatigues exiting their vehicles.

“They ain’t ours?” Brian said to Curtis.

They both shook their heads and braced for the rest of the day. Brian was in place at the corner of Emancipation Park at 8:35 a.m. when he watched the first alt-right types arrive and assemble, some in helmets, carrying shields and flag poles. Jason Kessler’s permit called for a rally between noon and 5 p.m., and the marchers were already massing this early in the morning.

Brian stood within a few feet to listen in on their chants and conversation to glean any information he could on how they were organizing. He tried to identify as many different militia insignia as he could. All around him the crowd of young white males grew. Soon they were lining both sides of the street.

Gay Lee Einstein, a pastor at nearby Scottsdale Presbyterian Church who lived in Charlottesville, was part of a gathering of hundreds of clergy heading

toward the rally that morning. She told me she'd found a plastic baggie full of rocks and a white piece of paper warning of "Shocking crime facts" and signed by the Ku Klux Klan, closing, "Wake up, white America!" She stayed with the group as long as she could. "I started crying during the thing," she told me.

Eileen, a registered nurse who was volunteering that day to help out as she could, was with the group of clergy near Emancipation Park that morning. "I was in the middle of all of it," she told me later. "We watched the crowd grow. I saw a lot of aggressive sexism toward young women. I saw a lot of women being called the C-word and being mistreated. One woman was a little on the chubby side and these men were saying things like, 'You're a little fat, but we'd still do you.' I was so perplexed by it all, I went back and studied it. When hate wants to find some-



"This was the largest **WHITE-NATIONALIST** gathering in the United States in decades, and the **NEO-NAZIS** and other fanatics were giddy."

thing to hate, they just kind of change their target."

Around 10 a.m., I was keeping an eye on my phone, ready for the latest from Brian, and he sent me a picture of a heavily armed militia marching into the park in formation, like they owned the place. They were so loaded up, they looked like extras in a *Rambo* movie. It was a very disturbing picture. Brian gave me a full report on those militia men in camouflage gear with large semi-automatic weapons and extra ammo slung over their shoulders.

"Governor, these guys have better weapons than our State Police," Brian told me sarcastically.

"Who the hell are they?" I asked.

"I don't know," he said.

"Well, go find out," I told him.

So Brian walked over and tried to talk to these guys. I could hear most of what was said, since he was holding his phone and still had me on the line. The first militia member he approached was unresponsive, so Brian introduced himself as the secretary of public safety and tried another one. This time, the militia member was more talkative. He ex-

plained that his group was there to protect the First Amendment (and, obviously, the Second). It went so well, Brian decided to look for the leader of the group and try to negotiate a truce or at least understand what this militia saw as its role that day. The next member he approached refused to talk to him.

"I can't talk to you, sir," he said. "You have to talk to my CO, sir!"

So that was how it was going to be. For us it was one more element of insanity to have all these guys walking around in camouflage uniforms with revolvers strapped to their sides and huge semi-automatic weapons. It was surreal. We didn't know why they were there—and I'm not sure they did either.

It turned out this was one of many right-wing militia groups that showed up that day, including the Pennsylvania Light Foot Militia, the New York Light Foot Militia and the Virginia Minutemen Militia. They were well organized, well-armed—and intimidating—and said they were against both sides, neo-Nazis and counterprotesters. One of the militia leaders dismissed both sides as "jackasses."

ANGRY WHITE MEN

Clockwise from top: Protesters at Emancipation Park on Saturday morning sported swastikas and brandished long pipes; hundreds marched across the University of Virginia campus Friday night carrying tiki torches and shouting white nationalist anthems such as "Blood and soil" and "You will not replace us"; and Jason Kessler—the organizer of the Unite the Right rally—at a press conference on Sunday.

FROM TOP: MATTHEW HATCHER/SOPA IMAGES/LIGHTROCKET/GETTY; ZACH D. ROBERTS/NURPHOTO/GETTY; WIN MCNAMEE/GETTY

Giddy with Pride

THIS WAS THE LARGEST WHITE-NATIONALIST gathering in the United States in decades, and the neo-Nazis and other fanatics were giddy. They were having the time of their lives. “The white nationalists were so young,” Pastor Viktoria Parvin of St. Mark Lutheran Church in Charlottesville said later. “They were laughing, like they were going to a party.”

Naturally, David Duke, the former grand wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, was there. He grinned and beamed to well-wishers. “This represents a turning point for the people of this country,” Duke said that morning. “We are determined to take our country back. We are going to fulfill the promises of Donald Trump, and that’s what we believed in. That’s why we voted for Donald Trump, because he said he’s going to take our country back.”

The crowd loved it. They were whipped up into a frenzied state. They yelled at an African American woman that they’d put her on the “first f— boat home” and telling any white person standing side by side with an African American they were going “straight to hell,” finishing with a Nazi salute.

The words these marchers were spewing were unbelievable. Profane, disgusting, infuriating. It’s worth remembering that nobody is born with the hatred that these people spewed. Nor were they representative of American values. We’re a nation of 328 million people, so let’s not lose sight of the fact that these were a thousand people marching, a small, fringe element pulled together from 35 different states. They came out of the woodwork. They came out of their cellars. This was going to be a great day for them. This event had been hyped so much, especially after the torchlight march the night before; everyone in the world knew about this rally.

There were so many different groups and uniforms, it was confusing. There were huge Confederate flags and huge red flags carrying the swastika of the Nazis. There were patches with swastikas and Confederate flags. At times, it was hard to tell whether the alt-right marchers were directing their hate more at black people or more at Jews. “As Jews prayed at a local synagogue, Congregation Beth Israel, men dressed in fatigues carrying semi-automatic rifles stood across the street, according to the temple’s president,” *The Atlantic* reported. “Nazi websites posted a call to burn their building. As a precautionary measure, congregants had removed their Torah scrolls and exited through the back of the building when they were done praying.”

Hard to believe this was 2017, not 1937. I was very concerned about the weaponry Brian was observing out there. The marchers were carrying semi-automatic weapons, pistols, long guns—all legal under Virginia open-carry law. It’s scary enough to see one man standing on a street corner with a long gun, but scary as hell when you put hundreds of men with semi-automatic weapons together in a small space. My biggest fear was that if some hothead started firing shots, all hell would break loose and we’d have dozens of body bags.

I was at home watching on cable television and they started showing a lot of fights. The world was convinced that pandemonium had taken over the streets of Charlottesville. It looked like the entire

Continued on page 26





EVERYONE'S PRESIDENT?

President Trump's statement immediately following the Charlottesville rally referring to fine people "on many sides" inflamed tensions further. A year later, on the anniversary of the riot, he tried again, tweeting "We must come together as a nation. I condemn all types of racism and acts of violence. Peace to ALL Americans."



HE LET AMERICA DOWN

IN THE AFTERMATH of the riot and the tragic deaths of Heyer and

two state troopers (who died in a helicopter accident during the chaos of the day), President Donald Trump's statement about the clash became a large part of the news itself. He has been widely criticized for inflaming the situation by not unequivocally condemning the actions of the white supremacists at the rally and mentioning fine people "on many sides" of the issue; in a later press conference he did walk that back by saying, "I'm not talking about the neo-Nazis and the white nationalists, because they should be condemned totally," but it was seen as too little, too late. In this excerpt from *Beyond Charlottesville*, Governor Terry McAuliffe describes his reaction to Trump's news conference.

