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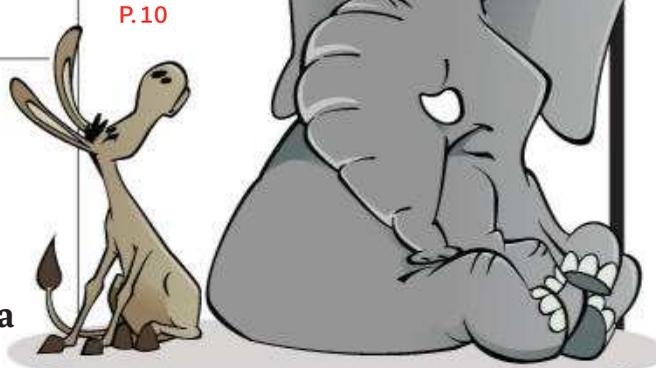
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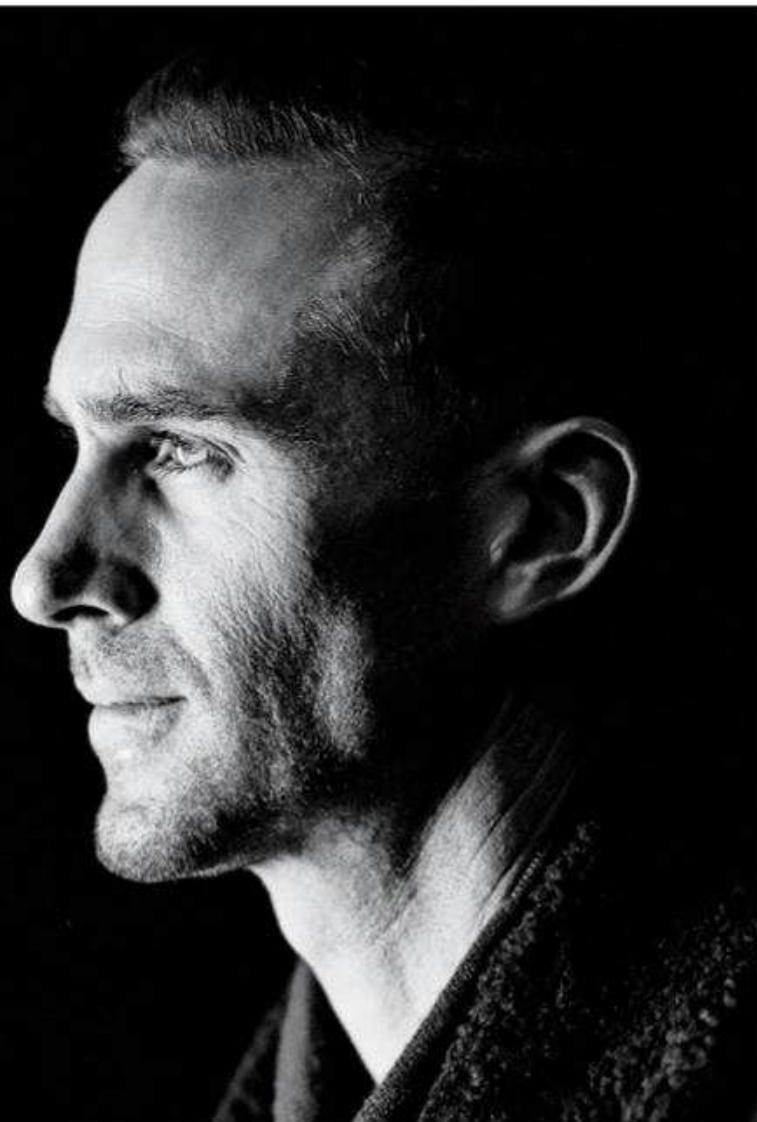
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"I get sort of lingering scowls where people can't quite place me but they know I'm not good."



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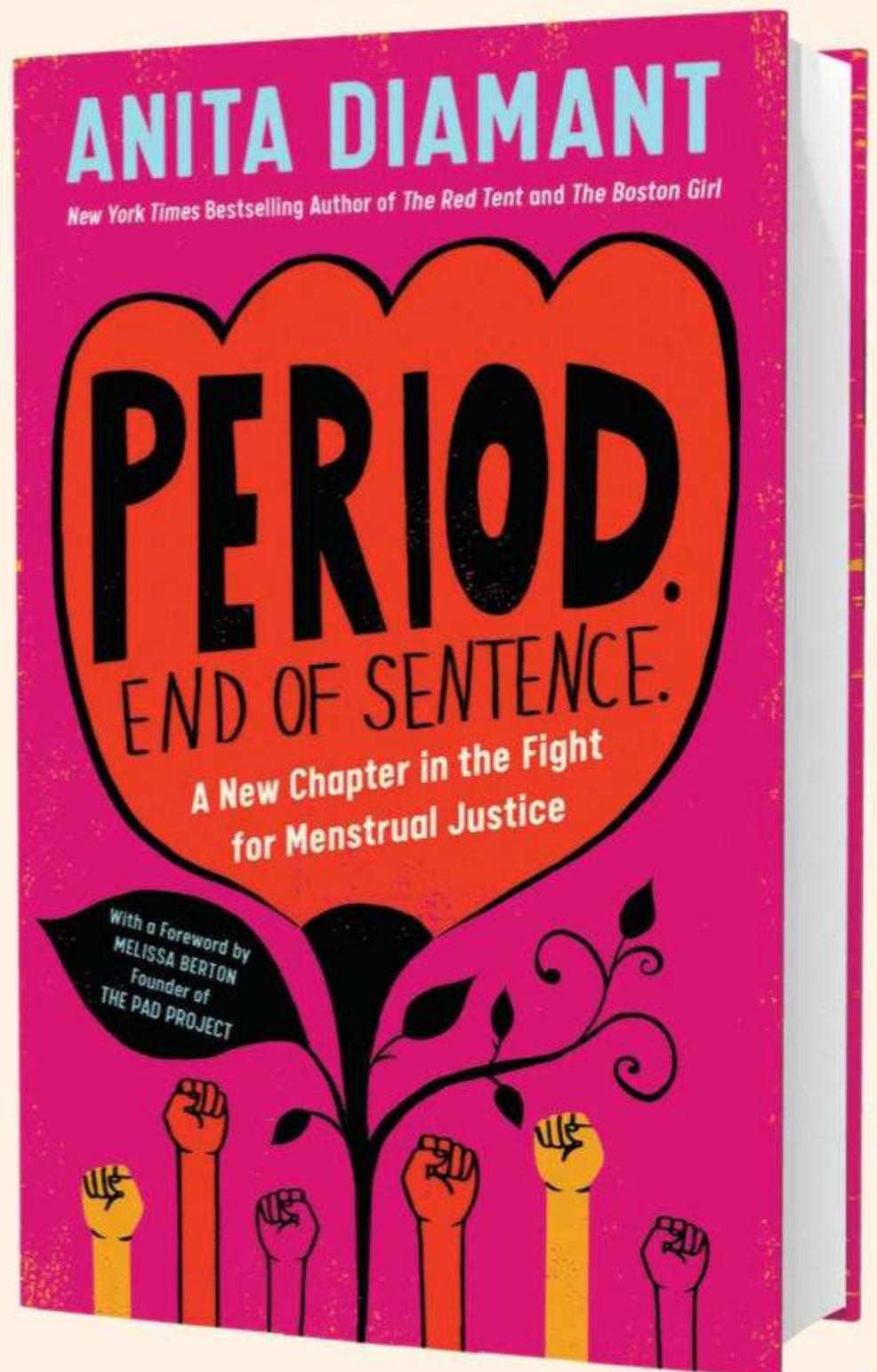
“Hats off to Anita Diamant for taking  
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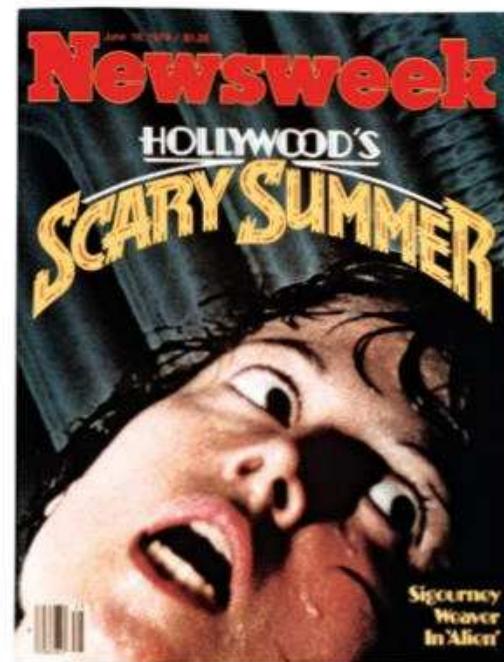
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# The Archives

1984

As the Simpson-Mazzoli bill, “a landmark proposal on immigration reform headed toward a showdown vote” in the House, *Newsweek* reported on “the nation’s ambivalent attitudes toward illegal aliens.” How to handle illegal immigration and create a pathway to citizenship for those who have been living in the U.S. remain thorny issues. They were symbolized in the last administration by President Trump’s border wall construction. Now President Biden is reversing of many of his predecessor’s policies even as he attempts to manage the overcrowding conditions caused by an influx of migrants.



1979

*Alien* was “the blockbuster hit of the summer—and it’s just the tip of the reign of terror that is seizing the country,” said *Newsweek* following a resurgence of horror movies as the “prestige product of big-budget Hollywood.” The genre is still a favorite escape, with 2020 showing record box office market share.



2003

Al-Qaeda was “recruiting and planning strikes,” *Newsweek* reported. “Law enforcement is fighting the war on terror at home as the Mideast and Iraq are proving even harder to manage.” Twenty years after 9/11, the U.S. is withdrawing its troops from Afghanistan, leaving the country to be run by the same Taliban who harbored Osama bin Laden. **N**

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JERUSALEM

# Jubilation

Israel's Pride Parade on June 3, after the government lifted COVID-19 restrictions. Thousands took part in the march, which took place under heavy security over fears of extremism. It came a year after most of the world's pride events were scrapped over the coronavirus pandemic.

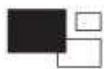
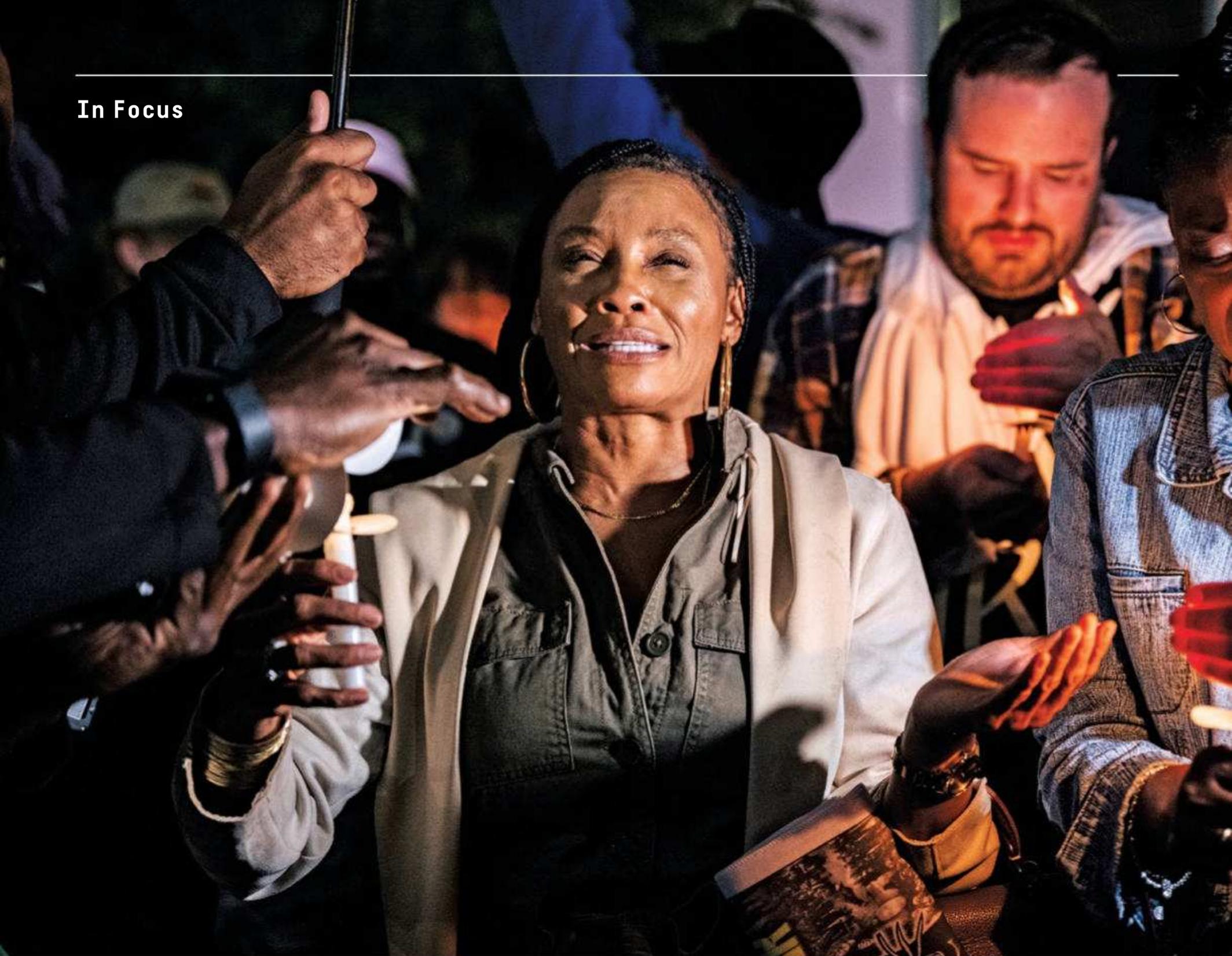
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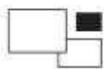


TULSA, OKLAHOMA

## Anniversary Day

People attending a candlelight vigil in Tulsa on May 31 organized to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the Tulsa Race Massacre. On the same day in 1921, a white mob descended on the city's then-thriving Greenwood neighborhood, known locally as Black Wall Street, and started looting businesses, setting fire to buildings and murdering black residents. As many as 300 people are believed to have been killed in the rioting.

