

REALTIME FILE
MIF
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>> Good afternoon or good morning depending on where you are zooming from, I'm David Rousseau from the Kaiser Family Foundation where I oversee the Digital Communications work on behalf of my terrific colleagues on the media impact news boarded like to welcome you to the beginning of the 2020 media impact forum. Thank you so much for joining us today. We are sorry that we don't have a chance to be together with you in person this year but we hope that this year's virtual format will make it possible for more of us than ever before to connect around the ideas and opportunities we will be discussing. Please join us for as many of these programs as you are able, at this time every Tuesday and Thursday for the next three weeks. Today and in every program we will host conversations in a broadcast format with moderated discussion for a full hour, then at the end of the hour we will invite everyone to join the conversations and offer questions and comments for an additional half hour. If you have questions along the way please type them in the Q&A app at the bottom of your zoom window. We will refer back to them and invite you to ask your questions after 2 PM. Our agenda for this year's media impact forum is focused on addressing climate change through journalism and documentary filmmaking and other evidence-based communications all of which seek to convey the urgency of a looming climate emergency.

Even as we are focused on the urgent issues associated with climate change, we are also very much a way that the climates changing on important social issues. We are at a crossroads in our nation with regard to long-standing problems of racial injustice and still very much in a middle of a pandemic that's having a disproportionate impact on communities of color as you will see through our discussions over the next several weeks, these issues are not unrelated.

Indeed we will be exploring issues of environmental justice including the very real risk of the burden of climate change is likely to be borne by the same communities of racial minorities that have been disadvantaged in so many other ways. Today we are so fortunate to have Amy Goodman, cohost of democracy now who has pursued fearless journalism with a racial justice lens for decades and to start our program she will interview Dr. Ayana Elizabeth Johnson, a remarkable grant biologist who is engaged in a wide range of lively and informative media projects that seek to achieve climate solutions especially for poor communities that are left out of environmental debates. Amy, and I will turn it over to you. Thank you so much for being here.

>> Well thank you so much, David and thank you to everyone for joining us. We are at a critical juncture right now. As we have this conversation today, over this next hour and a half, the funeral for George Floyd is taking place in Houston. That is the backdrop. And the intersectionality of the movements from those dealing with the pandemic and the disparate effects of the coronavirus on communities of color, those who have risen up right now against police brutality in the streets, not only of the United States, but all over the world, and those who for so long have been protesting and organizing and convening in global meetings around climate change and the disparate effects the climate crisis has on communities of color. I mean, this moment is all connected. And I can't think of a better person to talk to right now than Dr. Ayana Elizabeth Johnson. Let me introduce her to you.

>> Happy to be in conversation with you, Amy.

>> Oh, it's great to have you with us. Dr. Ayana Elizabeth Johnson is founder and CEO of the Ocean Collective and founder of Urban Ocean Lab. She is a marine biologist, a policy expert and a Brooklyn native. She's actually not far from me, but as we all shelter in place we might as well be on different ends of the planet. She is founder and CEO as I said of Ocean Collective. And founder of ocean of urban ocean lab. Previously Ayana cofounded the Blue Hale initiative and led the Caribbean's first successful island-wide zoning effort, resulting in the protection of one third of Bermuda's coastal waters she then led the growth of this initiative launching on Curtis out and Montserrat in partnerships with the government and stakeholders and that is just a small part of what she has done and accomplished. I wanted to go to a piece, Ayana, that you just wrote at the Washington Post in this critical moment where you quote

Toni Morrison in a 1975 speech saying the very serious function of racism is distraction. It keeps you from doing your work. It keeps you from explaining over, it keeps you explaining over and over again your reason for being. And I think we just can't avoid talking about this even as we talk about oceans. The position you find yourself in now, Dr. Ayana Elizabeth Johnson.

>> I think the climate movement has done a pretty decent job over the last year, I would say, of making this transition from climate solutions that are more for technocratic and policy oriented to ones that think about communities and think about justice. So we

have this emergence and acceptance of the term climate justice which is something people of color have been working on the entire time. But now that has become mainstream. There is a little bit of this discomfort still among the sort of old-school white environmentalists that say climate is the most important, it is the thing that determines the future of humanity on the planet and we need to be dedicating all of our resources specifically to climate solutions, as if like just changing laws in a vacuum, or the sort of engineering fixes would get us there when the problem is really one of humanity. It is a lack of leadership.

It is all the best ideas not on the table. It is a lack of critical mass behind those ideas. And people like me who have been dedicating our lives to pushing forward climate solutions can't work right now because we are worried about our families. We are thinking about this moment in American history as an inflection point. Trying to think about how we can be most useful in this moment, and that has meant for me right now there's a long list of to do list items that have just had to fall by the wayside. So that's what I was writing about taking about racism as a distraction from the work we would otherwise be doing and that is something that has been throughout history. The things not discovered, the gardens not tended, the books not written because they are all these justice things people can't just ignore and work on climate. And in a weird way, people who don't care about climate justice or social justice but are obsessed with climate solutions and environmentalism, my article really broke through in a way that I wasn't expecting, which is that people thought, oh, racism is inefficient. If you can't get your work done, if your productivity is suffering that I guess I should care that black lives matter. And I'm like... That's not exactly the point I was trying to get across but I'm glad that you're able to hear this. So I have had some environmentalists who have never been involved in any justice related intersection write to me in the last week and say I get it now. Just I'm not sure that they totally get it, but it's nice to be able to help people start to connect that off there.

>> The headline of the piece is I'm a black climate expert, racism derails our efforts to save the planet. So let's not get derailed right now, as we bring all of these issues together. Can you talk about how you became an oceans expert Ayana?

>> I had these childhood experiences that a lot of people get to have, going to the beach and going to an aquarium and just being completely enamored with this whole other world that exists under the surface of the sea. And so it's just that childhood wonder and awe and curiosity and then there was the moment I found out that that could be your job. Like learning about all this stuff. And so like a lot of kids I decided I wanted to be a marine biologist and I was just stubborn enough and fortunate enough to be able to stick with that. And the reason that I actually filed it all the way through to getting a PhD was because I realized that it wasn't just about individual species or even ecosystems. Ocean conservation is this crazy amazing puzzle where you have to look at sociology and culture and economics and policy and how science sort of fits into this... Network of ways that we understand the world and make decisions. So that's

what I'm just completely obsessed with, is how do we think about what the future could look like and incorporate all these different disciplines to come up with ocean climate justice, culturally relevant solutions, which is super complicated but endlessly fascinating and worth a shot.

