

Why I Accepted a Medal from Trump

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**BIDEN
SUCCEED**
WHERE
**OBAMA
FAILED?**

THE NEW
PRESIDENT
HAS A STARK
CHOICE:
MAKE FRIENDS
OR MAKE
PROGRESS

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FEATURES

DAUNTING

President-elect Joe Biden speaking in Delaware this past Thanksgiving. The enormous task before him now is to somehow find a way to govern a bitterly divided country.

COVER CREDIT

Photo-illustration by Gluekit for *Newsweek*; Biden by Olivier Douliery/AFP/Getty



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NO PIGEONHOLE

"I may be indeed perceived as a character actor, but I just think of myself as an actress that serves the work."



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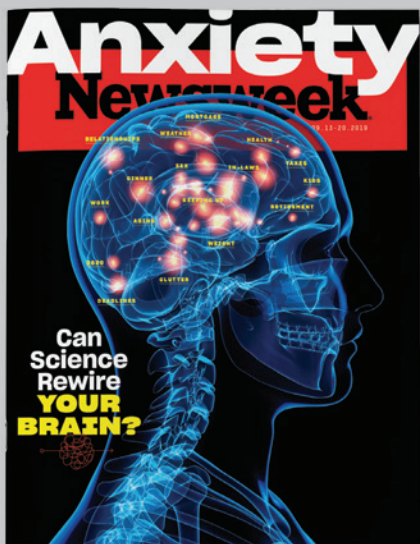
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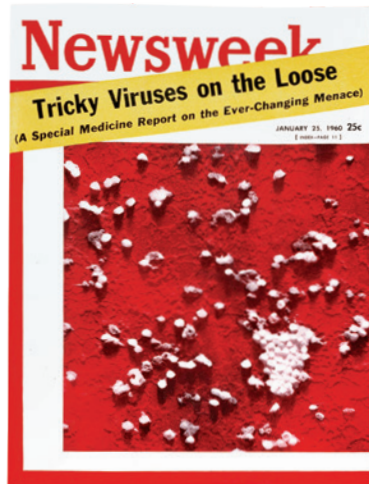
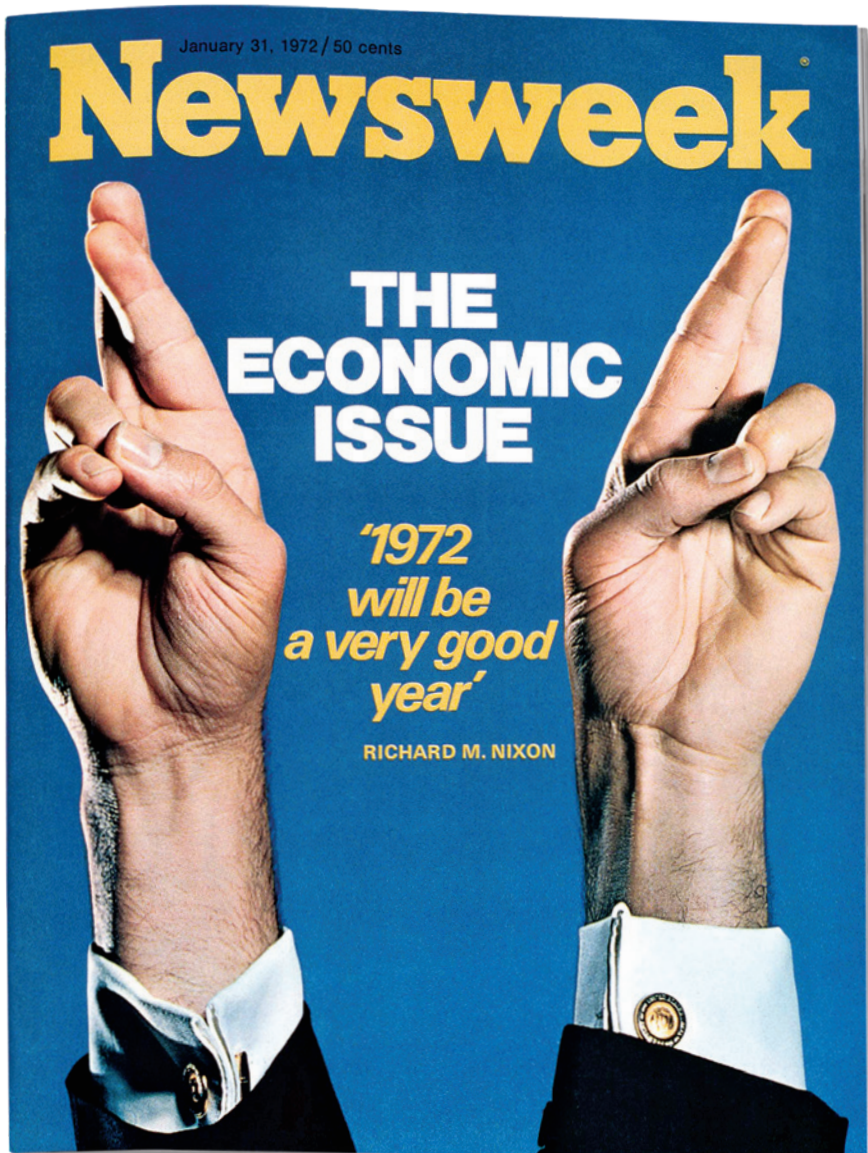
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The Archives

1972

Newsweek wrote that “what President Nixon needs to win re-election, an aide says, is not so much an economic boom as ‘arguable prosperity’—and his success or failure in achieving it promises to be the central issue of the fall campaign.” The economy regained strength throughout that year, and Nixon won reelection in a landslide. In President Trump’s 2020 reelection campaign, economic woes also played a prominent role. COVID-19 led to financial turmoil and turned a record-low unemployment rate of 3.5 percent in February 2020 into 14.7 percent only two months later.



1960

“This striking electron micrograph shows the influenza virus, Type B, magnified 40,000 times,” said *Newsweek*, showing the “spectacular dispersion and activity of the vicious virus.” In December, the WHO identified two new, more contagious strains of COVID-19, discovered in the U.K and South Africa, which have already spread to dozens of countries.



2001

Many parents felt that “raising children today is like competing in a triathlon with no finish line in sight,” according to *Newsweek*. Already time-strapped parents filled days “with a mad scramble of sports, music lessons, prep courses and battles over homework”—a schedule that has not abated. [N](#)

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In Focus

— THE NEWS IN PICTURES





WASHINGTON, D.C.

On Guard

Members of the National Guard rest in the Capitol Visitors Center on Capitol Hill in Washington, D.C., January 13, ahead of a House vote impeaching U.S. President Donald Trump. The troops are also assembling for the inauguration of President-elect Joe Biden and Vice President-elect Kamala Harris on January 20.

📷 - BRENDAN SMIALOWSKI

In Focus



CLOCKWISE FROM BOTTOM LEFT: GABRIEL BOUYS/AFP/GETTY; ADEK BERRY/AFP/GETTY; NIKOLAY DOYCHINOV/AFP/GETTY



LANCANG ISLAND, INDONESIA

Tragedy

Indonesian Navy divers hold wreckage from Sriwijaya Air flight SJY182 during a search and rescue operation in the Java Sea on January 10. The Boeing 737-500 crashed the day before, shortly after taking off from Jakarta airport. The cause of the crash, which killed all 62 persons on board, remains unclear.

📷 → ADEK BERRY



MADRID

Snow Daze

On January 9, heavy snowstorms in Madrid and much of Spain left three people dead and trapped motorists—more than 1,000 according to *The Washington Post*—and closed the capital's air and rail links. Storm Filomena dropped 20 inches of snow in the suburbs—the most the area had seen in decades.

📷 → GABRIEL BOUYS



DOJNA SEKIRNA, BULGARIA

Fire Fest

Bulgarian dancers costumes perform a ritual dance with flaming torches during the Kukeri Carnival in western Bulgaria, on January 13. The Kukeri Carnival, a festival of brightly colored masks and costumes, marks the beginning of Spring. Every participant makes a multi-colored mask, covered with beads, ribbons and woolen tassels.

📷 → NIKOLAY DOYCHINOV



Pulling the Plug

When Big Tech companies dumped Donald Trump and Parler were they stifling free speech or just exercising their own rights?

"Be everywhere even when you are sitting right at home." » P.16



PRIVATE COMPANIES CAN CHOOSE WHAT TO OFFER THEIR CUSTOMERS

by Froma Harrop

SO, PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP HAS been booted off Twitter, as of now forever. Facebook also gave him the heave-ho. Apple and Google, meanwhile, have tossed the riot-friendly Parler app out of their stores.

Parler became a social media cave for the Trump-inspired looters, vandals, cop killers and other social misfits who rampaged through the Capitol. But Amazon may have delivered the harshest blow by refusing to store Parler's data in its cloud-computing service.

Having lost the presidency, the Senate majority and now major platforms for disseminating lies and calls to violence, Trump World, or what's left of it, automatically shifted into self-pitying snowflake mode. With quivering voices, its members accused the tech companies of censorship.

When Simon & Schuster announced it would not be publishing the book by one of the instigators, Josh Hawley, the Missouri senator called the move "Orwellian" and a "direct assault on the First Amendment." A graduate of Yale Law School should know that the First Amendment bans only government censorship.

These are all private companies, and private companies have every

right to decide what they do or do not offer customers. I demand that Fox News give me an hour of airtime every week. I'm not getting it? Well, those are the breaks.

There will be a time for thoughtful debate on these companies' power to monitor the flow of information. That time is not this week. Having just endured a violent attempt to destroy the electoral process at Trump's urging, American democracy is now in Code Red. We're in a national emergency demanding an emergency response.

That's why other companies are joining the media giants in isolating Trump and his fellow insurrectionists. Blue Cross Blue Shield Association and Marriott International said they would freeze donations to Republican lawmakers who challenged state-certified Electoral College votes for President-elect Joe Biden. Stripe, a tech company that processes card payments for online businesses, has cut off Trump's campaign account. And the e-commerce company Shopify has pulled the plug on stores run by Trump and his campaign.

In addition to a shared revulsion to the Trump-fanned attack on the Capitol, the companies have business

reasons to stop the insanity. The American system of checks and balances and peaceful transfer of power has been good to business. Corporate leaders, including many who signed on with the president for the tax cuts, know that chaos unleashed by toxic Trumpian forces is bad for the economy and, therefore, bad for them.

One of the more muscular calls to isolate Trump and his enablers comes from *Forbes* magazine, which bills itself as the world's biggest business media brand. The Trump insurrection, editor Randall Lane wrote, was rooted in "lies-upon-lies, repeated frequently and fervently." From day one of this Orwellian presidency, he added, "up has been down, yes has been no, failure has been success."

Lane went on to warn corporate America against hiring a former Trump White House spokesperson. Any of them—from Sean Spicer up through Kayleigh McEnany—will be considered a "potential funnel of disinformation," he said.

To repeat: No one has withdrawn Trump's right to free speech. He can hold a news conference. He can issue press releases. He can open the window and holler.

And Hawley's book could still see the light of day. The publisher may be less prestigious than Simon & Schuster. And he might be able to keep the advance. Conservative publisher Regnery said it would consider the book.

It bears noting that Apple did give Parler an opportunity to remove content that would threaten people's safety. Its warnings went unheeded. Parler is dead, for now, anyway. All we can say is those are the breaks.

→ **Froma Harrop** is an award-winning journalist, author and syndicated columnist. The views expressed in this article are the writer's own.



AFTER PARLER BAN, REIN IN BIG TECH NOW OR CEASE BEING FREE CITIZENS

by Rachel Bovard

IN THE WAKE OF THE PROTESTS AND tragic violence at the United States Capitol last Wednesday, Parler, the popular alternative to Twitter, is facing an unprecedented crackdown from its competitors. In the span of 48 hours, both Apple and Google announced they would be removing the app from their smartphone app stores. Shortly thereafter, Amazon Web Services announced it would stop hosting Parler, thus also wiping out its web component.