→ BRANDON BELL

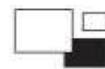


MADRID, COLOMBIA

## Combat Zone

A demonstrator on May 28 wearing a gas mask and holding a makeshift shield turns away during clashes with riot police during an anti-government protest. The country has endured weeks of social unrest that has claimed dozens of lives. The protests were aimed at several things, including the possibility of higher taxes and a health care reform scheme by President Iván Duque Márquez.

→ JUAN PABLO PINO



COLOMBO, SRI LANKA

## Cleanup

On May 27 Sri Lankan navy troops collect debris that had washed ashore from the Singapore-registered container ship MV X-Press Pearl which was burning for the eighth consecutive day in the ocean off Colombo Harbor. The vessel, carrying chemicals and sinking, is one of the country's worst sea disasters.

→ LAKRUWAN WANNIARACHCHI



CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT: BRANDON BELL/GETTY; JUAN PABLO PINO/AFP/GETTY; LAKRUWAN WANNIARACHCHI/AFP/GETTY



**STARTING ANEW:**

Now that Republicans have stripped Wyoming Representative Liz Cheney of her leadership role, might she become an independent? Cheney gives a press conference.



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"All we can do is to continue to try to educate people." » P.16



POLITICS

# It's Time to Party

Liz Cheney's ouster from Republican leadership makes a third political party more likely

**➔** IN A VOICE VOTE IN MAY, REPUBLICANS stripped the important role of House Republican Conference leader from Wyoming Representative Liz Cheney, following her outspoken repudiation of former President Donald Trump's baseless claims of election fraud. In so doing, the GOP continues to make it abundantly clear for the foreseeable future it is the party of Trump.

Which raises a question: Might Cheney, along with other prominent Republicans on the outs with the party because they have withheld fealty to the former president, mount their next election bids as independents—or even form a third party?

The conventional wisdom says no, given the poor showings most independent candidates have historically turned in against the combined might of the two major parties. On the other hand, these are unconventional times in politics, and for the first time in decades the prospects for a third party may be better than poor.

At the moment, those prospects largely depend on Joe Biden. He's popular right now, at least by recent presidential standards. And it's no wonder: The swift vaccine rollout is taming the pandemic, a big stimulus package has provided economic help,

and a massive infrastructure program that could further prop up the economy is in the works.

What about 2024? In his first press conference on March 25, Biden said it was his "expectation" to run but conceded there was some uncertainty. He'll be 82 years old, nine years older than Ronald Reagan was when reelected. Before then, Biden will have to navigate the midterm elections and, perhaps, two years of a hostile Congress. By then, Democrats may well be clamoring to give Vice President Kamala Harris or another more progressive and youthful candidate a shot at leading the party and the country.

That's where the third-party possibilities get interesting. If the Democrats do go with a progressive, and if Trump or someone in his mold is the Republican candidate, voters will face

one of the starkest electoral choices in American history: lurch further to the left than the nation has ever gone before or further to the right.

Evidence suggests that most voters aren't interested in either option, nor in the continuing cycles of outrage and conflict either of these extremes would likely entail. "The two major parties are more extreme than ever before," says David Shor, head of data science with progressive nonprofit

BY

DAVID H. FREEDMAN

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KEVIN DIETSCH/GETTY; TOP RIGHT: MALTE MUELLER/GETTY



OpenLabs and a leading Democratic polling analyst. “At the same time, the percentage of people dissatisfied with the system is larger than ever.”

While Biden’s early tentative successes have for the moment subdued the polarization that was laid bare in the previous administration, most observers expect dissatisfaction with the two major parties to come roaring back to the surface soon—perhaps in the coming months as campaigning starts in earnest for the midterm elections—and continue right through to 2024.

A third party could be the way out. Many political observers seem to think so. In the past year there has been more talk of the need for a new centrist political party than there has been in over a century. Several political organizations have sprung up to create or support new alternatives to the two major parties, and some are starting to gain traction. “Since the January 6 attack on the capitol, unsolicited traffic to our website is up 10,000 percent compared a year ago, and donations are up 2,000 percent,” says David Jolly, a former Republican U.S. Congressman from Florida and now executive chairman of the Serve America Movement, an independent party formed in 2017. “We haven’t seen this sort of movement toward a new party in years.”

A third-party president in 2024 is not the most likely outcome, but neither is it far-fetched.

### Falling Barriers

THERE IS REASON TO THINK THAT things might be different in 2024. For starters, record numbers of voters say they want a third party, including 46 percent of Democrats, 63 percent of Republicans, and 70 percent of independents, according to a Gallup poll in early February. Only a

third of Americans say the two major parties adequately represent the public, a historically low number for the poll. Meanwhile, half of voters currently say they are independents, a record high.

Because the vast majority of independents tend to drift toward one of the two major parties as election day approaches, most of the votes for a third-party candidate would have to be diverted from one or both of those parties. Few people question that the Republican party, at least, is currently primed to leak a substantial fraction of its once-dependable voters. State voter records indicate that in the weeks following the January attack on the Capitol more than 100,000 registered Republicans took the trouble to delist themselves from the party’s rolls.

Seeing this initial wavering of support, Trump and many of his most loyal supporters immediately talked of forming a breakaway “Patriot Party.” But Trump soon abandoned that idea, insisting he would maintain control of the Republican party—if not as the 2024 candidate, then as the party kingmaker looking to anoint Ted Cruz, Rand Paul, Josh Hawley or some other supplicant. That declaration of control, in turn, led to an early February Zoom meeting of some 120 current and former Republican

officials and activists to discuss an anti-Trump spinoff from the party. Many prominent moderate Republican leaders beyond Cheney have already openly expressed their disgust with Trumpian Republicanism, including Utah Senator Mitt Romney and Illinois Rep. Adam Kinzinger, while others have left or are planning to leave politics, including Arizona’s Jeff Flake, Ohio’s Rob Portman, and Pennsylvania’s Charlie Dent and Pat Toomey.

To be sure, the path to a formal split remains murky, and Trump appears to remain largely dominant. But the breakaway talk is strong evidence of internal turmoil that leaves the Republican party ripe for voter defections. “At least 20 to 30 percent of Republican voters want a new direction,” says Evan McMullin, a former Republican activist turned independent, and now co-executive director of Stand Up Republic, which organizes fundraising and outreach in support of anti-Trump, center-right candidates. “There’s an opportunity for a pro-democracy movement to give people from the right a new home that’s more comfortable for them.”

A new party consisting mainly of former Republicans would simply split the Republican vote, leaving itself and the remaining Republican party uncompetitive. To have a shot at winning, a new party would need a chunk of the Democratic party, too. Even with Democrats currently riding high in the early days of the Biden administration, there’s no guarantee the party will hang together between now and 2024—not least because the party is poised to move left in a way that could leave many of its voters uncomfortable. “Joe Biden is proving to be the right person at the right time for the party, but I’d be shocked if

**“The two major parties are more extreme than ever before. The percentage of people dissatisfied with the system is larger than ever.”**



**PROOF OF CONCEPT**  
Ross Perot made a centrist run for president in 1992 that drew from both major parties. Clockwise from top: Perot in 1993; U.S. Rep. David Jolly, who split from the Republican party; Vice President Kamala Harris.



strategy, says polling analyst Shor. That's because some of the policies and stances pushed by many progressives, including "cancel culture," Medicare-for-all, defunding the police, reparations, and looser immigration controls, tend to be turnoffs not only to older white Democrats, but also—perhaps surprisingly—to a big percentage of minority voters. Defunding the police, for example, is supported by only 34 percent of Democrats and 28 percent of Black Americans, according to an early March Ipsos/USA Today poll,

Nearly a third of Black and Hispanic voters label themselves conservative, according to polling firm Public Opinion Strategies. "The share of non-white voters in the Democratic party is large and only going up," says Shor, "and those voters are substantially more moderate than white Democratic voters." The hyping of hot-button issues by young, white, college-educated progressives is pushing moderate working-class minorities away from the party, he claims. Many Democratic leaders blamed the loss of a dozen seats in the House in 2020 on progressive stances. That dynamic is already playing out in California, where opposition from Hispanic and Asian voters helped defeat a November ballot measure that would have opened the door to affirmative-action programs in the state government, says Tom Campbell, a former five-term Republican Congressman who is now chair of the centrist Common Sense Party.

The ability for a centrist third party to draw some Democrats could make the math work in a presidential election. If a third party took most independent voters, a third of Republicans, and a fifth of Democrats, it would win.

Conventional wisdom holds that

he runs again," says Russ Tremayne, a historian at the College of Southern Idaho who studies U.S. elections. "That would open up a real divide in the party between progressives and moderates."

If there were a front-runner to replace Biden, should he step aside in 2024, it would be Vice President Harris. Although she has some progressive credentials, her inconsistent record on key issues has alienated some progressives. In a hypothetical 2024 search, they may well push for a more aggressive candidate, such as Bernie Sanders, Elizabeth Warren,

Cory Booker, or even Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez (who will reach the minimum presidential age two months before inauguration day). Any of those candidates, or someone in their mold, might well leave moderate Democratic voters open to a centrist third party.

Traditionally, the opportunity for drawing away moderate Democratic voters has come with candidates who combine economically conservative policies with more liberal social positions, much as Arnold Schwarzenegger once did in California. But today, the opposite is likely to be a better



the country's voting processes favor major parties, and that new parties are crushed by the fundraising and voter-outreach infrastructures the two major parties have built over more than 150 years. But several countries with voting systems like the U.S.'s have effective third parties, including the U.K., Canada, India and the Philippines.

### Mixed History

THE U.S. ISN'T ENTIRELY AN EXCEPTION. In the nineteenth century, important third parties were plentiful. They included the Know-Nothing Party, the Free Soil Party, and the Whig Party. The latter was eventually knocked out of contention by an even newer third party called the Republican Party, led by a former Whig Congressman from Illinois named Abraham Lincoln. Since then, the only truly competitive third-party presidential run came in 1912, when former two-term President Theodore Roosevelt lost the Republican nomination to William Howard Taft and formed the Progressive Party in order to run, coming in second to Democrat Woodrow Wilson.

The only two third-party runs in modern politics to attract more than a tiny share of votes were Ross Perot's Reform Party in 1992, which garnered just under 20 percent of the vote, and George Wallace's American Independent Party, which in 1968 pulled in about 14 percent of the vote.

Perot's centrist run, which drew almost equally from both major parties, is often taken as proof of concept for modern third parties, especially given the fact that he was leading the race early on but gave away his momentum when he temporarily dropped out of the race midway. Still, the two major parties have access to vast levels of funding, staff, volunteer

networks, and donor and voter lists which they can deploy to target and bombard voters with messages aimed at keeping them in line.

Many experts and politicians believe that machinery can be overcome with the right candidate armed with the right policy mix and backed by savvy marketing, especially in a progressive-versus-Trumpian face-off. Right now, they say, that strategy would involve loudly embracing broadly popular economic programs such as a higher minimum wage, increasing spending on education, and modestly expanding Medicare coverage—while quietly taking vaguely middle-of-the-road views on hot-but-ton cultural issues that tend to divide voters, such as defending women's right to choose but only up to a certain point in a pregnancy, supporting the right to own guns but beefing up background checks, calling for efforts to crack down on police racism while objecting to defunding departments, and limiting immigration but supporting dreamer-type programs. "There are ways to finesse some of these issues to avoid drawing attention to them," says Thomas Patterson, a professor at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government. "You can talk about law and order without sounding like a white supremacist."