>> So yesterday was world oceans day. If you could describe the overall crisis facing the oceans, whether we are talking about acidification, heating, coral loss, plastic waste, draw the big landscape for us.

>> So, the ocean has really been buffering us from the impacts of climate change. The ocean has already absorbed over 90% of the heat we have trapped by burning greenhouse gases. That has led to the ocean temperature warming. The ocean has absorbed about 30% of the carbon dioxide we had limited by burning fossil fuels, which has led to ocean acidification, which sounds very technical, but what it means is we have changed the pH of the entire ocean. We have changed the chemistry of seawater with all sorts of knock on effects we are only just starting to understand. Fishes moving toward the poles. Obviously this is a particular problem for communities that live in the tropics, where those waters are becoming too hot for some things to live comfortably. So there's a lot of affects of climate including, and then there is sealevel rise because the ocean is actually expanding as it heat in addition to the ice that is melting off of land. And storms are getting stronger and wetter. And that is because a warm ocean is basically hurricane food. It just feeds these storms. In addition to climate change impacting the ocean and the people who depend on it, we have overfishing which has long been a problem, which is subsidized by governments and there's a lot of illegal fishing and human rights abuses that go along with industrial fishing offshore and we also have pollution from oil spills, from plastic, which is also made from fossil fuels I feel always the need to remind people that plastic is not some other material. It is just fossil fuels and another shape and color. And we are also dealing with habitat destruction issues. And run off from land from the way we do agriculture and things on shore. So there's this huge suite of problems that can be broken down into climate change, overfishing, pollution and habitat destruction. And some of those can be addressed locally. But a lot of them are going to take some larger coordinated efforts.

>> And how might the ocean service as a solution?

>> I'm so glad you asked because the last piece I published just yesterday in scientific American was about the need to flip the script from just looking at the ocean as something that is a victim of all the stuff that we are throwing at it quite literally, to seeing the ocean as the hero. The ocean has been buffering impacts of climate change and in the same sense as there are forming threats to the ocean, there are four main ways in which the ocean can be a major part of the climate solution that I think we should focus on and harness and the first of those is renewable energy offshore, in particular, wind energy. We have 40% of Americans live in coastal counties. Imagine if we got most of our energy from offshore wind, floating solar panels. In New York City where I am sitting right now we don't have enough space to put out fields of turbines or

solar energy, but we are right near the ocean where we can be building those so that is one thing that we can be focusing on. Another is coastal ecosystems. We think a lot about forests as things we should be protecting and restoring but we do not think enough about mangroves and sea grasses and wetlands and oyster reefs and coral reefs as ecosystems that absorb tons of carbon as well as protect us from storms and sea level rise. Wetlands in particular can absorb five times more carbon than a forest on land. And so that should be I think a really big part of the solution. And during hurricane Sandy, wetlands prevented over \$200 million worth of damage to New York City, even though we had already destroyed 85% of them. So instead of just thinking about sea walls and fortifying our coastlines we should be thinking about ecosystem restoration as a part of the solution as well. And then we can also look to the ocean as a source of food with a really low carbon footprint. Thinking about seaweed. Thinking about kelp and oysters and muscles and clams, and all these things that can be grown that require no food, no freshwater, no fertilizer, that just live off of sunshine and the nutrients that are already in the ocean. And the fourth one, in addition to the renewable energy and the ecosystem protection and what they call ocean farming or regenerative ocean farming is algal biofuels, which is more in a formative stage but we can be growing algae as a renewable source of fuel as well. And in a way that is much more sustainable than corn or other options on land. So I'm actually really excited about the next wave of climate solutions being something that are more thinking about blue carbon and the blue economy and the blue new deal as a complement to the green one as part of our way forward because if we ignore all of these ways the ocean is trying to be part of the solution it really is a huge mistake.

>> And how does the current administration's anti-science almost hatred, knee-jerk reaction to deny it, how has that stopped the work from moving forward? and what do you think are the most critical, urgent steps that need to be taken right now?

>> I think we really need to figure out permitting for offshore wind facilities. It is something that can take many many years to go through, and that is not necessarily, in this administration they have not done anything to fix it but that's been a long-standing problem in the Bureau of Ocean energy management. Just, they need the staffing to be able to process all these permits, now that these companies are like we are ready and it makes financial sense and we have the science to prove that these places meets the conservation goals as well. So that is one thing, but I think a lot of us who work in ocean conservation were kind of hoping the trump administration would not notice the ocean existed, because you can only ruin so many things, but in the last few months we have seen you know, them wanting to remove protections from Marine protected areas and start to push for more industrialization of the ocean in terms of [onco] culture and so all of this is happening at the end there's an opportunity still to nip some of that in the budm but that is yeah, this is not an administration that has been friendly to the environment. We know there's over 100 regulations that have been rolled back or are in the process.

>> Finally, Ayana, if you could talk about how the philanthropic community has supported your work and what do you see as the critical gaps support for both the research and the activism?

>> I think the gap in the activism is that funders have been really focused on supporting organizations and especially more established ones. When the opportunity really is I think to go back to a patronage model, to just say these are the leaders we need to support let's directly support them because most of the exciting work that I'm seeing is people are doing it as their side hustle. They have like whatever job they need to pay their bills and they are doing this really creative inspiring important climate and ocean work on the side. So, I'm working on how we can develop like a climate genius award or some sort of way to support especially women of color who are doing this incredibly important work as their side hustle, and letting people have the financial freedom to help make that their full-time job.

>> Which brings us to your book that your writing, which is absolutely fascinating. Talk about the anthology as we wrap up.

>> I am co-editing with Dr. Catherine Wilkinson from project drawdown and anthology that is called all we can save, truth, courage and solutions for the climate crisis and its 40 women from scientists and activists and lawyers and there's a lot of poetry" and original art in this book. We have really tried to make it something welcoming so that everyone can find their role in this work. And it comes out in September and we are using that as a way to launch this idea of a climate justice sister ship. Instead of a fellowship to support women, women of color who are leading on climate. So those two things go together. We have just really seen a small group of white men leading the narrative on climate. So we wanted to use this book as a chance to highlight a full spectrum of leadership that is there, that is doing the work. All these ideas that we need to be sharing, this course, this mosaic of voices. So I could not be more proud of that work and the opportunity to shine a light on these leaders and the work that they have been doing.