DONALD TRUMP SAID HE WOULD BE going in front of the cameras right after our call to address the tragedy of what happened in Charlottesville. I would hold off on making any statement until after the president had spoken. He was going to come out against these white supremacists brandishing Confederate flags and neo-Nazis with swastikas on their shields. This should not have been a hard choice to make. Trump was going to take a clear stand. I thanked the president for his support in our time of crisis and said, "Mr. President, let's you and I work together to heal these wounds."

Then something happened. I don't know what, but something.

I kept waiting, and still there was no Trump press conference. An hour later, still no Trump. I had given him updated information from all the relevant law enforcement on the ground in Charlottesville. The nation was waiting. Who else did he need to consult? I can't say. I can't account for the missing hours. I just know that when Trump finally stepped up to the podium, he let America down.

"We condemn in the strongest possible terms this egregious display of hatred, bigotry and violence," he began, but then added, looking up from his notes, "on many sides, on many sides."

What was he talking about? On *many* sides? The president and I had only talked about one side, the side with the heavily armed white supremacists and neo-Nazis on a mission of hate and violence, not the other side with peaceful protesters taking a stand against hate and division. I was flabbergasted to hear Trump pulling his all-sides-are-to-blame nonsense. I was shocked, I felt our nation had just been sucker punched. How could he not even utter the words "white

supremacist" or "neo-Nazi" in describing what had happened in Charlottesville?

Talk about throwing a lit match into a pool of gasoline. In Virginia we were doing everything we could to keep people safe and turn the temperature down on this volatile mess, and here was the president of the United States egging on these hate-filled extremists and infuriating everyone else. The only way to deal with this situation was to state the stark truth of what had happened and what it meant.

You know the really sad part? Parts of Trump's short speech that day were actually on point. "I just got off the phone with the governor of Virginia, Terry McAuliffe, and we agree that the hate and the division must stop, and must stop right now," he said. "We have to come together as Americans with love for our nation and true affection—really, I say this so strongly, true affection for each other."

It's hard to believe those words actually came out of Donald Trump's mouth.

"We have so many incredible things happening in our country, so when I watch Charlottesville, to me it's very, very sad," Trump said. "Above all else, we must remember this truth: No matter our color, creed, religion or political party, we are all Americans first." His staff had given him the words to sound presidential, the words to bring the country together. Instead, Donald Trump chose that day to come out as a white supremacist. He chose that day to come out as a dyed-in-the-wool, unapologetic racist. It was his coming-out party that day; no more room for any doubt that this man was at heart a racist and a hater. **N**

→ Excerpt adapted from *BEYOND CHARLOTTESVILLE* by **Terry McAuliffe**, published by *Thomas Dunne Books*.



"Because of the

COUNTERPROTESTERS was all packed into

place was a melee. They kept replaying the same skirmishes over and over, and for a lot of people watching it looked worse than it actually was, but it was clearly a dangerous, volatile situation that could get out of hand in a hurry.

At 10:06 a.m., I called Colonel Flaherty to get his take. "Governor, there's a lot of action downtown," he said. "I'm very concerned with the way things are going."

After dealing with Colonel Flaherty for three-and-a-half years, I knew what he was trying to tell me—things are about to blow.

I knew it was time to start thinking about declaring a state of emergency and dispersing the gathering, so at 10:21 a.m. I called AG Mark Herring; my counsel, Carlos Hopkins; and Lieutenant Governor Ralph Northam to put them on notice that I was preparing to declare a state of emergency.

As bad as the clips made it look, up until that point what we were seeing on the ground was more or less in line with what we'd expected. When you've got a thousand people gathered, carrying sticks, many of them spoiling for a fight, there are going to be incidents. There will be some pushing and shoving. There will be some skirmishes and fights. The reality was that this could swing either way.

Crowd Control

THE KEY TO CONTROLLING A PROTEST IS ALWAYS keeping the different groups separated. That would have been a lot easier at McIntire Park, but because of the ACLU and one judge, this roiling mix of thousands of demonstrators and counterprotesters was all packed into a small area in and around Emancipation Park. (Charlottesville officials had tried unsuccessfully to move the rally to the larger McIntire Park on public safety grounds. But the demonstration reverted back to Emancipation Park when the ACLU sued on behalf of the Unite the Right rally organizers to keep the original venue—and won.)

The Charlottesville police's plan, unfortunately, relied at least in part on the honor system and the hope that the neo-Nazis would do what they'd said they would. It didn't work out that way. No surprise.

"Charlottesville Police Chief Al S. Thomas Jr. said the rally goers went back on a plan that would have kept them separated from the counterprotesters," *The Washington Post* reported. "Instead of coming in at one entrance, he said, they came in from all sides. Headlong into the counterprotesters. A few minutes before 11 a.m., a swelling group of white nationalists carrying large shields

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: CHIP SOMODEVILLA/GETTY; EVELYN HOCKSTEIN/THE WASHINGTON POST/GETTY (2); CHIP SOMODEVILLA/GETTY; EVELYN HOCKSTEIN/THE WASHINGTON POST/GETTY



TENSIONS RISE

Opposite page (clockwise from top left): White nationalists carrying Confederate flags march toward the rally; groups of white supremacists and counterprotesters clash; an alt-right protester hurls a water bottle at counterprotesters; and a group called “The Militia” arrive to “keep the peace.” Below: After clashes at the Unite the Right rally, it was declared an unlawful gathering and people were forced out of Emancipation Park.

and long wooden clubs approached the park on Market Street. About two dozen counterprotesters formed a line across the street, blocking their path. With a roar, the marchers charged through the line, swinging sticks, punching and spraying chemicals.”

Reporter A. C. Thompson was in the middle of the action. “We witnessed one instance where a battalion of white supremacists encountered an older group of counterprotesters,” he said later. “They were like give-peace-a-chance, middle-aged, and senior-citizens kind of folks. And the white supremacists just absolutely pummeled them.”

Our folks had reviewed a long list of contingency plans and underlined the importance of sealing off the streets around the park. That was basic crowd control, less a question of specific threat assessment, but

that Saturday, the measures taken were inadequate. A single wooden sawhorse was all that stood in the way of cars driving down Fourth Street, a barrier that a Prius could plow through without much of an issue. At the corner of Market Street and Fourth Street NE, the way was blocked by a single officer stationed there.

It was all sliding toward pandemonium, as Brian Moran watched from the command center on the sixth floor of the Wells Fargo building, giving me constant updates. “That was when the crowd converged into chaos,” Brian remembers. “The access to the park was all messed up. In addition to the incredible naïveté that they would even follow such a plan, there were way too many protesters to follow such instructions. The park fencing was just too small to accommodate the crowds of either

ACLU and one judge, this roiling mix of **THOUSANDS OF DEMONSTRATORS** and a small area in and around Emancipation Park.”





CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT: SHAY HORSE/NURPHOTO/GETTY; WIN MCNAMEE/GETTY; MATTHEW HATCHER/GETTY

CULTURE CLASH

supremacists or counterprotesters. The design was just flawed. It required the two groups to interact.”