That's the sort of strategy that both Jolly's Serve America Movement and Campbell's Common Sense Party are planning to enlist in 2022 and 2024. Campbell has been focusing on state-legislative elections in California for now, where he says the biggest barrier to running as an independent is the up-front one of getting on the ballot by getting 73,000 voters to register for the party. "We were signing up 10,000 voters a month before the pandemic hit and we had to shut down," he says, adding



that the effort is spinning up again. The party has targeted seven of the state's 80 districts, and if it can win those elections it will have enough votes to swing most state legislation. At that point the party will start targeting other states and even elections for national office, with the goal of gaining some high-profile wins that build the party's credibility and sway.

Jolly's party is using high-tech data tools that he says Silicon Valley companies are making available to him in order to punch above the party's weight when it comes to targeting



#### SPLIT DECISION

Republican officials and activists met in February to discuss an anti-Trump spinoff. Left: Supporters of former President Trump gather in New York City in March.

will dismiss a third-party candidate as someone who can't win and isn't worth wasting a vote on, even if they like the candidate's positions.

It could be difficult convincing real contenders to abandon a major party—especially given how relatively easy it is to simply throw one's hat in the ring of a major party's primaries. What's more, notes William Frey, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institute, Democratic candidates in particular might fear that jumping to a third party and siphoning away Democratic votes could unintentionally open the door to their worst nightmare. "The specter of Trump holding onto power has united the Democrats for now," says Frey. "If Trump runs again, the same might happen."

But the Trump-unites-Democrats theory may not hold if the Democrats go too boldly progressive heading into 2024. The resulting gap could invite a third-party run from one of Congress's highly visible moderate Democrats, such as Arizona Senator Kyrsten Sinema, or an anti-Trump moderate Republican like Illinois Rep. Adam Kinzinger—or even from a celebrity like actor Matthew McConaughey, who has already expressed interest in the Texas governorship without aligning with either major party.

"The conditions are more favorable to an independent candidate than they have been in a long time," says Harvard's Patterson.

Perhaps what the party of Lincoln did to the Whigs, one of these parties will do to the party of Lincoln. **N**

voters. "We think voters are ready to split evenly between Democrat, Republican and independent," he says. "All we have to do is establish a brand and front a candidate with name recognition."

That need to find just the right candidate to steal enough votes from the two big parties is a challenge for the third-party movement. "The candidates who did well with third parties, like Theodore Roosevelt and George Wallace, already had a lot of stature when they entered their races," says Patterson. "You need some-

one like that in order to get enough early momentum to overcome Republicans' and Democrats' advantages." Without a well-known, riveting character to front the party and make a quick splash, he says, most voters

**"The conditions are more favorable to an independent candidate than they have been in a long time."**

MISINFORMATION MONITOR

# Gaming an Early Warning System

How a well-intended U.S. government database fuels dangerous vaccine misinformation

**ON APRIL 30, 2021, THE WEBSITE** Natural News—which NewsGuard has rated Red, meaning generally unreliable—published a story reporting the death of a 2-year-old who in late February had received the second dose of a Pfizer-BioNTech COVID-19 vaccine during the company’s clinical trials for children. The only problem? Children under 5 did not begin receiving shots until April, according to a press release on the Pfizer website.

Natural News picked up the false claim from another Red-rated website: Great Game India. The single source of evidence cited by both websites was the Vaccine Adverse Event Reporting System, or VAERS, a database jointly run for 31 years by the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention and the U.S. Food and Drug Administration. Its purpose: to be “a national early warning system to detect possible safety problems in U.S.-licensed vaccines,” according to its website.

It is true that a report about a 2-year-old who died was submitted to VAERS on March 5, 2021. But Great Game India’s article noted that Pfizer’s “own promotion says the vaccination trials were for children from age 5 to 11” and asked,

“How come a 2 year old baby got vaccinated?”

The answer is that the incident never happened. CDC spokesperson Kristen Nordlund told *USA Today* that the adverse event report was “completely made up” and the CDC took the rare step of removing it from the VAERS system.

This is far from the only time that anti-vaccine advocates have used VAERS data to claim, falsely, that COVID-19 vaccines can or have

caused death, infertility or other side effects. Using data from NewsWhip, a social media intelligence company, NewsGuard has found that Red-rated sources like Natural News and Great Game India

account for over 80 percent of Facebook engagement on stories that prominently cite VAERS.

Some articles that distort VAERS data state that vaccines were the cause of the reported side effects. For example, the Red-rated website DeconstructingConventional.com stated that “at the time of this writing VAERS reports over 2,200 deaths from the current covid vaccines, as well as close to 60,000 adverse reactions.”

Many other articles reviewed by NewsGuard do include some

acknowledgment that VAERS publishes unconfirmed data. However, these warnings, where they exist, are often overshadowed by tactics such as misleading headlines or fearful questions.

As the COVID-19 vaccine rollout continues, or in some cases gets underway, other countries are likewise relying on their own adverse event monitoring systems. However, according to NewsGuard’s research, European Red-rated sites spreading vaccine misinformation reference local adverse event reporting systems less frequently than they reference VAERS—a foreign source.

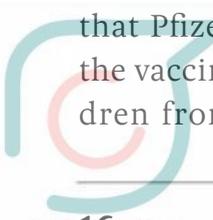
For example, in April, French Red-rated site Planetes360.fr published an article based on VAERS data that claimed that: “736 persons died within 48 hours after receiving the COVID vaccine.”

Although reports have never been vetted before inclusion in the VAERS database since the system’s launch in 1990, the hope was that reports were rooted in reality. But that was before the modern internet, which allows anyone to report anything to VAERS for instant public posting.

VAERS is a noisy system by design. It collects unverified reports of any adverse health events reported to have happened following vaccination. The database includes reports based entirely on hearsay or lacking a plausible link to a vaccine. Although vaccine manufacturers are required to submit reports, anyone can submit a report to VAERS, without providing a name or contact information.

A system like VAERS with an abundance of information onto which everyone can project their concerns or agendas has all the potential benefits—and pitfalls—of an internet

BY  
**MELISSA GOLDIN,  
JOHN GREGORY and  
KENDRICK  
MCDONALD**



platform focused on vaccines. And during the largest vaccination effort in history, a small but vocal set of activists are using it to sound a false alarm at a much louder volume.

The exploitation of VAERS is not a surprise to Dr. Paul Offit, director of the Vaccine Education Center at the Children's Hospital of Philadelphia and a member of the FDA's vac-

cine advisory committee.

"The anti-vaccine people will always say, 'Look at all these deaths, look at all the damage that these vaccines are doing...and the only way that's going to change if we all get to move to a planet that's dominated by reason and logic,'" Offit said.

Nevertheless, Offit and other public health officials see the system's

vulnerability to manipulation as a necessary risk and suggest that the scope and transparency of VAERS is a testament to how seriously the government takes vaccine safety and the potential risks.

VAERS was established in 1990 by the CDC and FDA in response to the 1986 National Childhood Vaccine Injury Act, which among other provisions requires health care providers to report adverse effects that may have been caused by vaccines. It has been used by scientists as an investigative tool to help their research and by anti-vaccine organizations to further their agenda by using unverified reports that often lead to misinformation.

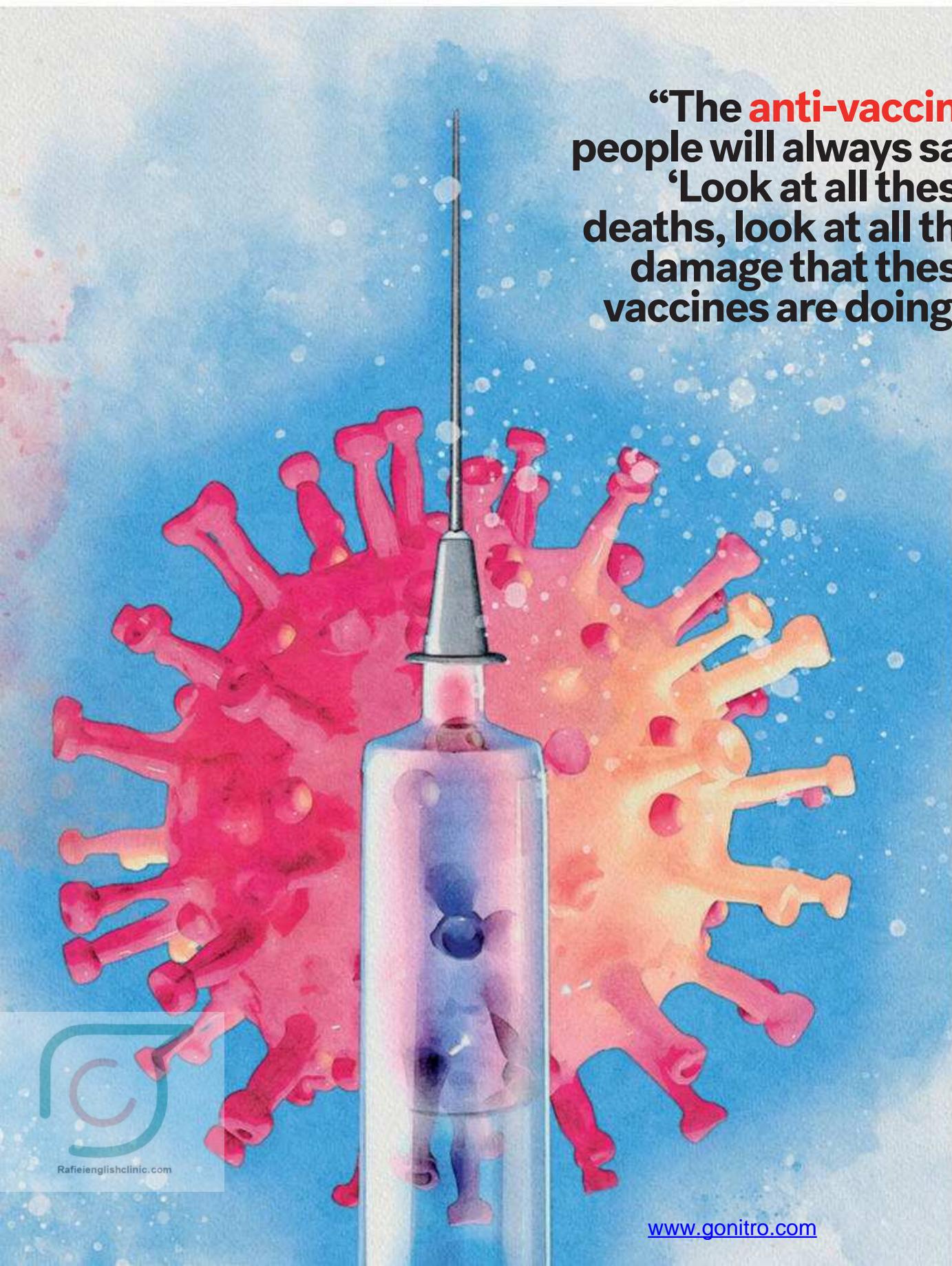
"With public access, there's going to be misinterpretation of the data there," Susan Ellenberg, a professor at the University of Pennsylvania's Perelman School of Medicine, said. "But without public access, I think it's worse. Because then you just have people imagining what's there. And that can really be worse."

Whether the benefits of VAERS actually outweigh the risks remains a matter of debate. However, Ellenberg said she believes that education about the system and its purpose is the best way to counteract any unintended harm.

"Those of us who work in science can tear our hair out about the way people misinterpret things," she said. "And all we can do is to continue to try to educate people."

And, of course, now that the VAERS data in raw form has been public for so long, cries of a deep state conspiracy would certainly follow any move to shut the data off. 

*Additional reporting by Chandler Kidd, Chine Labbé, Bron Maher, Virginia Padovese, and Marie Richter.*



**“The anti-vaccine people will always say, ‘Look at all these deaths, look at all the damage that these vaccines are doing.’”**

NEWSMAKERS

# Talking Points

BBC

"I say: I'm not old, I've just been here a long time and learnt a few things along the way. I don't feel how people say you should feel when you're old. My attitude to creating things is identical to when I was a child."

—DANCER EILEEN KRAMER, AGE 106

morning joe

**"I EAT 'NO' FOR BREAKFAST."**

—VICE-PRESIDENT KAMALA HARRIS



Kamala Harris



**"I feel for Naomi. I feel like I wish I could give her a hug because I know what it's like...I've been in those positions."**

—SERENA WILLIAMS ON NAOMI OSAKA'S DECISION TO WITHDRAW FROM THE FRENCH OPEN

USATODAY

**"It's not a message to anything other than saying we're going to protect fairness in women's sports."**

—FLORIDA GOVERNOR RON DESANTIS ON SIGNING A BILL BANNING TRANSGENDER ATHLETES FROM WOMEN'S HIGH SCHOOL AND COLLEGE SPORTS



Ron DeSantis

The Washington Post

**"I THINK IN HIS ZEAL TO APPEAR YOUNG AND SPONTANEOUS AND WHATEVER, HE ALSO SOMETIMES SOUNDS LIKE AN IDIOT."**

—Alicia Glen, a former New York deputy mayor, on mayoral candidate Andrew Yang



Alicia Glen

VARIETY

**"There was a certain amount of artifice involved: You're dealing with makeup that looks like makeup in real life, and you're dealing with hair that looks like it has been processed to a massive degree in real life."**

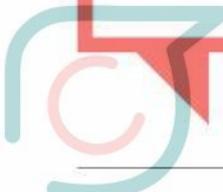
—ACTOR BRENDAN GLEESON ON BECOMING DONALD TRUMP FOR SHOWTIME'S THE COMEY RULE

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

**"MY OWN OVEREXAGGERATED LOOK CAME FROM A SERIOUS PLACE I'VE OFTEN SPOKEN ABOUT: THE TOWN TRAMP IN OUR LITTLE COUNTRY HOMETOWN. THEY CALLED HER TRASH, BUT TO ME SHE WAS ABSOLUTELY BEAUTIFUL."**

—Dolly Parton

FROM LEFT: ANNA MONEYMAKER/GETTY; JOE RAEDLE/GETTY; JAMIE MCCARTHY/FOR HUDSON RIVER PARK/GETTY



# Ireland: New dawn, new opportunities

Irish companies are reacting to COVID-19 and Brexit with more innovation

One hundred years ago, Ireland was an impoverished agrarian nation on the brink of independence from the U.K. Today, it's a wealthy, dynamic powerhouse that was the only European Union member to achieve economic growth in 2020. What lies behind this dazzling transformation?