>> Well Dr. Ayana Elizabeth Johnson, I thank you so much. This has been certainly horizon expanding for me. Actually just the preparation of this interview to feel your excellent work and your articles and a remarkable woman warrior who is fighting to protect these oceans. So thank you. And speaking of woman warriors we are moving on to another one right now. And she is the Oscar-winning actress and activist Jane Fonda. Jane, I had a chance to speak to this weekend. Before we get to that interview, I wanted to introduce a trailer of fire drill Fridays. That is the peaceful protest in the name of climate activism that Jane Fonda leads.

>> Jane, we are so honored to have you with us. Thank you so much for making time in to say the least both these perilous times, these times of horror, but also hopefully of opportunity as people organize all over the country and the world.

>> Yeah, you're the perfect person to talk to right now. Thank you for inviting me.

>> Well you know, I just watched one of your virtual meetings on Friday, where you [talk about] the movement for black lives. If you can talk about the intersectionality of the different movements. You have started fire drill Fridays. You are deeply concerned about the climate crisis, here we are speaking in the midst of the pandemic where so many have sheltered a home if they are lucky enough to have a home. to be able to work from home for months, now we are in the midst of this uprising

>> Police violence , the same mentality that has brought about the climate crisis, the planet is ours to conquer. Natural resources are ours to monetize...rape the earth. Dad mentality, the mentality that brought people from Africa here and claimed them not humans so we could still call ourselves a democracy, and put them to work on the land taking land from indigenous people, that whole mentality is the same one that brings racism and inequality to our country now. And we can have all the windmills and solar panels in the world, but if we don't change the fundamental sin, the original sin of this country we are not going to make it. And we don't deserve to make it. And I just think what we are seeing right now is so hopeful. The diversity of the protests, the support from all kinds of sectors of society. There's reason to hope.

>> What do you think of as the original sin of this country, Jane?

>> Well racism. The fact that there could be a hierarchy of humanity and some people, just because of the color of their skin could be considered inhuman, less than human. That is the original sin. And a mentality that can do that to human beings sees no problem doing that to the earth.

>> So, Jane , if you could talk about how you started fire drill Fridays, what drove you to this?

>> It was last Labor Day, the beginning part of September and I had been depressed actually because I didn't feel that I was using my platform as a celebrity to make enough of a difference. And I just didn't know what to do. And I read Naomi Klein's book on fire, burning case for the green new deal and it set me on fire. The way she wrote about Greta Thurnberg, the way she wrote about the science and the way she wrote about it moved me. Greta said that we have to behave as if her house is on fire. We have to behave like we are in a crisis, and be moved from our comfort zone. So I moved to Washington DC and together with Annie Leonard and Greenpeace, we decided every Friday we got an okay from the young people, who had already claimed Friday, the movement that grew out of Greta's protest was right is for future and there is the sunrise movement, and they were all doing the protests on Friday. I did not want to be some aging movie star bopping into DC and getting a lot of media attention and turning away from them. And so we had a lot of meetings with movement leaders and with the young climate activists who really impressed me so much. And one of the things that makes me so proud about fire drill Fridays was, there was never a stage full of white people. There was never a stage especially full of white men. It was always very diverse,

indigenous people, women of color, Latinos and a lot of young people. And it really took off.

>> And you got arrested a number of times is that right?

>> Yes. Civil disobedience needs to become the new normal. We have protested and marched and petitioned and lobbying, and haven't been listened to. And civil disobedience is the next step. Putting your body on the line for what needs to happen for what you believe in it is throughout history civil disobedience is what has changed things whether it was Mahatma Gandhi in India, whether it is Martin Luther King, , the young black student sitting at the lunch counters, Rosa Parks sitting not in the back of the bus, these are acts of civil disobedience that brought awareness to issues and allowed people to change history. And I thought well, I'm famous, I'm old, and if I can do this every week, people are going to take notice and they did all around the world.

>> And do you see a connection between how Trump has dealt with the pandemic and how he deals with the climate crisis?

>> Yes there are so many parallels. I mean, you have to pay attention to science, to the medical experts. You can't just go on gut and feelings. You have got to be prepared. You know, my favorite ex-husband always said hope for the best and prepare for the worst. I'm talking about Ted Turner. And he's very smart. And so I think that's good. Hope for the best and prepare for the worst. We were not prepared. And also the importance of having a strong central government.

You can't deal with the problems that are quite vast unless you have a government that cares about people and that's prepared and willing to step up. But of course for 40 some years since Reaganism and Thatcherism there's been a very determined effort to make people think that government is bad. The very people who need government and now think that government is bad. It's not the size of government the matters, it is who the government is working for. And right now it's not working for people.

>> Now, you have a long history of activism in addition to being a prize-winning actor for all of these decades and you continued that work right through today, but your activism from the 60s and 70s whether you were working against the war in Vietnam or working with and supporting the Black Panthers, in fact you adopted a daughter from a Black Panther family who wrote a book, Mary Williams, and talked about how you saved her. You met her what, at a camp you were holding? and that kind of activism that you did then, comparing it to what you are seeing and the level of intersectionality of movements, what you see today, how does it compare?

>> There's been a maturing, individually and socially. For all kinds of reasons more people understand that there is something fundamentally wrong with the way our system works. That it does not work for people. It works for the wealthy, for big corporations and in particular the fossil fuel industry which really right now controls our government and our economy. And more people across the board understand this is

wrong and are willing to say it, and to stand up to it. In the past, like when I came into the antiwar movement, there was, we were viewed as violent. We were viewed as, we were the rioters and the looters. Today, as you can see now, the people who looted and were opportunistic taking advantage of the protests are gone. And the people left are focused. They know why they are there. They are proud to be there. And they are raising their message. And all kinds of people are joining them that have never done it before. I've been surprised how many new people are joining these movements. So it is a maturation. And you know for me personally patience. As you get older you realize things don't happen overnight. And so you can, it is easier to not burn out and also to know how to talk to people who don't agree with you, which is very important.

>> And what do you see as the role of progressive funders of philanthropy in movements and working for change in this country.

