

Will telecommuting spell end for office buildings?

It's unlikely, analysts say. But many companies find they don't need as much space. **In Money**

Parents weigh whether to send kids back to school

Confusion and worry reign as families struggle with their options for this fall. **Nation's Health**



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Colin Hanks shares pain for laughs in new book

Comedian discusses "A Very Punchable Face," the ups and downs of "Saturday Night Live," and his fiancée, actress Scarlett Johansson. **In Life**

USA TODAY

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ELECTION 2020

Pollsters are wary of 2016 repeat

Surveys say Trump is trailing, as they did before he won

Ledyard King and Michael Collins
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON – Joe Biden can look at the polls and smile.

Cautiously.

A double-digit advantage in numerous national surveys, solid leads in a number of battlegrounds and competitive showings in states Donald Trump carried handily in 2016 suggest the presumptive Democratic nominee is the favorite to win in November.

The overwhelming majority of polls four years ago indicated Trump would lose as well. So why put much faith in the 2020 polls that show the former vice president consistently on top?



Biden

David Burgess of Kittery, Maine, said he stopped believing polls after the 2016 presidential election.

"They predicted Hillary Clinton would win, and she didn't," Burgess said while taking a stroll through downtown Portsmouth, New Hampshire, with his miniature schnauzer, Taavi. "Voters are like an iceberg. (With polls), you just see the tip of the iceberg. You don't know who they're going to vote for."

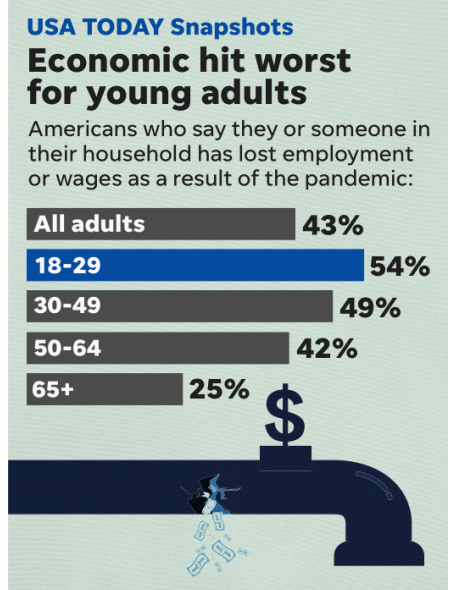
Pollsters said lessons they learned from 2016's failings will make this campaign season's polls more accurate. Although they sympathize with voters' frustrations, they defend their work as needing minor tweaks, not a fundamental overhaul.

"The public understandably walked away from 2016 feeling like polls were broken. And there's some truth to that," said Courtney Kennedy, director

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SOURCE: Pew Research Center
AMY BARNETTE, BILL CAMPLING/USA TODAY



Washington's logo on FedEx Field. MARK TENALLY/AP

Washington's NFL team changing its name, logo

Seven years after its owner said he would "never" change its nickname, Washington's NFL team announced Monday that it will drop the name and logo that many Native Americans and others find offensive. USA TODAY columnist Nancy Armour says owner Daniel Snyder wasn't moved by compassion to make the change but rather by what was at stake financially. **Sports**, 1C

Coronavirus pandemic: 'No one is safe until everyone is safe'



A health care worker signs people up for COVID-19 testing Monday at the Miami Beach Convention Center. LYNNE SLADKY/AP

Vaccine nationalism threatens global effort

Cyberattacks against hospitals increase

More than 80% of medical practices have been victims of hacks, according to a national survey. **1D**

Job reunites couple after 114-day separation

Desperate to see her husband, who has Alzheimer's and lives in a locked-down nursing home, a Florida woman finds a creative way to get around rules. **1D**

Elizabeth Weise
USA TODAY

A deadly virus causes a pandemic. A wealthy country signs a more than \$100 million contract for vaccine with a manufacturer in a small nation. When the vaccine becomes available, the small nation's government balks, demanding enough for its entire population before any can be exported.

That's what happened in 2009, when Australia demanded biotech manufacturer CSL fulfill domestic needs for H1N1 vaccine before any could be sent to the USA.

And it's the scenario public health experts fear as the world enters a scientific

ally turbo-charged but chaotic race to create, then produce coronavirus vaccines. Rather than widespread coordination and sharing, "me first" vaccine nationalism pits nation against nation to get and keep enough doses for their citizens.

Countries focus on their own vaccine development programs rather than collaborating to pool resources. Agreements are scarce to share vaccines when they're available so health workers and those in international COVID-19 hot spots can have first access.