Signaling his thanks, Twitter CEO Jack Dorsey—who calls his platform one that stands for "free expression" and "empowering dialogue"—tweeted out a heart emoji when Parler no longer showed up on Apple's list of popular apps.

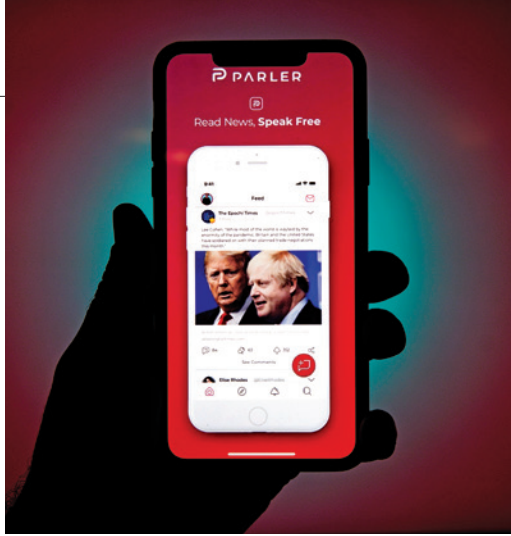
The rationale given by all these Big Tech behemoths is that Parler doesn't

do enough to moderate the violent threats its users make on its platform. This is rich, coming from companies that host and circulate Facebook and Twitter, where violent threats proliferate on a daily basis. Twitter has even gone to court, on free speech grounds, to protect the use of its site for organizing protests—even ones where conduct is disorderly.

Over the summer, many Black Lives Matter protests were organized on social media. Many of those protests later turned violent. All told, this summer's riots, which spanned 140 cities, caused more than \$2 billion in damage and resulted in at least 25 deaths. Has anyone undertaken an investigation into the links between those riots and social media?

Moreover, when it comes to their own behavior, these companies deny





that any links could possibly exist between content moderation and offline harm. Last year, their representatives sat on stage at a Department of Justice workshop and insisted that what is said or circulated on social media isn't their fault—they just amplify reach. Streaming a murder, for example, isn't at all the same as committing it, they asserted. They've testified before Congress that their platforms should not be held in any way responsible for one image of a child's sexual abuse circulating more than 160,000 times. Law enforcement should just do more, they've argued.

So to condemn Parler for “not doing enough”—to make them liable, in other words, for any violence that might result from what people say—directly contradicts the standards these platforms hold for themselves, not to mention the standards they demand the U.S. government hold for them. Section 230 protections for me, but not for thee.

But this clearly collusive behavior sets other troubling precedents in the market. For years, pro-Big Tech lawmakers, pundits and analysts have told those unhappy with the major platforms to “build your own” Facebook or Twitter. “Conservatives are ignoring the rest of the internet,” scoffed one libertarian in August.

So John Matze, the founder of Parler, went and actually did it. He built his own Twitter. Yet those same pro-free market conservatives and libertarians mocked him and his product. And now, when that product is under threat from collusive market behavior for obvious political reasons, they have gone completely mute.

“Build your own,” it turns out, really was nothing more than a slogan with no intellectual commitment behind it. It was a semantic quip that deployed the rhetoric of the free market to

GREAT POWER AND/OR GREAT RESPONSIBILITY? Big tech companies want to keep the freedom to ban speech they don't like, including dropping entire platforms like Parler. At the same time, they also say they shouldn't be held liable for any content they are willing to permit.

protect entrenched corporate interests.

“Build your own,” in other words, until it actually challenges Facebook, Google or Twitter.

As a practical matter, moreover, what is happening to Parler has rendered the “build your own” argument moot. Conservatives can build as many alternatives as we want, but should they grow at all powerful, the speech police will come for them—and remove every piece of infrastructure a growing company needs in order to access a mainstream audience.

Big Tech has both market control and narrative control. And as has been proven time and time again, they will form a cartel to aggress against any competitor who dares to host a diversity of views or threatens

“A free market depends on innovative competitors being able to win on their merits, and a free society depends on the open exchange of ideas.”

their market dominance in any way.

This behavior cannot be tolerated in a free market—much less in a free society. A free market depends on innovative competitors being able to win on their merits and a free society depends on the open exchange of ideas.

Conservatives can continue to marginalize themselves in tiny ghettos of the internet, but that does not really represent what Americans understand “free speech” to be. Free speech is not just about who *speaks*—it is also about who *hears*. And when three or four companies control the virtual public square, their power to silence viewpoints and information in completely unaccountable ways is distorting and unraveling our society.

Laissez-faire conservatives and libertarians—anyone who cares about liberty, really—should be speaking out in force against corporations colluding to silence competitors. Whether you disagree with Parler's content moderation policies or not, a society that tolerates this level of corporate control over speech, information and free thought is one where self-government—where the people rule—will quickly be sacrificed for something resembling a corporate plutocracy.

Big Tech's control has been evolving slowly. But after last Wednesday, the floodgates have truly been unleashed. Everything conservatives say they stand for—free thought, free speech and free markets—is now under threat. Parler is just one company, but it is very much a proxy for the battle that is to come. And based on the silence from conservatives and libertarians in D.C., we are ill-prepared for the fight that is now at our doorstep. **N**

→ **Rachel Bovard** is senior advisor to the Internet Accountability Project. The views expressed in this article are the writer's own.



OPINION

We Need an Intergenerational COVID Vaccine Corps

A COVID Vaccine Corps bringing together young people and retired medics could speed vaccinations up—and bridge divides, too

IF THE COVID-19 VACCINE IS TO liberate us, we urgently need new ways to deliver it. Senator Mitt Romney (R-Utah) recently proposed enlisting retired medical professionals. Just a few days later, University of Massachusetts leaders Dr. Michael Collins and Martin Meehan, formerly a seven-term Democratic Congressman, called for a “Vaccine Corps” made up of college students and recent graduates.

Both are great ideas. Even better: Let’s combine them, bring retired health care workers and young adults together, and create an intergenerational service corps that can quickly and efficiently vaccinate millions of Americans.

Bringing the two generations together combines the different life

experiences and skills of both, making for a powerful pairing. Retired doctors, nurses, dentists and pharmacists could provide the shots and monitor patients for reactions. Young adults, as Collins and Meehan suggest, could “help contact trace, inform, and support the logistics of distributing, administering, and tracking hundreds of millions of vaccine doses.”

With COVID-19 scuttling life plans, retired health care professionals and young adults are the two populations most likely to have—and give—significant time to service. In normal times, young people have yet to commit to careers, parenthood and mortgages; older

ones have moved beyond midlife responsibilities and seek new purpose.

In this crisis, young and old saw the need and rushed to meet it. Young people across the nation created tech platforms to identify and meet the needs of isolated elders. And elders, themselves at great risk, stepped up, too. In New York City, 1,000 retired medical personnel volunteered to help within 24 hours of Governor Cuomo’s call. By the end of March, 76,000 people—many of them retired doctors and nurses—had volunteered.

In coming weeks, retirees may respond to a call with even greater enthusiasm. As frontline workers, they would be vaccinated, dramatically reducing risk.

There are other benefits to this

BY

GERALD BOURNE
& PHYLLIS SEGAL

[@EncoreOrg](https://www.encore.org)

powerful pairing of young and old. Research suggests that combining the skills and experience of different generations can boost innovation and productivity. And meaningful connection across generations provides opportunities for cross-mentoring and mutual learning, a chance to break down stereotypes about age and race as people get to know one another, and a new way to build bridges and rebuild community.

An intergenerational Vaccine Corps would build on a long track record of successful service initiatives. For decades, Americans have stepped up to meet urgent community needs—from natural disasters to homelessness to the struggle to help all children learn to read. Each year, hundreds of thousands of AmeriCorps members serve in programs like City Year, Teach For America and the National Civilian Conservation Corps, while AmeriCorps Seniors serve in programs like AARP Experience Corps, Foster Grandparents and Senior Companions.

There is ample evidence, too, that bringing generations together works to meet community needs. It happens informally in places like food banks, soup kitchens and Habitat for Humanity sites every day.

While there is no formal, widely available intergenerational service corps in the U.S., there are organizations that bring older and younger generations together to serve. At SBP, a social impact organization focused on disaster resilience and recovery, intergenerational teams work to rebuild resilient communities in the U.S. and Bahamas. A COVID

“There is ample evidence that bringing generations together works to meet community needs.”

Containment Response Corps in Colorado brings AmeriCorps members and AmeriCorps Seniors together to do contact tracing and support front-line health workers in other ways.

For the past two years, our Encore Physicians program has engaged retired physicians to help solve doctor shortages at health clinics in underserved communities and to mentor younger clinicians. Many retired doctors are eager to do more, asking how they can help support the COVID immunization effort. A call to retired registered nurses, dentists and pharmacists would likely produce many more professionals qualified to help.

Mobilizing people to deliver vaccines of course requires leadership and funding. But this intergenerational

approach can be up and running quickly. At the federal level, AmeriCorps infrastructure already exists; indeed, in Colorado AmeriCorps members who were already serving were redeployed to meet a more urgent need.

And there are other options. State governments or state service programs like the Commonwealth Corps in Massachusetts or California Volunteers could run statewide programs. City agencies could do the same. Existing programs, like Encore Physicians, could be expanded. Online training could provide both efficiency and a consistent approach to safety and patient care.

The need to vaccinate millions is urgent. This solution is hiding in plain sight. **N**

→ **Gerald Bourne, M.D.**, directs *Encore Physicians*. **Phyllis Segal**, a former board member of the *Corporation for National and Community Service*, is a senior fellow at *Encore.org*. The views expressed in this article are the authors' own.



GETTING IT DONE Opposite: health care workers in Portland, Oregon, get vaccinated. Right: a testing site at Dodger Stadium in Los Angeles. Mitt Romney wants retired medical professionals to help speed up vaccinations.

WORK

Pandemic-Proof Your Career

Develop new skills and keep your network sharp to stay ahead of the competition



ACCORDING TO THE BUREAU OF Labor Statistics year-end report, 2020 ended with 9.8 million fewer jobs than before the pandemic and an unemployment rate of 6.8 percent—much improved from the all-time high of 14.7 percent in April, but a still worrying number with new strains of COVID-19 popping up and the pandemic continuing to wreak havoc on the economy. Four-time Pulitzer Prize-nominee and best-selling author Fawn Germer tackles strategies for getting back to work after a job loss or work gap and renewing your career in her new book, *Coming Back: How to Win the Job You Want When You've Lost the Job You Need* (St. Martin's Press, January). At a time when employment is precarious for so many, Germer's practical advice for staying relevant is welcome. In this excerpt, she discusses how to get started on the job hunt, the importance of upskilling and how to help insulate yourself from a layoff in the first place.

will face great fear and hardship, and you will wonder what you need to do to make it to the other side.

There will be times when you will be forced by circumstance to regroup and, perhaps, start over. Whether the crisis is a pandemic, terrorist attack, hurricane, flood, wildfire, an economic collapse or something personal, it is on you to get it together and find your strongest self as quickly as possible.

Always remember: your greatest opportunity to succeed occurs in moments when everybody else is giving up.

It might appear unseemly to focus on winning at a time when people are sick, dying and in financial ruin.

But what is your other choice? To curl up in a fetal position, glued to cable news and waiting for the end of days? Life is going to go on. Every crisis ends. *Not* thinking about how you are going to prevail on the other side of it is foolish.

Granted, if your house is the one that loses its roof in a hurricane, you have to deal with that rather than plot out career strategies. But unless you are a direct victim, get it together and get on with things. Figure out the steps you need to take. Write down the people you need to call. Then do the steps and call the people!

Are you going to wait until things get "back to normal," then figure it out? The people who act quickly reap the rewards. How are you going to emerge from the crisis as a go-to player at work? How are you going to be positioned to be the first hired?