“A major factor in its success has been our determination to become a hub for innovation,” says Julie Sinnamon, CEO of Enterprise Ireland, the agency responsible for the development and growth of Irish companies in international markets. “As a small country, we know that research and innovation are key to competitiveness. They are cornerstones of Ireland’s economic policy, which is now a world leader in generating and using new knowledge for progress.”

Ireland’s extensive innovation ecosystem contains many multinational giants in sectors like technology, pharmaceuticals, life sciences and medtech. Google, Apple, Facebook, Intel, Pfizer, Johnson & Johnson and numerous others like them have substantial operations in the outward-looking, English-speaking country, where they benefit from pro-business and research-oriented policies, a brilliantly educated workforce, plus easy access to European and global markets. But Ireland has also built a strong base of homegrown companies in the same sectors, which made a significant contribution to export levels in 2020, a year that saw both COVID and dawn breaking on a post-Brexit trading relationship with the U.K.

**“Our companies responded to the pandemic with innovations that have positioned Ireland fifth in the world for global exports of COVID-related goods and services.”**

Julie Sinnamon, CEO, Enterprise Ireland

With 40 offices worldwide, Enterprise Ireland has played a crucial role in this. “We invest in the most innovative Irish companies through all stages of their growth and connect them to international customers,” explains Sinnamon. The agency is a key driver to support Irish companies to start grow, innovate and win export sales in global markets that has given Ireland a burgeoning reputation as a startup nation. “Enterprise Ireland was ranked first in the world in Pitchbook’s 2020 league table of venture capital investors. That year, we invested over €48 million in Irish startups,” she states.

Years of nurturing Ireland’s entrepreneurial spirit has paid off, the CEO asserts. “Irish businesses are now at the center of technological innovation, driven by a global mindset, commercial imperatives and developing solutions to meet the toughest challenges. This was evident when a large cohort of our compa-



Tánaiste Leo Varadkar at Ireland’s Start-Up Showcase in February

nies responded to the pandemic with innovations that have positioned Ireland fifth in the world for global exports of COVID-related goods and services, according to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.” Among those using the crisis as an opportunity to hasten their development are NearForm that built the world’s most widely adopted contact-tracing app; Daon, creator of the VeriFLY biometric mobile-health passport; medical-equipment supplier Aerogen; Aalto Bio that engineered the proteins in many tests for the virus; clinical research organization ICON, which carried out vaccine trials; and healthtech outsourcing experts RelateCare.

The crisis accelerated trends and created opportunities for a number of Irish exporters. For example, Workhuman’s social recognition software allowed the rising numbers of teleworkers to stay connected with colleagues. Smurfit Kappa, the recycle-oriented global leader in paper-based packaging, supported logistics pressure. “Our business is in extremely good shape because the pandemic accelerated the trends toward e-commerce and sustainability,” reveals CEO Tony Smurfit. As the planet emerges from COVID, many of the next-generation of Irish firms tipped to become worldwide names are also focused on the environment—Ireland ranks fifth in MIT Technology Review’s Green Future Index and it boasts a plethora of green-technology innovators in diverse sectors. As Smurfit points out, “Ireland has always had very creative, open-spirited, clear-thinking people. We’ve had so many successes relative to the country’s size, it’s truly astounding.”

To learn more about how Ireland’s successful innovators are transforming the world, access our full-length special with the QR code or visit [www.newsweek.com/newsweek-country-reports](http://www.newsweek.com/newsweek-country-reports).

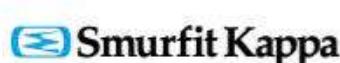


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**DYNAMIC DUO:**  
Megastar Chris Evans is asking politicians to explain themselves to a new generation of young potential voters. Right: Evans with actor Mark Kassen, his partner in *A Starting Point*.



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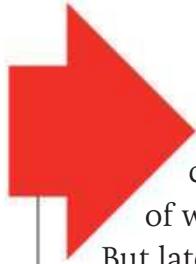
# A SUPERHERO'S

**CHRIS EVANS** hung up his Captain America shield. Now he and his partners want to help Generation Z reshape the U.S. political landscape

# NEW MISSION

by David H. Freedman  
PHOTOGRAPH BY NINO MUNOZ





MEMBERS OF CONGRESS GET A LOT OF calls from people wanting things, most of which receive polite regrets from staffers. But lately one particular call is consistently getting past the gatekeepers: the one from Chris Evans. Yes, that Chris Evans.

For a year and a half, the 39-year-old megastar (he turns 40 on June 13), best known for playing Captain America in the Marvel movies, has been quietly working the halls of the Capitol, occasionally in person, in an effort to persuade senators and representatives to put aside their hyper-partisan hyperbole and explain, in under two minutes, their views on politics and policy to a new generation of young potential voters.

The two-minute interviews are posted to A Starting Point, an app and website that Evans co-founded with director and actor Mark Kassen and Joe Kiani, a health care entrepreneur and philanthropist. Politicos talking policy may seem like heavy fare for the TikTok cohort, but the venture has so far defied gravity. It has more than 140,000 Instagram followers and 72,000 followers on Twitter—big numbers for politics-only content, especially given the site’s non-partisan approach. (In spite of the focus on the TikTok generation, A Starting Point isn’t active there, conceding that territory to younger posters.) “I love the idea of getting concise information from the people who are most involved in the political process, in their own words, without any journalistic spin,” says Evans. “This is about understanding who these people in office are, and how they’re voting.”

The site gives politicians a chance to weigh in any time on any topic. But much of the action revolves around pairs of opposing-party politicians pressing their disagreement around current hotly debated issues. Thus the home page recently featured du-

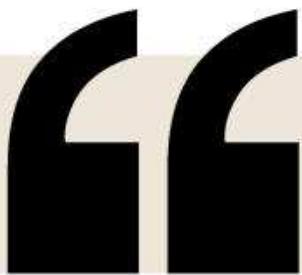


FROM TOP: JEFF GRITCHEN/DIGITAL FIRST MEDIA/ORANGE COUNTY REGISTER/GETTY; TOM WILLIAMS/CQ-ROLL CALL/GETTY; ANDREW CABALLERO-REYNOLDS/AFP/GETTY

eling videos from Republican Ohio Representative Dave Joyce and Democratic Oregon Rep. Earl Blumenauer arguing about federal cannabis policy, and Democratic California Rep. Katie Porter exchanging points and counterpoints with South Dakota Republican Rep. Dusty Johnson on eliminating the filibuster. “When I was a teenager, politics felt like something that was far away from what mattered to me,” says Evans. “Maybe if I had had a chance to listen to powerful voices from someone like a Katie Porter, I’d have been inspired and curious.”

The youth vote has for decades been so unreliable that political campaigns considered it barely worth their time and effort, compared to the more certain payoff from older voters. Millennials, now mostly in their 30s, started to bend that curve, proving to be relatively eager voters. But the younger Generation Z, which includes a raft of new voters each year, has accelerated the trend. About 55 percent of eligible voters between the ages of 18-to-29 voted in the 2020 elections, compared to 44 percent in 2016, according to Tufts University’s Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE).

That jump, which is bigger than other age groups saw in 2020, helped lift the youth vote to 17 percent



When I was a teenager, politics felt like something that was far away from what mattered to me. Maybe if I had had a chance to listen to **POWERFUL VOICES** from someone like a Katie Porter, I’d have been inspired and curious.



**PRESSING THE CASE**

Most of the short videos on A Starting Point involve opposing-party politicians pressing their disagreements. Top to bottom: Joe Kiani; U.S. Representative Katie Porter; and voters cast their ballots in Hillsboro, Virginia, on November 3, 2020.

of all votes cast, the most since the voting age was lowered in 1970. And further increases may be in store for future elections, says CIRCLE Deputy Director Abby Kiesa. The 2020 increase was particularly outsized among 18- and 19-year-olds, suggesting they and the sub-18 voters who will come of age in 2022 and 2024 may bring a fresh surge in numbers centered on ever-younger voters. “These kinds of increases among young voters are unheard of,” she says.

The 10- to 25-year-olds that Evans is targeting have been largely ignored by politicians. That may be because Gen Z, having been almost literally raised on Snapchat videos, has shown little interest in traditional sources of information. “They’re savvy consumers of digital media, but candidates have rarely spoken to them directly to address what

especially matters to them,” says Elizabeth Matto, director of the Center for Youth Political Participation at Rutgers University. “Any way elected officials can engage them online in an unfiltered way is going to resonate with them.”

It’s increasingly difficult to ignore Gen Z. These young voters do more than just turn out on election night: they are also quick to engage in the grassroots of politics, including petitions, campaigns and protests. That passion for the issues and the willingness to act on them, together with a social-media-centric world view, is starting to reshape the political landscape. That short clips of babbling politicians can strike a chord with these youthful voters could be a harbinger of an historic shift in the American electorate.



## Diverse and Passionate

BEYOND THEIR NUMBERS AND PROPENSITY FOR VOTING, Gen Zers are also the most diverse generation in modern American history. According to a census analysis, half of them are people of color—four percent more than millennials and 20 percent more than Baby Boomers. That means racial justice isn't just an abstract principle they believe in—it's often a personal struggle for them, their families and their friends. "It's not that we're trying to be the interface between younger generations and politics," says Kasen. "But we know from our interactions with them that they're not interested in traditional narratives."

Also differentiating Gen Z are the extraordinary events that have taken place during some of their most impressionable years. They have seen the emergence of mass shootings, in schools and elsewhere, as a standard feature of American life; they've watched cellphone and bodycam videos of Black people shot to death or suffocated by police; they've lived through four years of the most polarizing president of modern times; they've been trapped in the deadliest pandemic in a century; they've been pummeled by increasingly extreme weather events; and they've watched insurrectionists mob the Capitol as a third of Americans refuse to accept the results of a presidential election. Then throw in economic upheaval that has stalled many of them on the path to financial independence.

These events affect everyone, of course, but to young people they are likely to be formative.

While the full impact of these experiences on the worldviews of Gen Zs can't yet be calculated, it's clear that as a group, they are not interested in taking any of it lying down. That became apparent after the 2018 mass shooting at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Florida, which killed 17 people. "Students quickly organized political responses, not only marching, but identifying the positions that members of Congress were taking on gun control, and engaging other young people to register to vote," says Matto. Swedish Gen Z activist Greta Thunberg, meanwhile, demonstrated that same year how a 15-year-old could draw global attention to the environment.

Seeing that these sorts of efforts can swing elections and affect policy, Gen Zs have become all the more politically engaged—and impatient. "They don't want to see that politicians are trying, and they don't want to achieve moral victories," says Brent Co-



hen, executive director of Generation Progress, a progressive political advocacy group focused on younger voters. "They want to see which politicians can make it happen and get bills passed." To get Gen Zs to vote in ever-larger and even election-swinging numbers, he says, many candidates are going to give young people the kind of attention that until now has been reserved for undecided voters in swing states.

Talia Joseph, 19, is looking forward to flexing that sort of newfound political muscle. As an incoming freshman this fall at the University of Wisconsin in Madison, she is not only a youth voter but a swing-state voter as well. "People my age realize how much of an impact our vote had in 2020," she says. "I like Joe Biden, but he's not perfect. If he makes any policies we don't approve of, we know we can pressure him." Joseph, who's one year older

“

I love the idea of from the people who political process, journalistic spin. who these people in



than Thunberg, is active in fundraising and organizing aimed at turning up the heat on the administration in combating climate change.

### TikTok Power

HOW ARE GEN ZS MAKING UP THEIR MINDS ON THE issues? As the first “digital natives”—that is, people born into the age of ubiquitous internet access—they’re less dependent on traditional media to get a sense of what’s happening. “My parents check the news every day to catch up on the issues,” says Joseph. “My friends and I get all that from social media.”