As what happened in Australia shows, no matter what contracts may be

See **VACCINE**, Page 5A

RACE IN AMERICA

Reparations bill gets new attention

Other nations could provide blueprint for US

Kim Hjelmggaard
USA TODAY

Tony Burroughs' great-great-great-grandfather was freed from slavery in 1806 by a white woman from Pennsylvania. In her will, Margaret Hutton said David Truman was to be taught to read and do math. He was given \$8, about \$165 in today's money. Truman was 25.

Fifty-nine years later, when a Union Army general announced in Texas on June 19, 1865 – now known as Juneteenth – that "all slaves are free," neither Truman nor his descendants

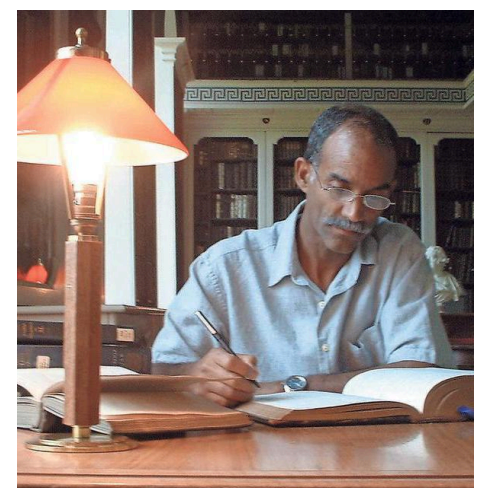
benefited from the federal government's short-lived promise of what passed for reparations: "40 acres and a mule."

Truman's grandson accumulated enough money to buy a single acre for farming, but it would take six generations – until Burroughs' parents' generation, in the late 1960s – before the family had the financial footing to become homeowners.

"The Confederates lost the Civil War. They sure didn't give up the fight," said Burroughs, 71, founder of the Center for Black Genealogy, a Chicago-based organization that helps people scour records and trace lineages.

Burroughs has spent more than 20 years researching his ancestors.

See **REPARATIONS**, Page 4A



Tony Burroughs researches his ancestors in a library at the University of Oxford in England. BURROUGHS FAMILY

RACE IN AMERICA

Reparations

Continued from Page 1A

“There’s so many ways in which Black Americans have been denied wealth,” he said.

Protests unleashed by the deaths of George Floyd, Breonna Taylor and other Black Americans have recentered racial inequality in the public consciousness and renewed debate over remedies, including reparations.

What rest of the world has done

Reparations – compensation for historical crimes aimed at remedying injustices and helping specific groups prosper – have mostly been experimented with in international settings.

From Germany to South Africa, from Colombia to Kuwait, authorities have sought to implement policies, sometimes monetary payments, whose chief purpose is to translate the most hellish forms of suffering into redress.

● **In Kenya**, the British government paid \$31 million to 5,228 claimants in 2013 for atrocities committed against Mau Mau independence fighters from 1952-1963. Forced off their fertile lands by white European settlers, Mau Mau rebels fought back. When captured, women were sometimes raped with glass bottles, men castrated with pliers.

● **In Kuwait**, Iraq paid almost \$50 billion for the destruction of Kuwaiti oil fields during Iraq’s occupation in the Gulf War in 1990-91. Iraq compensated Kuwaitis for personal property damages, job losses and sexual assaults.

● **In South Africa**, there may be the most instructive example for the United States, said Justin Hansford, a law professor and executive director of the Thurgood Marshall Civil Rights Center at Howard University.

“It’s the closest context to ours because of apartheid, where racial justice was denied for so long,” he said.

More than 25 years after apartheid ended, South Africa is still wrangling with how to restore to Black ownership vast tracts of land, much of it taken by force by whites. Many Black South Africans have been left deeply dissatisfied with a process that has focused on individual white actions, rather than the “collective harm” on Black prosperity wrought by generations. “It’s like they decided to focus on lynchings, rather than Jim Crow laws,” Hansford said.

● **In Colombia**, 2011’s so-called Victims Law was established for more than 11 million people who were caught up in more than half a century of massacres, bombs and armed conflict among guerrillas, paramilitaries and military forces.

“It allows people to get back on their feet and be reborn,” Gloria Quintero, 48, said of Colombia’s reparations system, which includes financial payments, restitution of stolen land, health care, education and other benefits.

Quintero was forced to flee her home twice, and her brother was “disappeared” by paramilitaries. Only 10% of the population of Granada, the town where she lives in central Colombia, remains. Quintero runs her own family baking business, a relative success story she credits to reparations.

