

Daly City Library & Recreation Services
Active Adult/Senior Services
presents



Current Events with Frank Damon

Doelger Senior Center has been fortunate to have Frank Damon leading both our Current Events and History discussion groups for the last 6 years. During this time of physical distancing due to the COVID-19 pandemic, Frank is sharing his current events discussion topics online. Starting on Monday, January 4, 2021 at 1:30 pm Frank will offer Current Events discussion groups each Monday on ZOOM.

Daly City Active Adult/Senior Services invites you to a scheduled Zoom meeting.

Topic: Current Events with Frank Damon

Time: 1:30 pm – 2:30 pm every Monday

Join Zoom meeting with following link:

<https://us02web.zoom.us/j/87222786510?pwd=d0VucFhGYzhMMXVhSUNJTmdFWDNwdz09>

Meeting ID: 872 2278 6510

Passcode: 724368

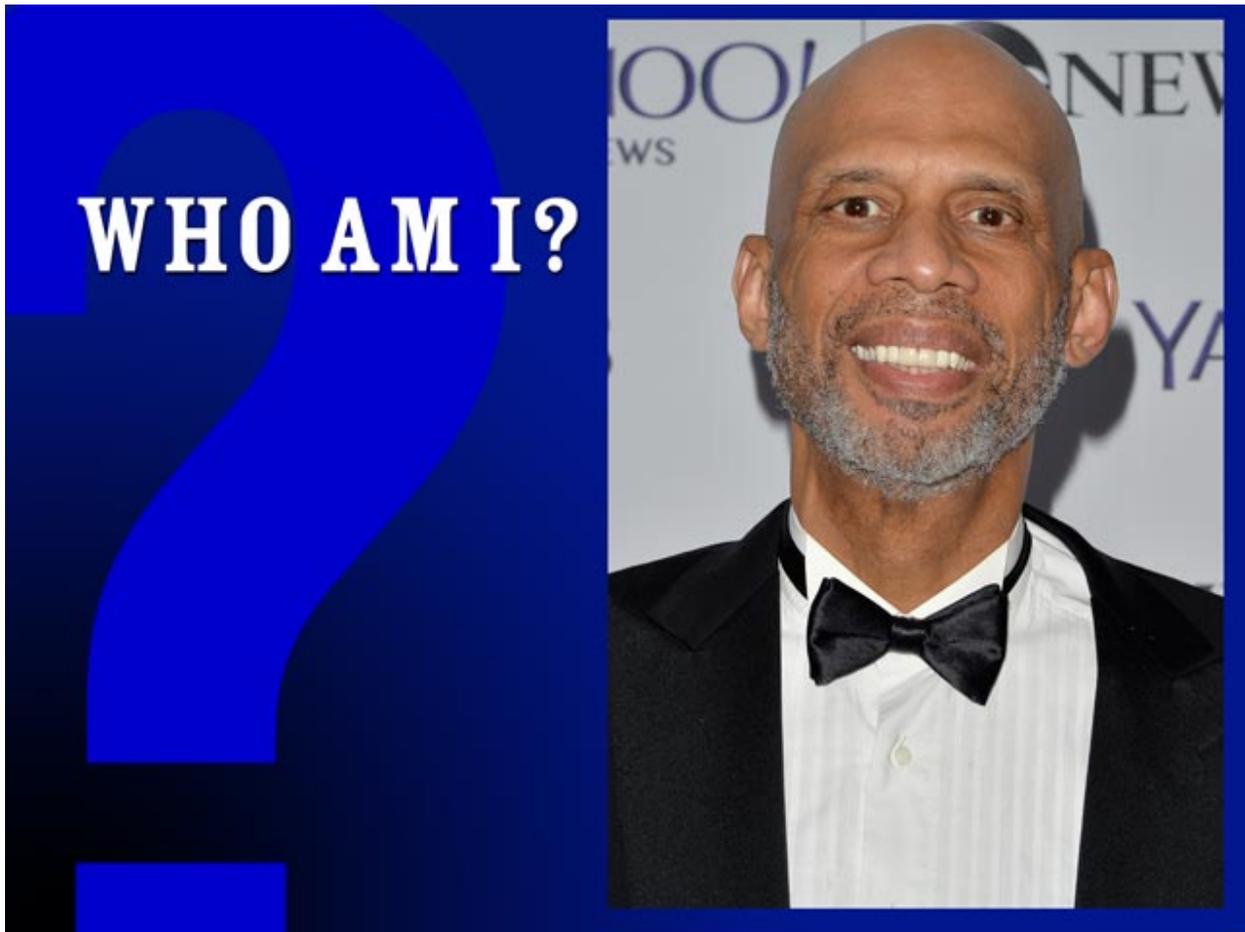
Frank received his BA degree from the University of San Francisco with a dual major in Political Science and American History. He also earned his MA in Political Science and teaching credentials at USF. Over the course of his career, Frank taught in the San Mateo Union High School District and at Marin Catholic High School, Terra Nova High School, Golden Gate University, College of San Mateo, Skyline College and Canada College.