The main issue on declaring a state of emergency was one of protocol. The default is always for local decision-making. Normally, the city would be the one to declare an unlawful assembly, and that was what Colonel Flaherty was expecting. He saw it as the call of Charlottesville police chief, Al Thomas. Brian Moran was going out of his mind trying to sort it all out.

“I’m in this window on the sixth floor looking down at what was happening below, and the command center was on the other side of the building; they were overlooking the Mall, so they weren’t even eyes-on,” he says. “So I kept running from this window to the other end of the hall, grabbing Flaherty, and saying, ‘What the hell! You’ve got to make the call that it’s time for the governor to declare a state of emergency. This is crazy out there. It’s gotten bad.’ But he was waiting on Thomas to give him the signal, because the city wanted to issue their declaration first.”

Flaherty was in a tough position, and everyone knew it. Law enforcement always wanted to follow chain of command, but Brian had seen enough.

“Steve, this can’t go on any longer,” he told Flaherty.



“At times, it was hard to tell whether the **ALT-RIGHT** marchers were directing **THEIR HATE** more at black people or more at Jews.”

Send in the Guard

AT JUST AFTER 11:15 A.M. MY PHONE RANG.

“Governor, you’ve got to declare a state of emergency,” Brian said. “This is out of control. I’m seeing bottles being thrown. They look like Molotov cocktails. We can’t wait for Charlottesville. Screw protocol.”

I didn’t need to think about it at all—not for half a second. I’d seen enough. It was time for decisive action.

“That’s it,” I said. “Send ’em in! Send in the State Police. Send in the Guard. Clear the damn park.”

The record reflects that at 11:28 a.m., via text message, I confirmed that I had authorized a state of emergency. Immediately after my action, at 11:29, the city declared it an unlawful assembly.

A BearCat armored vehicle was moved into position. The Virginia State Police tactical teams—everyone outfitted in riot gear—got on bullhorns and at 11:32 declared it an unlawful assembly and notified

protesters that they were clearing the park. The event was canceled and everyone had 11 minutes to leave.

At 11:43, exactly 11 minutes after the announcement, Virginia State Police tactical teams moved into place and cleared the park. By noon, the Virginia National Guard had followed the tactical teams in and secured the park.

The rally ended just before it was officially scheduled to begin at noon. We’d made it through with some minor injuries and no property damage. There had been no looting and no windows smashed. We were relieved. There was nothing else for me to do at that point. It seemed to be over, we all thought and hoped—but that wasn’t ultimately, to be the case. **N**

→ Excerpt adapted from *BEYOND CHARLOTTESVILLE* by Terry McAuliffe, published by Thomas Dunne Books.

THREAT ASSESSMENT
This page (from top): Charlottesville Police Chief Thomas speaks at a press conference after the rally; Fields’ Dodge Challenger moments after he rammed it into the crowd of counterprotesters. Opposite: Virginia State Police were on scene waiting for orders to mobilize, which came at 11:43 a.m., at which point they moved in to clear the park.

Q&A

TERRY McAULIFFE

by Meredith Wolf Schizer

Q . Why this book?

A . I felt it was important to remind people what had gone on in Charlottesville, including the tragic murder of a peaceful protester, Heather Heyer, and the deaths of Virginia State Police Lieutenant Jay Cullen and Trooper-Pilot Berke Bates. I wanted to document exactly what happened, why it happened, what steps were taken to prevent violence and what lessons we learned from the event. And most important, we needed to have a broader discussion on racism and what we all need to do to eradicate the scourge of racism that still exists in our country today.

Q . What obstacles did you face when writing it and how did you overcome them?

A . I didn't want to just sound off on my own recollections, I wanted to include a variety of crucial voices. It was painful having a discussion with Heather Heyer's mother, Susan Bro, but after her initial hesitancy to relive that horrible day, she opened up and was an invaluable resource.

Q . There are 378 monuments to the Confederacy in Virginia. Is there a place for any of these in public spaces any longer?

A . Confederate monuments are just plain offensive to the African American community, and those monuments all belong in museums or cemeteries. In Virginia, as in the rest of the South, most of the Confederate monuments were not built in the aftermath of the Civil War, they went up during the Jim Crow era. They were intended as symbols of racism, which is exactly what they are.

Q . You helped put in place precautions at a pro-Confederate rally the following month in Richmond. What were those?

A . The key was taking control of the permitting process so that common-sense safety precautions could be put in place, like banning knives, poles, sticks and masks and condensing the time frame. The "Unite the Right" rally should never have been held in Emancipation Park. It was too small, and there was no way to keep the protesters separated.

Q . Do you see a way to turn down the temperature in the South over these issues? Is it possible to at least get the opposing sides to coexist peacefully?

A . The first step is to take down these symbols of racism. The Civil War was about slavery. The Confederacy was built on slavery. It was 400 years ago this month that the first slaves were brought to Virginia, which began a tragic, dehumanizing and disgraceful chapter in American history. As Governor, I used executive authority to ban the Confederate Flag from any Virginia state license plate. The next step is to give local jurisdictions the authority to move these offensive symbols, which amount to a remembrance of slavery.

Q . You said people "get caught up in things that don't matter...we can never make real progress until a full sense of urgency kicks in." How so?

A . Until we lean in on an unfair criminal justice system and inequities in school and housing, racism continues. Charlottesville reminded everyone that racism is still prevalent in our country. Forget reconciliation commissions, nothing but a bunch of white people talking to each other to make themselves feel better. Go out and do something that's going to make a difference for the African American community.

Q . President Trump, after his initial condemnation, went off script, you said, and he added the "on many sides" comment. Why did he do that?

A . When I spoke to the President that day, he agreed with me that these white supremacists and neo-Nazis had no place in our country and they needed to be condemned in the strongest terms. He delayed his press conference, and my best guess is that Steve Bannon or Stephen Miller or some of his other advisers told him there was no way he was going to condemn neo-Nazis and white supremacists, who make up an important part of his base. He failed as the moral leader of our country that day. He came out of the closet and showed us who he truly is, a racist, plain and simple. I don't say that lightly, but Donald Trump failed America and he failed the world that day, and he will have to live with that.

Q . President Trump was just condemned by the U.S. House for his "racist remarks" about a group of progressive Democratic congresswomen of color. What's your take on these recent tweets?

A . He is baiting us, and we should all stop talking about his racist taunts. Let's get back to healing and fixing our country.

Q . Are you going to run for President?

A . As much as I wanted to run for President and take on Trump, and to talk about the tremendous successes that we've had in Virginia, which I believe are a model for the country, I've decided to spend all my energies this year in Virginia, healing our Commonwealth and bringing people together. This is where I can make the most impact. ■



A CALL TO ACTION

Governor McAuliffe said, "As bad as Charlottesville was, it woke a lot of people up. Too many people in this country felt we had overcome the issues of racism. We had not. The images that came out of Charlottesville were a wakeup call to get out and do something. Do something that matters."

THE WASHINGTON POST/GETTY

Photograph by NIKKI KAHN

A Deeper Divide

East Jerusalem HAS LONG BEEN A FLASHPOINT IN THE CONFLICT BETWEEN
A SURGE IN DEVELOPMENT



in a Divided City

PALESTINIANS AND ISRAELIS.