>> They are absolutely bedrock fundamentally important. The funders. Because what we are up against is huge vast fortunes. We don't even need to name names everybody knows who they are. We are resource poor. And because of the media funders that I believe will be watching this video I just want to say that we will lose our democracy if we don't maintain local media we need robust, expanded local media and they are closing. I mean they are dropping like flies and it is just very frightening. I know you know this better than anybody. We have to make sure that they are funded, not only funded but that they can afford lawyers because usually the local funders, they are people of color and they are often women. They are the ones that the mass media goes to to get their info. But they don't get the resources and that is what is needed because they are willing to stand up. They don't have bosses that are taking money for example from the fossil fuel industry. They have less to lose. So they are braver to standing up and exposing the powers that be that's doing wrong and they need help, and they need, just about the climate for example so many people still don't understand that the majority almost unanimously the climate scientists agree that we are facing a catastrophe. And that it is human caused and also that we can do something about it. If you don't know that and if you are not talking about it then you don't care and if you don't care you don't take action. So we need the media to tell the story and to tell it right. And to get people talking about it and to understand that it is intersectional. It affects national security. It affects the economy. It affects our health and everything. I mean COVID in a way is a result of the climate crisis and poverty. People needing to go into wild places where we aren't supposed to go and coming in contact with animals that we haven't been in contact with before and bringing viruses out. It has been true of SARS and MRS and AIDS and COVID 19. So these things are all interlinked and it is important to fund media that will report accurately on it I think.

>> I am always fond of saying, talking about the importance of media not brought to us by the weapons manufacturers when we cover war and peace not brought to us by the financial institutions when we cover economic and racial inequality and not brought to us by the oil gas and coal companies when we cover the climate crisis. So many of

these media organizations, over 40,000 journalists are out of work or furloughed. Their wages cut. Across the board come across this country so many media outlets online and paper are shuttered, are shut down. But this idea of the model of independent media, not brought to you by these corporations that might not approve of what you have to say.

>> Yeah, that is exactly right. And by the way, since there is an election coming up we have to be sure that we are voting for independent candidates all the way down the ticket, people who are not beholden... To, you know, fossil fuels for example. We have to find out who is funding them and, because that reflects what kind of people they are.

>> You know, it's interesting right now, as you have taken on power for so long, has the fossil fuel industry reached out to you or try to shut you up? I mean, your platform from ad fire drill Fridays is at this point in or miss with your hosting a platform for the movement for black lives, or whether you are out there getting arrested what kind of effect you feel your organization and organizing has had?

>> I think we are building a community that is growing into an army, a nonviolent army. And that is what we need. I mean as we see in the streets every day now for the last 10 days when large amounts of people assemble in the streets making demands heard things happen. And even the scientists say the crisis is so enormous and so immediate and we have so little time and the only way we are going to do it is if unprecedented numbers of people take the streets. Scientists, you know, nerds who usually under the radar who are saying I'm not political are saying this and so what makes me happy about fire drill Fridays is that it is reaching 20,000 people were watching, we had a quarter of 1 million people watching us and they volunteer, and and we got 1000 people to call their congressman in one hour.

>> So how do you conduct your fire drill Fridays in the midst of the pandemic?

>> How do we continue it? online virtually. By now I was going to be touring the country with Annie Leonard, the director of Greenpeace USA because fire drill is a part of Greenpeace I'm proud to say we were going to be touring the country building up this movement and getting out of the climate vote but because of COVID we can't so we are keeping it online and it is working. People are looking... They are looking for what to do they want to learn there is a thirst now that I have not seen before and I don't know, I just feel so proud, I feel so proud of the organizers of the movement for black lives, or black lives matter, many of them are my friends. And I feel so proud of the people tuning in to fire drill Fridays. They come every Friday and all over the country, hundreds are volunteering to make phone calls and to get information that we need to make our voices heard. And it's also people are looking for community. People are understanding that individually we are vulnerable. You know, the Vietnamese always said one bamboo is not so strong, but a group of bamboo stocks tied together, you can't. They are stronger than an oak. And that's what we have to be. Stocks of bamboo that are tied together and nobody can stop us.

>> In fact, do you think that what has happened in this country, the massive loss of life, well over 100,000 people died, even the New York Times said the number of deaths that Pres. Trump is responsible for, the so-called excess, the surplus deaths because we did not act fast enough, because the president does not need the science. He was just at a swab factory in Maine with his health secretary he Alex Azar. Even though the rules in the factory work that you must wear masks, the health secretary did not, and neither did Pres. Trump and so the company has said they will throw out every swab manufactured during that time that they were there at the factory. But do you think the pandemic, and people's understanding of the importance of science will actually lead to a deeper understanding of the climate crisis?

>> I don't know whether it will lead to an understanding of the climate crisis, but it is leading to an understanding of the depths of inequality in this country. I think a lot of white people didn't really realize, first of all who are the essential workers, you know, who really make our lives run smoothly. And the fact that they are so exposed and at risk. I think that white people are seeing that the pockets of people of color who work in meat processing plants and poultry plants and very often... Retirement homes seem to be deliberately put in danger. And it's like, oh my God. Let them die is the philosophy coming out of the White House. Just who cares. Nobody's going to care about their lives. And see what's happening in the last 10 days is that everybody can see that we do care. That we will stand up and stand shoulder to shoulder. That is one of the main things that's coming out of COVID, the sense of inequality and also the disregard of expertise, which is very important in relation to climate. We have to follow science. That is one of Greta Thurnburg's biggest messages, listen to the science and let me say the science is saying we have 10 years to cut fossil fuel emissions in half, and then phase it out gradually until mid century. 10 years to cut our fossil fuel. And right now we are going in the opposite direction. So this is so urgent.

>> Well Jane, I want to thank you for spending this time with us, in the midst of your very busy virtual and real life. Thank you so much for being there and for being there all these years for sharing your artistry, your art, your acting and your activism.

>> Same to you, Amy. You have been there across decades. Thank you and I'm glad you're safe.

>> Thank you stay safe as well and thank you for helping the whole community stay safe. Thanks, Jane.

>> Hi All, I'm Vince Stehle Executive Director of media impact funders and I want to thank Amy and Jane for the profound and enlightening conversation making so many important connections showing the way that concern for the climate needs to be rooted in an environment of justice. And now we are going to ask Amy to change places as Alex Jakana joins the webinar to join the next discussion with Amy and Ellen Dorsey executive director of the Wallace global fund and Alex is a former journalist with the BBC and currently program officer for global media partnerships at the Bill and Melinda

Gates foundation. And I'm very pleased to say that he's also a brand-new board member of media impact funders. So please take it away, Alex. Thanks.