The pandemic has pushed people to the brink, but anyone stuck at home and who is not sick has a ton of time to get in shape and take classes that will upskill them and prepare them to rise above coworkers or other job applicants. You can upskill instantly—for free



BY

FAWN GERMER

@FawnGermer

Choosing to Win

THE ECONOMY HAS COLLAPSED ON me three times in the last 30 years. There was 9/11, the Great Recession of 2008, and now there is the COVID-19 pandemic. Eventually something else will happen; it will be big, people



have to take charge of your news intake or it will take charge of you.

When all the news is bad, it makes you feel bad. Decide how much you need to read or watch in order to be informed, but not consumed by it. You don't need every little detail and you don't need to know what 20 pontificators have to say about the latest development. You can check it once a day, once every two or three days, and maybe once a week if you can discipline yourself. If something important happens that you absolutely must know, you'll know it—either because someone will tell you about it or you'll see it on social media. But the more you watch, the more the problem grows inside of your brain.

The constant coverage distorts reality. When you see headlines warning that the unemployment rate may hit 16 percent—yikes! How does that make you feel about your chances of applying for and getting a job?

What does your brain do when you constantly read about people dying, going broke, unable to afford food, being laid off en masse? It creates the worst possible reality for you—one that doesn't even exist.

If you tune it out (or at least way down), your brain can control its own perspective. Minimizing exposure helps you process these circumstances to your best advantage.

Power Networking in Crisis

TECHNOLOGY MAKES IT SO EASY TO connect with others in a meaningful way during a crisis. That's why it is so easy to collaborate from home from our computers and phones. The lockdown wasn't a roadblock to networking; it was an open invitation to get serious about it! At the beginning of the pandemic, I sent texts to so many people in my network, and we all had endless time to catch up

or minimal cost—at many online learning sites (my favorites are edx.org and coursera.org).

And yet most people are still sitting at home wondering what the hell happened and what is going to happen next.

What a waste of time!

No News Is Good News

IF YOU WANT THINGS TO LOOK BLEAK, watch the news. If you want things to look hopeless, *keep* watching the news. But if you want to maintain control over your sanity, tune it out.

Yes, you are being encouraged to institute a partial-news blackout in tough times by someone who lived, breathed and loved her first career as a journalist.

In times of national crisis, you

“Companies care more about what you are going to do in the future than what you did 20 years ago.”

and deepen our friendships. I knew nobody was doing anything and with a Zoom invite, we were suddenly all together, in living color, having our wine, catching up and enjoying a great moment of friendship.

Look at the people you know and start making contact with everybody. Brainstorm together. You support them; they support you. Whether you are stuck at home or things are more normal, you can always Zoom them. FaceTime them. Do whatever you can to keep the friendship going strong.

Let them know what you are struggling with and ASK FOR HELP.

Be Part of the Solution

WHEN COMPANIES ARE IN CRISIS, they need leadership and contribution. What a great time to stand up and lead. Your greatest contribution can come when you see a problem

and know how to fix it. The greatest way to expand authority is to volunteer to solve an unmet need.

Basically, you stepping up and fixing something means your boss doesn't have to do it. So keep your eyes open for any opportunity to contribute more.

Do you see ways to do something differently that will save money or time? Do you know of ways to attract

more business or generate more revenue? Are there other problems you can solve? Speak up. Step up. Do it.

Even if you don't have an idea, you do have the ability to make it clear that you want to be a go-to contributor during the crisis and are ready to volunteer to do more. This makes you stand out. If you need to remind leadership of your special skills and abilities, do it.

Be seen as part of the solution—not the problem. This may not insulate you from a layoff, but it will certainly help.

Make it clear that you are embracing change and work harder than you have ever worked. Hyperperformance will separate you from the others, and those who deliver generally give themselves good job security.

Just overdeliver, overdeliver, overdeliver. It's your time to shine.

“Your greatest opportunity to succeed occurs in moments when everybody else is giving up.”



BOOKS

Q&A: Fawn Germer

BY MEREDITH WOLF SCHIZER

If you've been fired or furloughed, what's the first thing to do?

Get mad. Get sad. Feel it. Then, make a to-do list, starting with checking in with your network and updating your resume and LinkedIn profile. Keep adding to your list so you always have one more thing to do and never lose momentum. Do something every day to move yourself closer to your goal.

What's the most important thing to highlight on a resume or in an interview?

That you have independently added the new skills and education that make you current and relevant. Companies care more about what you are going to do in the future than what you did 20 years ago. So, show that you are insatiably curious and innova-

tive. You can take classes from the most esteemed professors at the best institutions in the nation—and the world—for FREE at edX.org and coursera.org. Show that you are investing in your future.

What are some tips for online job interviews?

It is a VISUAL medium, but so many people don't even consider the image they are projecting. Pay attention to your background, lighting and sound. Every single thing in that visual image is going to be scrutinized. Clean up your mess. Have something interesting to look at behind you. Do not use a virtual background unless you happen to have a well-lit green screen. If you can afford it, get a ring light and a decent microphone. And clean up and look your very best.

How can a recent graduate looking for a job stand out in the current economic climate?

Don't count on online job searches to deliver you to success. Your network is everything. This is a great time to power network electronically. Get on LinkedIn and target a few leaders in places you are interested in working. Write to see if they'd be willing to give you a little mentoring in a 15-minute Zoom chat. If someone says no, just ask the next person. Don't waste time doing nothing. Expand your resume with an internship or volunteer work. Both options give you expertise and access to influential connections.

GERMER BY LISA PRESNAIL



Always Be Prepared

DON'T JUST SIT THERE WAITING FOR your company to toss you out. Always be ready for anything.

Have your resume, cover letter, and wardrobe ready for your intense networking and job search. Identify the companies where you want to look for jobs and know that, among all the many people who will be looking for jobs, you are more organized and your brain is in the game.

Continued learning shows that you are insatiably curious and taking responsibility for staying relevant. That makes you a very attractive candidate. In addition to doing things like reading (*The Wall Street Journal*, *Harvard Business Review*, *Inc.*, *Fast Company*) or taking continuing education courses (you could choose a class on Artificial Intelligence from Columbia or a class in innovation from MIT), if you are searching in a time when everyone is searching, you will also need a sense of calm and a sense of humor. It's going to be a tough, wild ride, but the person who will be victorious will know with certainty that they will prevail.

I know it is hard to stay calm when your financial situation is precarious or your finances are in ruin. It's difficult to have a sense of humor when you try, try, try and get rejected at every turn. But you know that your attitude drives happiness and success. If you mentally make the decision to stay in the game, stay in it. Be good to yourself. Know that "this too shall pass." If you know it, it will be your truth. **N**

→ Excerpt adapted from COMING BACK: HOW TO WIN THE JOB YOU WANT WHEN YOU'VE LOST THE JOB YOU NEED. Copyright © 2021 by Fawn Germer and reprinted by permission of St. Martin's Press.

How can you avoid being overlooked when working from home?

It is a great time to raise your profile by presenting ideas and volunteering for new assignments that will give you more exposure and influence. Schedule "catch up" chats with the people you don't see regularly. Share articles and ideas. You can be everywhere even when you are sitting right at home. And organize social Zooms with your co-workers so you are the ringleader of the gang.

How are you handling the pandemic?

My coping strategy is to accept, cope and adapt. Instead of focusing on what's wrong, I always focus on what's right. Business was a challenge. The kayaking was fabulous.

Do you have any favorite podcasts?

The Daily, *Stuff You Should Know*, *Hollywood Crime Scene* and *Office Ladies*. We all have our guilty pleasures.

What's next for you?

I try to have a good time every day, no matter what. So I'm going to enjoy the hell out of my book release because, what a moment!



COMING BACK! (St. Martin's Press) provides practical advice for how to stay relevant in today's work environment and what steps to take to come back from a job loss or gap.

MY TURN

Why I Accepted a Medal from Donald Trump

Despite the controversy surrounding the president, Pulitzer-winning photographer Nick Ut says receiving the Medal of Arts was “the happiest moment of my life”

THE DAY BEFORE PHOTOGRAPHER
Nick Ut was scheduled to receive the Medal of Arts from Donald Trump, another famous soon-to-be medal recipient publicly declined the honor: Bill Belichick, head coach of the New England Patriots and longtime friend of the president. Belichick, who was scheduled to receive the Presidential Medal of Freedom the same week that Ut was to be honored, cited the “tragic events” of the Capitol riot as his reason for turning down the award.

Ut, however, was undeterred. Born in Vietnam and a photographer for AP for more than 50 years until his retirement in 2017, Ut saw the medal ceremony as a highly personal, not political, moment and a capstone to his long and storied career. While he is most famous for his Pulitzer-Prize winning photo of children fleeing from a napalm attack—the picture, with a young naked girl screaming in pain at its center, helped change public opinion of the Vietnam War—Ut has also covered wildfires, riots, Hollywood celebrities (a photo of a crying Paris Hilton also became iconic), the O.J. Simpson case, the Olympics and the Pope. Here is the story of his decision to accept the medal from Trump, despite some friends advising him otherwise, in his own words, as told to Newsweek senior editor Jenny Haward.

When I was first told that President Donald Trump wanted to award me the National Medal of Arts in the White House I was very excited, I think my reaction was: “Oh my god!” Originally, the award was going to be given last March, but the ceremony was postponed because of the COVID-19 pandemic. Then, I was called last month and told it had been rescheduled to January 13.

My photographer friend Mark

Edward Harris and I arrived in Washington, D.C., on January 11, circumnavigated the Capitol and took some pictures. I took some of the National Guard and

of flowers that had been left to honor the police officer who died [in the Capitol riot]. It was a beautiful shot.

I have covered many riots and protests, including the L.A. riots in 1992 when Rodney King was beaten and last year’s Black Lives Matter protests. They can be dangerous, but I’ve also covered the Vietnam war so I know how to be careful, even though I was wounded three times. I was sad to see the riots at the Capitol, although I do wish I had been there to take pictures. Protests should be peaceful and this one was too violent. When you protest, you don’t have to kill people.

I didn’t watch the Trump rally before

the riots, and I’m sure a lot of people are very upset with me for accepting the medal. But it’s my personal life. I’m an old man now, so I’m happy the president gave me an award. I wanted to be here. For me, it’s more about receiving an award from a president.

There was a meet and greet before the ceremony, and the president looked happy and congratulated me. He talked about my “Napalm Girl” picture and said he was so happy I was there. I gave the president a picture of “Napalm Girl” and I told him that I had signed it and that Phan Thi Kim Phuc [the girl in the photo]—known as Kim Phuc—had signed it, too. I told him that Kim wanted to see him and he said yes, maybe in the future. He was very excited when I gave him the picture.

During the ceremony, Trump gave a speech about the importance of photography, and how I had made the journey from Vietnam to Hollywood and photographed celebrities. When he placed the medal around my neck, it was the happiest moment of my life. I couldn’t believe the president of the United States was giving me a medal. Everyone was applauding and congratulating me. He then asked an assistant to go and get the photo I had given him and showed it to the crowd.

I hadn’t heard then that the president had been impeached for a second time, I just wished him good luck. I have many friends who called me and told me not to come here, they thought it would be dangerous, especially with COVID-19. And I’m sure that in the next few days I will receive a lot of messages about accepting the award. But I don’t mind if anyone is angry because the award is for me personally, and it is from the president of the United States. He’s still the president. And this is America. We have freedom here. I never forget that.

I actually met Donald Trump in



HEAVY MEDAL Photographer Nick Ut with the Medal of Arts he received from the president, a week after pro-Trump supporters stormed the U.S. Capitol.

L.A. before he was president, he loved my picture of Vietnam. He said to me: “Nick, your picture changed the world.” He was talking about my “Napalm Girl” picture. I took that photo when I was on an assignment for the Associated Press (AP) in Trảng Bàng during the Vietnam War. My older brother was an amazing photographer, he was a Vietnamese movie star and one of the best photographers in Vietnam. When I was 14, he told me that he wanted me to become a photographer. When my brother was killed while working in 1965, I said to myself, “what am I doing with my life?” My sister-in-law had an idea to call the AP for a job but they said I was too young. A month later they called me and gave me a job.