AND TOURISM HAS LATELY TURNED UP THE HEAT. _____ by Cristina Maza



BATTLE GROUND
The Silwan neighborhood, a bitterly contested piece of real estate in East Jerusalem

AHMAD GHARABLI/AFP/GETTY

W

HEN 29-YEAR-OLD MOHAMMAD Shweki sleeps, he often dreams that bulldozers are coming to destroy his home.

Shweki is a Palestinian baker who lives in East Jerusalem's Silwan neighborhood. A predominantly Muslim suburb around half a mile south of Jerusalem's Wailing Wall and the walled Old City, Silwan has roughly 50,000 residents and feels more like a village than a city with its olive-tree lined dirt and gravel roads and hills stacked with small brick houses. Its necropolis is believed to be one of Israel's most ancient cemeteries, and the City of David, believed to be the urban center of ancient Jerusalem, is located in Silwan's Wadi Hilweh neighborhood.

All of this has made Silwan a bitterly contested piece of real estate, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in microcosm. Both Jews and Arabs say they were here first and both accuse the other of trying to rewrite

history. Israelis and Palestinians in Jerusalem have few interactions that are not transactional, despite living side-by-side. Fear and



“IT’S CONSTANT MENTAL AND ECONOMIC *pressure.* _____ IT AFFECTS

suspicion are part of everyday life. And several contested archaeological digs in East Jerusalem, supported by

Israeli groups and opposed by Palestinians, together with an influx of Jewish settlers and a boom in tourism, have heightened the tensions in Silwan.

Israel took control of East Jerusalem from Jordan in the 1967 Arab-Israeli war and annexed it in 1980. Palestinians, who see the eastern half of the city as the capital of an eventual Palestine state, called the move an illegal occupation. The UN and most world governments agree. The United States, which moved its embassy to Jerusalem from Tel Aviv in 2017, is a notable exception.

These politics and history are intensely personal for people like Shweki. He and other Palestinians in Silwan say the Israeli authorities have long been trying to force them off their land illegally to make way for Israeli settlers and development. He says that

his family home, built in 1996, has been subject to a variety of fines and fees by the Municipality of Jerusalem. Recently Shweki learned that his house is one of around 700 homes in Silwan that are set to be bulldozed by the local government in coming months.

Shweki says that he doesn't know where he and his eight family members will go when their house is destroyed. It's a constant source of tension between him and his wife, he says.

“It's a lot of pressure. You give all of the money that you have for food in order to pay the fees,” Shweki told *Newsweek* in late May. “It's constant mental and economic pressure. It affects your personal relationships and the relationships in the family. You lack basic things.”

The Municipality of Jerusalem did not respond to requests for comment.

Most homes in East Jerusalem are built without permits on land that has been owned by one family for many years. Few of those families have

PRESSURE POINTS
Clockwise from left; Mohammad Shweki; The Petra Hostel, which has been sold to a Jewish pro-settlement organization; Palestinians surrendering to Israeli soldiers in 1967; a home largely demolished by a Palestinian family because of municipal costs; and protests last May.



PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS AND RELATIONSHIPS IN THE FAMILY. YOU LACK BASIC THINGS.”

CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT: CRISTINA MAZA; AHMAD GHARABLI/AFP/GETTY; PIERRE GUILLAUD/APP/GETTY; MOSTAFA ALKHAROUF/ANADOLU AGENCY/GETTY; MAHMUD HAMS/AFP/GETTY





ISRAELIS AND PALESTINIAN HAVE FEW INTERACTIONS THAT ARE NOT TRA

the modern paperwork that the Municipality of Jerusalem requires for construction of a new home or modification of an existing

one. The government can retroactively legalize buildings, but very few Palestinian families have succeeded in getting those permits. According to the United Nations at least one third of all Palestinian homes in East Jerusalem lack a building permit. Those who build without one can expect to be fined or to have their homes seized and demolished.

Lawyers for Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem say what the authorities are really doing is driving Palestinians out to make way for Israeli settlers and tourists. Diana Buttu, a lawyer based in Haifa, says “The Israeli authorities enact laws and regulations declaring areas in East Jerusalem as green or open spaces, where construction is prohibited, while also expropriating land for settlement construc-

tion.... Lawyers end up spending a lot of time and a lot of energy, the families spend a lot of money and a lot of heartache trying to fight the system. But in the end the system is virtually insurmountable.”

“We paid a fine twice, and hired a lawyer and an architect,” 28-year-old Hamza Moraya, whose house is set to be demolished this summer, told *Newsweek*. “Everyone in the family chipped in to pay the fines. We spent money to get a permit so that we would have permission to stay here. But in the end they never gave us a permit.” So far, Moraya says he has paid around 135,000 shekels, or around \$38,000 in fines. The average gross annual salary in Jerusalem is around 164,000 shekels, or \$44,000, but many Palestinians make less.

Meanwhile, around 4 million tourists visited Jerusalem in 2018, a huge number for a city of under 1 million. The government has an ambitious plan to attract an additional 4 million tourists by 2020, and it is marketing the historic city as a tourist destination.

FROM LEFT: CRISTINA MAZA; MOSTAFA ALKHAROUF/ANADOLU AGENCY/GETTY; GALI TIBBON/AFP/GETTY (2); MICHAEL REYNOLDS/POOL/GETTY



NSACTIONAL. _____ **“WHEN OUR HOUSE IS *demolished*, WE WILL SLEEP IN TENTS.”**

TOURIST HAVEN?
Clockwise from left:
Hamza Moraya; the
construction of a Jewish
settlement; searching
for antiquities; and
Israeli Prime Minister
Benjamin Netanyahu,
President Donald Trump
and Vice President Mike
Pence in Washington.

But Jerusalem lacks hotel rooms and space to accommodate the desired influx of guests. In 2018 the government announced that it would spend \$13 million to excavate the City of David and an additional \$54 million to connect the City of David to West Jerusalem via cable car in an effort to build tourism that will “reflect the national heritage of the Jewish people.”

“Within East Jerusalem, the government is developing ambitious plans to build tourism infrastructure in Palestinian parts of the city,” reads a report published by Amnesty International this year entitled *Destination: Occupation*. “Hundreds of Palestinian residents are threatened with forced eviction.”

Saleh Higazi, deputy regional director for Amnesty’s Middle East division, told *Newsweek* that American companies like TripAdvisor and AirBnB are profiting from this expansion.

“It is alarming to see tourism and online booking companies such as TripAdvisor, Booking.com, Expedia, and AirBnB being part of this,” he says. “By

listing and promoting settlements as destinations, including in Silwan, these companies benefit from an illegal situation.”

TripAdvisor and Expedia both say they are only in the business of providing travelers with information. “We aim to provide travelers with an apolitical, accurate and useful picture of all accommodations, restaurants and attractions that are currently open for business around the world,” Brian Hoyt, a TripAdvisor spokesman, said. Booking.com did not respond to requests for comment. Airbnb declined to comment.

At present there seem few legal options open to Palestinians in East Jerusalem facing eviction. Nonetheless, no one *Newsweek* interviewed had any plans to leave. Moraya, who says his house could be demolished any day, lives with fifteen family members in a home erected in 1998. His uncle’s house across the street has already been torn down.