>> Thank you very much, Vince. That's a great conversation we just had there. It's going to be a tough one to follow. Amy, thank you so much, it's great to be in the company of two amazing women. Amy and Ellen, Dr. Ellen Dorsey. Just a quick introduction for each of them. I'm sure neither one of them really does need this introduction. Amy is known to many of us as a multiple award-winning broadcast journalist. She's a syndicated columnist investigative reporter, author and many of us will know her in the US and beyond as the host and executive producer of democracy now, that is a national daily independent award-winning news program. It is airing in over 1400 public television and radio stations worldwide. And it is great to have you on the program, Amy. And then Dr. Ellen Dorsey, executive director of the Wallace global fund. This is a private foundation that has focused on progressive social change in the fields of environment, democracy, human rights and corporate accountability. Dr. Dorsey was awarded the 2016 inaugural Nelson Mandela --- Michelle breakthrough award for the workarounds divesting philanthropy over 170 foundations committed to deploying their investments for climate justice as well as accelerate the work to address the climate emergency we are discussing today. So thank you very much for joining me both of you and I'm going to start with a question that I will give both of you a chance to respond to. Because when we look at the question of the climate emergency that we are having right now, Amy, in your conversations including that when you have just had with Jane, you had a number of questions that talked about politics, leaders, government and the relationship with the way they go about the business and the sort of climate crisis we have and the intersectionality of a number of other bins but it's clear there's a connection between leadership, governance as well as the emergency that we are facing right now in terms of climate. And so when it comes to this correlation it becomes particularly crossed with the less democratic the governments are. What you make of that correlation, Amy. In resource dependence or extractive industries, from where you sit as a broadcast journalist the decades of experience, describe the scope of the problem for us.

>> Well, I think that issue of authoritarianism is very significant right now. When we see the powers in the world that are rising, whether we are talking about in Brazil with Bolsonaro, whether you are talking about president Trump in the United States whether you are talking about Duterte in the Philippines, and but it's not just a bleak picture to say the least the pandemic is very bleak, to say the least that the climate crisis picture is very bleak, what is our salvation clearly is people rising up. We are at a tipping point right now. Again as we speak the funeral of George Floyd is going on that is what is happening behind us today and it's hard to think of that having a direct connection to the climate crisis but it does because we are talking about disparities. Disparities in treatment, inequality in this country, what causes a whole population to be more targeted, in this case by police that are becoming increasingly authoritarian. And you are seeing both whether we are talking about police brutality, the pandemic, the

targeting the virus knows, does not know, but knows motor ability. And the health crisis in this country and around the world that separates people. Or the climate crisis and the racial disparities there, you have got authoritarianism but you also have movements. And we have never seen stronger movements.

And they are feeding off each other right now. They are not separate. People are understanding, in the streets you will see the banners for George Floyd. You will see the banners for black lives matter, the idea that people matter and they cannot be diminished. You will still see the protest banners around the climate crisis and extinction on the planet. And I think at different, in the coming weeks and months, you have different movements moving up and moving down but every one getting to know each other a lot more and why the climate crisis activists will truly be reinforced right now, and stronger is because of the black and brown communities that are now in the streets feeling their power with white allies, but now all coming together knowing those same very forces that are killing them are somehow linked, whether we are talking about police brutality, or the climate crisis. The question of who profits, who benefits and who dies.

>> And let me put this to you Ellen, as well and ask what you see, you are both a fund or working in philanthropy but an academic as well who has spent a lot of time reading studies and publishing around this. The correlation between authoritarianism, and destructive industries, what does it look like from your chair?

>> Thanks Alex. And it is wonderful to follow Amy, a she-ro. And Jane, I have to say I was proud to have participated in several of the fire drill Fridays including being arrested with my daughter, which was one of the better moments of my life actually. It was really profound. I am a funder and an academic, both as guises for being an activist quite frankly and I want to build off of what Amy said that what we are witnessing right now is absolutely unprecedented both in the intersection of systemic crises from a humanitarian crisis of the pandemic, and economic crisis that is laying bare inequality in our society, to a human rights pandemic of racism and then of course the climate catastrophe and it requires a systemic response. And this is really for us in philanthropy to grapple with. We have never seen movements exploding at the level that we have. And for foundations it's often hard to figure out how to fund movements or be comfortable with funding movements. But if we will achieve the system change required of this moment, we are going to have to fund at a skill that we have never done previously. And I want to come back to that. But I think what is also important to understand is that to tackle climate change is we must tackle economic power. Including our own economic power. Slavery was an economic system. The abolitionists demanded that slaveholders walk away from enormous profit. And those that were profiting were deeply intertwined with the political system to repress the movements rising up for abolition. And that is true today with the climate crisis where the fossil fuel industry as Ayana said the petrochemical industry has been similarly intertwined with governments the world over, frankly since the dawn of the discovery that fossil fuels

have the capacity to generate heat and energy. And so the need to extract fossil fuels from communities required the state to be an agent of control of those communities whether it was to suppress the communities, make the land and resources available to criminalize protests, to arrest, torture and imprison community leaders who are actors as well as journalists who would report on it, the relationship of extraction and authoritarianism is a deep one. It also explains the climate crisis today and how against all credible science, and the self-preservation instinct of the human species, we still have a climate emergency with only a decade left. That tells you how powerful the industry is. The wealth of these industries created by these industries has been simply shocking. And it also contributes to the deep inequality in our society. They use that wealth to pay off government officials, to pay off politicians in illegal bribes, and in legal campaign contributions in the US. The world over from Nigeria to my hometown of Pittsburgh, where Vince and I went to university together, to address the climate emergency today we have to look at the entire system and we also have to again ask another economic class to walk away from their wealth for the survival of the planet. And we have to transform the energy base of our economy as well as decarbonize virtually every industry, so this moment requires us to fix systemic drivers not just one, but democracy, the extractive economy, racial economic, gender and social justice together, and flinch B has a really important role to play and I don't think we have been operating at the scale of collaboration. Or to fund the movements that were standing up to the corporate capture of democracy and preventing us from getting the climate solutions that we are urgently required.

>> Ellen, let's dig a little deeper into the economics because when you flip it on the other side, there are those who would say looking at the past 300 years we have dug up coal, we have pulled up oil from the ground, and this has propelled the human race, this generation or generations since have lived in a state of prosperity that humanity for thousands of years preceding that hasn't seen. Poverty has declined at impressive levels. Generally across the board it is still very high, but when you compare it to generations before. And economic growth at a national level and at a global level has been tremendous. If you look at China from the 70s and China now, the number of people who are enjoying wealth, there are still very many who are poor. Do we have to challenge a [destructive] industry in order to have a cleaner cooler climate. How do you convince people that you have to forgo economic growth in order to have a cooler planet because that is what it looks like for some of them. Or are they seeing it wrong?