Years later, early on the morning of June 8, 1972, at around 8 a.m., I arrived at the village of Trảng Bàng and stayed there for a few hours taking photographs. I was about to head back to Saigon when I saw the plane drop four napalm bombs on Trảng Bàng. I had never seen bombs exploding so close.

I didn’t think there was anyone left in the village that morning but then I saw people running up Highway 1, carrying bodies of dead children. I began taking pictures and then a few minutes later I saw a girl—Kim Phuc—running with her arms out. My first reaction was to wonder why she wasn’t wearing any clothes, but as I ran closer to her while taking pictures, I could see she was badly burned. I knew she was dying, so I put water on her immediately to help her, and then drove her to a local hospital almost 40 minutes away. But they told me they had so many wounded people they couldn’t help and urged me to take Kim to

“I don’t mind if everyone is angry because the award is for me personally, and it is from the president of the United States.”

Saigon. I explained that I believed that if I drove for even one more hour, she would die. They still wouldn't help, so I showed them my media pass and said: "If she dies, the picture will be on the front page of newspapers around the world." They took her in right away.

When I got back to the AP in Saigon, my colleagues saw the look on my face and asked me what had happened. I told them the story and showed them my picture of Kim. Some liked it, but others pointed out that she was a 9-year-old girl wearing no clothes. Then the AP's Saigon director Horst Faas came back from lunch, saw the picture and asked why we hadn't sent it to New York City right away. The picture then went to New York and around the world.

If I hadn't helped Kim, she would have died. And if she had died I don't think I could have lived with myself.

When I first went to Hanoi years after the war, I thought people would be angry with me. But when I was there, people were so happy to see me, they were crying and saying, "Nicky, you stopped the war. We're still alive because of your picture." After all these years I still think about the war and how lucky I was to have survived it. I still have nightmares on occasion.

Since moving to the U.S. in 1977, I've spent more than 40 years in L.A. and covered every major story there from the Rodney King riots to O.J. Simpson's trial. [The actor] Robert

Blake even invited me to lunch when he was being tried for the murder of his wife, which he was later acquitted of. He didn't want anyone else taking his photo. So I went to lunch because I needed a picture of him for my story.

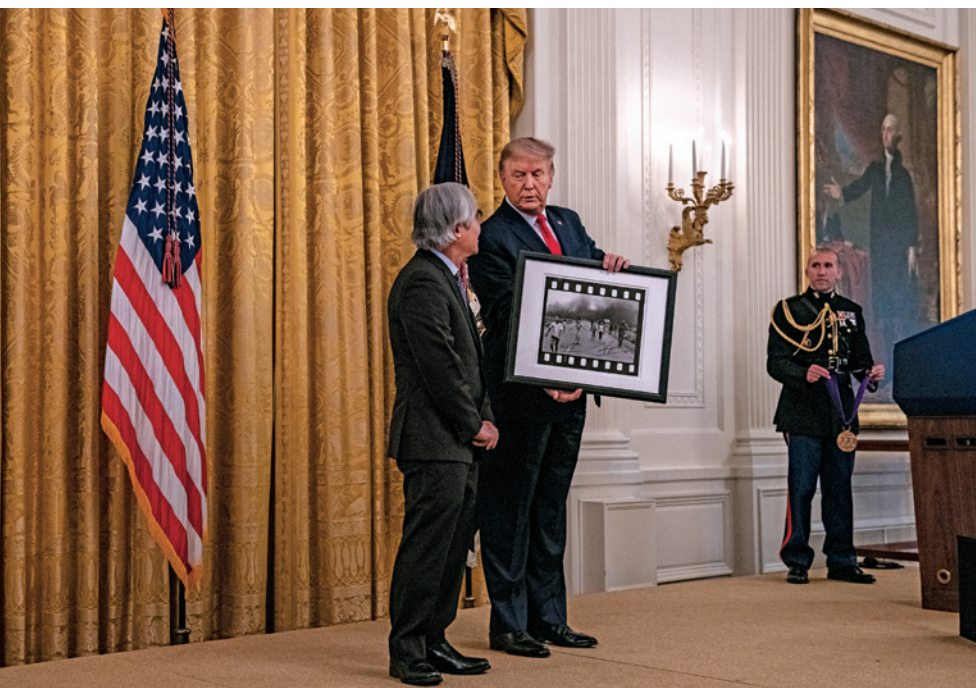
Then, in 2007, I had just returned from a trip to Vietnam when my editor told me I had to go to West Hollywood to cover a story about Paris Hilton being taken to court. On June 8, the same day and time of morning that I took the Napalm Girl photo but many years later, I captured an image of Paris Hilton crying. People put that picture next to the one of Kim and said it reminded them of my photo of Kim—although Kim lives with incredible pain every day from her wounds.

Kim wanted to be at the ceremony, but she lives in Canada and with the pandemic she was unable to. She was very upset. She called me to say she wished she could be here and to say hello to the president for her. We're like family, we speak on the phone almost every week. She calls me Uncle Nick.

I will stay here in Washington for Joe Biden's inauguration. I'm hoping I will get inside and want to capture a moment between Biden and Kamala Harris. I hope to get some good pictures.

Even though I retired from AP a few years ago, I never want to retire from photography. If my trigger finger starts hurting too much, maybe I'll have to retire. But I'm healthy now, and I take photos every day. It would be boring to stay home. I'm so happy I became a U.S. citizen, I've been able to travel all over the world as a photographer. To me, America represents freedom. I hope the future is better. I know what war is, I've seen so many die. I don't want to see that here. **N**

"Of the little girl in the photo: 'We're like family, we speak on the phone almost every week.'"



HONOR BOUND Ut, with Donald Trump at the White House medal ceremony, where the president showed off his signed copy of the photographer's iconic "Napalm Girl" picture.

→ **Nick Ut** is a Pulitzer-winning photographer who worked for AP for 51 years. He got the Medal of Arts on January 13.



HARRYS
OF
LONDON

NEVER PEDESTRIAN
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NEWSMAKERS

Talking Points



"I did not know if I was going to make it to the end of the day alive."

—REP. ALEXANDRIA OCASIO-CORTEZ DESCRIBING A "VERY CLOSE ENCOUNTER" AT THE CAPITOL ON JAN. 6



"THE DECISION HAS BEEN MADE NOT TO MOVE FORWARD WITH THE AWARD."

—NEW ENGLAND PATRIOTS COACH BILL BELICHICK ON RECEIVING THE PRESIDENTIAL MEDAL OF FREEDOM FROM LONGTIME FRIEND DONALD TRUMP



Bill Belichick



"As bad as it was, it really needed to happen. We really needed a reflection of our world's greatest problem, which is not climate change, but sociopathy and narcissism—especially in America."

—LANA DEL REY, ON THE TRUMP PRESIDENCY



"This is America. Make no mistake about it. I think we showed very much our true colors. This is not the first time we've seen a murderous mob like that."

—MEGAN RAPINOE



Megan Rapinoe

People

"DON'T TAKE YOURSELF TOO SERIOUSLY. YOU CAN LIE TO OTHERS—NOT THAT I WOULD—BUT YOU CANNOT LIE TO YOURSELF."

—Betty White, 99, on the secret to a long life



Betty White

The New York Times

"We're very lucky that the vice president isn't a maniac."

—JOE GROGAN, FORMER TRUMP DOMESTIC POLICY ADVISOR



"LET'S BE TOTALLY CLEAR: NO ONE WILL EVER REPLACE THE GREAT ALEX TREBEK. BUT WE CAN HONOR HIM BY PLAYING THE GAME HE LOVED."

—Jeopardy! guest host Ken Jennings

"Since losing my mother to pancreatic cancer, my goal has been to ensure that everyone facing a pancreatic cancer diagnosis knows about the option of clinical trials and the progress being made."

-Keesha Sharp



Photo By Brett Erickson

Stand Up To Cancer and Lustgarten Foundation are working together to make every person diagnosed with pancreatic cancer a long-term survivor.

To learn more about the latest research, including clinical trials that may be right for you or a loved one, visit PancreaticCancerCollective.org.





The **NEW PRESIDENT** has a stark choice: Make friends or make progress. There are **TOUGH LESSONS** for the left as well

CAN

BIDEN

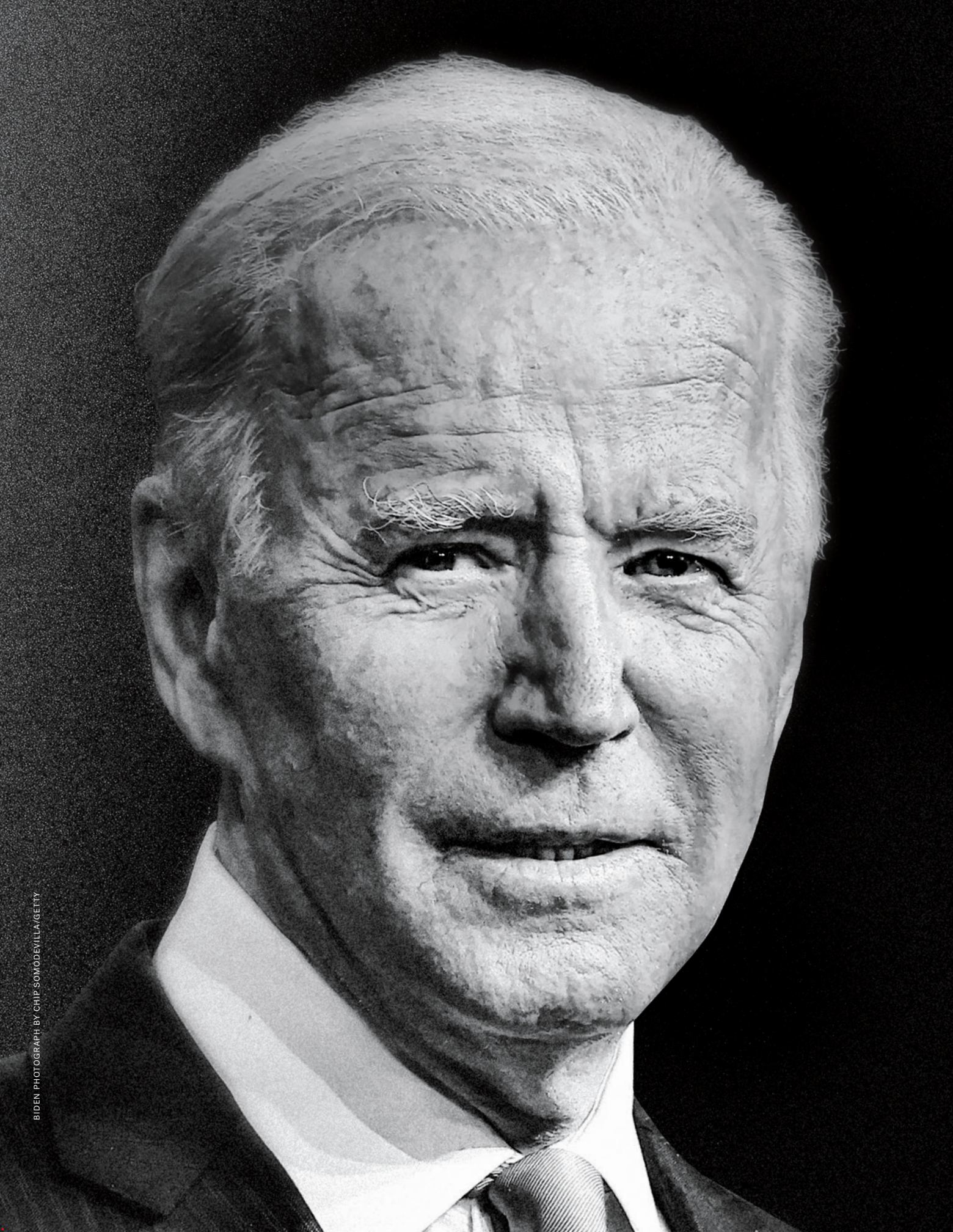
SUCCEED

WHERE

OBAMA

FAILED?

by **DAVID SIROTA** * Photo-illustration by **GLUEKIT**



BIDEN PHOTOGRAPH BY CHIP SOMODEVILLA/GETTY

T

WELVE YEARS AFTER JOE BIDEN was sworn in as the vice president of hope and change, hope is in short supply and the need for change is even more acute.