By social media, she doesn’t mean Facebook and Twitter. Despite all the attention those platforms have attracted for their roles in influencing the last two presidential elections, Gen Zs tend to focus on YouTube, Instagram, Snapchat and TikTok. More than 100 million Americans are active on TikTok alone, and most of them are Gen Z; in the 18 months after January 2018, activity on the platform increased eightfold. Trump started trying, unsuccessfully, to shut TikTok down in July 2020, claiming the Chinese-owned app presented a security risk. It also has been ground zero for mostly progressive Gen Z activity. Case in point: when a million ticket requests came in online for a June-2020 Trump rally and only 6,200 people showed up, the difference was widely attributed to young TikTok activists eager to thwart the then-president.

Chris Evans wasn’t thinking about any of that back in 2017 when he used Google to search for an unfamiliar legislative acronym he had heard on the TV news. He doesn’t recall the acronym, but he clearly remembers his frustration in having to wade through search results that failed to deliver a quick, clear answer about the policy issue he was concerned about. “You can find a 30-second video

on how to do almost anything,” Evans says. “But where do you go to get a quick breakdown on a political issue, and hear what both sides have to say about it? It felt like a big missing piece to me.”

To provide that piece, Evans recruited Kassen, a friend since working together on the 2011 film *Puncture*, and Kiani. The three co-founded A Starting Point to fill the gap in here-are-the-issues online information. Since they were aiming at Gen Z, they decided to stick with short videos. To keep the tenor informational—and to avoid vicious, snarky food-fights—the site has no comments or “likes.” “You have these curious young voters who throw in a political comment on a website, and suddenly they’re bombarded with vitriol,” says Evans. “We didn’t want to be part of that nasty landscape.”

Evans was also determined to let both sides have their say. That was a tough decision for him, he admits,

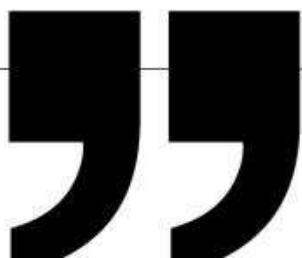
### RESTLESS GENERATION

As a group, Gen Z does not take things lying down. Clockwise from left: Greta Thunberg showed how a 15-year-old could draw global attention to the environment; students in Texas during the presidential primary in March; and teens at the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in Cleveland, Ohio.



CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT: MICHAEL CAMPANELLA/GETTY; SUZANNE CORDEIRO/AFP VIA GETTY; ROBERT NICKELSBURG/GETTY

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**HEALING AMERICA**  
On A Starting Point, otherwise combative politicians try to turn down the heat. Top to bottom: U.S. Representative Dan Crenshaw emphasizes behind-the-scenes bipartisan cooperation; and students protest the death of George Floyd.



given that he himself is an outspoken progressive. “We saw a lot of people in one party really show a shortage of integrity in recent years,” he says. “That makes it hard to put them on the same plane as the other party.”

The feeling, at first, was mutual. Many of the conservative members of Congress Evans approached turned him down initially, fearing that yet another Hollywood liberal was out to make them look bad on a left-leaning media outlet. But he slowly won over many skeptics by, he says, giving them equal time, with no partisan editing or editorializing. Still, the site draws the line at falsehoods, baseless claims and conspiracy theories. There are Republicans on the site arguing for tighter restrictions on voting, but none cite the alleged theft of the 2020 election as justification. “Whether we like what they say or not, everyone we have on the site deserves to be there, because they won the vote of the people,” says Kiani. “We give them a chance to say what they stand for, without hyperbole, and without anyone interpreting it.”

The videos on A Starting Point offer a chance to see politicians when they aren’t pandering to the hard-line voters of their parties or sparring with journalists probing for controversy. The results often have the feel of a relaxed conversation. Some are purely personal: Senate Majority Leader Chuck Schumer recalls in one video that he first got hooked on politics after a fellow student at Harvard invited him to knock on doors for Eugene McCarthy’s 1968 presidential primary campaign—an offer Schumer accepted only because he wanted a break from his gloom at having just been cut from the freshman basketball team.

Others show members of Congress known for being combative looking for ways to turn down the heat. Representative Dan Crenshaw, a Republican from Texas, insists that despite sharp divisions in the Senate, members of Congress engage in a great deal of behind-the-scenes bipartisan cooperation

FROM LEFT: AL SEIB/LOS ANGELES TIMES/GETTY; TOM WILLIAMS/CQ ROLL CALL/GETTY

to achieve moral victories.  
can make it happen and get bills passed.



[www.gonitro.com](http://www.gonitro.com)

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POLITICS

People my age realize how much of an impact our vote had in 2020. I like Joe Biden, but he's not perfect. If he makes any policies we don't approve of, we know we can **PRESSURE HIM.**

”

on many issues. And there are frank assessments: Senator Chuck Grassley, a Republican from Iowa, warns in one video that bipartisanship won't get far until more voters get behind it—a weak prospect in the current political climate.

Most of the videos show members making their cases on the issues in a calmer, less pointed way than they might on *Meet the Press*. Ilhan Omar, the outspoken Democratic representative from Minnesota, politely criticizes the Trump administration for abandoning the Iran deal that limited that country's nuclear-weapon program and tweaks the Biden administration for being too slow to rejoin it.

The insistence on letting both sides have their unfiltered say appeals to the Gen Z cohort. It's not that they're split between the two parties; only a fifth of them approve of Trump, and about two-thirds voted for Biden—the biggest margin by far of any age group, and the most lopsided youth vote in modern history. At the same time, progressive young voters appear to be more open-minded than older voters: a third of non-Republican Gen Zs say that they'd consider voting Republican in future elections, according to a 2020 survey conducted by the non-profit Niskanen Center.

Regardless of their political affiliation, Gen Zs tend to resent either side trying to win them over with spin, says Matto, which may be why a site like A Starting Point, which is willing to provide unfiltered political exposition, is likely to resonate with them. “They crave and seek out authenticity,” she says. “This is a generation that can spot BS a mile away.”

Jeremy Sutherland, a 23-year-old who graduated Northwestern University last year with a degree in theater, exemplifies that interest in hearing both sides. “I'm pretty liberal, and I'm not really looking to change my opinion on that,” he says. “But I place value on hearing from people who disagree with me, and I want to understand where their opinions are coming from.”

Its relatively non-partisan approach has also helped A Starting Point catch on as a classroom

tool, via a partnership with the Close Up Foundation, which offers a range of civic-engagement programs to high schools. Another partnership, with grassroots political organizing group BridgeUSA, is increasing the site's visibility on college campuses.

### An Overwhelming Force

ALL THIS EFFORT TO POLITICALLY ENGAGE GEN Z may seem unnecessary, given that they're already unusually engaged. But as big as their voting numbers were in 2020, notes CIRCLE's Kiesa, there are reasons to believe there's room to improve on them. “Young people are much less likely to be contacted



CLOCKWISE FROM BOTTOM LEFT: NARINDER NANU/AFP/GETTY; TASOS KATOPODIS/GETTY; JOE RAEDLE/GETTY



by campaigns or other forms of outreach,” she says. “Republicans in particular haven’t done a wonderful job of reaching out.”

The mechanics of registering and voting also tend to work heavily against Gen Z. “Many of them are changing their addresses as they move to college, or change where they live at college, or move to a new city after college,” Kiesa says. “That means there are structural barriers around how to register or re-register, or where to vote.” High schools usually do little to help students figure it all out, he adds, and the information they get at college can be hit-or-miss. Meanwhile, new election laws being pushed through by red states are certain to make it more challenging for young people to vote.

If they can overcome those barriers, Gen Z could become an overwhelming force in elections. Research has long supported the notion that the earlier

someone becomes involved in politics, the more likely they are to stay involved. Gen Z’s growing numbers are projected to comprise 29 percent of the vote by 2036, according to an analysis by political advocacy group States of Change. (In April, *Newsweek* and ASP teamed up to create a cross-platform series exploring Gen Z’s impact on American politics.)

Gen Z proved to be a decisive force for Biden, but may ultimately be up for grabs. “I don’t believe you’re going to see a big shift to the right in this generation,” says Cohen. “But that doesn’t mean they won’t vote Republican, if the party represents itself the right way.”

That would call for some change on the part of the GOP and its candidates—at the very least, they’d have to figure out how to effectively make their cases on TikTok and Snapchat. Or they could just ask Chris Evans. 

**YOUNG WARRIORS**  
Seeing that activism can have an effect, Gen Zs have become politically engaged. Top to bottom: A candlelight memorial service for the shooting victims at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School; U.S. Representative Ilhan Omar; and the TikTok app.

# HOW TO SAVE AMERICA

Chris Evans wants to use his celebrity to get young voters **engaged** in politics.

## CHRIS EVANS IS BEST KNOWN FOR

portraying Captain America, who teams up with other superheroes in the Marvel Cinematic Universe to form the Avengers. In real life, Evans has joined director and actor Mark Kassen and health care entrepreneur and philanthropist Joe Kiani to launch a website and app called A Starting Point, with the aim of getting young people interested in learning more about their elected officials and political issues.

Evans and Kassen met with *Newsweek* Contributor David H. Freedman via Zoom to talk about some of the obstacles they've had to overcome, the success they've had so far and their ambitions for the project.

**Newsweek:** What were the biggest challenges you faced in getting A Starting Point up and running?

**Chris Evans:** First we had to collect the interviews. For the first year and a half before we launched, most of what we did was going to Washington, D.C., and knocking on doors to try to collect these interviews. We needed to garner trust.

**Mark Kassen:** I don't know if you're aware of this, but Chris is famous. Sometimes I just forget that, because I've known him a long time and to me he's just a normal person. So I was surprised when we went to D.C. at how excited and nervous people were to meet him. A lot of them told us that celebrities often come to D.C. to try to tell them what to do. They liked that we were asking them to talk about what they think. And they liked that we weren't just looking for the most

exciting, sexy stories. We asked them to talk about some of the issues that are important to them and their states, and that they usually don't get to talk about.

**CE:** It's a lot easier now that word is getting around. These days we're fielding incoming calls from elected officials who want to be included.

**NW:** Do you hope A Starting Point can address the extreme polarization among voters and in government?

**CE:** The site wasn't designed to try and promote bipartisanship. This isn't a therapy session for the left and the right so we can all figure out how to sing kumbaya. It was created to promote engagement with young people. If we don't get more young people to vote we'll never get a government that accurately reflects who we are as a country. We felt the best way to fight apathy and promote engagement is to show the full spectrum of opinions that are out there. A lot of those opinions are different from mine, but

I wanted to keep that out of it and let young people decide for themselves.

**MK:** The two parties seem to shape the narratives we hear on different media outlets. We wanted officials to talk to us about the issues without the narratives.

**CE:** Young people can detect journalistic spin as well as anyone can. Our guiding principle—and I think it's pretty unique to us—is that we provide this information in a completely unbiased way. The content comes directly from elected officials. Mark had a fantastic idea about our doing profiles of different officials, but I was immediately wary, because it would be hard to do that without letting our own opinions affect how we do them. That could be in part because I am so politically vocal on social media, and I want to make sure that I never let that infiltrate this site. I was really worried that we were going to be branded as some sort of a leftist propaganda machine, that there was some sort of a liberal agenda. But that hasn't happened at all.

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THIS ISN'T A THERAPY SESSION FOR THE LEFT AND THE RIGHT SO WE CAN



**NW:** How is A Starting Point going to evolve in the coming months and years?

**CE:** We're used to making movies, where when the movie's done you release it and you can't make any adjustments to it, you can't go back and polish and improve it. But this site is a living thing. We can fix this car while we're driving it down the road. There were certain things that were high priority right out of the gate, including getting elected officials to talk to us, and getting eyeballs to the site. But now that we've done that, we're looking at what else we can do.

We're thinking about Mark's ideas about profiles, or doing other sorts of deep dives. We could take a camera crew and go into an elected official's



**NW:** Have you thought about moving outside of politics?

**CE:** Yeah. I'd love doing anything that moves toward providing concise information directly from those who are most informed or most involved on a particular topic, whether it's science, the economy or history. The essence of this site is about understanding who's in office, regardless of their level of expertise in an area, because they're voting on things that will change your life. But when you're talking to elected officials about the economy, sometimes you can't help thinking, shouldn't we be talking to an economist about this?

Or it could be sports. Like you could get LeBron James to teach you the triangle offense. There are a million ways this could evolve, and to be honest most of them would probably be more exciting than politics.

**MK:** We've been approached by people in finance, where we all struggle to figure some things out. How do we apply our guiding principles to that, or

ALL FIGURE OUT HOW TO SING KUMBAYA. IT WAS CREATED TO PROMOTE ENGAGEMENT WITH YOUNG PEOPLE.

district and maybe have that person show you around, like a mini-documentary. I think we can avoid that being a road toward partisanship; we'll do it with both Democrats and Republicans. As we establish ourselves as a credible place for honest, balanced information with no spin, we can start bending the mechanisms a little more to start asking more questions.

**MK:** We're not going to be investigative journalists. But one way we do want to expand our coverage is to go beyond Congress to state legislatures. We'll start doing that next year, and we'd like to eventually involve as many levels of government as possible.