If you are interested in joining *Current Events with Frank Damon*, please go to www.dalycityseniors.org/current-events or contact Frank directly at frankdamon@my.smccd.edu.

Man in The News

He is an author, actor, producer, screenwriter, and cultural ambassador. He is also a former basketball superstar who won six NBA Most Valuable Player Awards during my basketball career.

He was born Ferdinand Lewis Alcindor Jr. in New York City in 1947. In high school, he helped my basketball team win 71 consecutive games. His winning ways continued in college, as he led UCLA to three NCAA championships. In 1968, he converted to Islam, and took a new Arabic name. he started my pro career with the Milwaukee Bucks, helping that team win its only NBA championship so far. After being traded to the Los Angeles Lakers, he helped that team win five championships. Since retiring, he has written best-selling books, produced Emmy-nominated films, and traveled around the world to promote education. The NBA recently announced a new annual award that will go to a player who works on behalf of social justice and tolerance. This award will bear his name.



Who am I? (Kareem Abdul-Jabbar.)

Renewed Violence in the Middle East

Recent weeks have seen a dramatic rise in violence in Palestine and Israel. This newest flare up grew out of recent events. One was an expected Israeli Supreme Court ruling that would approve the expulsion of four Palestinian families from their homes in the Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood of East Jerusalem. People in East Jerusalem and other Palestinian areas began protesting the proposed evictions as well as other Israeli restrictions on Palestinians about a month ago.

These protests increased after Israeli troops attacked protesters at the Al-Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem's Old Town. This mosque is one of the most sacred places in the Muslim world. Israeli soldiers fired rubber bullets, stun grenades, and tear gas inside Al-Aqsa on the last Friday of the Islamic holy month of Ramadan.

In response to the Al-Aqsa raid, the group that controls Gaza launched rockets into Israel. Do you know the name of this group? (Hamas.) Although Israel used its sophisticated "Iron Dome" defense system to block or shoot down most of these rockets, about 12 Israelis have been killed by Hamas rockets that got through. The picture of the burned-out bus and car below shows the result of one such attack.

Israeli Defense Forces struck back with a devastating bombing campaign in Gaza. These bombs were supposed to target Hamas locations and destroy the group's ability to fire rockets. But bombs also hit many civilian targets, including homes, apartment buildings, hospitals, and schools. One airstrike destroyed the Al Jalaa tower, which housed media organizations such as the Associated Press. As of May 19th, this bombing campaign had killed more than 217 people, including 63 children, injured more than 1,500 others, and destroyed 94 buildings.



Jerusalem hasn't always been a flashpoint for conflict. It has long been an international city, with people of different religions working and living alongside each other. Here, you see a map of the city's "Old Quarter," which contains several holy places for Jews, Muslims, and Christians. After World War Two, the United Nations wanted to find a permanent homeland for Jewish people. Why? (To provide a safe haven for Jewish refugees of the Holocaust.) They chose historic Palestine for this purpose.

Tens of thousands of Jews had already been settling in Palestine since the late 19th and early 20th centuries. By 1947, about 650,000 Jews and 1 million Palestinian Arabs lived in this area. The U.N. plan gave about 55 percent of the land to a Jewish state and 45 percent of the land to a Palestinian state, with Jerusalem divided more or less down the middle. Most Jews accepted the plan, but most Palestinians rejected it.

As soon as Israel officially became a nation in 1948, the surrounding Arab countries attacked it. But Israel defeated the Arab armies. This became Israel Independence Day, and it was cause for great celebration for Israelis. But the same period became known as Al Nakba, or "the catastrophe," among Palestinians. Almost a million Palestinians who lived in the newly named Israeli areas were forced to flee their homes. Some of these refugees fled Israel altogether, while many went to other Palestinian areas like the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. Many of these refugees left their homes and belongings, expecting that they would be able to return eventually.