“When our house is demolished, we will sleep in tents,” he says. 

MOONSHOTS

A Forever Strawberry

James Rogers is creating a natural fruit coating that will double the shelf life of fruits and vegetables, helping alleviate problems of food waste and world hunger

↑ IN CELEBRATION OF THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF NASA astronauts landing on the moon, Newsweek is spotlighting pioneers in science and technology, highlighting their very own “moonshots” and how they hope to change the world.

James Rogers is the founder and CEO of Apeel Sciences, a start-up fighting world hunger by producing an edible fruit coating made from natural plant materials. Roughly one-third of food produced in the world is wasted every year. Apeel’s coating allows produce to last twice as long, promoting sustainable growing practices and better quality food and reducing food waste.

What is your moonshot?

We’re trying to build a world that works *with* nature, not *against* nature. Rather than creating new chemicals that the world has never seen before, and winding up with [new] problems, we are looking into the natural world and identifying materials that nature has been using for billions of years.

What is the big problem you’re trying to solve?

The most resource intensive activity on this planet is feeding people. We waste an incredible amount of food; to grow it, we use 70 percent of our fresh water, about a quarter of our greenhouse gas emissions and about five billion pounds of pesticides annually. Yet, somewhere between a third and a half of what we grow ends up in a landfill. By throwing away less, we’ll be able to feed the population in 2050 without growing more food.

BY

MAYA PAGE &
LAUREN BARRETT

DANIEL GRIZELJ/GETTY



**“We can augment the
natural protective
barrier and **make the strawberry
last as long as a lemon.**”**



How does Apeel work?

Every form of life on this planet is protected by some form of protective barrier that prevents it from drying out and oxidizing. So, if everything is protected by this thin barrier, why does a strawberry only last a couple of days, but a lemon lasts for weeks and weeks? Remarkably, it's not that they're made of different things, but rather that the molecules on the surface of a strawberry are arranged dramatically differently than they're arranged on a lemon. Apeel takes materials that are found in every fruit and vegetable, we isolate those materials, and then we reapply them back onto the portions of the plant that we're eating. By doing that, we can augment the natural protective barrier and make the strawberry last as long as a lemon by using the exact same materials. Essentially, Apeel is cutting and copying from what the natural world is already doing.

What is the inspiration behind your idea?

When we started this business, it was just an idea on a napkin. I called my mom to tell her I had this idea for a company and she said, "Sweetie, that sounds really nice, but you don't know anything about fruits and vegetables." And that's true, but I knew that people were going hungry and not because we couldn't grow enough food, but because we couldn't get it to them.

What have you learned from others who have tried to tackle this or similar problems?

Monks discovered this idea back in the Middle Ages and began dipping apples in beeswax. Apeel is the next evolution of this idea. Over the last 2,000 years, we have learned a lot about material science; now maybe we can take some of those ideas and apply them the same way the monks did, but with the new tools.

AN APPLE A DAY Rogers determined how to use a fruit's own natural protective membrane to extend its lifespan.

What obstacles have you faced?

Many. We had to invent the technology, show the work, figure out how to actually apply the product and how to make it affordable. Then we had to treat hundreds of thousands of metric tons of produce in a single facility. Also, in the industry, growers tend to deliver food to the store and then wash their hands of it. Anything that's lost or goes bad doesn't matter to them because they already sold it. The principle of our product is that we don't make the fruit any better than it starts out, we just slow it down from getting worse. That means we need to apply the product as soon as possible in the supply chain. Figuring out the business model of working with the supplier to apply the product was really challenging.

Who are your mentors?

My Ph.D. adviser in graduate school. The greatest advice he gave me was that we always learn more from what doesn't work than what does. I was able to carry that philosophy beyond the scientific endeavors of graduate school into Apeel Sciences.

How do you see the world in 20 years if you succeed?

If we're successful, you'll be able to walk into any corner store, any little bodega, any 7-Eleven, any mom-and-pop store, and be able to pick up a piece of produce that was grown by a small farmer on the other side of the world, and it will be better than any produce you've ever eaten in your life. We'll have a food supply chain which connects people in every corner of the globe without refrigeration and without the use of pesticides because that's really the only way that this planet is going to work. **N**

BY THE NUMBERS

Vacation Nation

Nearly 100 million Americans plan to take a family vacation this year and two-thirds of them will make it a summer getaway, according to a AAA survey. Orlando is the top summer destination for the second year in a row, but several European cities also cracked the top 10, including London, Rome and Dublin. All told, U.S. travelers are expected to spend more than \$100 billion on trips this summer. —Noah Miller

Top visitors to the U.S., by country (in millions¹):



Canada 20.2



Mexico 17.8



UK 4.5



Japan 3.6



China 3.2

Americans collectively forfeited **212 million** vacation days in 2017, equivalent to **\$62.2 billion** in lost benefits.²

\$1,979

How much the typical American will spend on a summer vacation this year³

8 DAYS

The length of time into a vacation for happiness to hit its peak⁴



How much likelier people who took 10 days or more of annual vacation are to report having had a raise or bonus in recent years⁵



Staying Connected

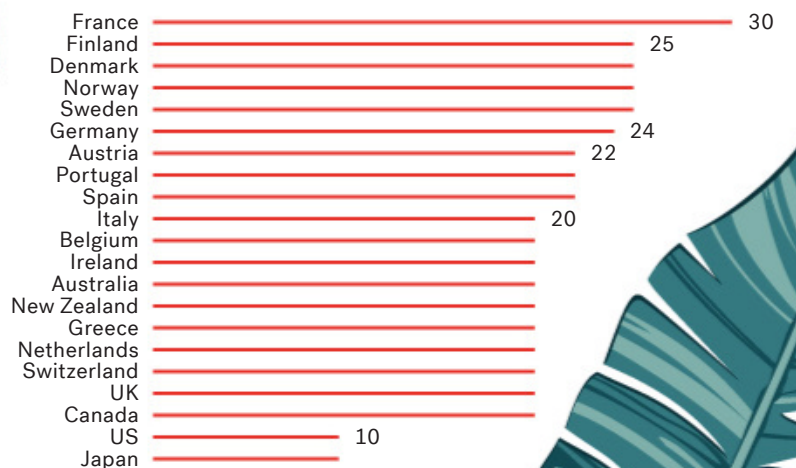
Percentage who say it's "extremely/very important" to stay connected to work while on vacation:⁶

Boomers 22%
Gen X 41%
Millennials 58%



Percentage of employees who don't use all of their vacation days.⁷

Average number of paid vacation days, by country⁸



SOURCES: 1, 2, 7 THE US TRAVEL ASSOC. 3 BANKRATE 4 JOURNAL OF HAPPINESS STUDIES 5 HARVARD BUSINESS REVIEW 6 AARP TRAVEL 8 CENTER FOR ECONOMIC & POLICY RESEARCH

HANG SON DOONG
Phong Nha-Ke Bang
National Park, Vietnam

This cave passage, at over three miles long and 650 feet high, is the largest in the world, and it contains stalagmites that are 229 feet high. Found originally by a local man in 1991, it was only in 2009 that it became internationally known. (See #10 on following page)

UNCHARTED

Mind-Blowing Caves Around the World

It's been a year since the dramatic rescue of the 12 members of the junior football team and their coach from the Tham Luang Nang Non cave in Chiang Rai Province, Thailand. Their rescue was a reminder of the large and mysterious world that exists under our feet. Caves have an almost primal appeal—they hold the secrets to our past and hold a certain allure. They are home to mini ecosystems that are otherwise impossible above ground and are the last vestige of exploration. —*Paula Froelich*



RUPAUL AND THE HUMAN EXPERIENCE
“Drag is more than putting on a wig and a pair of cha-cha heels.” » P.48



CARSTEN PETER/GETTY; TOP RIGHT: DAVID CROTTY/PATRICK MCMULLAN/GETTY

Culture



01 Cave of the Crystals
— Naica, Mexico

This unique cave system in Mexico looks like Superman's Fortress of Solitude and contains some of the largest natural crystals ever found—the longest of which is 39 feet long and 13 feet thick. However, it is rarely explored due to logistical difficulties: it is extremely hot due to its location above a volcanic vent, as well as the huge crystals which block the passage.