Ángela María Escobar, who was raped by paramilitaries in 2000, received about \$4,500 in compensation from the government. Because sexual violence victims are stigmatized, she said, she never received sufficient medical or psychological care.

“We’ve had to fight for ourselves,” Escobar said from her home near Bogota.

Makau Mutua, a Kenyan American law professor, was part of the task force in Kenya that helped secure the Mau Mau payments.

“When you think about some of the violations, most people have received a pittance,” he said. Mutua is also active in pressuring Germany’s government to be held accountable for its genocidal slaughter of Herero and Nama tribespeople in Namibia more than a century ago when the nation was a German colony.

Germany accepted “moral responsibility” for the killings but has kept an official apology at arm’s length to avoid compensation claims, according to Wolfgang Kaleck, a German civil rights attorney who is involved in the negotiations. He said a development in the case is expected within months. “The big question is: What is appropriate compensation in this context?” he said.

Germany ‘accepted responsibility’

Germany has perhaps more experience with reparations than any other nation, a consequence of its state-directed murder of millions of Jews during World War II.



President Abraham Lincoln could see slave markets from the windows of the Capitol in Washington. NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

Bernd Reiter, a German-born political scientist who teaches at the University of South Florida, said that initially, international calls for Germany to pay reparations to Holocaust survivors were met with strong resistance domestically because the country had been all but destroyed by the war and many Germans were poor or destitute.

Germany’s payment of reparations after World War I to compensate Allied powers such as Britain, France and the United States for war costs contributed to Adolf Hitler’s rise in the first place.

Some Jewish people didn’t want German funds. “Many Israelis saw reparations as blood money – a cheap way out,” Reiter said.

Still, by 1956, Germany was contributing huge sums to Israel’s state revenue – used to build its railways, electricity grid and major infrastructure projects in agriculture, mining and irrigation, Reiter said.

Germany has paid more than \$80 billion in reparations directly to 800,000 Holocaust victims, according to Claims Conference, an organization that represents the world’s Jews in negotiating compensation for victims of Nazi crimes. This averages out to about \$100,000 per recipient.

Remembrance, Responsibility and Future Foundation, a German federal agency, has paid out almost \$6 billion to 1.7 million former forced labor workers or their families. These payments have been based on estimates of how much their work enriched Germany.

In 2013, the German government agreed to pay \$1 billion for the home care of elderly Holocaust survivors – financial assistance that, as of July 2019, benefited about 80,000 Holocaust survivors, Claims Conference said.

Sami Steigmann, 80, may eventually be one of them.

He was forced into a Nazi labor camp in Ukraine when he was just 18 months old. He nearly starved to death after Nazi scientists experimented on his young body. He survived and lives in New York City. Steigmann said he’s received about \$110,000 from German authorities. He receives about \$400 per month.

The time in the camp has contributed to mental health problems and, off and on, he has experienced homelessness.

“Germany’s money has not changed my life,” he said. “But the way I look at it is that they accepted responsibility for their actions. Everything starts with that.”

America’s ‘original sin of slavery’

In the USA, the case for reparations has been both growing and met with skepticism.

For more than two decades, Rep. John Conyers, D-Mich., tried to get a reparations bill through Congress without success. Rep. Sheila Jackson Lee, D-Texas, sponsors the bill known as H.R. 40, which would set up the Commission to Study and Develop Reparation Proposals for African-Americans Act.

In July, Jackson Lee said racism “has been a cancer on the skin and the fabric of this nation that has not been remedied; it has only deepened.” She said reparations are “the answer to the original sin.”

“There is no better time for H.R. 40 to be part of the national dialogue, and part of the national legislative response,” Jackson Lee said.

The “40” is a reference to the 40 acres of land promised but never fully delivered. Only 40,000 of approximately 4 million of formerly enslaved people were settled on 400,000 acres of land before President Andrew Johnson overturned the order.

H.R. 40 would study what, if anything, the federal government owes the descendants of slaves and how to implement that debt.

The prospect of reparations in the

USA has raised a lot of questions. Among them: Who gets reparations? And how much should they get?

According to an estimate by folklorist Kirsten Mullen and William Darity, an economist at Duke University whose research is devoted to inequality in the context of race, the cost of compensating Americans descended from slaves for the legacy of bondage and subsequent racial oppression could be as much as \$13 trillion.

Mullen and Darity, authors of the new book “From Here to Equality: Reparations for Black Americans in the Twenty-First Century,” calculated that out of approximately 45 million Black Americans, about 40 million would be eligible recipients based on whether their ancestors were enslaved in the USA. This works out in the vicinity of \$300,000-\$350,000 per recipient.