The photo below shows some Palestinians leaving during the Nakba. What do you think it would be like to leave your home and everything you own behind? But most of these refugees have never been allowed to return. Instead, Israelis took over many parts of the former Palestine, claiming the houses — and their possessions — for their own.

Jerusalem is a holy city to Jews, Muslims, and Christians.



The composite image consists of two main parts. On the left is a map of the Old Quarter of Jerusalem, showing various religious sites and quarters. On the right is a black and white photograph of a group of people, including men, women, and children, walking along a road. Some are carrying belongings, and a damaged car is visible in the background.

Map Labels: Temple Mount, Muslim Quarter, Holy Sepulchre Church, Christian Quarter, Dome of the Rock, Armenian Quarter, Jewish Quarter, Western Wall, Al-Aqsa Mosque.

Photo Caption: Fleeing Palestine during the Nakba (1948)

1947: U.N. creates independent Arab and Jewish states in Palestine

1948: Israel wins Arab-Israeli War, displaces 700,000 Palestinians

In 1967, Israel fought Jordan and other Arab nations in the Six-Day War. After winning this war, Israel began its occupation of all Palestinian areas, including East Jerusalem, the Gaza Strip, and the West Bank. Soon, Israel began encouraging Jews to build “settlements,” or houses and towns, in the Palestinian areas, annexing more and more land for Israel. Here, you can compare the original U.N. plan for the region with the present-day situation. What do you see in the two maps shown here? (That Palestine is a fraction of what it was in 1947.)

In 2005, Israel removed its settlements from Gaza. The next year, however, Israel set up a blockade around Gaza that persists to this day. People in Gaza live in difficult conditions: 95 percent of the water is undrinkable, they only have four hours of electricity every day, and nearly half the adult population is out of work. Even if they wanted to flee the most recent bombings, they are not allowed to leave. The Israeli rights group B’Tselem has labeled the current bombing campaign there a “war crime.” Nearly 2 million Palestinians live in Israel itself, and have citizenship rights. But the 4.7 million Palestinians living in the Occupied Territories cannot vote in Israeli elections and have few rights compared to Israelis. Earlier this year, B’Tselem called Israel “an apartheid regime.” What is apartheid? (The former South African system that gave white people full rights and Black people almost none at all.)

The U.S. government has long been Israel’s most important supporter. President Biden recently said that Israel has the “right to defend itself.” The U.N. has called for a ceasefire, but as of last week, Israeli President Netanyahu said he was not ready to stop the bombing of Gaza. But public opinion around the country, and the world, seems to be changing, and Biden is under a lot of pressure to be “tougher” on Israel.



CDC lifts mask rules for vaccinated Americans

What happened

Many Americans took off their face masks last week after the Centers for Disease Control scrapped almost all of its masking and social-distancing recommendations for people fully vaccinated against Covid-19, an unexpected announcement that was met with celebration and confusion. Citing new research that indicates recipients of Pfizer's and Moderna's shots are highly unlikely to spread the virus or to be infected by variants, the CDC said vaccinated people can safely go without masks in almost all situations—even when they are indoors in large groups. The advisory, an abrupt about-face for an agency that just three weeks earlier had urged vaccinated people to remain masked in crowded spaces, surprised even the White House. “We’ll smile again,” President Biden said on receiving the news, “and now, see one another’s smile.” Within a day, some 20 states had lifted mask mandates for vaccinated residents. Walmart, Trader Joe’s, Costco, Publix, Target, Starbucks, and other businesses also dropped mask requirements for inoculated customers.

Real-world data suggests the vaccines are working remarkably well: At the peak of the pandemic in January, Covid was killing more than 3,300 Americans a day; that figure is now down to about 600. While the U.S. vaccination campaign has slowed from an April high of 3.5 million shots administered daily to 1.8 million now, about 158 million Americans have received at least one dose and nearly half of U.S. adults are fully vaccinated, including 70 percent of seniors.

Many health officials and doctors said the CDC’s announcement was premature and could undercut one of the most effective tools for battling the coronavirus—which is still infecting about 35,000 people a day. “The guidance shifts all the burden onto individuals to be ‘on their honor,’” said Johns Hopkins University epidemiologist Lisa Maragakis. “The likely result is almost no one will wear a mask.”