05 Skaftafell Ice Cave
— Vatnajökull National Park, Iceland

Ice caves are a natural phenomenon inside Iceland's largest ice cap and transform into spaces reminiscent of Disney's *Frozen*. No cave is the same, and they are ever changing; each summer, the ice melts, creating new tunnels, which then freeze over and can be seen the following winter.



04 Crystal and Fantasy Caves
— Hamilton Parrish, Bermuda

A truly magical experience below the earth, these caves were formed in the Pleistocene Era, but only found by humans over 100 years ago. Groups of crystals and stalactites hover above a deep crystal-clear pool that is a mix of fresh and salt water.

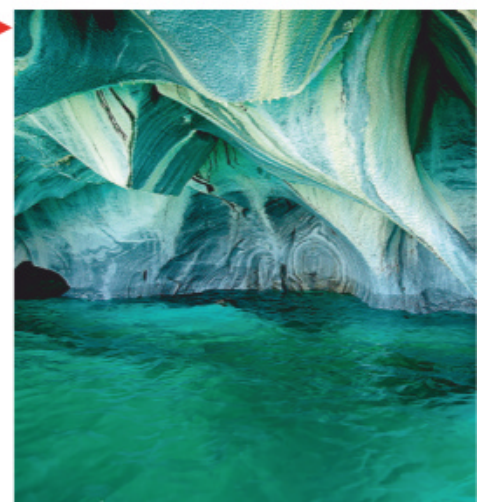


02 Mammoth Cave
— Kentucky, USA

The longest cave system in the world lies beneath the Green River Valley in Kentucky, and while over 400 miles of passageways have been mapped, it has yet to be fully explored. The complex limestone labyrinth was discovered by humans 4,000 years ago and is home to a rich habitat of troglodytes, including eyeless fish, cave salamanders and albino cave shrimp.

03 Marble Cave
— Chile Chico, Chile

Accessible only by boat, these isolated, sculpted caves lie in the General Carrera Lake in the heart of the Patagonia region. Comprised of swirling black-and-white columns reflecting the azure and turquoise waters of the lake, the colors change throughout the seasons.



01: CARSTEN PETER/GETTY; 02: DANITA DELIMONT/GETTY; 03: ADRIAN WOJCIK/GETTY; 04: MICHAEL RUNKEL/GETTY; 05: KITTI BOONITROD/GETTY; 06: TT/GETTY; 07: MAREMAGNUM/GETTY; 08: PHOTOSTOCK-ISRAEL/SCIENCE PHOTO LIBRARY/GETTY; 09: JAMES SPARSHATT/GETTY; 10: MARCEL STRELOW/GETTY



06 Fingal's Cave
 — Staffa, Scotland
 This sea cave, lying within an uninhabited island, is formed entirely from hexagonally jointed basalt columns formed by a Paleocene lava flow. Named for an 18th century poem, it's been featured in literature and song throughout the centuries.



07 Blue Grotto
 — Capri, Italy
 Once used as the personal swimming hole for the Roman Emperor Tiberius, this dazzling sea cave is almost 200 feet long and 82 feet wide. Its unique glow comes from the light entering the small opening to the outside and refracting through the clear water off the sandy bottom 490 feet below.



08 Avshalom Cave Nature Reserve
 — Beit Shemesh, Israel
 Also known as the Soreq Cave Nature Reserve, Avshalom is considered to be the Rosetta Stone of climate history in the Eastern Mediterranean through the densely packed stalactites found in the cave, some of which are over 13 feet long and are as old as 300,000 years.



09 Reed Flute Cave
 — Guilin, China
 Also known as the "Palace of Natural Arts," this limestone cave located just north of Guilin City is not only beautiful, but historically important as well; it is full of inscriptions that can be dated back to the Tang dynasty.



11 Waitomo Glowworm Caves
 — Waitomo Village, New Zealand
 The main draw of the Waitomo cave system is the Glowworm Grotto where visitors can glide along an underground river with millions of glowworms sparkling like stars overhead.

10 Hang Son Doong (See previous page)
 — Phong Nha-Ke Bang National Park, Vietnam

MUSEUMS OF ART

Whistler's Peacock

The painter's masterpiece of interior design has been restored to its original glory and is on display at the Smithsonian.

➔ FOR THE FIRST TIME IN MORE than a century, James McNeill Whistler's Peacock Room, considered one of the great masterpieces of interior decorative art, can be seen as the artist originally intended it, now that the Smithsonian's Freer Gallery of Art has restored the iconic installation to its original splendor.

The room, Whistler's only existing decorative interior, began life more than 140 years ago as the London dining room of British shipping magnate Frederick Leyland. The American artist's first major patron, Leyland wanted his home in Kensington "to be a palace of art to match his cultural standing," says curator Lee Glazer, director of Colby College's Lunder Institute for American Art.

The commission for the room had originally been given to architect Thomas Jeckyll, who was sidelined by illness. Whistler, who was working on another part of the house, volunteered to complete it. But he convinced Leyland to stay away, and went about completely redesigning the space.

"He sends Leyland letters, telling him, 'I'm transforming your dining room. It'll be a gorgeous surprise!'" Glazer tells Newsweek. "But he never said exactly what he was doing. And he didn't tell Leyland that he was inviting members of the press to see what he was up to."

To showcase Leyland's collection of delicate blue-and-white Kangxi porcelain from 17th-century China, Whistler covered every inch of the walls and ceiling in Prussian blue and gold, crafting intricate patterns resembling peacock plumage. He even painted over 6th-century leather hangings Jeckyll had selected for the room so they wouldn't clash with Whistler's own 1864 painting, "The Princess from the Land of Porcelain," which was hung prominently over the fireplace.

BY

DANIEL AVERY

[@namegoeshere](#)

THE BIG REVEAL

When his client returned to London in 1877, he wasn't pleased to find his dining room transformed and his house turned into a public spectacle. Leyland was also less than thrilled about the rather substantial bill Whistler presented to him.

"They dickered back and forth and settled on half the rate Whistler was asking for," Glazer says, "But their relationship was irrevocably damaged."