**CE:** Mark also had the idea of having

guest commentaries from influential people who aren't elected officials. It would be a little like establishing an online guest house, where a celebrity or someone else might drop in and do a quick thing on the environment, for example. It would be a good way to get more eyeballs on what we've got here. I've already reached out to a few people about appearing, though some people can be a little scared about weighing in publicly on the issues.

**MK:** We just have to make sure that we don't suddenly turn this into famous people interviews, and that we don't do things that people can get elsewhere. We just have to keep trying different things to see what works.

other areas, like health care? ”  
We're trying to understand where we can be useful, and as this grows, we'll continue to develop those use cases.

**CE:** We're lucky that we're self-funded, which frees us from the kind of pressures that other companies have to do what works for their bottom line. We have the freedom to move at our own pace and figure out what will do the most good. One thing we really wanted to do from the beginning was to create ways for in-person engagement in events. That's a great way to get people excited. But then we ended up having to launch during a pandemic, so we had to put that aside. But we're looking at it again now. ■



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**N**EWSWEEK HAS LONG BEEN COMMITTED TO PROVIDING our readers with the information they need to make the best possible health care choices for themselves and their loved ones. As part of that continuing commitment, this year, for the first time, we've partnered with Statista Inc., the global market research and customer data firm, to find America's Best Plastic Surgeons.

We've ranked them in four categories: breast augmentation, liposuction, facelift and rhinoplasty. To determine the winners, we conducted a national survey among plastic surgeons, asking them to recommend the best plastic surgeons in their state as well as across the U.S. Additionally, participants were asked to rank their peers according to several quality dimensions.

The rankings feature the top 200 plastic surgeons for breast augmentation and the top 150 for liposuction, facelift and rhinoplasty. In total, 387 individual plastic surgeons were ranked, with some being recognized for more than one procedure. We're proud to offer this ranking and hope you will find it useful in making your own health care decisions. → **Nancy Cooper**, *Newsweek*, Global Editor-in-Chief

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# AMERICA'S

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# BEST

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# PLASTIC

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# SURGEONS

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 2021



Rafieenglishclinic.com



## METHODOLOGY

America's Best Plastic Surgeons 2021 recognizes the best plastic surgeons in the U.S. in four major procedures (breast augmentation, liposuction, facelift and rhinoplasty). The procedures were chosen by total number of procedures per year and market volume in the U.S. They are among the procedures with the highest total expenditures in the U.S.

Statista invited almost 3,000 medical experts (doctors/surgeons, plastic surgery clinic managers and health care professionals) to participate in an online survey. Participants were asked to recommend plastic surgeons in the U.S. who offer at least one of these four procedures. Survey participants could recommend plastic surgeons in their own state as well as for all of the U.S. Most plastic surgeons who made the final list offer multiple procedures. The rankings feature the top 200 plastic surgeons for breast augmentation and the top 150 for liposuction, facelift and rhinoplasty, respectively. Some surgeons were ranked among the best in more than one category.

Our complex methodology ensures the quality and validity of the ranking. The evaluation process was comprised of two steps:

→ **Plastic surgeon recommendations from peers:** an independent national survey which resulted in more than 5,000 recommendations from doctors/surgeons, plastic surgery clinic managers and health care professionals with knowledge of plastic surgery.

→ **Quality Score:** Additionally, participants were asked to rank plastic surgeons according to specific quality dimensions. Participants were asked to differentiate between these variables:

**Quality of surgery preparation**  
(e.g., consultation with doctor, information)

**Quality of surgical procedure**  
(e.g., complications)

**Quality of follow-up care**  
(e.g., follow-up checks)

**Quality of surgical outcomes**  
(e.g., desired outcome of procedures)

For each category, the respondents were asked to rate plastic surgeons on a scale from 1 ("Poor") to 7 ("Excellent"). A quality score was assigned to each plastic surgeon based on a weighted average of these ratings.

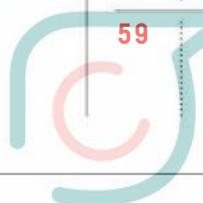
# Facelift

RANK	SCORE	NAME/LOCATION	RANK	SCORE	NAME/LOCATION
1	99.3%	Dr. Rod J. Rohrich, MD Dallas, TX	20	71.1%	Dr. David Hidalgo, MD, FACS New York, NY
2	92.9%	Dr. James M. Stuzin Boca Raton, FL; Miami, FL	21	70.5%	Dr. Henry Mentz Houston, TX
3	91.6%	Timothy Marten, MD, FACS San Francisco, CA	22	69.7%	Alan Matarasso, MD New York, NY
4	87.5%	Dr. James E. Zins, MD Beachwood, OH	23	69.2%	Dr. Drew Metcalfe, MD Atlanta, GA
5	85.3%	Sherrell J. Aston, MD New York, NY	24	68.9%	Jeffrey D. Friedman, MD Houston, TX
6	84.1%	Dr. Bahman Guyuron, MD Cleveland, OH	25	68.7%	Dr. G. Patrick Maxwell, MD Nashville, TN
7	83.7%	Dr. Andrew Jacono, MD, FACS New York, NY	26	68.5%	Dr. Beverly A. Fisher, MD Lutherville-Timonium, MD
8	83.2%	Daniel C. Baker, MD New York, NY	27	68.3%	A. Jay Burns, MD Dallas, TX
9	78.4%	Alfonso Barrera, MD, FACS Houston, TX	28	67.9%	Dr. Emily Clarke-Pearson Baltimore, MD
10	76.6%	Dr. Garth Fisher MD Beverly Hills, CA	29	67.4%	Iliana E. Sweis, MD Chicago, IL; Northbrook, IL
11	76.6%	Dr. Aaron Stone MD Beverly Hills, CA	30	66.9%	Dr. Louis P. Bucky Philadelphia, PA; Ardmore, PA
12	75.4%	Foad Nahai, MD Atlanta, GA	31	66.7%	Dr. Michael J. Yaremchuk, MD Boston, MA
13	74.4%	Jeffrey R. Marcus, MD Durham, NC	32	66.6%	Anthony Youn, MD Troy, MI
14	73.9%	Julius W. Few, MD Chicago, IL	33	66.1%	Richard A. Bartlett, MD Brookline, MA
15	72.9%	Donald R. Collins Jr., MD, FACS Houston, TX	34	66.0%	Charles H. Thorne, MD New York, NY
16	72.5%	Dr. Roger Friedman, MD Bethesda, MD	35	65.8%	Jason A. Spector, MD, FACS New York, NY
17	72.4%	Dr. Jennifer L. Walden, MD, PLLC Austin, TX	36	65.7%	A. George Volpe, MD, FACS Boston, MA
18	72.3%	A. Peter Salas MD, FACS, FACM New York, NY; West Orange, NJ	37	65.7%	Jay Austen, MD Boston, MA
19	71.8%	Sumner A. Slavin, MD Chestnut Hill, MA	38	65.6%	Dr. Seung K. Kim Palo Alto, CA

RANK	SCORE	NAME/LOCATION
39	65.4%	Dr. Ankit Desai, MD, FACS Jacksonville, FL
40	65.3%	Adam Schaffner, MD, FACS New York, NY
41	65.3%	Malcolm W. Marks, MD Winston-Salem, NC
42	65.2%	Dr. Andrew Giacobbe Williamsville, NY; Hamburg, NY
43	65.0%	Jay W. Calvert, MD, FACS Beverly Hills, CA; Newport Beach, CA
44	65.0%	Stephan Baker, MD, FACS Miami, FL
45	65.0%	Dr. Steven R. Cohen San Diego, CA
46	65.0%	Dr. Brian V. Heil Upper St. Claire, PA; Wexford, PA
47	64.8%	Robert D. Wallace, MD Memphis, TN
48	64.7%	Dr. Sanjay Grover, MD, FACS Newport Beach, CA; Beverly Hills, CA
49	64.7%	Dr. Gregory Fedele Beachwood, OH
50	64.7%	Atul K. Amin, MD, PC Easton, PA
51	64.6%	Dr. George Pope Orlando, FL; New Orleans, LA
52	64.4%	Corey S. Maas, MD, FACS San Francisco, CA
53	64.2%	Dr. Emile N. Brown Baltimore, MD
54	64.1%	Dr. Aviva Preminger New York, NY
55	64.0%	Dr. Thomas Fiala Altamonte Springs, FL
56	63.5%	Steven Goldman MD, FACS, FAFPRS Beachwood, OH; Westlake, OH
57	63.4%	Dr. Michael Sadove Carmel, IN
58	63.4%	Anthony N. LaBruna MD, FACS New York, NY
59	63.3%	Dr. Christopher K. Patronella, MD Houston, TX

RANK	SCORE	NAME/LOCATION
60	63.3%	Aamir Siddiqui, MD Detroit, MI; Clinton Township, MI; Grosse Pointe Farms, MI
61	63.3%	Dr. Melinda Haws, MD Nashville, TN
62	63.3%	Alexandrina S. Saulis, MD, FACS Hinsdale, IL
63	63.3%	Dr. Adam L. Basner, MD Lutherville-Timonium, MD
64	63.3%	Dr. Abdullah J. Khalil, MD Beverly Hills, CA
65	63.0%	Ronald Edward Riefkohl, MD Durham, NC
66	63.0%	Joseph P. Hunstad M.D., FACS Huntersville, NC; Charlotte, NC
67	63.0%	Dr. Barry Eppley Carmel, IN
68	63.0%	Jane S. Weston, MD, FACS Menlo Park, CA
69	62.8%	Dr. Jose Rodriguez-Feliz, MD Coral Gables, FL
70	62.8%	Dr. David Lickstein Palm Beach Gardens, FL
71	62.8%	Dr. William Bruno West Hollywood, CA
72	62.8%	Dr. Richard W. Swift Jr., MD, FACS New York, NY
73	62.8%	Dr. Catherine S. Chang Beverly Hills, CA
74	62.7%	Dr. Sam S. Rizk, MD, FACS New York, NY
75	62.7%	Dr. Ira D. Papel, MD, FACS Baltimore, MD; Annapolis, MD; Washington D.C.
76	62.7%	Dr. Theda C. Kontis, MD, FACS Baltimore, MD; Annapolis, MD; Washington D.C.
77	62.6%	Dr. Jon Kurkjian, MD, PA Fort Worth, TX
78	62.6%	Dr. Simon Madorsky, MD Newport Beach, CA; Beverly Hills, CA
79	62.6%	Vigen Darian, MD Novi, MI

RANK	SCORE	NAME/LOCATION
80	62.6%	Dr. John T. Cozzone, MD Paramus, NJ
81	62.6%	Robert Chandler, MD Memphis, TN
82	62.6%	Dr. Bill G. Kortesis, MD, FACS Huntersville, NC; Charlotte, NC
83	62.6%	Dr. Jacob D. Steiger, MD Boca Raton, FL
84	62.6%	Dr. Marc Liang, MD, FACS Pittsburgh, PA
85	62.6%	Victor G. Cimino, MD, DDS, FACS Park Ridge, IL
86	62.5%	Dr. Robert J. Perry, MD, FACS Niagara Falls, NY
87	62.5%	Dr. Mune Gowda, MD, FACS Novi, MI; Troy, MI
88	62.5%	A. Dean Jabs, MD, PhD, FACS Bethesda, MD
89	62.4%	Galen Perdikis, M.D., FACS Nashville, TN
90	62.4%	Amy Colwell, MD Boston, MA
91	62.3%	Dr. Lawrence Colen Norfolk, VA
92	62.3%	Dr. W. Byron Barber II Greensboro, NC
93	62.3%	Andrew Trussler, MD Austin, TX
94	62.3%	Thomas Grace, MD Baltimore, MD; Columbia, MD
95	62.3%	Dr. Nelson H. Goldberg, MD Baltimore, MD; Glen Burnie, MD
96	62.2%	Dr. Benjamin Talei, MD Beverly Hills, CA
97	62.2%	Dr. Adam Tattelbaum Rockville, MD; McLean, VA
98	62.2%	Manny Iyer, MD Bethlehem, PA
99	62.2%	David P. Rigan, MD, FACS Orchard Park, NY
100	62.2%	Dr. Dana Goldberg Jupiter, FL