What the editorials said

“Don’t toss out your face mask and rush out on the town just yet,” said the *Los Angeles Times*. For starters, the CDC guidance is full of exceptions: It doesn’t extend to prisons, schools, hospitals, trains, planes, or businesses that require face coverings. “So much for getting back to normal.” Then there’s the fact that only one-third of Americans are fully vaccinated, and there’s no way to know if the maskless people near you in a restaurant or store have had their shots. There’s still a risk, albeit a low one, “of sparking new infections when you gather unvaccinated and unmasked people in a room and let them mix.”



Shoppers in Huntington Beach, Calif.

What the columnists said

The CDC’s guidance has caused “a giant mess,” said Dr. Leana Wen in *The Washington Post*. The announcement blindsided governors and mayors, leading to a confusing patchwork of new mask rules across the country, and it left businesses scrambling to find ways to relax restrictions while also protecting the unvaccinated. A scientific agency like the CDC is not equipped to steer policy, so “Biden needs to course-correct, now.” His administration should define region-by-region criteria for lifting mask mandates—perhaps when 70 percent of a community is vaccinated—and help private entities set up apps that people can use to prove their vaccination status.

Democrats who once demanded that everyone “follow the science” are now aghast that the CDC is doing just that, said Noah Rothman in *CommentaryMagazine.com*. New Jersey Gov. Phil Murphy reacted to the agency’s advisory “as though it was a display of pure madness” and vowed to keep his state’s indoor mask mandate, while Chicago Mayor Lori Lightfoot pledged that masks would stay on in her city until she received “clarification from the CDC.” For liberals, face coverings have become “a tribal identifier and a sign of righteousness,” said Kevin Williamson in *NationalReview.com*. They won’t give them up any more readily than they will Subaru or Whole Foods.

The CDC’s mask guidance depends on people being truthful and considerate, said Julia Bosman and Sarah Mervosh in *The New York Times*. But the pandemic has exposed how little trust there is between red and blue America. We’ve witnessed “screaming crowds” protesting lockdowns, strangers growling at one another about social distancing, and infuriating stories of vaccine-line jumping. Now Americans are being asked to lower their guard and accept that every maskless person is fully vaccinated. Michigan resident Tori Saylor, who is immunocompromised, says she isn’t yet ready to make that assumption. “How can I judge whether someone is vaccinated by making momentary eye contact with them?”

What next?

With more than 4,100 Americans dying of the coronavirus every week, the pandemic is “not over by any means,” said Paul Waldman in *WashingtonPost.com*. “But if millions of people are going to be removing their masks” and resuming activities known to spread the virus, it’s vital we get as many people inoculated as possible. Nearly half of GOP voters still say they don’t plan to get a shot; that might change if Republican leaders stopped treating vaccination “like some kind of shameful secret.” Of the 212 Republicans in the House of Representatives, only 95 were willing to tell CNN that they’d gotten shots. Many vaccine holdouts aren’t stereotypical “anti-vaxxers,” said former FDA Commissioner Scott Gottlieb in *The Wall Street Journal*. A large number just find getting a shot inconvenient or unnecessary. There’s reason to hope that the CDC tying inoculation to freedom from masks will be the nudge these Americans need “to make that appointment to get vaccinated.”

Israel's campaign to degrade Hamas' military

What happened

Amid growing international calls for a cease-fire, Israel continued an offensive in Gaza this week to eradicate Hamas leadership and military capabilities, in response to a sustained barrage of more than 4,000 rockets fired at Israeli towns. "The shooting must stop," said French President Emmanuel Macron, who drafted a cease-fire resolution for the United Nations Security Council. By midweek, the airstrikes had killed more than 225 Palestinians, including at least 64 children, displaced more than 58,000, and destroyed hundreds of buildings. Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu tweeted that the attacks would "continue as long as necessary to restore calm to the citizens of Israel." Hamas-fired rockets that slipped past Israel's Iron Dome defense shield have killed at least a dozen Israeli citizens, including two children. In response, Israel said, it had destroyed 60 miles of underground tunnels, struck 80 rocket launchers, and killed at least 130 Hamas militants.



Israel's Iron Dome missiles (right) rising to block Hamas rockets

But as demonstrated by weekend bombings that killed 42 residents of a collapsed apartment building and destroyed offices for the Associated Press and other news organizations, Israel "is pushing the boundaries of legitimate military targeting." With even some pro-Israel U.S. lawmakers expressing concern, "the collateral political and diplomatic damage to Israel is steadily growing."