Allowed to go back in and wrap up, the disgruntled artist added a new centerpiece: Two puffed-up male peacocks in a fighting stance, meant to represent Whistler and Leyland. (He titled the piece "Art and Money: or, The Story of the Room.") "I have made you famous," he allegedly told his former benefactor. "My work will live when you are forgotten. Still, perchance, in the dim ages to come you



will be remembered as the proprietor of the Peacock Room."

Whistler never saw the room again but, Glazer says, Leyland must have seen something he liked: "He was one of the richest men in London. He could have easily redone the room. But he didn't."

The 1860s and 1870s saw the rise of Aestheticism in England—the idea of "art for art's sake," rather than to make a deeper social or political statement. And the Peacock Room is perhaps the most famous example of the style. "Whistler believed in the 'totalizing' aesthetic, in providing an immersive experience into this world of beauty he was creating," says Glazer. "He felt art shouldn't be limited to the interior of a frame, but extend to the room itself."

COLLEEN DUGAN



PRE-PEACOCK Preparing the room at the Smithsonian, just like it was 140 years ago in London.

But this is the first time the original design has been seen since the 1800s. (By the time Freer acquired the room, the porcelains had all been auctioned off.) Restored and reopened to the public in May, the installation titled “The Peacock Room in Blue and White,” Glazer says “gives you a clearer understanding of Whistler’s mind as an artist and a decorator.”

To approximate the original, her team examined photos of the room taken in Leyland’s house in 1892. Period Kangxi porcelains, similar to what Leyland would have displayed, line the east and north walls, framed by the gilded walnut latticework Jeckyll designed. To fill the remaining west and south walls, the Freer commissioned 95 new ceramic pieces that follow the same ancient tradition of Chinese porcelain-making.

The room is accessible to the public during museum hours, but its shutters are only opened on the third Thursday of every month. While the peacocks Whistler regarded as the room’s crowning glory disappear when the shutters are open, when the shutters are closed many subtle details of the design become visible.

“It’s more dynamic and truer to the way the room would have been experienced when it was a lived-in space versus a museum icon,” says Glazer. “In Leyland’s era, the shutters would have been closed only in the evening, so the gilded peacocks were part of the nocturnal aspect of the room.” **N**

→ **“The Peacock Room in Blue and White”** is now open to the public at the Smithsonian’s Freer Gallery of Art in D.C. “Whistler in Watercolor” is on view through October 6, 2019.

WHAT PRICE, ART?

There was also a commercial aspect to his philosophy: There was a lot of money to be made from middle-class patrons who needed help decorating.

Unfortunately, after his falling out with Leyland, Whistler fell out of favor with collectors and went through several years of financial straits and ridicule. It was those straits, though, that led the artist to reinvent himself and focus on watercolors. They dried faster than oil and could be made—and sold—quickly. (Not coincidentally, the Freer is also hosting its first major exhibition of Whistler’s watercolors since the 1930s.)

“Whistler recognized that in the modern world there is an inherent relationship between art and money,” Glazer says. “And he steadfastly

believed the artist should be the most empowered to determine the value of his own art.”

After Leyland died in 1892, his family sold the Peacock Room to Charles Lang Freer, who had it dismantled, shipped to the U.S., and reassembled in his Detroit mansion. When Freer died, the room was permanently installed in the Freer Gallery in Washington, D.C., which opened in 1923.

There was a lot of money to be made from middle-class patrons who needed help decorating.

PARTING SHOT

RuPaul

➔ “DRAG IS MORE THAN PUTTING ON A WIG AND A PAIR OF CHA-CHA HEELS. It’s really about deconstructing our experience as humans on this planet.” RuPaul is on a mission. The multiple Emmy-award winning drag icon, just nominated for 14 more for *RuPaul’s Drag Race*, is bringing his own unique experience to audiences outside the world of drag, and in the process is changing Hollywood. First, there’s his daytime talk show *RuPaul*. Then there’s *AJ and the Queen*, his new Netflix original comedy series co-created with *Sex and the City*’s Michael Patrick King about a down-on-her-luck drag queen on the road with an 11-year-old orphaned stowaway. If that weren’t enough, soon he’ll be expanding the *Drag Race* franchise to include *Drag Race UK*. His mission doesn’t include making drag mainstream, but rather, using drag as a means to allow people to see who they are on the inside. “Drag is deconstructing the idea we have of ourselves,” RuPaul says. “When you’re able to wipe all of that away and build it up, based on what you feel from the inside out, that’s when you really understand drag.”

What do you think *RuPaul* brings to daytime TV?

It’s a real organic conversation, and I think that’s what makes it compelling. We are actually vibing, you know? It’s not over-produced in a way that every answer is thought out.

If Donald Trump were a guest what would you ask him?

Well, first of all, he would not be a guest because he wouldn’t want to have a real conversation. Donald Trump is a con man. A con man would never want to be in the presence of a drag queen, because the drag queen is going to tell the truth.

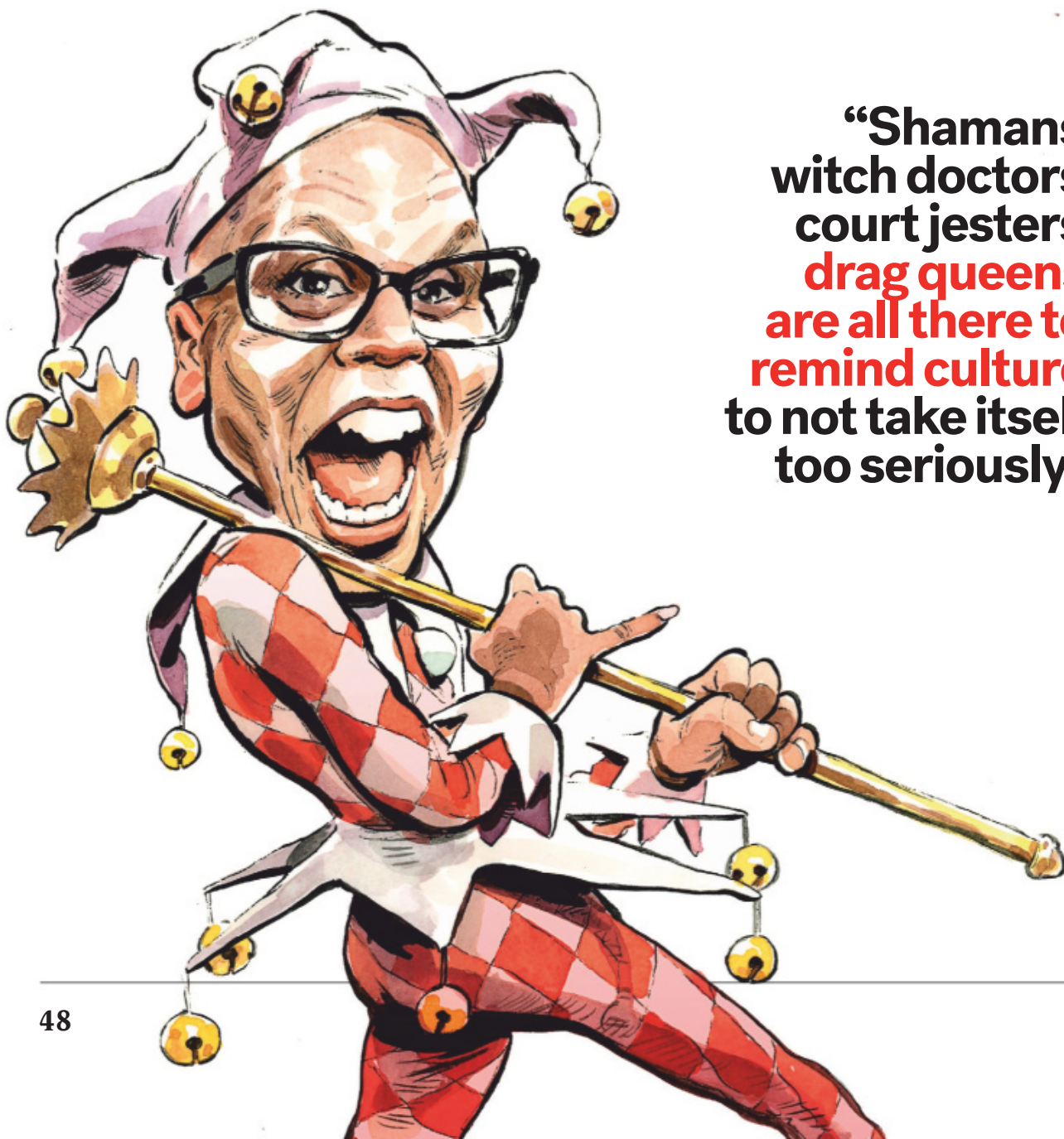
Do drag queens have a special ability to connect with audiences on a deeper level?