>> Wow. It is a huge question. And there is no doubt that historically great wealth was created. Some prosperity was created. Not all prosperity was shared. And today we face a situation where because of the climate crisis those that are living the greater wealth and greater prosperity are... More obligated, more responsible for ensuring that we prioritize a clean, safe and affordable energy system upon which development can occur around the world, and our foundation is involved right now in a campaign called shine where we are trying to bring resources both in forms of grants and investments to reach the billion plus people in the world they do not have access to electricity with

distributed affordable clean energy. Communities that could not be reached by the fossil fuel grid because it was too expensive and now we can from that. We can be using as foundations our investment capital to support community owned solar and wind farms in the indigenous communities working with the standing rock Sioux tribe to build a grid scale wind farm that they would own. There are solutions in the new energy economy that we in philanthropy should prioritize. That we should have our eyes set on for precisely the question you raise. And we have to get out of fossil fuels immediately. And we need to do that in ways that both weaken the power of the fossil fuel industry and its corporate capture of our democracy and builds are movements at scale very quickly. My foundation has been involved in the global fossil fuel divestment movement that came precisely out of the moment where we failed at getting a global deal on climate. We failed at getting policy passed in the US on climate change when all of the science was clear because of the money being poured into government inaction by the fossil fuel industry, by denying the science. So, young activists began advocating for the universities to divest from fossil fuels. It spread very quickly across universities to church groups, pension funds,, foundations and now there's over \$14 trillion in assets under management that are divested. We need to cut off all the investing from fossil fuels from banks and insurers. We need to demand that our politicians refuse to take money from the fossil fuel industry. We have to hold the fossil fuel industry accountable for climate damages through litigation. And we need solutions. And we need solutions to put racial and economic justice at the center. The green new deal. Green and blue new deal. And the kind of green recovery that is being advocated around the world and also ensuring that those without access to electricity, those that have not benefited from development in the past are at the center and forefront of what we do within philanthropy. We are uniquely positioned to address that issue of unequal development in the history of extraction.

>> Amy, you have spent decades covering this particular, among other issues and I have listened to the questions you asked in the previous session and the answer you gave earlier on to my first question and I could see you highlighting the intersectionality between the racism, the inequality, the climate change problem, I think Jane made a good point about if someone has it within their psyche not to care about another human being's life why should they care about the ocean if they can kneel on someone's neck for eight minutes while they die, why should they care about a tree? and so here is a question for you. Do you think this problem is solvable one piece at a time? or are we at a place where we are going to have to solve all of them at the same time and off the back of that you could perhaps tell the people on this call, many of whom are funders, what can they do as philanthropy and answering that question?

>> It's a very good question. I think the pandemic has taught us a lot. You don't just have to be altruistic to care about other people. But what the pandemic has taught us is if one person is sick in one country we can all get sick. That is an absolutely critical lesson and you can take it as selfishly as you can. If someone is sick in China you might

well get sick here. And I think that has not been lost on anyone, whatever political party. And it is a moment and place to start from.

I also just wanted to address an issue that Alan just raised, the issue of standing rock. And I think it goes to your point as well the intersectionality, Alex. We were covering standing rock extensively in 2016, and you have the standing rock Sioux, and it goes to your first question about authoritarianism, and this part, corporate authoritarianism, a pipeline company can move in, the Dakota access pipeline and place a pipeline next to native land. And enforce and impose its will, using the states militarized police. It puts together all of these issues. And go after a community of color, Native Americans. And in this case, the standing rock Sioux. You look at the pandemic at the epicenter of the pandemic right now one of them in the US is a Navajo land, on the Navajo reservation in New Mexico. That is where people are the sickest. And these issues are connected.

And then it goes to the issue of media. Who covers for example the stand off at standing rock? we raced out there. We were covering it from afar, then we raced out there in the fall of 2016 as it was intensifying. We went to cover these remarkable actions of indigenous people. So often the climate movement is led by indigenous people and in this case they were protecting their own land. And as they were filming and posting online the filming of the security guards you've got all levels of militarized response whether it is the Sheriff's deputies, whether it is the company's security guards unleashing dogs. And you remember Pres. Trump just recently saying we will release vicious dogs on you. Well they did that there and it bit and mauled the Native American protesters. And the video is critical and that goes to the media. Whether you are seeing the horror of a slow-motion murder of George Floyd or whether you are seeing dogs right Native Americans, a dog's snout fresh with dripping blood of Native Americans, we caught that, we put it online and for all the corporate networks brought to you by the oil companies, who would say when I would invite them into MSNBC or CNN to host after how about some climate crisis coverage, the host would say with all good meaning we want to do more but the executives say that they can't get the eyeballs on it.

We posted that one video online of the dogs and guards going after these incredibly proud resilient determined and relentless standing rock Sioux backed by other indigenous communities, and within a day there was 14, 15, 16 million eyeballs, or maybe that was double that, because views online, people do care. And that's why we need an independent media when we cover war brought to you by the oil gas and coal companies when we cover healthcare in not brought to you by the health care insurance company when we cover climate crisis not brought to you by the oil gas coal and nuclear industries. We need an independent media, and that is globally, that is absolutely critical because we are all connected. And coming out of the pandemic I will just end with this. We see that the CARES act and the bailout for everyday people is hardly that. This is reinforcing and increasing the disparity between the powerful corporations who have gotten millions off that and still fired the workers. Supposedly they got that to ensure that workers state. So we have an ever more increasing

disparity. But we have an angry and more informed and caring diverse uprising. That's taking place around all these issues.

>> All right. Well thank you very much Amy, Ellen. Really appreciate your time. As you can imagine this is a conversation that could go on and go on. We could fill a week here, but time has run out and I must hand it over to Vince right now. Just for those of you who are on the call right now, we will have a Q&A session coming up and Vince is going to give us details about how we are going to navigate that area because I'm sure there are lots of questions that have arisen as you have listened to this excellent panel we have had. Vince, over to you.

>> Yes thanks very much, Alex for leading the discussion , and certainly the conversation will continue for at least the next half hour. And so as we are shifting here, everyone who is participating as an attendee will also be invited to come into the chat, and into the discussion fully, and that is going to happen over the next minute or so. My colleagues will be inviting people who stay on for the Q&A to come in and we will see that. So if you wish to keep your video off as a new attendee make sure to leave it off. And if you want to offer a question put it in the Q&A and then raise your hand and we will call and you and ask you to do that. So we are switching gears. Stay with us while we make the transition.