The White House said that President Biden told Netanyahu he "expected a significant de-escalation today on the path to a cease-fire." But Netanyahu declined. That prompted some Democrats to call on Biden to take a tougher stance. "The president needs to tell Netanyahu to stop," said Rep. Ro Khanna (D-Calif.), and Rep. Ilhan Omar of Minnesota said Biden should block a \$735 million weapons sale to Israel. Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell accused critics of Israel of engaging in "false equivalence between terrorist aggressors and a responsible state defending itself." The U.S. must "stand foursquare behind our ally," he said.

The Israeli bombardment created a growing humanitarian crisis in Gaza, where power lines were damaged, hospitals and schools were taken out of commission, fuel and water were in short supply, and a devastated sewer system flooded streets with wastewater. "We are tired," said Haya Abdelal, 21, after the building next to her home was destroyed. "We need a truce. We can't bear it anymore."

Battle With Hamas Aids Netanyahu, but Leaves Central Issues Unresolved

By ROGER COHEN

He is, in the popular sobriquet, the King of Israel, the "magician" who through his gifts and guile has governed Israel for 15 years in all, outlasting political rivals, waving away corruption charges, sapping Palestinian aspirations and now, again, turning conflict to his advantage.

There is, it seems, no way around Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu.

Before the latest violence erupted, leaving more than 230 Palestinians dead and over a dozen people in Israel, Mr. Netanyahu's situation appeared precarious. It seemed less so after the 11-day battle with Hamas that ended with a cease-fire early Friday.

This is the prime minister's long-established mode of operation: exploit crisis to assert his centrality and inflict just enough pain on Hamas to deter another eruption for a few years, but not enough pain to change fundamentally a status quo that leaves the Palestinians divided between Gaza and the West Bank, steadily weaker, and stateless.

In early May, talks on a national unity coalition that would have ousted Mr. Netanyahu were advancing. Now that idea, which might have led to an Israeli Arab party entering government for the first time, may be buried in the rubble.

Three days after Hamas began firing rockets from Gaza, Naftali Bennett, the right-wing former defense minister who was a linchpin of the alternative coalition plan, declared, "A government of change with the planned makeup will not be able to cope." In a crisis that quickly set Jew against Arab within Israel, he could not join a government backed by an Islamist Arab party. Only one person, it was clear, could cope: Bibi, as Mr. Netanyahu is widely known.

The prime minister has put enormous energy and considerable ruthlessness into crafting this image of indispensability, weaving it deep into the Israeli subconscious. His is the baritone

that soothes.

Its message is powerful: That he remains the sole guarantor of Israeli security against threats from Hamas in Gaza, from Iran and from Lebanon; that he alone can kick the can of Palestinian statehood far enough down the road for it to appear utterly far-fetched; that only he is a reliable bulwark against "the Arabs voting in droves," as he once put it; and that, despite being on trial on charges of bribery, fraud and breach of trust, he is best placed to project Israeli interests, with American support, on the world stage.

"For an indicted politician, not to lose four successive elections is quite an achievement," Itamar Rabinovich, a former Israeli ambassador to Washington, said, alluding to the inconclusive votes since 2019 that have allowed Mr. Netanyahu to prolong his rule.

"He has a Trumpian base he can rely on — traditional, conservative, nationalistic — and his perennial question to Israelis, even when he looks bankrupt, is: 'Who else can do it?'"

Of course, Mr. Netanyahu did not win those repetitive elections, either. He is currently on trial on corruption charges, including bribery. Political survival has become personal, his most effective means of slowing or even stopping the criminal process by somehow persuading allies to grant him immunity. He was unable to form a government after the March elections, leaving him as a caretaker prime minister with diminished legitimacy.

It is unclear, against this backdrop, what role, if any, the prime minister had in the Israeli police raids on Al Aqsa Mosque, the closing of a plaza popular with Palestinians near the Damascus Gate and the plight of six Palestinian families facing eviction in East Jerusalem — the sparks that, in the midst of Ramadan, led to the conflagration.

But it is clear that the ensuing battle benefited him politically. "Violence returns every few years because of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank,"



Yair Lapid, right, is one of the many politicians who have fallen short in the quest to oust Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu.

Ayman Odeh, the head of the joint list of Arab parties in the Knesset, said in an interview. "But the concrete reason this time is that Mr. Netanyahu is willing to burn everything to stay in power. He managed the situation in a way that led to an escalation for his benefit."

The government insists Mr. Netanyahu did all he could to calm the situation, but finds itself confronted by an implacable enemy.

"When we create collateral damage, something we do our utmost to avoid, we feel guilty and sad," Tzachi Hanegbi, the minister of community affairs, said in an interview. "We don't want children killed in Gaza or elsewhere. The Hamas vision is to shoot at civilians and kill as many as possible."