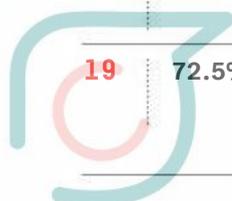
# Breast Augmentation



RANK	SCORE	NAME/LOCATION
1	97.5%	Dr. William P. Adams Jr. MD University Park, TX
2	84.2%	Dr. G. Patrick Maxwell, MD Nashville, TN
3	83.5%	Dr. Garth Fisher MD Beverly Hills, CA
4	81.7%	Dr. Michael Zenn MD, FACS, MBA Raleigh, NC
5	79.7%	Dr. David Hidalgo, MD, FACS New York, NY
6	79.7%	Dr. Dennis Hammond, MD Grand Rapids, MI
7	79.7%	Dr. Grace Ma, MD, FACS Atlanta, GA
8	78.4%	Dr. Steven Teitelbaum, MD, FACS Santa Monica, CA
9	78.3%	Dr. Aaron Stone MD Beverly Hills, CA
10	78.1%	Dr. Drew Metcalfe, MD Atlanta, GA
11	76.5%	Dr. Rod J. Rohrich, MD Dallas, TX
12	76.4%	Dr. Bahman Guyuron, MD Cleveland, OH
13	76.4%	Dr. Beverly A. Fisher, MD Lutherville-Timonium, MD
14	76.2%	Dr. James E. Zins, MD Beachwood, OH
15	74.7%	Dr. Michael Ciaravino, MD Houston, TX
16	74.2%	Dr. Adam R. Kolker, MD, FACS New York, NY
17	74.1%	Dr. Ashkan Ghavami, MD Beverly Hills, CA
18	73.8%	Dr. Roger Friedman, MD Bethesda, MD
19	72.5%	Dr. Leonard A. Roudner, MD Coral Gables, FL

RANK	SCORE	NAME/LOCATION
20	71.8%	Dr. Bernard W. Chang, MD Baltimore, MD
21	71.6%	A. Jay Burns, MD Dallas, TX
22	71.2%	Dr. Bill G. Kortesis, MD, FACS Huntersville, NC; Charlotte, NC
23	71.1%	Dr. Sanjay Grover, MD, FACS Newport Beach, CA; Beverly Hills, CA
24	70.8%	Dr. Adam L. Basner, MD Lutherville-Timonium, MD
25	70.6%	Dr. Melinda Haws, MD Nashville, TN
26	70.5%	Dr. Christopher K. Patronella, MD Houston, TX
27	70.5%	Dr. Bernard A. Schuster, MD, FACS Hollywood, FL
28	70.3%	Dr. Jennifer L. Walden, MD, PLLC Austin, TX
29	70.0%	Aamir Siddiqui, MD Detroit, MI; Clinton Township, MI; Grosse Pointe Farms, MI
30	69.9%	Alan Matarasso, MD New York, NY
31	69.6%	Sumner A. Slavin, MD Chestnut Hill, MA
32	69.5%	Jason A. Spector, MD, FACS New York, NY
33	69.3%	Dr. Ary Krau Bay Harbor Islands, FL
34	69.1%	Dr. Douglas Forman North Bethesda, MD
35	68.8%	Charles Newman Jr., MD Orlando, FL
36	68.4%	Anthony Youn, MD Troy, MI
37	68.4%	Alfonso Barrera, MD, FACS Houston, TX

RANK	SCORE	NAME/LOCATION
38	68.1%	A. Peter Salas MD, FACS, FACM New York, NY; West Orange, NJ
39	68.1%	Dr. Andrew Giacobbe Williamsville, NY; Hamburg, NY
40	68.0%	Dr. Theodore Uroskie Jr. Norfolk, VA
41	67.8%	Leonard M. Hochstein MD Miami, FL
42	67.7%	Dr. Adam Summers, MD Glen Burnie, MD
43	67.6%	Dr. Brian V. Heil Upper St. Claire, PA; Wexford, PA
44	67.6%	Foad Nahai, MD Atlanta, GA
45	67.4%	Dr. Emily Clarke-Pearson Baltimore, MD
46	67.4%	Dr. Dean DeRoberts Syracuse, NY
47	67.3%	Gaurav Bharti, MD, FACS Charlotte, NC; Huntersville, NC
48	67.3%	Dr. Louis P. Bucky Philadelphia, PA; Ardmore, PA
49	67.2%	Dr. Michael Calobrace Louisville, KY; Lexington, KY; Floyds Knobs, IN
50	67.2%	Dr. Brooke R. Seckel Boston, MA; Concord, MA
51	67.1%	Adeyiza Olutoyin Momoh, MD Ann Arbor, MI
52	67.1%	Camille Cash, MD Houston, TX
53	67.1%	Michele Manahan, MD Baltimore, MD
54	66.7%	Dr. Jonathan S. Schreiber, MD, FACS Bloomfield, CT
55	66.7%	Adam Schaffner, MD, FACS New York, NY
56	66.5%	Thomas Martin Hagopian Atlanta, GA
57	66.4%	Amy Colwell, MD Boston, MA
58	66.3%	Gregory S. Georgiade, MD Durham, NC



# Liposuction



RANK	SCORE	NAME/LOCATION
1	97.3%	A. Peter Salas MD, FACS, FACM New York, NY; West Orange, NJ
2	85.0%	Dr. Rod J. Rohrich, MD Dallas, TX
3	84.6%	A. Jay Burns, MD Dallas, TX
4	82.4%	Dr. Michael Zenn MD, FACS, MBA Raleigh, NC
5	81.2%	Dr. Ashkan Ghavami, MD Beverly Hills, CA
6	81.2%	Dr. Constantino Mendieta, MD, FACS Miami, FL
7	76.7%	Alan Matarasso, MD New York, NY
8	76.7%	Dr. Aaron Stone MD Beverly Hills, CA
9	76.5%	Dr. Brian V. Heil Upper St. Claire, PA; Wexford, PA
10	75.5%	Dr. Emily Clarke-Pearson Baltimore, MD
11	74.5%	Dr. Rolando Morales Houston, TX
12	73.5%	Simeon Wall Jr., MD, FACS Shreveport, LA
13	73.1%	Dr. David Hidalgo, MD, FACS New York, NY
14	73.0%	Joseph P. Hunstad M.D., FACS Huntersville, NC; Charlotte, NC
15	72.6%	Dr. Bahman Guyuron, MD Cleveland, OH
16	72.1%	Dr. James E. Zins, MD Beachwood, OH
17	72.0%	Dr. Adrian Lo, MD Philadelphia, PA; Marlton, NJ
18	71.3%	Dr. George Pope Orlando, FL; New Orleans, LA
19	70.9%	Adam Schaffner, MD, FACS New York, NY

RANK	SCORE	NAME/LOCATION
20	70.6%	Dr. Bill G. Kortesis, MD, FACS Huntersville, Charlotte, NC
21	70.4%	Dr. Adam J. Oppenheimer, MD, FACS Orlando, FL
22	70.3%	Dr. Adam L. Basner, MD Lutherville-Timonium, MD
23	70.0%	Dr. Gregory Fedele Beachwood, OH
24	69.4%	Jay Austen, MD Boston, MA
25	69.4%	Dr. Beverly A. Fisher, MD Lutherville-Timonium, MD
26	69.3%	Dr. Emile N. Brown Baltimore, MD
27	69.2%	Dr. G. Patrick Maxwell, MD Nashville, TN

RANK	SCORE	NAME/LOCATION
28	69.1%	Carrie A. Houssock, MD Owings Mills, MD
29	69.0%	Dr. Adam Summers, MD Glen Burnie, MD
30	69.0%	Dr. Michael B. Tantillo, MD Boston, MA
31	68.9%	Samuel Shatkin Jr., MD, FACS Williamsville, NY; Buffalo, NY; Amherst, NY
32	68.9%	Dr. Adam R. Kolker, MD, FACS New York, NY
33	68.9%	Dr. Douglas Forman North Bethesda, MD
34	68.8%	Jason A. Spector, MD, FACS New York, NY
35	68.7%	Christopher C. Jeffries, MD, FACS Traverse City, MI; Charlevoix, MI
36	68.7%	Dr. Melinda Haws, MD Nashville, TN
37	68.4%	Dr. Derek Daniel Reformat Brookline, MA
38	68.4%	Aron D. Wahrman, MD, MBA, MHCDS, FACS Philadelphia, PA



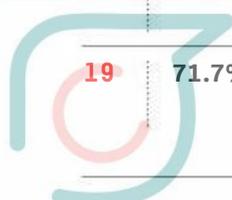
# Rhinoplasty



RANK	SCORE	NAME/LOCATION
1	99.4%	Dr. Rod J. Rohrich, MD Dallas, TX
2	99.2%	Dr. Bahman Guyuron, MD Cleveland, OH
3	82.3%	Dr. Ashkan Ghavami, MD Beverly Hills, CA
4	81.1%	Dr. Ira D. Papel, MD, FACS Baltimore, MD; Annapolis, MD; Washington D.C.
5	80.9%	Dr. Andrew Jacono, MD, FACS New York, NY
6	78.8%	Eduardo D. Rodriguez, MD, DDS New York, NY
7	78.5%	Jeffrey R. Marcus, MD Durham, NC
8	78.3%	Dr. James E. Zins, MD Beachwood, OH
9	77.5%	Dean Toriumi, MD Chicago, IL
10	77.3%	Dr. Adam L. Basner, MD Lutherville-Timonium, MD
11	76.9%	Alan Matarasso, MD New York, NY
12	76.6%	Dr. Michael J. Yaremchuk, MD Boston, MA
13	75.4%	Jay W. Calvert, MD, FACS Beverly Hills, CA; Newport Beach, CA
14	73.9%	Dr. Brian V. Heil Upper St. Claire, PA; Wexford, PA
15	73.9%	Richard A. Bartlett, MD Brookline, MA
16	73.2%	Dr. Paul Nassif, MD, FACS Beverly Hills, CA
17	72.0%	Dr. Simon Madorsky, MD Newport Beach, CA
18	71.7%	Dr. Roger Friedman, MD Bethesda, MD
19	71.7%	Dr. Henry Mentz Houston, TX

RANK	SCORE	NAME/LOCATION
20	71.3%	Dr. Theda C. Kontis, MD, FACS Baltimore, MD; Annapolis, MD; Washington D.C.
21	70.7%	Alfonso Barrera, MD, FACS Houston, TX
22	70.4%	Sherrell J. Aston, MD New York, NY
23	70.3%	Dr. Sam S. Rizk, MD, FACS New York, NY
24	69.8%	Dr. David Kim Beverly Hills, CA
25	69.8%	Steven Goldman MD, FACS, FAAFPRS Beachwood, OH; Westlake, OH
26	69.7%	Dr. Bill G. Kortesis, MD, FACS Huntersville, NC; Charlotte, NC
27	69.6%	Daniel C. Baker, MD New York, NY
28	69.3%	Bruce K. Smith, MD Houston, TX
29	69.2%	Dr. James M. Stuzin Boca Raton, FL; Miami, FL
30	69.2%	Dr. Adrian Lo, MD Philadelphia, PA; Marlton, NJ
31	69.1%	Dr. Adam R. Kolker, MD, FACS New York, NY
32	68.9%	Arun K. Gosain, MD Chicago, IL
33	68.5%	Adam Bryce Weinfeld, MD Austin, TX
34	68.4%	Dr. Robert Thomas Grant, MD, MPH, FACS New York, NY
35	68.3%	Malcolm W. Marks, MD Winston-Salem, NC
36	68.2%	Jay Austen, MD Boston, MA
37	67.6%	Jeffrey Rockmore, MD Latham, NY
38	67.5%	Dr. Steven M. Daines, MD Newport Beach, CA

RANK	SCORE	NAME/LOCATION
39	67.5%	Nicolas Tabbal, MD New York, NY
40	67.5%	Anthony Youn, MD Troy, MI
41	67.4%	Iliana E. Sweis, MD Chicago, IL; Northbrook, IL
42	67.3%	Charles H. Thorne, MD New York, NY
43	67.1%	Dr. G. Patrick Maxwell, MD Nashville, TN
44	67.1%	Dr. Andrea Moreira Pittsburgh, PA
45	67.0%	Dr. Aaron Kosins Newport Beach, CA
46	66.8%	Samuel Shatkin Jr., MD, FACS Williamsville, NY; Buffalo, NY; Amherst, NY
47	66.7%	A. Peter Salas, MD, FACS, FACM New York, NY; West Orange, NJ
48	66.6%	Dr. Samuel Lin Boston, MA
49	66.4%	Dr. Garth Fisher, MD Beverly Hills, CA
50	66.4%	Gaurav Bharti, MD, FACS Huntersville, NC; Charlotte, NC
51	66.3%	Dr. Carl H. Manstein, MD Meadowbrook, PA
52	66.2%	Dr. Gregory Fedele Beachwood, OH
53	66.1%	Christopher C. Jeffries, MD, FACS Traverse City, MI; Charlevoix, MI
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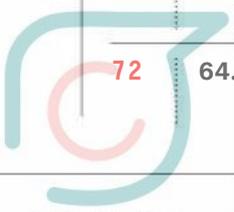


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79	64.1%	Dr. Bradley Ashpole, MD Schaumburg, IL; Libertyville, IL
80	64.0%	Dr. Barry Cohen, MD, PC Fulton, IL; McLean, MD; Rockville, VA
81	63.9%	Dr. David Hidalgo, MD, FACS New York, NY
82	63.9%	Sanaz Harirchian, MD Houston, TX

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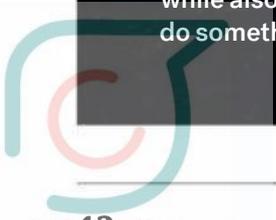




**LOOKING FORWARD AND BACK**

Although she says she didn't plan it that way, Liz Phair's new album refers to her previous work while also trying to do something new.