How will reparations for a historic crime help the future Tony Burroughs of this world amass wealth and pass it on to subsequent generations of Black Americans?

Studies have shown that the net worth of a typical white family is nearly 10 times greater than that of a Black family. Black Americans are less likely to own a home than other racial and ethnic groups. The Black poverty rate is double the white rate.

Reparations could lead to the elimination of the Black-white wealth gap within 10 years, Mullens and Darity estimated.

They said reparations would not be a panacea for the myriad ways in which racial discrimination, from police brutality to predatory mortgage-lending practices, persisted after Jim Crow laws officially stopped being enforced in 1965.

Though Congress formally apologized for slavery in 2008, H.R. 40 faces opposition.

“I don’t think that reparations for something that happened 150 years ago, for whom none of us currently living are responsible, is a good idea. We tried to deal with our original sin of slavery by fighting a Civil War, by passing landmark civil rights legislation, by electing an African American president,” Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell, R-Ky., whose great-great grandfathers owned slaves who worked on Alabama cotton farms, said in 2019 at a congressional hearing on the topic.

A Reuters/Ipsos poll in late June found only one in five respondents agreed that the United States should use “taxpayer money to pay damages to descendants of enslaved people.”

When US has made reparations

U.S. reparations are limited but not unprecedented. At the end of World War II, Congress established the Indian Claims Commission to address Native American grievances related to a century’s worth of treaty violations, gross maltreatment and lost territories.

Altogether, 176 tribes and bands lodged claims that resulted in payouts ranging from \$2,500 to \$35 million. Historians Michael Lieder and Jake Page noted in their book “Wild Justice: The People of Geronimo Vs. the United States” that the average payout to a person with Native American ancestry was just \$1,000. “Gambling has had a more positive impact on the quality of life on reservations than did the Indian Claims Commission Act primarily because tribal income from it reached \$4 billion in 1994 alone, more than two and a half times the total amount of the awards under the Indian Claims Commission Act,” they wrote.

A separate claim, in 1971, gave \$1 billion and saw 40 million acres returned to Native Alaskans, but the commission was effectively closed in 1978.

Ten years later, President Ronald Reagan signed the Civil Liberties Act to

compensate more than 120,000 Japanese Americans who were incarcerated in camps during World War II.

Reagan apologized for internment, and a \$20,000 payment was made to each person who was interned and, perhaps crucially in terms of setting a precedent, still alive.

“The act was designed to avoid the whole issue of heirs and estates and descendants. It was decided that only the person who had been incarcerated should be paid directly,” said Norman Mineta, who served as Commerce secretary under President Bill Clinton and Transportation secretary under President George W. Bush.

At age 10, Mineta was interned with his family – immigrants from Japan – first at the Santa Anita racetrack near Los Angeles, then in Wyoming.

He recalled signs instructing all those of “Japanese ancestry, alien and non-alien” to report to certain areas for evacuation to the camps.

“I looked at those signs as a very young boy, and I said to my brother, who is nine years older: ‘Who’s a non-alien?’ He said, ‘That’s you.’ I said, ‘I’m not a non-alien. I’m a citizen.’ He said, ‘It means the same thing. It’s some kind of psychological warfare.’ And that’s why, to this day, I still continue to cherish the word ‘citizen,’ because my own government wasn’t willing, at that time, to use the word to describe me,” Mineta said.

Hansford said that in a limited respect, reparations are already happening for Black Americans.

He cited different initiatives and groups pursuing restitution at the local level, such as when students at Georgetown University voted in 2019 to tax themselves a small amount each semester to create a fund to support the descendants of the enslaved people from whom the university profited.

Churches and religious orders with links to slavery, such as the Society of the Sacred Heart, which enslaved people in Louisiana and Missouri, unveiled efforts such as scholarships aimed at confronting racism and fostering economic reconciliation.

The Harriet Tubman Community Investment Act, heard before the Maryland General Assembly, aims to atone for slavery and its legacy by addressing barriers for Black Americans to education, homeownership and starting businesses.

In 2015, Chicago created a \$5.5 million reparations fund, as well as a memorial, free college tuition and employment assistance for Black Americans tortured by police.

“I don’t think we’re going to get to a point where everybody agrees on reparations,” Hansford said. “And I don’t think the federal government is going to go first. There’s going to be a lot of little local leaps forward from companies, in sports, elsewhere.”

Burroughs said he expects reparations will feature heavily in the presidential campaign.

“Reparations aren’t a lost cause,” he said. “I think we’ll get there.”

Contributing: Megan Janetsky in Colombia and Chris Erasmus in South Africa

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