The deaths in Gaza of more than 60 children have prompted growing international outrage, including within President Biden's Democratic Party. But Mr. Netanyahu has ridden out such surges of indignation before.

Since taking office in 2009 — he was also prime minister from 1996 to 1999 — Mr. Netanyahu has deftly projected a state of permanent emergency, fanning division and fear where necessary. Israel is "the nation-state,

not of all its citizens, but only of the Jewish people," he famously declared in 2019. About 20 percent of Israel's population is Arab.

The fear mongering has worked. Nobody can find a way to dislodge the master puppeteer. Not Benny Gantz, the war hero whose Blue and White Party briefly held out the promise of change. Not Yair Lapid, the telegenic centrist who was the other author with Naftali Bennett of the plan for a national unity coalition. Not rising stars from Mr. Netanyahu's own Likud party, like Gideon Saar, who find themselves outmaneuvered (Mr. Saar left to form his own party). They all succumb, though Mr. Lapid still has until June 2 to try to form a government even if that now appears unlikely.

Over more than a decade, no more centrist alternative to Mr. Netanyahu, 71, has proved persuasive: no rightist option has been able to outflank him; and nobody has been able to halt the slow demise of the land-for-peace left, which embodied the hopes of a two-state settlement of the Palestinian conflict.

"He is very good at getting out of crisis, sometimes at terrible cost, even to the constitutional order," said Mr. Avineri. He was

alluding to Mr. Netanyahu's attacks on the Supreme Court and a free press as his hold on power has become more tenuous and his personal situation more fraught.

In some ways, until the latest violence erupted, putting an end to seven years of relative calm with Hamas, Mr. Netanyahu appeared to have succeeded in his core objectives.

His guiding principle, despite a few wan conciliatory gestures, has been no Palestinian state on his watch. The Palestinian national struggle, chronically divided, seemed dormant, with Arab states little moved by it.

He has treated the Palestinian conflict as a problem to be contained, not resolved. Separation supplanted peace as Israel's aspiration. Palestinians, for many Israelis, underwent an eerie passage into abstraction, and a complacency set in that the problem was under control.

The Abraham Accords between Israel and four Arab states signed last year and broadcast by President Donald Trump as "the dawn of a new Middle East" seemed an effective demonstration of Mr. Netanyahu's conviction that Israel could integrate in the Middle East while ignoring the Palestinians. Israelis were suddenly free to throng Dubai. The eternal conundrum, the claims of two peoples to the same land, appeared sidestepped.

The simmering unrest in East Jerusalem, the Arab-Jewish mob violence that ripped through Israeli cities and the war with Hamas proved that was not the case. The Israeli-Palestinian confrontation was and remains the core of the conflict, and Israeli prosperity and security are never quite as secure as they may look.

For all his temporary reprieve, Mr. Netanyahu is facing some searching questions.

Determined to keep the Palestinian movement divided between Fatah in the West Bank and Hamas in Gaza, he has allowed over many years substan-

tial Qatari financing of Hamas, in what many observers have seen as an attempt to undermine President Mahmoud Abbas and his Palestinian Authority in Ramallah.

A lot of the Qatari money, it has become clear, went to Hamas's weaponry, as the sustained bombardment of Israel over many nights confirmed.

A national strike this week by Palestinians in both the West Bank and Israel itself constituted an unusual show of unity, one that could prove hard for Israeli authorities to contain. The battles between Israeli Arabs and Jews in places like Lod have left wounds that will take time to heal.

It was easy for a while for Israelis to forget the long humiliation of Palestinians under Mr. Netanyahu and the bitter fruit it might yield. That is no longer the case.

In the United States, where support for Israel remains strong, a growing number of Democrats in Washington are speaking out against Israel's harsh treatment of Palestinians. Mr. Netanyahu cannot depend any longer on the uncritical friendship of Mr. Trump.

When the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Robert Menendez, Democrat of New Jersey, issues a statement saying he is "deeply troubled" by the Israeli airstrikes that killed Palestinian civilians, something has shifted, and not in Mr. Netanyahu's favor.

Yair Lapid, the centrist rival to Mr. Netanyahu, was scathing in an assessment published on his Facebook account. The government, he said, "has failed in all areas under its responsibility. It completely failed in the protection project. In Ashkelon and most of the surrounding communities, people are still sitting in the corridor during a missile attack."