FROM LEFT: ADELA LOCONTE/FILMMAGIC/GETTY; MARTY PEREZ; TOP RIGHT: ASTRID STAWIARZ/GETTY





MUSIC

# Back in the Game

Indie rock legend Liz Phair reemerges with *Soberish* her first new album in over a decade

LAST YEAR WAS SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN A big one for Los Angeles-based singer-songwriter Liz Phair, who shook up the indie rock world almost 30 years ago with her debut *Exile in Guyville*. In 2020 she was scheduled to release *Soberish*, her first new album in 10 years, and embark on a summer tour with Alanis Morissette and Garbage. The pandemic suspended those plans. The pause, though, gave Phair time to update the record.

She remembers thinking, “Well, if it’s going to come out a year from now, we have to make it for then. Here’s the things that I think are going to be in place: Trump will have lost, we’re also going to be coming out of the pandemic at that exact moment. We want the comfort of sounds of the past, but we want the energy of something brand new—because we’re all gonna be brand new again.”

*Soberish* finally came out on June 4 via Chrysalis Records. It feels like a summation of Phair’s career, drawing from the pioneering indie rock of *Exile in Guyville* and its follow-up *Whip-Smart*; the moments of reflection on *Whitechocolatespaceegg*;

the mainstream pop-rock of *Liz Phair* and *Somebody’s Miracle*; and the sonic experimentation of her last album *Funstyle*. Phair says any resemblance to her back catalog was unintended but not unwelcome. “It’s kind of cool that that just snuck out through my unconscious,” she says, “I like that there’s some DNA in there from older works.”

Some of the new songs date back to a period when Phair was collaborating with her then producer Ryan Adams, for an album that never got off the ground. For *Soberish*, Phair renewed her relationship with producer Brad Wood, who had helmed *Exile in Guyville* and *Whip-Smart*. “We have a shorthand from years of working together. But we’d also diverged and had a lot of experiences separately that I hear in *Soberish*, I hear my sound design from all the TV scoring I did, and I hear his fluidity of mixing. He can just take any crazy thing I throw at him and turn it into a gorgeous instrumentation.”

While the music on *Soberish* is sonically diverse

BY

DAVID CHIU

@newbeats





## Further Listening



**Exile in Guyville**  
Matador, 1993

The classic album that turned Liz Phair into indie rock goddess, *Exile in Guyville* took on relationships and sexism with its refreshingly raw sound and even rawer lyrics.



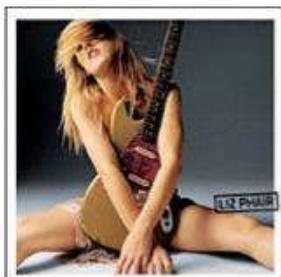
**Whip-Smart**  
Matador, 1994

At the time, *Whip-Smart* had the unfortunate position of following up a game-changing debut, although it offered up a strong batch of songs such as “Supernova,” the title track, “Cinco de Mayo” and “Jealousy.”



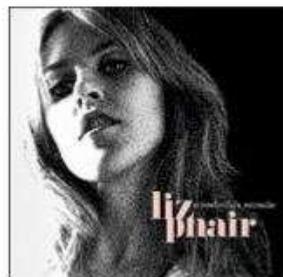
**Whitechocolatespaceegg**  
Matador/Capitol, 1998

A reflective and underrated album, it was made while Phair was pregnant. “There are personal moments on that record too that are less the tough Liz Phair persona,” she told PopMatters in 2018 “and more the naval-gazing emotional side.”



**Liz Phair**  
Capitol, 2003

Old fans and critics were taken aback by this album’s pop-friendly sound, though it yielded the singer a huge hit with “Why Can’t I” and expanded her audience.



**Somebody’s Miracle**  
Capitol, 2005

Another underrated work, *Somebody’s Miracle* departed from the overt pop of *Liz Phair* for something more organic-sounding, resulting in notable tracks like “Everything to Me” and the title song.



**Funstyle**  
Rocket Science Records, 2010

“You were never supposed to hear these songs,” Phair wrote on her website at the time of this experimental album’s release. Music critics were mixed on it.

with such elements from indie rock, pop and electronic R&B, its lyrics are a continuation of Phair’s musings on the trials and tribulations of romantic relationships.

“It is an album for in-between states,” Phair explains, “where one long-term relationship comes to a slow, grinding halt in the first half, and how difficult it is to disentangle yourself from someone who’s known you for a lot of your life. And then the second half of the record is dating new people and having that wild exuberance that comes from new possibilities, but they keep stalling out before they really get off the ground. And then when you get to [the song] “Lonely Street,” you’re like, ‘God, I really miss my ex.’ Then finally in the last three songs on the record, you’re like, ‘But f\*ck it, I’m single, I’m ready to mingle, I’m Liz Phair again.’”

“Spanish Doors,” the arresting first single released ahead of *Soberish*, is a melancholic yet uptempo-sounding track that describes a breakup. Phair says “I’m taking you right into the restaurant where I’ve just been told by my long-term partner that we’re ending things, and I’m like, ‘What the f\*ck? Who am I now? What world am I going to live in now if it’s not with you?’”

There are also moments of self-reflection, particularly the nostalgic “Sheridan Road,” which pays homage to Phair’s Chicago roots. “It’s a very time-and-place specific song, she says. “Sheridan Road is the artery that connects in Chicago the suburbs up north to the town and that multicultural, more dangerous, more exciting, competitive world. So Sheridan Road was always going from one state of mind—maybe protection, maybe innocence, maybe entrapment, where you just wanna get out—and then that feeling of opening up on





**AN ALBUM FOR IN-BETWEEN STATES** Liz Phair says her new music is about life's crossroads. "It's best described as a simple pivot of perspective."

Lake Shore Drive where you're anonymous now and your possibilities are endless."

Amid the long hiatus between studio albums until *Soberish*, Phair's career has garnered renewed appreciation in the last three years with the retrospective *Girly-Sound to Guyville* and her highly acclaimed memoir *Horror Stories*. Additionally, her DIY approach can be heard in the music of a new generation of indie female artists—among them Snail Mail, Jay Som, Soccer Mommy and Frankie Cosmos. "One of the reasons I wanted to work again so passionately was because of how many young women exist now who I understand and feel a kinship with. There's just so many more women in music right now, and I didn't want to miss the opportunity to be part of this moment."

**"One of the reasons I wanted to work again so passionately was because of how many young women exist now who I understand and feel a kinship with."**

Phair thinks that things have changed since *Guyville*. "There's manifestly more women on bills and in festival scenarios holding anchor positions in a lineup. Certainly home recording technology has afforded scores of young artists the chance to put their music out themselves, not having to wait to be in contract with a label. Social media

also has empowered a new generation to take agency in their careers without having to go through the process of qualification. So many more voices are being heard right now, and I think it's fantastic. Now whether or not we get lost into our own algorithms and become detached and disconnected from each other all over again—who knows? But you gotta make hay while the sun shines."

Phair is getting ready to finally go on the road with Alanis Morissette and Garbage starting August 12. She is also thinking about her next album: "It's already on my horizon. I know what it's going to be. I kind of designed the memoir and these two records to be part of one phase of my work life. Hopefully everything continues to move forward and we'll have another record soon." 



**02 *The Guncle***  
By Steven Rowley | May | G.P. Putnam's Sons  
Palm Springs, California

Set against the backdrop of perpetually sunny and storied Palm Springs, this moving, feel-good summer escape focuses on a gay former sitcom star whose fame has faded but is playing a new role as guardian of his niece and nephew.

**01 *Velvet Was the Night***  
By Silvia Moreno-Garcia | August | Del Rey  
Mexico City

The new novel by the best-selling author of *Mexican Gothic* shows another bewitching side of Mexico. This time it's Mexico City in the '70s, where tensions are high with political unrest and the search for a missing woman grips the city. You'll be pulled in to the tale with spies, romance, danger and rock 'n' roll.



UNCHARTED

# Summer's Most Transporting Books

Get inspired for post-pandemic travel with these recent books set all over the map. Need an escape this summer? Wander the world through the pages of these tales whose setting is often a main character. Whether soaring over Antarctica in *Great Circle*, uncovering the mystery of who really summited Everest first in *The Third Pole*, or diving into a '70s political noir set in Mexico City in *Velvet Was the Night*, these books will transport you to faraway locales and might even inspire a post-pandemic adventure of your own. —Kathleen Rellihan



**03 *Of Women and Salt***  
By Gabriela Garcia  
| March | Flatiron Books  
Cuba

From a 19th-century cigar factory in Camagüey, Cuba, to present-day Havana, Miami, El Salvador and Mexico, this novel spans five generations of Latina women as they struggle to find their own identities while belonging to more than one country. A forceful story that will urge readers to see both Cuba and immigrants in a different light, as well as inspire them to dig into their own roots—perhaps by booking a plane ticket to where their own ancestors originated.



01: TORRESIGNER/GETTY; 02: WESTEND61/GETTY; 03: GOLERO/GETTY; 04: VWB PHOTOS/GETTY

**04** *Once There Were Wolves*  
— By Charlotte McConaghy  
| August | Flatiron Books

Scotland

The author of the best-selling *Migrations*, last summer's climate-conscious read, is back with another mysterious tale. A biologist from Alaska arrives in the remote Scottish Highlands with her twin sister to reintroduce gray wolves into the wild as a tragedy grips the area. This heart-pounding novel digs into the complex relationships between humans—and the creatures with which we share the natural world.



**06** *The Third Pole: Mystery, Obsession, and Death on Mount Everest*  
— By Mark Synnott | April | Dutton

Mount Everest

Could a lost camera on Everest rewrite history? That's the hundred-year mystery that veteran climber Synnott seeks to answer when he scales Everest trying to determine who was actually the first to summit the world's tallest mountain and uncovers the dangerous obsession that tackling this behemoth holds today.



**05** *Palace of the Drowned*  
— By Christine Mangan  
| June | Flatiron Books

Venice

Who wouldn't want to escape into '60s Venice? Seemingly, a more romantic, mysterious city without the crowds of cruise ship tourists—that is, until the catastrophic 1966 flood. *Palace of the Drowned* follows a disgraced British author trying to disappear until the historic "acqua alta" tragically alters the city and pushes her story to the surface.



**07** *Tokyo Ever After*  
— By Emiko Jean | May | Flatiron Books

Tokyo,

This YA novel with broad appeal—think *The Princess Diaries* meets *Crazy Rich Asians*—follows a Japanese-American girl on the ride of her life as she discovers her father is the Crown Prince of Japan—making her a modern-day princess. Amidst the backdrop of cherry blossoms, castles and royal life, she has real-world struggles trying to fit in to two cultures.

**08** *Great Circle*  
— By Maggie Shipstead | May | Knopf

Antarctica

After being grounded due to the pandemic, this book is exactly what a lockdown weary world needs to reignite the adventurer in our dormant imaginations. A story about an early daredevil female aviator circumnavigating the globe is reimagined a century later with a Hollywood actress playing her in a film about her disappearance in Antarctica.



## PARTING SHOT

# Joseph Fiennes

**IF THERE'S ONE WORD TO DESCRIBE THE FOURTH SEASON OF THE HULU** drama series *The Handmaid's Tale*, it's "freedom," says Joseph Fiennes, who plays Fred, a high-ranking commander in the dystopian world of Gilead originally created by Margaret Atwood in her 1985 novel of the same name. "This season we geographically open up, we get to see outside of Gilead. And I guess the expanse played into that wonderful paradox of freedom." The dynamics between Fred and June, played by series lead Elisabeth Moss, show just how evil Fred is. "He's a man cognizant of his actions. You read awful stories about predators who manage to persuade themselves and anyone around them that actually they're the victim. I think that's Fred." But this season the tables have turned. "He has to have a long, hard look at himself. I think it comes as close as Fred can to understanding and accepting why he's there." Like many others, *The Handmaid's Tale* was impacted by the pandemic, but ultimately they were able to return to create the most "expansive" season yet. "We all felt so privileged to be able to do what we love."

**"The season is all about freedom."**

## What first attracted you to portray such an evil character like Fred?

He's there to articulate all that is wrong with this patriarchal nightmare. It's my job to lean into where it all went wrong for Fred. That's what I love about the flashbacks. We can go right back to the beginning when he wasn't so evil.

## Is it important to you to find things you like about him?

We've maintained that Fred has been completely cognizant of the pain that he's inflicted. He understands how awful a part he's played within the awful regime.

## What was it like working with Elisabeth Moss as a director?

I don't know if she ever sleeps. To be directed by her was just a dream.

## Fans often look for parallels between Gilead and today. How is this zeitgeist reflected?

There was a moment in season 2, when they talk about storming the Capitol. As soon as that happened, I had this flashback to that scene. What became apparent was just how fragile our democracy is.

## What kind of reactions do you get from fans of the show?

I get sort of lingering scowls where people can't quite place me but they know I'm not good. But then I get lots of people coming up and quoting the show. So it's a mixed bag. Thankfully, I've not been physically harmed on the streets [laughs]. — H. Alan Scott

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