Shamans, witch doctors, court jesters, drag queens are all there to remind culture to not take itself too seriously. We are able to break the proverbial fourth wall—we deconstruct what we’re doing and then rebuild what we’re doing on this planet into something better without all of the fear and superstition that marks our experience as humans.

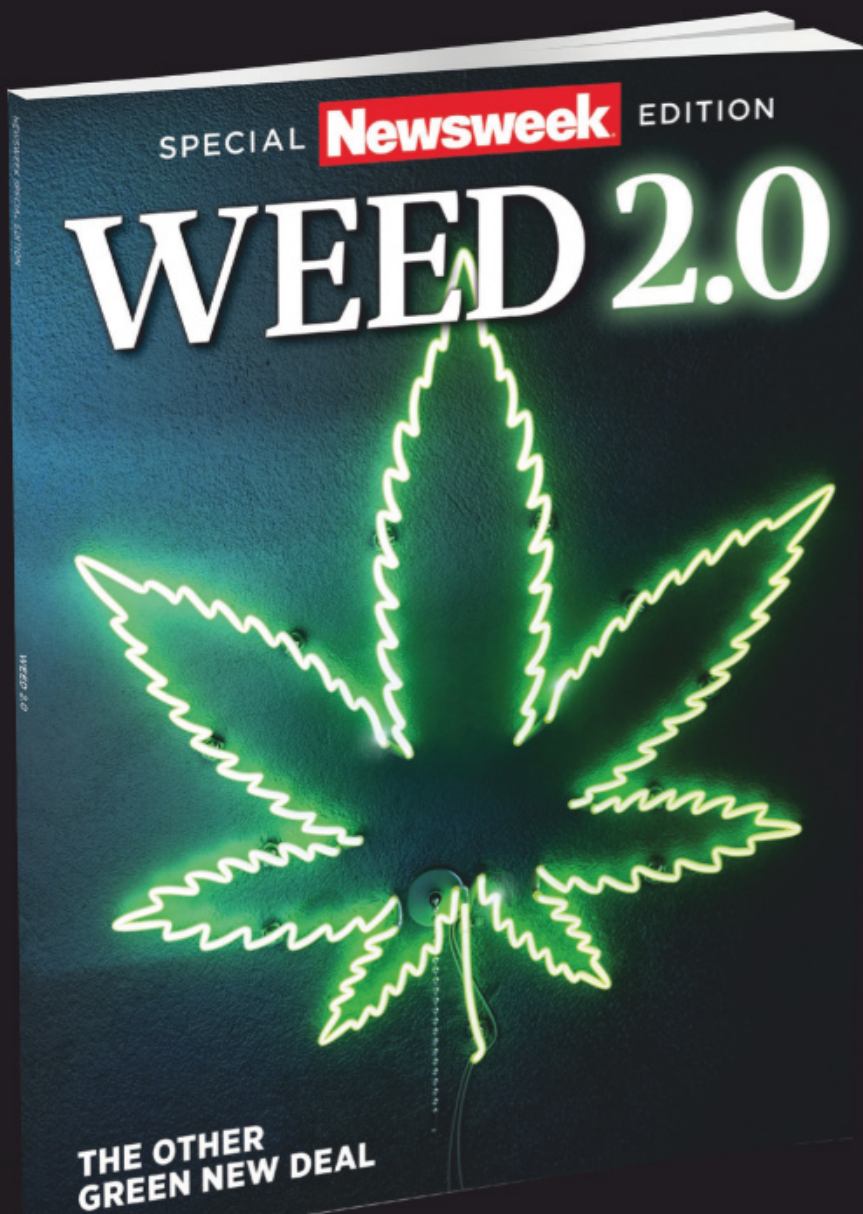
What would you lip sync for your legacy?

A good lip sync song gives you drama and musical modulations. The content is sort of bittersweet, morose. So it would be Cher’s “Save Up All Your Tears.” Cher is phenomenal. She’s a fantastic singer, and her voice is better today than it ever was. —H. Alan Scott

“Shamans, witch doctors, court jesters, drag queens are all there to remind culture to not take itself too seriously.”



The green tide is rising. Are you ready?



WEED

HE'S ON A MISSION FROM GOD

HOW BELIEVED CHARACTER ACTOR JIM BELUSHI FOUND A NEW CAREER AND A NEW PURPOSE.

WHEN JIM Belushi introduces himself, the first words come with a rush of recognition. Preparing for the annual event isn't just a job; it's a mission. The actor, who has been in the industry for over 40 years, is now a cannabis advocate. He's on a mission from God. Belushi, who has been in the industry for over 40 years, is now a cannabis advocate. He's on a mission from God. Belushi, who has been in the industry for over 40 years, is now a cannabis advocate. He's on a mission from God.



Jim Belushi and his team pose for a photo after touring a cannabis farm in Oregon. Belushi is wearing a plaid shirt and a hat. The team is standing in a field of cannabis plants. The photo is taken outdoors during the day.



WEED HEALTH UPDATE

RECONSIDERING CANNABIS?

AS MORE AND MORE PEOPLE ACCEPT CANNABIS INTO THE MAINSTREAM, SOME STILL QUESTION ITS HEALTH RISKS.

TWENTY YEARS AGO, few people in the United States knew what a cannabis plant looked like. Today, it's everywhere. But as more people accept cannabis into the mainstream, some still question its health risks. [Content] continues to be a good idea, that's reasonable. But we don't know that about it. [Content] continues to be a good idea, that's reasonable. But we don't know that about it. [Content] continues to be a good idea, that's reasonable. But we don't know that about it.



Belushi's cannabis farm in Oregon. The photo shows a close-up of a cannabis plant with green leaves and small buds. The background is slightly blurred, focusing on the plant's texture and color.

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