Mr. Netanyahu has survived again but he is not out of the woods. The "melech Yisrael," the regal magician, is caught in a web of his own creation.

'Nothing Has Changed.' Truce Prompts Israelis To Voice Frustrations.

By ISABEL KERSHNER
and ADAM RASGON

ASHKELON, Israel — Finally, the sirens had fallen silent.

Residents of Ashkelon, an Israeli city barely a dozen miles north of Gaza, emerged gingerly from their houses on Friday, hours after a cease-fire had come into effect. During 11 days of fierce fighting, they had been under siege from incessant salvos of rocket fire.

Now, the skies were as calm as the nearby sea, and people said they were glad for the respite.

Yet here, and across Israel, there were other common sentiments: a nagging sense of disappointment that nothing had been resolved by the fighting, and concern that the truce was fragile and premature. Instead, many Israelis said that the military should have carried on pounding Hamas for another week or two.

The shared dissatisfaction throughout the country signaled Israelis' growing impatience with what they see as hastily arranged, unconditional cease-fires. Each successive, inconclusive round of conflict has only added to the sense of futility, with no decisive victory or conclusion in sight.

"The mission wasn't completed," said Michal Kutzker, 46, a mother of four who was sitting out eating ice-cream at Captain Crepe in Ashkelon Marina, an open-air leisure complex, with her extended family. "Nothing has changed."

Speaking like a frustrated general, as many do here, she added: "Israel looks beaten, not determined. A psychological victory is as important as a physical one."



AHMAD GHARABLI/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Israeli police raided the Al Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem on Friday. A raid on the mosque preceded the latest round of hostilities.



JAAFAR ASHTIYEH/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

"We, as Palestinians, will continue struggling to achieve our freedom," a trader in Ramallah, West Bank, said.



HAZEM BADER/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Protesters carrying Hamas flags in Hebron, West Bank. Scores of Palestinians were injured at demonstrations on Friday.



Children taking their belongings back to their homes in Beit Hanoun, in the Gaza Strip, Friday. A cease-fire took effect that morning. SAMAR ABU EL-OUF FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

For Israel and Hamas, Root Causes of Conflict Are Far From Settled

In Gaza, Surrounded by a Sea of Rubble

By PATRICK KINGSLEY and IYAD ABUHEWEILA

GAZA CITY — As the first day of a fragile new cease-fire between Israel and Hamas drew to a close, Sami Abul Ouf stood five yards above the ground, teetering atop a dense mound of rubble in Gaza City where his sister's home once stood.

In previous wars with Israel, Mr. Abul Ouf waited out the conflict at her apartment. He considered it an unlikely military target — until an Israeli airstrike hit the building on Sunday, killing his sister, Reem, and at least 12 members of their extended family, he said.

"This place used to be a sanctuary," Mr. Abul Ouf, 28, said after clambering down to street level. "But now there is no safety in Gaza. Everyone is exposed to danger."

The skies above Gaza and Israel were silent for the first time in 10 days on Friday night, after a truce between Israel and Hamas, the militant group that runs Gaza, took effect early Friday.

But while Israel could quickly rebound, with the authorities reopening roads around Gaza that had been closed during the conflict, the scale of the destruction in Gaza will not allow a return to normality for some time.

Central thoroughfares in Gaza City, like Al Wahda Street, where the Abul Ouf family lived, looked like a dystopia. A sea of rubble, several yards high and dozens wide, spread across several streets, blocking half their breadth. A vast crater filled a wide intersection, a burst sewage pipe gurgling at the bottom.

A burned-out white car hit by

Was War a Success? Generals Disagree.

By PATRICK KINGSLEY and RONEN BERGMAN

BEERSHEBA, Israel — At two of the main command centers of the Israeli military on Thursday night, officers leading the Gaza offensive tallied what they considered the achievements of their latest conflict with Hamas: scores of militants killed, 340 rocket launchers destroyed, 60 miles of underground tunnels collapsed.

But with the declaration of a cease-fire — after more than 10 days of fighting that killed at least 230 Palestinians and 12 Israelis, and that devastated hospitals and other infrastructure in Gaza — the mood at the two bases, one in the southern Israeli city of Beersheba, the other in Tel Aviv, was mixed.

In Tel Aviv, the generals at military high command were triumphant. But in Beersheba, where commanders oversaw significant parts of the campaign in Gaza, there was greater caution.

On three occasions since Hamas took full control of Gaza in 2007, Israel has launched major offensives aimed at degrading the group's military capabilities, only to see Hamas rebuild and to achieve little success in actually changing the situation. This time, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu vowed, would be different.