Progressives have a rare opportunity to enact their agenda—but they will need to play the kind of hardball they have backed away from in the past, because Biden continues to send conflicting messages. For every promise of transformational change, he signals a desire to appease a Republican Party intent on destroying his presidency.

The stakes could not be higher: One out of every thousand Americans has died from a lethal pandemic, with no end yet in sight. The economy is officially still humming along, but millions face eviction, bankruptcy and hunger. Even our democracy is under unprecedented siege by an insurrectionist movement encouraged by the outgoing president and his loyal minions in Congress.

The path forward is difficult to envision amid the fog of culture war, political war and the threat of actual, real-life civil war. But it is clear that Biden is at a crossroad and still unsure which way to go. He can follow his boss, Barack Obama, who pursued bipartisanship, comity and compromise—accommodating corporate power. Or he can break toward the path of Franklin Roosevelt, who did battle with oligarchy, stood down fascism and welcomed the hatred of the rich.

The lesson of the Obama administration is that you can have appeasement or transformative progress, but you cannot have both.

Obama won the 2008 campaign despite being falsely branded a foreign-born socialist bent on radical redistribution, and he assumed office in a similar cauldron of division and destitution. America's psyche was battered by the Iraq War, and our economy was shredded by a financial crisis that ruined millions of lives. It was his FDR moment—which he used not to forge a New Deal that rebalanced the relationship between capital and labor, but to prop up the status quo instead.

→ **He backed his predecessor's bank bailout program**, then terminated it to reduce the deficit rather than redirect it to aid struggling homeowners.

→ **He pushed a stimulus bill**, but one that was far too small, which ended up delivering one of American history's slowest economic recoveries.

→ **He promised a change from a Bush administration** that tried to privatize Social Security, then formed a commission to try to slash the program.

→ **He championed a slightly more liberal version of Republican health care reform**, but steered clear of a more contentious fight for a public health insurance option or Medicare for All.

→ **He touted getting tough on Wall Street**, but his administration refused to prosecute bank executives, force financial institutions to accept mortgage losses and break up the biggest banks.

→ **And he effectively shielded the George W. Bush administration** from any systematic investigation into its Iraq War lies and its lawless torture regime, out of “a belief that we need to look forward as opposed to looking backwards.”

Through it all, Obama enjoyed the adoration of liberal voters and the acquiescence of congressional progressives, who often refrained from a confrontation with the Democratic White House even when Obama's administration was steamrolling their agenda.

In seeking common ground with the GOP, Obama may have expected some friendship in return. Instead, they gave him few congressional votes and even fewer words of praise. Then they delivered a midterm shellacking that effectively ended the possibility of transformational change.

Obama would later write that he avoided a crackdown on Wall Street because that might have “required a violence to the social order.”

That reverence for the status quo—and deference to Wall Street ultimately helped create the backlash conditions for the rise of Trump. One data point suggested a direct linkage: In one third of the counties that flipped from Obama to Trump, there had been an increase in the number of residents whose mortgages were underwater in 2016, according to the Center for American Progress.

“We would not have Trump as president if the Democrats had remained the party of the working class,” University of California-Irvine professor Bernard Grofman recently told the *New York Times*. “[Obama] responded to the housing crisis with bailouts of the lenders and interlinked financial institutions, not of the folks losing their homes. And the stagnation of wages and income for the middle and bottom of the income distribution continued under Obama.”

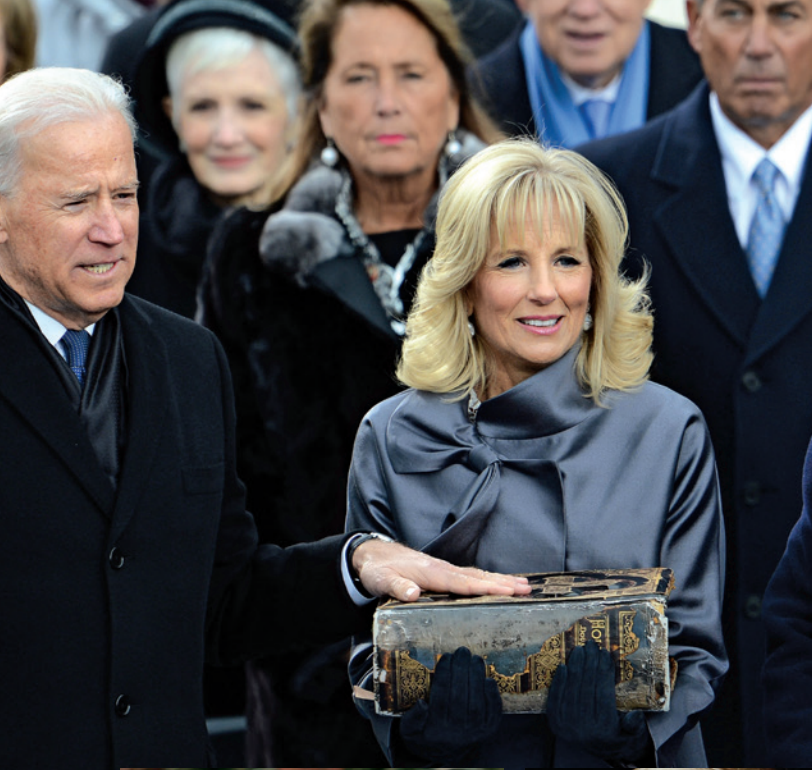


HARDBALL

Joe Biden (above with wife Jill at his 2013 swearing in as VP) will have to get tough with the likes of Mitch McConnell (far right) to implement his plans. Former Presidents Bush (right) and Obama (below) struggled at times to execute their agendas.



CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: STAN HONDA/AFP/GETTY; KEVIN DIETSCH/GETTY; JOE RAEDLE/GETTY; DAVID MCNEW/GETTY



Obama enjoyed the adoration of **LIBERAL** voters and the acquiescence of congressional progressives, who did not put up much of a fight even when his administration was **STEAMROLLING** their agenda.

“We Should Be Investing In Deficit Spending”

A DECADE LATER, IT'S UNCLEAR WHAT BIDEN gleaned from his experience with Obama.

At some moments, he appears to finally be leaning away from his decades-long record as a budget-cutting fiscal hawk, instead campaigning to expand Social Security, then embracing the idea of \$2,000 stimulus checks and most recently declaring that “we should be investing in deficit spending in order to generate economic growth.”

And yet at other moments he has done the opposite. He initially urged Democratic lawmakers to accept a stimulus plan with no stimulus checks. And, eight days after a violent right-wing uprising at the Capitol eviscerated the GOP, he resuscitated and rewarded the party by signaling that—even though he needs no Republican votes—he would rather cut a deal with them on his first stimulus legislation than use ruthless tactics to pass a more robust bill with only Democratic support.

This version of Biden has asserted that once Trump is gone Republican leaders would have an “epiphany” and suddenly learn to work with Democrats. He has also reportedly suggested he is not interested in investigating the outrages of the Trump administration; he has continued to say “we need a Republican Party” and he promised that “I’ll never publicly embarrass” GOP lawmakers.

But that is the paradox: In a narrowly divided Congress, Biden almost certainly will not be able to make major public investments if he is conflicted. Passing a bold agenda will likely require an epic confrontation with the Republicans, who are already girding for obstruction. After years of profligate tax cuts and spending, GOP leaders are suddenly pretending to care about the deficit, and if history is any guide, they will renew their efforts to block the changes to environmental and labor laws that Biden has promised are forthcoming.

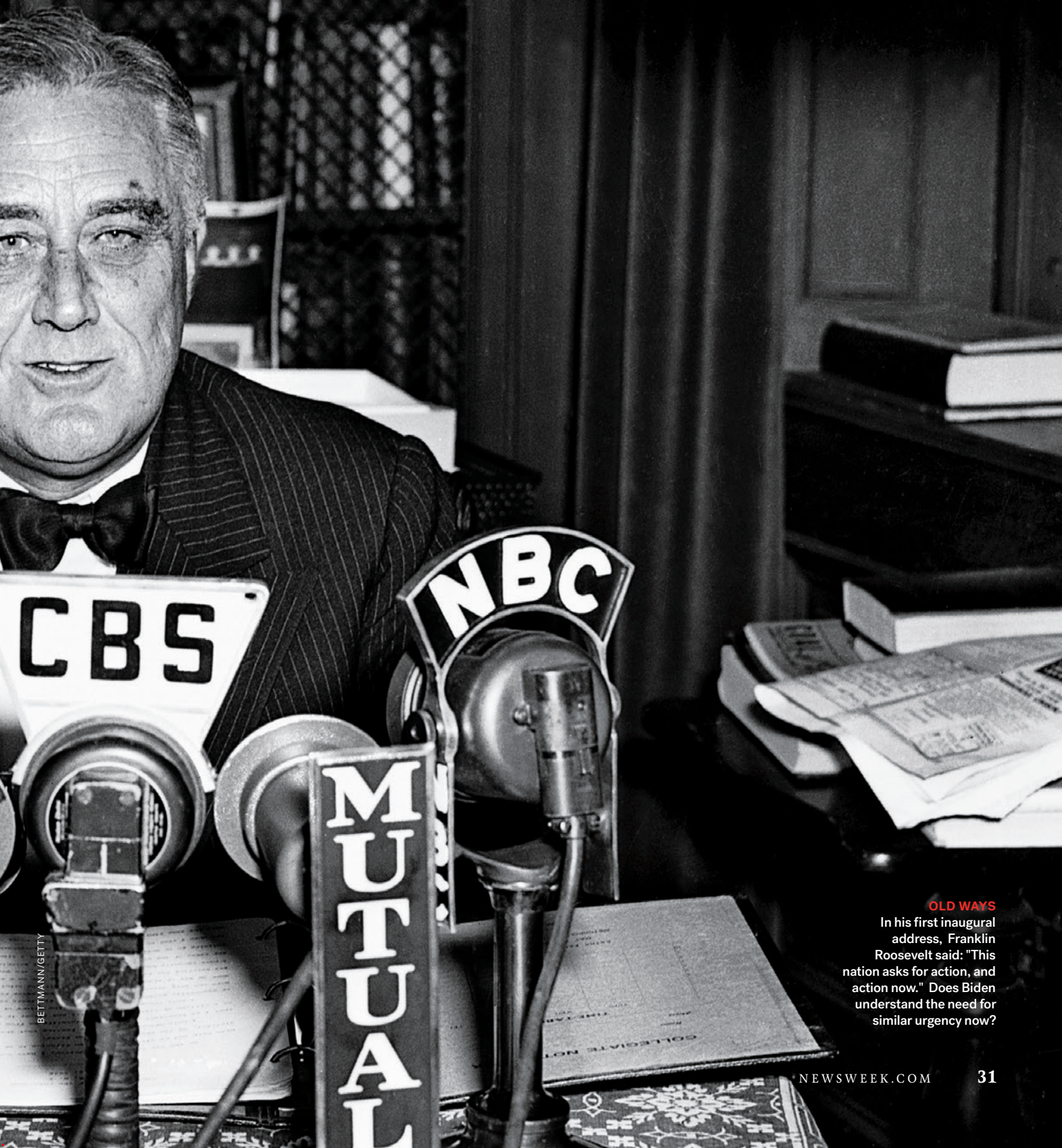
The left is correct to fear Biden getting too cozy with Republicans: His record working with the GOP was marked by collaborating with segregationists against school busing, supporting the Iraq War and pushing to cut Social Security—and it is not hard to imagine Biden now finding common ground with Mitch McConnell on the latter.