[Music]

>> Okay so I will just say in between the music you will hearing for any of you who were with us at last year's media impact for him in person in Philadelphia you may recognize that was Arnett a Johnson who plays wonderful modern jazz. So our first question comes from Tim --- we are going to invite him to offer the question himself if we can bring him up to the full screen. I believe we're

>> Can you hear me now?

>> You can turn your camera on, Tim.

>> Sorry I'm having trouble with that right now apologies.

>> Feel free to ask your question.

>> Sure great, thank you all for the terrific discussion today. I was quite inspired by the discussion. Particularly the notion of the interconnectedness of all these crises, the climate crisis, racial injustice crisis, the human rights crisis. I'm with humanity United, human rights organization, and before I joined HU was with the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. And Amy, you may appreciate this, but I was always very inspired by the big bold idea that created the public broadcasting system in the US which came out of the Carnegie commission in the 50s and 60s. And it was a big bold idea at the time and I'm just wondering particularly Ellen, Amy, Alex, what are the big bold ideas right now that philanthropy, funders could come around, such that we are magnifying are impact

by being together, rather than perhaps a splintered impact we are all doing different things. Do you have thoughts on that?

>> Can I take the first stab? So, I believe we need to collaborate radically and radically different within philanthropy. If we believe that we are at an unprecedented intersectional systemic crisis moment, then we need to respond as such. And I would say there's a couple things that we should be doing and can be doing. First of all, climate is a human rights tsunami. It is and will continue to impact food systems, water, access to water, access to land, health, you know, total disruptions and migrations. And as such, really we have to look at those that are most vulnerable to the impacts of climate change and build our strategies from there. Because they will in fact pay the greatest price. So, human rights funders have to commit funds, and I would say that there are several things that we can all do if we approach the climate crisis as in fact a climate justice emergency. First we have to put climate in every one of our missions. No matter what our historic mission. Second, we need to be funding the movements at scale to win, and that means intersectional movements. We have to be funding systemic change, not just reform. And if we are not comfortable with the kind of advocacy and movement level funding, we can buddy up and help each other get comfortable. We need to invest our money consistent with an understanding of climate justice and racial justice.

Hitting on the second question that was posed. We are not just a grantmaking institution we have banks. We have money on the sidelines and being deployed either to --- fossil fuels or prisons or we are using resources to solve the problem so we are aligning our money with our grants and this is what I would say. What can we do? payout, payout way more than the 5%. Why are our foundations squirreling away acorns for a colder winter? we need to be paying more now. At minimum 10%. Why are we, if we really believe we have a decade left to turn the climate crisis around, spend down, pay off half your endowment over the next 10 years. We needed to resource movements at scale to win and we are not going to be able to do that with business as usual. So think about that. Look at Charitystimulus.org, because we are proposing the mandatory minimum for foundations is lifted from 5% and me to be 10% for the next three years and for DAFs as well it would bring billions recovery and job creation and hopefully create recovery.

>> Ellen, you have talked about this today in terms of climate but I think you also at Wallace global have been framing some of the thinking about pushing for larger payouts in terms of COVID response as well. And certainly we have seen massive stimulus out of the government compared to normal government spending. So there's a parallel there if you want to add the COVID piece to that as well.

>> Well, I think what we understand is that when we have now it is 30 million out of work, and we have the impact that this has had on the not-for-profit sector as Ayana said we were impacted by stay-at-home. We have put resources not just into "COVID relief" but in really helping the organizations respond to the change in digital organizing.

We have been supporting the poor People's campaign and helping them move to digital organizing. We are also working on issues that are in fact impacted by COVID, the energy access, clean water etc. But the point is we are paying out 20% of our endowment this year. There is so much that we can be doing with more resources including collaborating and if we are, if there ever was a time to step out and do more, it is now, even if you don't intend to spend down just paying out 10% over the next three years would bring extraordinary resources that would not take away from government resources.

>> Right, let's just open it up to anybody else who wants to talk about the intersectionality and the opportunity for philanthropy to collaborate across silos.

>> To piggyback onto something Ellen was saying the metaphor is so perfect of , this is not the time to be squirreling away your acorns for a cold winter because the cold winter is probably not going to come again. And so I think a lot about that when I think about the importance of supporting the leaders that arise as I mentioned before the importance of supporting people not organizations I think we are seeing a lot and organizing right now. People moving around. Obviously organizations are what is the glue and a lot of what holds things together but I think we need to be a lot more creative and think about how to support individuals, designers, activists, scientists who are leading this new generation of much more fluid professional lives, I have been able to crack the code for myself but a lot of people have not been able to do that. And the number, when we talk about intersectionality of these things the number that sticks in my head is 23 million. So 23 million years ago was the last time we had this much CO2 in the atmosphere. And that is also the number of black people in America who are already concerned about the climate crisis. But how can we expect them to be leading their communities when they are distracted, we are distracted by all these other intermediate-term needs. And so figuring out how to connect those dots. And I think there is this opportunity by taking a more intersectional approach to unleash this huge potential because we know from the yell climate communications center that 49% of white people are concerned or alarmed about climate change. But that is 57% for black people and 70% for Latinx people so if we do not broaden the scope of who we are reaching and including it is not just bad because diversity is like a good, nice to have thing, or we feel that if we don't do that, or we know the science of diversity leading to better decision-making among teens, but it's also just like do we want to win or not. Because these people already care. The 23 million black Americans who already care but have to deal with all these other day-to-day things that can't be engaged in climate solutions is just like tattooed in my mind now.

>> Great. I wanted to just remind each of you panelists, if you want to ask a question of each other you are free to do that as well but Amy, do you want to say something?

>> I want to talk about piggybacking off of what both Ellen has said, also what Alex has said and what Ayana has said, just how critical media is. Because you have organizations and leaders on the ground. And where is that forum for people to speak to

each other globally we may not know each other now as people shelter at home you have all these new technologies but a common table, I always think of the media, a kind of independent media that is a huge kitchen table that stretches across the globe. That we all sit around and debate and discuss the most critical issues of the day, whether we are talking about racial injustice, inequality, the climate crisis, war and peace, and that dialogue is critical and bringing forward the voices of people who are on the front lines of the streets risking their lives not your typical set of pundits, that you get at these oil funded networks, right? who know so little... This small set of pundits who know so little about explaining the world to us and getting it so wrong, but hearing the great diversity of voices of the people who are most impacted, and actually when, having a forum for their voices, the most creative feeling, the most urgency in coming up with a more creative, equally egalitarian world.