This is where progressives must learn their own lesson from the Obama years: Rather than once again offering deference to a first-term Democrat-

BIDEN can break toward the path of Franklin **ROOSEVELT**, who did battle



with oligarchy, stood down fascism and welcomed the hatred of the rich.



BETTMANN/GETTY

OLD WAYS
In his first inaugural address, Franklin Roosevelt said: "This nation asks for action, and action now." Does Biden understand the need for similar urgency now?

ic president, they must press Biden to reject an attitude of appeasement, move him into a more confrontational posture and urge him to see the first few months of the Obama era as a cautionary tale rather than a guidebook. And they have already had some initial success: They successfully pressured him to support the \$2,000 survival checks.

“We’ve got to pass the infrastructure package, we’ve got to do the \$2,000 checks, we’ve got to do a whole bunch of things with a 50-50 Senate and a pretty slight margin in the House,” said Wisconsin Democratic Rep. Mark Pocan. “I hope we don’t do what we did when Barack Obama first got elected [and] try to have kumbaya a little too much with everybody. We have to act and use the tight margins we have swiftly to get things done.”

This will require the kind of shrewdness, discipline and intestinal fortitude we have not typically seen from the left in decades. Grassroots groups will have to get comfortable pressuring the new administration. Democratic lawmakers will have to be prepared to clash with Biden, even when he is trying to talk them down with “come on, man,” “here’s the deal” and other sweet nothings.

Democratic **LAWMAKERS** will have to be prepared to clash with Biden, even when he is trying to talk them down with “come on, man,” “here’s the **DEAL**” and other sweet nothings.

“Boldness That We Have Not Seen In This Country Since FDR”

THE GOOD NEWS IS THAT PROGRESSIVES ARE BETTER positioned for this fight than they have been in years. The corporate wing of the Democratic Party remains powerful by virtue of its ties to big money, but polls show it has lost the argument in the contest of ideas. Many Americans want big change, and want it now—and progressive lawmakers are fortified by a grassroots fundraising base, better political infrastructure and name-brand leaders

In the House, the Progressive Caucus has dozens of members, and it is revamping its rules to be a more cohesive voting bloc so that it can leverage power in the narrowly divided chamber.

Already, the group—led by Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and other Squad members—persuaded Democratic leaders to reform budget rules to make it easier to pass initiatives like a Green New Deal and Medicare for All. They can also press to invoke the Congressional Review Act to rescind last-minute Trump regulations that weaken protections workers and undermine the fight against climate change.

In the Senate, progressive Sen. Sherrod Brown will lead the Banking Committee. After the financial crisis a dozen years ago, he championed an initiative to break up the largest banks; it was stymied by the panel’s then-chairman Chris Dodd, with an assist by the Obama administration. Now Brown is in a position to resurrect the idea, knowing it could generate bipartisan support, recently saying, “Wall Street doesn’t get to run this entire economy.”

Progressives like Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez (above left) may get help in the Senate from new committee leaders like Bernie Sanders (above right) and Sherrod Brown. Top: Medicare for All fans in Montana.



CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT: YANA PASKOVA/GETTY; WILLIAM CAMPBELL/CORBIS/GETTY; CHIP SOMODEVILLA/GETTY; TOM WILLIAMS/CC-ROLL CALL/GETTY



Meanwhile, Vermont Sen. Bernie Sanders will chair the powerful Senate Budget Committee. He will be able to set federal spending priorities and use the arcane process known as reconciliation to try to circumvent the Senate filibuster for big-ticket items such as the one he recently floated: an emergency program to extend medical coverage to anyone during the pandemic, whether or not they have existing insurance coverage.

During the Obama era, Democrats often declined to wield their power—they did not use budget reconciliation to try to enact a public health insurance option, for example. By contrast, Republicans during the Trump years used reconciliation to pass his giant tax cut for the wealthy, and weaponized the CRA to scrap 14 Obama regulations.

More than most in Washington, Sanders understands the moral and political imperative of using every tool possible to make change. "We have to act with a boldness that we have not seen in this country since FDR," he told NBC News. "If we do not, I suspect that in two years we will not be in the majority."

Biden campaigned for the presidency promising

to restore a pre-crisis normal. But that is not enough to pull America back from the abyss and stave off the surge of authoritarianism today—just as it was not enough during the Great Depression.

Back then, Roosevelt seemed to appreciate that business as usual would not stave off fascism and rescue the country—much more was required.

"There must be an end to a conduct in banking and in business which too often has given to a sacred trust the likeness of callous and selfish wrongdoing," he said in his first inaugural address. "Restoration calls, however, not for changes in ethics alone. This nation asks for action, and action now."

Those words ring true in this moment of peril—the best hope for America is not a vapid Biden paean to the "soul of this nation," but a Biden administration that is pressed by progressives to take action and deliver real material gains to the working class.

If that does not happen, then a new right-wing authoritarian will likely ride another wave of anger at the continued inequality, destitution and dysfunction—and that next menace is likely to be even more dangerous than Trump. **N**

The new president has a **CRITICAL DECISION** to make about

BIDEN'S CHOICE:

ANDREW CABALLERO-REYNOLDS/AFP/GETTY

the best way to move the country forward by STEVE FRIESS

ACCOUNTABILITY OR UNITY

RALLYING CRY
The fervor of the pro-Trump forces whipped up by the outgoing president, here at a rally in Georgia, could prove problematic for incoming President Joe Biden as he seeks to unite a divided nation.

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OU CAN ONLY BE NONCOMMITTAL about the crucial question of accountability for Donald Trump so long, especially when you are the next president of the United States. And for Joe Biden, with

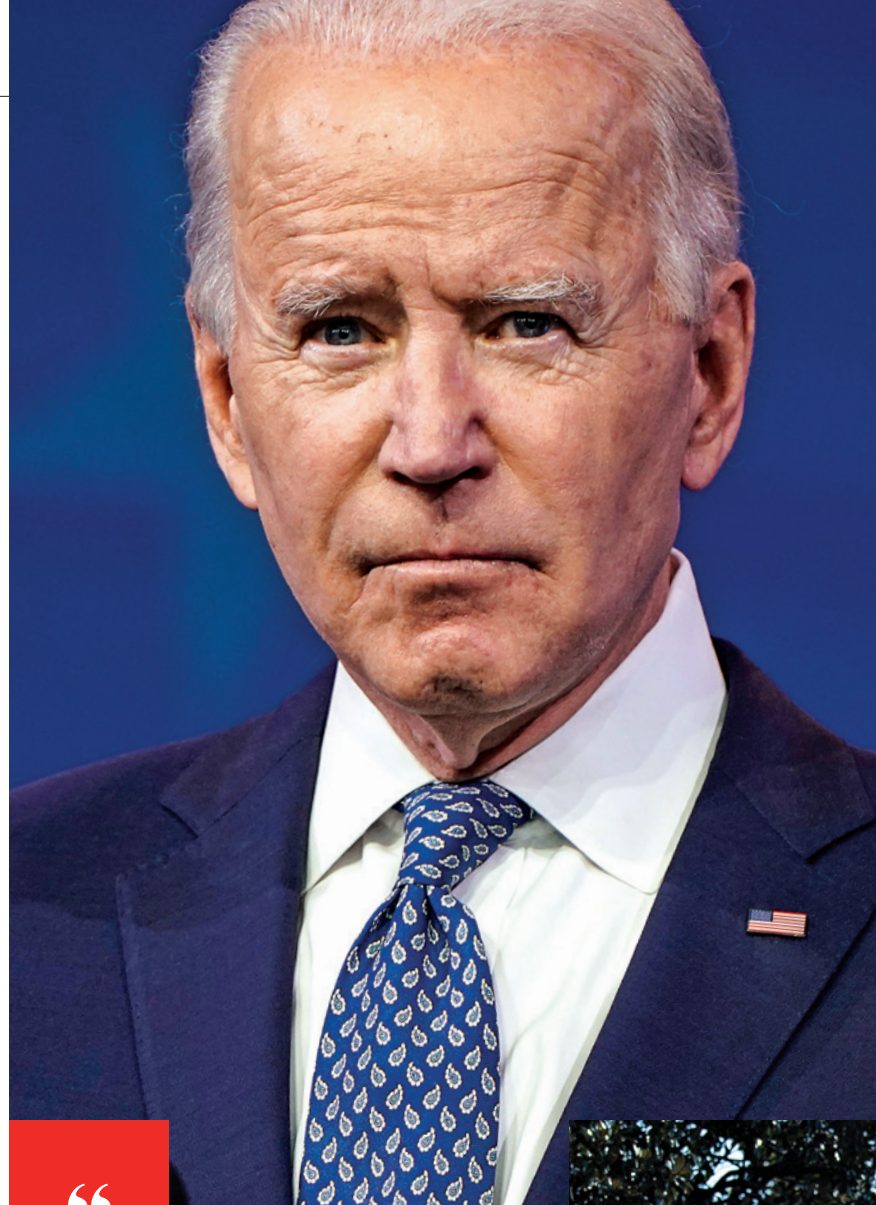
mere days left before he takes the oath of office on January 20, that time is just about up.

The 78-year-old Democrat, more comfortable preaching the politics of unity and reconciliation than backing a fire-and-brimstone approach, has not publicly—or privately, advisers say—backed impeachment or pushed for conviction in the Senate, even as a groundswell for justice emerged in the wake of the Capitol riot. He hasn't weighed in on whether he wants to pursue criminal investigations into Trump's behavior—such as allegedly inciting the mob that stormed the Capitol and pressuring state officials to change the outcome of the election—but instead says he'll leave that decision to the Justice Department and his Attorney General-designate Merrick Garland. Alternatively, for anyone hoping for a grand gesture to help heal the country, say, along the lines of Gerald Ford's pardon of Richard Nixon to move America past Watergate, Biden has stated for months that that's not the way he plans to end this particular long national nightmare.

Yet Biden saying little to nothing about how he will tackle the deep polarization within the country and mounting pressure to hold Donald Trump accountable will no longer be a viable option either.

That Biden inherits a traumatically riven nation will be readily apparent as he takes to the steps of the Capitol to be sworn in this week. For the first time since 1869, the outgoing president won't even be there. Biden will stand in the shadow of the same building where two weeks ago a violent mob went on a deadly rampage out of anger over perceived but unfounded election fraud claims and where one week earlier Trump was impeached for his alleged role in fomenting that attack. The audience will be considerably smaller than usual too, partly because of the uncontrolled pandemic but also to protect attendees from threats of further violence.

What's more, few on Biden's side are in a conciliatory mood, as factions of the Democratic Party push aggressively to ensure there are consequences for Trump's possibly illegal actions while in office, partly to punish the president but also to bolster the



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rule of law and send a message to future leaders that such behavior will not be tolerated. Time and again during the debate prior to the vote to re-impeach Trump, Democratic members of Congress labeled the president and some of his supporters as “traitors,” using words like “sedition” and “armed insurrection” promulgating a white nationalist ideology that needed to be ripped from the American body politic and tossed on history’s ash heap.

“It’s Joe Biden’s job to be a moral leader and to repudiate what Donald Trump has done,” says Cliff Schecter, co-founder of the political consultancy BlueAmp Strategies that created ads for Biden’s campaign. “Reach out to our better angels, sure, but also point out that you’re not going to do it the way that Trump did it. He needs to more clearly speak out about the damage Trump has done to our country.”

Biden, then, must try to wedge himself between an unstoppable force and an immovable object and lead both. He will, aides say, reject the binary choice between “healing” and “justice” in favor of a combination approach in which he focuses on reconciliation while allowing Garland and prosecutors on the state and local levels to follow the evidence to

whatever charges and trials may come. As Biden said in a speech outlining his proposal for a \$1.9 trillion stimulus package: “Unity is not some pie-in-the-sky dream. It’s a practical step to get any of the things we have to get done as a country, get done together.”

To the new president, what becomes of Trump is less important than what becomes of Trump supporters. Within Biden circles, the oft-stated goal is to move the United States “away from the Jerry Springer presidency to a Mr. Rogers presidency” in which messages of comity and neighborly Americana are so constant and frequent that they come across as both corny and heart-felt.

It’s a tricky transition, when factions of the country are at an emotional boiling point and attention on what to do about Trump could prove a giant distraction that might undermine the ambitious legislation Biden hopes to pass.

Setting the Agenda

THE SOLUTION, ACCORDING TO BIDEN INSIDERS: Focus on what the new president can control—including the messaging around proposed initiatives. Framing the benefits of proposed legislation in a way that speaks to the concerns of Trump voters as well as his Democratic base is critical.

“Whether Trump can run again in 2024 and whether he can tweet or make noise in some other way aren’t things [Biden] can do anything about,” says a transition official involved in guiding Garland’s confirmation. If Trump is convicted in the Senate, he could be barred from running for office again, but Biden sees that as a matter for Republicans, 17 of whom would have to vote to convict, to decide. “What he can do,” the official says, “is highlight an agenda that speaks to the frustrations of Trump voters in hopes that if their lives improve, their anger will abate.”

Bidenites believe much of the agenda—increased stimulus checks, major infrastructure spending that creates jobs, funding to build out training programs to give coal and steel workers skills needed for green-energy enterprises—can soothe the white working-class anxiety that led many to support Trump. While there is no plan to re-examine the 2020 election for the non-existent widespread fraud alleged by Trumpists, Biden is open to a “holistic effort to delve into election practices” that would include funding to help localities beef up cybersecurity as well as

TOUGH CHOICES

Biden would prefer to focus on his legislative agenda but some Democrats are pushing hard for the new administration to pursue legal action against Trump, seen below walking by supporters the week before he was to leave office.



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DO WE NEED TO HEAL? ABSOLUTELY. BUT NOT AT THE PR



BRENDAN SMIALOWSKI/AFP/GETTY

ICE OF OUR NATION'S SOUL. ”



MAKING IT OFFICIAL
House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, flanked by other Democratic Representatives, signs the article of impeachment against Donald Trump on January 13, making him the only president in U.S. history to be impeached twice.

POLITICS

measures to protect the voting rights of people of color, the Garland aide says.

That's not to say Biden plans to ignore the rifts in American society, especially on matters of race. There will be a reckoning of some sort, but the president will be only tangentially involved to the extent that he "will make the right kinds of signals, the overtures to the Trumpers that he wants to govern them, too, but also condemnations of white supremacy and support efforts to return it to the fringes of society again," another Biden adviser explains.

Yet it could be more complicated than that. Arie Kruglanski, a University of Maryland psychologist who studies deradicalization, believes Biden and other Democratic leaders must try to avoid embarrassing or humiliating Trump followers. "The first thing that needs to be done is to cool the rhetoric and reduce vindictiveness in all shapes and forms," says Kruglanski, co-author of *The Radical's Journey: How German Neo-Nazis Voyaged to the Edge and Back*. "That means not demonizing Trump voters including the StopTheSteal-ers, because offending them is unlikely to bring them back into the fold. This is something Biden seems well-equipped to do given his track of working across the aisle."

A Big Gesture

TO PARDON OR NOT TO PARDON, IS THAT A QUESTION?

Historians struggle to identify a precedent that comes close to the circumstances Biden faces or similar to Trump's norm-busting presidency and populist movement. Senator Joe McCarthy, a Republican from Wisconsin, whipped up an anti-Communist furor in the 1950s that included spreading lies about political enemies with false accusations that ruined lives and careers, but he never amassed the sort of power Trump has, says University of Texas presidential historian Shannon O'Brien, author of *Donald Trump and the Kayfabe Presidency*.

"McCarthy was a senator who was one of 100 and had a structure above him inside that system that contained him," O'Brien says. "In Trump, we have somebody who is at the top of the executive branch and who is only contained by the Constitution and the checks and balances by the other branches."

The only analog to what Biden confronts, O'Brien says, is the "long national nightmare" that was Watergate when it became clear that President Richard Nixon had been personally involved in a cover up of

a break-in at the offices of the Democratic National Committee. In 1974, President Gerald Ford granted a blanket pardon “for all offenses against the United States which he, Richard Nixon, has committed or may have committed or taken part in” during Nixon’s entire White House tenure. A Gallup poll in the immediate aftermath found that 53 percent of Americans opposed the pardon and pundits have long believed it helped Jimmy Carter defeat Ford in 1976. But by 1986, sentiment had flipped: 54 percent of Americans felt Ford had done the right thing in enabling the country to move forward.

Biden, who was a freshman senator from Delaware at the time, “will probably look at that through his own perception of history to make choices to avoid the hatred that Ford got and the mistrust Ford created with that decision,” O’Brien says.

Indeed, in Trump’s case, Biden has already foreclosed that prospect. Asked point-blank about clemency for Trump in May, long before Trump’s election misinformation campaign, the Capitol riot and the second impeachment but amid speculation of possible investigations into Trump’s financial conduct as president, Biden told MSNBC’s Lawrence O’Donnell: “It’s hands off completely. The attorney general is not the president’s lawyer. It’s the people’s lawyer. We never saw anything like the prostitution of that office like we see it today.”

Precious few observers have seriously floated the idea at all since the Capitol riot. One exception is former FBI Director James Comey, whose firing by Trump in 2017 led to the appointment of special prosecutor Robert Mueller and his years-long probe into foreign interference in the 2016 election. Comey told the BBC the day after Trump’s re-impeachment that Biden should “at least consider” a Trump pardon “as part of healing the country.” The backlash on social media was withering, a preview of what Biden might face if he took that advice.

University of Baltimore law professor Ken Lasson, a conservative, also stepped into the line of fire with an essay in the January 10 *Baltimore Sun* positing that Biden could “largely avoid the quagmire of political turmoil he’s about to inherit” by offering Trump and “any potentially culpable Cabinet or staff members” full pardons for “misdeeds they may have committed while in government service.” Lasson, who tells *Newsweek* that he wrote the essay prior to the riot, nonetheless stood by the message. “The

country is so polarized now that I think a pardon would serve to dampen that,” he says. “Biden is gonna get attacked no matter what he does.”

Still, the Nixon pardon has come under fire in recent years as a precedent that enabled other presidential malfeasance by depriving the nation of a proper reckoning regarding Nixon’s conduct. “The country could have withstood a trial, and there’s no reason why Nixon should have escaped justice while everybody else who was involved in helping him with his crimes didn’t,” says Jeff Timmer, a co-founder of the Lincoln Project, an anti-Trump PAC made up of former Republicans. “If I could transport back to 1974 and advise Ford, I’d say don’t pardon him.”

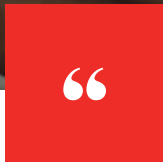
Democratic consultant Cliff Schechter goes further, suggesting that President Barack Obama also relied on the Ford rationale of wanting to move the country forward when he directed his Justice Department not to pursue investigations into President George W. Bush’s tenure related to how the U.S. got into the Iraq War as well as the use of torture in that conflict. Both of those examples, Schechter says, gave Trump license to skirt the law.

“If you tell people in power that you are going to

PARDON ME?

Former FBI Director James Comey (right) has suggested Biden should consider pardoning Trump. The only other U.S. president to get a pardon: Richard Nixon (below, left), who was exonerated pre-emptively of crimes by his successor Gerald Ford (below, right).





**EVERY
AMBITIOUS
DEMOCRATIC
PROSECUTOR
IN AMERICA
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TO TRY TO
FIND SOME
WAY TO GET
AT [TRUMP].”**

not prosecute when they break laws in unbelievable ways, then they might as well go for it if they're the type of people who will," says Schecter, co-host of the *UnPresided* podcast. "Do we need to heal? Absolutely. But not at the price of our nation's soul. There's no point in healing if healing is saying you can get away with whatever crimes you commit so you just go ahead and commit them and we'll just hope for the best and we'll all sing Kumbaya. That's the way you end up with a fascist government. That's what you end up with autocracy."

One event that could force Biden to take a stand on the pardon question is if Trump tries to pardon himself before his presidency ends. Legal experts have reportedly warned Trump that it is probably not constitutional—no president has tried so it's untested—but Trump seems eager to defy that advice. "If he tries to pardon himself, it almost requires a strong reaction by Biden and makes it much less likely that there's a positive ending for President Trump," says Duquesne University President Ken Gormley, a legal historian who interviewed Ford at length about the Nixon pardon. "This would mean that any future president could sell the most sensitive state secrets, including the nuclear codes, to a foreign adversary for \$1 billion in cash, and then pardon himself and walk out the door and there'd be no consequences. A future president could decide to actually plant a bomb in the middle of the Capitol and blow it up to get retribution against adversaries and then pardon himself. It is impossible that this can be the rule."

Two more reasons Biden probably won't bother to offer a pardon: Supreme Court precedent dictates that Trump would have to accept legal responsibility to accept it, and it would only cover alleged crimes on the federal level anyway. Trump has yet to acknowledge any responsibility for any of his myriad scandals in the White House or prior to taking office. Absolving him of federal crimes wouldn't address his potential culpability in New York, where Trump is under state- and city-level investigations for issues related to his business dealings and tax filings, or in Georgia, where the Fulton County district attorney is weighing whether to look into the legality of the president's January 2 call to Secretary of State Brad Raffensperger to "find" him the precise number of votes to give him victory in the state.

"It takes two for this to work," Gormley says. "It cannot be that Biden would extend a pardon and

“

President Trump would accept it and then deny any responsibility for anything and continued to create issues for Biden. There's no advantage to him in taking that rather dramatic step that will certainly upset members of his own party.”

Pardon, self-pardon or nothing, Trump will “spend the rest of his life in court because of the New York cases and God knows what civil litigation will come up,” says John Pitney, a political science professor at Claremont McKenna College, who voted Democratic for president in 2020 for his first time. “Every ambitious Democratic prosecutor in America is going to try to find some way to get at him.”

Trumpism's Strong Hold

THE LEGAL MORASS AHEAD WON'T HELP BIDEN WIN over Trumpists so invested in the anti-establishment disruption Trump triggered, but realistically there's little that will give how intense emotions are and how unshakably polarized the nation remains. Even after the deadly storming of the Capitol, two-thirds of Republicans still believe Trump has made the party better, according to a new Axios/Ipsos poll—including 96 percent of those who identify as Trump Republicans. And more than half want him to run again in 2024. What happens within the Republican Party, says Timmer, is well beyond the new Democratic president's control.

“I don't see much changing over the next four years,” he says. “Trumpists still control the apparatus of the party, they control the money. Trump is still a free man who is going to be running a shadow presidency. Whether he openly declares a candidacy or not, he's frozen the field for 2024.”

Even the shift among some Republican politicians to finally disavow Trump after the Capitol riot won't make much of a difference, Timmer says. While many denounced the president's behavior, only 10 GOP Representatives actually voted for impeachment, less than 5 percent of the Republican membership. And at least one of those members, Wyoming's Liz Cheney, the No. 3 Republican in the House, now faces calls for her resignation from party leadership as a result. (Minority Leader Kevin McCarthy, who voted against impeachment but said Trump “bears responsibility” for the riot, defended Cheney and rejected calls for her ouster the day after the vote.)

“We're not going to suddenly see the establishment wing of the Republican Party assert its dominance,”

I DON'T SEE MUCH CHANGING OVER THE NEXT FOUR YEARS. TRUMPISTS STILL CONTROL THE APPARATUS OF THE PARTY, THEY CONTROL THE MONEY.”





A DIVIDED GOP

Trump supporters continue to believe he has been a force for good in the Republican Party. Republicans like Wyoming's Liz Cheney (left), who voted for impeachment in January, have taken a lot of heat for their actions.