>> I'm sorry, Alex?

>> I wanted to very quickly, Tim, that was an excellent question of what is the big bold idea. And there's no silver bullet. At least from where I sit. But as a funder there are some things that I have found interesting that we are kind of looking for a tide that would lift all boats. After this discussion is clear there's intersectionality and connectedness so there are some things we can invest in as funders that would help lift all boats at least to some point. And I will share with you what my experience has been and what I think might be helpful. One is gender equality. We have found, at least for me that in places where we have been trying to deal with say, routine immunization, family-planning, trying to deal with education, you've got a number of different things, nutrition, that are connected altogether. When we have made the investments that have gender equality at the heart, or put women in the driving seat, a number of other issues we have been trying to solve tend to get better. Those indicators get better. They are not altogether solved. But it shows us that there's a lot of untapped potential that mostly patriarchal societies that have had men in the driving seat have left off. So there's a lot of untapped potential in terms of solutions that gender inequality has created. So we are faring at half the potential we could as a human race.

So addressing racism, structural inequality, authoritarianism, climate change with one arm tied behind our back is to do ourselves ill. So as funders I would say we make sure that every investment we make has some form of indicator, you can qualify it as passing a gender equality investment, and point it as a barrel toward whatever it is we are prioritizing whether it is open governance, climate change, family planning routine immunization, take your pick. And I suspect as the data is showing friendly some of the investments we are making now that we will see a rise in the number of the areas. The second thing would be to make investments that make highlighting solutions their priority goal. When we live in a world where people are already inundated with the scope of the problem there is no shortage of outlets, whether it is by legacy media, or with the democratization of content generation.

Now user generated content through social media platforms tell them the world is going to hell in a hand basket and at times it can be demoralizing and in a highly pluralized setting it opens the door for advocates of polarization to actually [drive people] farther apart. If we highlight investments that show people that hey, look, this country was able to solve this problem at half the budget of the other country that is much bigger, has more people, has millions and the Federal Reserve bank or whatever it removes excuses for in action from Washington DC and London and Berlin, if Kigali can do it at half the budget coming out of a genocide, what the problem might be. So that might be a helpful investment for us as investors to look for which investments, which initiative has solutions as the primary goal as opposed to trying to get the problem. And then finally if we can find a way of making investments that focus on [lower to middle income countries] I think we will go a long way. According to the World Bank 9% of the worlds population live in low income countries and 76% in middle income countries. So the vast majority of the world are in this bracket. So imagine if we could move the needle on climate change, inequality in that particular bracket there. We change it for the human race.

>> Great. Wonderful ideas. If I could just pick up--- I'm going to come back to you, Ayana in just a second. Alex with regard to the solutions approach I think if people could stay tuned for the coming programs over the next three weeks we are going to be coming back to that seem several times. And then I did want to circle back to you, Dr. Johnson, particularly around the gender equity piece, because you already introduced in the first part of the program the anthology project and I know it is such a rich opportunity with regard to all the things we have been talking about. You have got 40 different women's voices and so many of them need to be brought into these media discussions too. So if you want to say what more practically can be done to bolster that project or wherever else you wanted to take the conversation

>> Thank you for asking that. We are actually, our edits on the full manuscript are due tomorrow. So after that, I will be able to turn my attention more fully to how we want to roll this out and share this with the world. The publication date is the timber 22nd. So if there's anyone who has ideas about how to highlight the individual voices of the women in the book, the chorus as a whole I would love to hear from you. We are also going to be launching this in a much more virtual way than we had intended so I'm sure that some of you have expertise on what that would look like. So but perhaps to overly summarize Alex's first point I think there is a huge opportunity by investing in women of color. Most of the money on climate has gone to White men, organizations that they run and so we really are tying 1 1/2 hands behind our back if we are ignoring people of color and women. And so that is one of the things I would really like to see. Especially because from my vantage point we are in the midst of a feminist climate Renaissance where women are approaching the issues in a much more collaborative and supportive community building way. We need to be sort of investing in the weave between us. And so I think there's a huge opportunity there. And the last thing I would say is I would love to see funders think more like venture capitalists in the sense that you have a portfolio

of 10 or 20 projects or companies or investments and if two of them do really well you are please. And that allows you to take bigger risks and not assume that everything is going to succeed. A lot of the experience I've had with funders is how do we know this is going to work? I'm like we don't have any idea if it's going to work. This is our best guess at what is needed and I think while people are thinking about spending more money and spending down endowments, like this is a great opportunity to say... Why not give this new thing a shot? because what we know for sure that we have been doing has not stopped climate change or gender inequality so let's take a few more risks and invest in women of color and think about the narrative around that. And the motivation for this book is that none of these women were going to stop and read a book about their work. And we need them to keep doing their work, but books are still the path to thought leadership in much of the Western world and so how do we hold them all in and write an essay... Or remix the Ted talk into an essay or whatever it is, as a way to get these ideas to the audience they deserve so I would love to talk with anybody who has some creative ideas along those lines. Because I am...

>> We would be happy to make connections with anybody who is listening now on the live broadcast of this and we will be posting all of this on our website for anybody to watch at any time. So certainly we, at media impact funders we can make the connection to strengthen the project and strengthen how that resonates onward into the media ecosystem. Also so important to mention that books are an important medium. As well as public radio. I see that there is a note in the chat, it's not really a question but a comment from Bill [Semering] who is with the godfather or grandfather of one of the great founders of our public radio system saying that public radio, the public radio system can re-envision their role to focus on these issues in the communities as they are independent. They can have their eyes on the street, become more inclusive and become green stations. So that's a great idea from Bill [Semering]. And I think we have pretty much come to the end of our hour and a half together today. I want to thank everyone who is listening in on the discussion today comes back on Thursday and every Tuesday Thursday for the next couple of weeks until June 25th. And when you do I hope you have more questions of your own. As you can see we could keep the time filled up certainly with dialogue across our panelists, but we certainly want to also invite questions from everyone who is participating in these discussions. And so thanks Alex and Amy and Ellen, and Dr. Ayana Elizabeth Johnson for illuminating our world today. Thank you all.