Timmer says. "It's not dominant. It's been subsumed. The Republican Party is going to look however Trump wants it to look for the foreseeable future."

That makes the likelihood slim that many Republicans will be receptive to outreach by Biden. "Trumpism is the view that only Trump's supporters are properly American," notes Robert Talisse, a Vanderbilt University philosophy professor and author of several books on political polarization. "In a lot of these cases, the very idea of 'partisan division' is not quite apt because some of these opponents don't sit on the same spectrum of partisanship as Biden does. It is something that has to burn out."

Effective change likely needs to come from within the GOP, not outside of it, Talisse says. "We can't approach this as if the burden for healing the country and fixing these deep fissures falls strictly to Biden," he says. "The real rot is in the Republican Party."

What's more, with the FBI bracing for several waves of demonstrations and possible violence in the run-up to Biden's inauguration and beyond, Democratic activists says Biden must combat Trumpism through an agenda that investigates and roots out white supremacist ideology.

"They're telling us they're coming back, they're going to continue to be disruptive and we have to take them seriously when they make that threat," says Margaret Huang, CEO of the hate-group watchdog nonprofit the Southern Poverty Law Center, of racist groups involved in the Capitol siege. "We have to anticipate that [they] are recruiting, mobilizing and spurring others to join them. We have to anticipate that there are going to be other efforts at the state level and national level. We need to anticipate that this is going to continue for a while."

Walking a Fine Line

THAT'S WHY HUANG AND OTHERS HOPE BIDEN, FAR from being overly accommodating to Trumpists, pushes forward a comprehensive agenda on racial justice and other political imperatives that "goes beyond reconciliation." That is, that while reaching out a hand to all of the Americans who opposed him in November, he doesn't forget the ones who elected him.

For Huang, this would include appointing a senior adviser on racial justice under his incoming domestic policy chief Susan Rice and establishing a National Truth, Racial Healing and Transformation

Commission as proposed by Democratic Senator Cory Booker of New Jersey. And while Biden will be hands-off—mum, in fact—on whether Attorney General Garland, if confirmed, investigates Trump or Trump administration figures, those close to the discussions say Biden does want the Department of Justice to step up surveillance of white supremacist hate groups that Trump's DoJ demoted as a priority.

Kruglanski, the psychologist, agrees that such a reckoning is necessary but worries that executing it poorly could inflame divisions even further. White people who have glommed onto Trump's messages were ripe for it because they fear dramatic societal changes—new technology and globalism that is killing jobs, the country's increasingly multi-ethnic population, changes in social mores around gender and sexual orientation—are "divesting them of their significance, of their dignity, their respect."

"Impeaching the president and removing him from office or entangling him in prosecution after he's departed from the presidency is going to have effects that need to be weighed against the unintended consequences that would consolidate or unify the populist movement that he was leading," he warns. "It might deter some but others will see Trump as a hero, a martyr of the movement. His suffering is going to be a rallying cry for continuing the fight."

Timmer thinks Biden has managed his precarious circumstances well so far. "I give him an A++ in the way he's conducted himself since the election and the signals he's sending and the strength he's showing and choosing with his words, the calculating method by which he's choosing to speak and the times he's chosen to address things," says Timmer, a former chair of the Michigan Republican Party. "He's a canny enough, successful enough politician and has a decent enough character that he recognizes the position he's in and the signals he can send by trying to forge some level of bipartisan consensus."

Huang, too, believes Biden can soothe the nation and begin a process toward a calmer future. "I honestly, truly believe that we will overcome all of this and the country will come out in a better space because we're going to have to deal with and reckon with this violence," she says. "I'm optimistic because we have a record number of people voting to say we want a different world. I think we can get there. But we're going to need leadership and effort from the incoming administration." **N**

UNCHARTED

Steve McCurry's Search for Elsewhere

It seems we're not the only ones going through our old photos and waxing nostalgic for traveling the world. World-renowned photojournalist and former *Newsweek* photographer Steve McCurry has released *In Search of Elsewhere*, a retrospective collection from his rich archive featuring 40 years of his photos from across the globe, many of which are previously unseen. McCurry's signature touch is not only his ability to make an ordinary moment look surreal, but his ability to "find the human behind the headline," as acclaimed travel writer Pico Iver says in the book's foreword. McCurry's four decades of photography span conflicts, ancient rituals, vanishing cultures and also everyday life, from Pakistan and Myanmar to Cuba and Tibet. Just as we'll never forget the piercing stare from McCurry's iconic "Afghan Girl" 1985 *National Geographic* cover, these images also remain timeless, leaving us not only longing for elsewhere, but seeing ourselves in the people who find themselves at home there. *Newsweek* spoke to Steve McCurry about his lifetime of photographing the world. —Kathleen Rellihan



THROUGH THE LENS McCurry (inset, in 1983 in India) has traveled the world, capturing images like this one of Bedouin in Wadi Rum, Jordan from 2019.

TOP: RIGHT: VIRGINIA SHERWOOD/NBCUNIVERSAL/GETTY



LORRAINE TOUSSAINT BREAKS BARRIERS

"It's nice to be a part of my own history." » P.48



What do you think makes a photo's power endure across decades?

You look at a picture and it grabs you. "Oh my God, I know that feeling." You can't forget a picture that lives with you and makes some sort of comment about our lives in this world.

What would be your greatest hope that one of your photos has the power to do?

Life is struggle. There's no way around that, there's a lot of drudgery, but there's also a lot of wonderful, tender loving moments. There's art and there's beauty and music and different

things which make life worthwhile. I think that in photography we can share this emotion and stories about each other to show our similarities.

Your photos always depict the human element. Why do you think that's so important?

We rush through life. The great thing about photography is it's a meditation that you can do out on the street. You start to pay attention to what's happening right now in front of you and having an appreciation for being alive.

Visit Newsweek.com for more of the interview.

Culture



01 Antigua, Guatemala — 2017

In Guatemala, Holy Week is the most important time of the year. Easter is celebrated with a mixture of Spanish Catholic traditions and indigenous cultural beliefs. On Good Friday, a procession of black-robed believers fill the streets in Antigua carrying smoking incense as they head to church.



02 Havana, Cuba — 2010

McCurry is known for his intimate portraits which he says start simply with a conversation. A chance encounter with a woman on the streets of Havana turned into a tale of her reminiscing about her time studying and working in New York City in the 1950s. His portrait of her purple-dyed hair reveals her timeless spirit of reinvention.

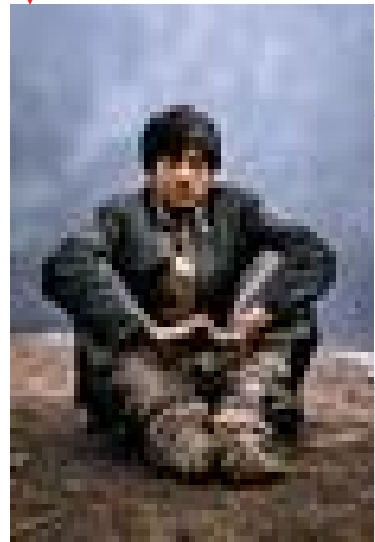
03 Lomé, Togo — 2017

Young girls in math class in Togo, where education is free for all and compulsory up to age 15. Nevertheless, less than a quarter of students complete primary education, and almost half of the female population is illiterate.



05 Bumburet, Pakistan — 1981

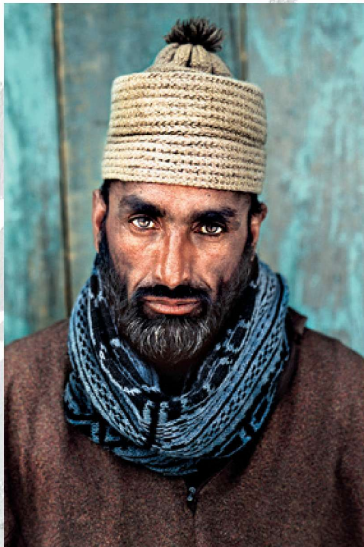
One of McCurry's signature touches is capturing all his subjects with dignity and respect. This photo shows an indomitable young man without shoes, his feet tightly wrapped in rags, despite the snow. A member of the Kalash, an indigenous Indo-Aryan people unique to Pakistan. Their polytheistic religion is said to be animist, in which nature plays a major role.



04 Zagreb, Croatia — 1989

Inside the Neo-Baroque National Theater in Zagreb, ballet dancers stretch as a cleaner sweeps the stage. McCurry has captured the juxtaposition between the necessary disparity of their positions and their uncomfortable awareness of one another amid their own isolation.





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06 Gulmarg, Kashmir
— 1999

Just as arresting as McCurry's iconic Afghan girl photo, this man holds a similar captivating stare. Aadam Aziz's character in Salman Rushdie's novel *Midnight's Children* has eyes described as "a clear blue, the astonishing blue of mountain sky, which has a habit of dripping into the pupils of Kashmiri men."



07 Xigazê, Tibet
— 1989

Young monks gather on mounted cushions to drink yak butter tea as they have for almost 600 years in a monastery dating back to its foundation by the first Dalai Lama in 1447.

08 Kolkata, India
— 2018

Both a photojournalist and a fine art photographer, McCurry's mastery of color and composition coexists with his documentation of society. These two colorful doorways show a Hindu priest preparing for evening *puja*, or worship; it is believed that dusk marks the end of the day's attachments and travails.



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09 Yangon, Myanmar
— 1994

McCurry's mastery lies in taking everyday scenes and showing them in an almost surreal, magical way. On the streets of Myanmar, he captures an otherwise ordinary moment at a colorful barbershop—little more than a cupboard suspended above the pavement—as a window into another world.



10 Geremiyaka Village, Papua New Guinea
— 2017

McCurry's long career is rooted in showing humanity across some of the most remote stretches of the world. Here, he captures a father and son of the Asaro tribe participating in a ritual dance.



PARTING SHOT

Lorraine Toussaint

➤ ONE THING IS CERTAIN ABOUT GREAT ACTORS, THEY CAN'T BE PIGEONHOLED. "I may indeed be perceived as a character actor, but I just think of myself as an actress that serves the work," says Lorraine Toussaint, who co-stars with Queen Latifah in the new drama series *The Equalizer*, premiering February 7 on CBS. A reboot of the '80s series and film franchise starring Denzel Washington, this version reimagines the role of McCall as a Black female spy who uses her skills to help others. "I've been an actress for quite a long time, so it's exciting to see these roles available to Black women." Toussaint's resume reads like that of an actress who refuses to be defined: from the evil prison boss on *Orange Is the New Black* ("I went really far out there psychologically as an actor on that one") to the groundbreaking series about race relations in the new South *Any Day Now*, Toussaint is the definition of range no matter how difficult the material. But to her, that's part of the job. "At this point in my career if I'm not paying a price to play the role, then it's really not worth it."

How does the show differ from the original series and film series?

In the films, the main character is a loner, whereas our McCall is very much a part of society, she's just really struggling with it. At the core, she has a family and people who love her.

With the level of action in the series, do you ever hope to be part of it?

I keep hoping the writers will add a *True Lies* element, where it turns out Aunt Viola was trained in the Israeli army or something. I've done some of that, but I'm not sure I've got action star in me at the moment [laughs].

With *The Equalizer*, Hollywood kept reimagining a character in diverse ways—with the lead played by a white man, a Black man and now a Black woman. Is that happening more?

McCall is played by a strong and complex, sometimes brooding, conflicted Black woman; that's exciting because it speaks to a level of complexity that we're arriving at in the industry for women of color.

Your first big break on *Any Day Now* in 1998 really broke new ground. Did that feel like you were doing something new and bold?

That show is one of the high points of my career. The creator, Nancy Miller, pushed the envelope on race in ways that no one has touched since. It also showed that a Black woman could be a lead of a show. It's nice to be part of my own history. —H. Alan Scott

"If I'm not paying a price to play the role, then it's really not worth it."



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