Armed with extensive war plans, Israel's military leaders methodically went down a list of targets, trying to inflict maximum damage on Hamas's military abilities and its commanders. Yet, even now, the top echelons of the Israeli military acknowledge that their efforts may not prevent another round of fighting, perhaps even in the near future.

Dozens Arrested in Manhattan as Gaza Protests Turn Violent

By TROY CLOSSON

Several New York City elected officials on Friday denounced clashes that took place between pro-Israeli and pro-Palestinian protesters in Midtown Manhattan, leading to more than two dozen arrests and at least two people being hospitalized.

The clashes on Thursday afternoon and evening began in Times Square and spread to the Diamond District, a small neighborhood south of Rockefeller Center that is home to many Jewish-owned businesses, as Israel and Hamas agreed to a cease-fire after days of fighting that killed more than 230 people in Gaza and 12 in Israel.

By midday Friday, 27 people in the city had been arrested on charges including disorderly conduct and unlawful assembly, the police said.

Videos taken from the scene and shared on social media showed fights breaking out among small groups, with people throwing punches and stealing Israeli flags from demonstrators as jeers were exchanged. It was unclear what incited several of the individual clashes or who had started them, the police said.

One video showed groups of young men, many of whom waved Palestinian flags or wore traditional Palestinian scarves, moving through Midtown pushing and shouting obscenities at older men they called Zionists.

At one point, a firework was thrown at close range at a group of pedestrians, including protesters, the police said, adding that it was unclear who threw it.

Another video showed a man being beaten by several others while he lay in the street. A Brooklyn man, Waseem Awawdeh, 23, was charged with several counts on Friday afternoon in connection with the beating, including assault as a hate crime, aggravated harassment as a hate crime and criminal possession of a weapon. It was not immediately clear if Mr. Awawdeh had retained a lawyer.

The police said they were still searching for five to six other people in connection with the assault. The victim, Joseph Borgen, 29, who is Jewish, was punched, kicked, pepper sprayed and hit with crutches. He was taken to Bellevue Hospital, the police said, and released early Friday morning.

"I don't know how the people who attacked me had so much hate in their hearts," Mr. Borgen

Liam Stack contributed reporting.



A demonstrator was knocked to the ground as pro-Palestinian and pro-Israeli demonstrators clashed in Times Square on Thursday.

JOHN WHA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

said in an interview. He said he was still sore and lightheaded, but grateful the injuries to his face and torso were not worse. "I feel thankful honestly that I'm as OK as I am."

Mayor Bill de Blasio condemned the attack. "Anti-Semitism has NO place in our city," he said on Twitter. "There's no excuse for violence against someone because of who they are. None. We will bring the perpetrators of this vicious act of hate to justice."

The renewed fighting between Israel and Hamas set off a wave of protests and political tension in New York and across the nation, with many rallies focused on Israel's treatment of Palestinian people and what some demonstrators said they felt was an insufficient response to the conflict from the United States.

Multiple events in New York, including one outside the Israeli Consulate near the United Nations and another in the Bay Ridge neighborhood of Brooklyn, drew several thousand protesters, who were joined by elected officials like Zohran K. Mamdani, a Demo-

crat in the State Assembly.

The protests remained overwhelmingly peaceful and organizers said they believed some were among the largest demonstrations in support of Palestinian people in New York in recent memory.

But news of the cease-fire on Thursday came as the mood among some groups in New York grew increasingly tense. The evening would stand out for the starkly different tone, as clashes broke out between groups of pro-Israel and pro-Palestinian demonstrators.

Mr. Borgen said he had been walking by himself to a rally of pro-Israel demonstrators in Midtown, wearing a skullcap, and saw another man sprinting toward him with his fists clenched. A crowd of several people then surrounded him, beating and hitting him for three to five minutes, he said.

Mr. Borgen, who lives on the Upper East Side, said it was his first time over roughly a decade in New York City experiencing what he believed was anti-Semitic intolerance. He had attended another

pro-Israel protest last week for several hours without any issues.

He said he struggled to grasp the motivation behind the attack. "I just don't understand it," he said.

The Anti-Defamation League joined several groups on Friday in writing to President Biden, noting that research showed both face-to-face and online incidents of anti-Semitism had risen across the nation alongside the conflict in the Middle East.

The attacks in New York were named in the letter, along with other recent incidents in California and Florida.

Data on anti-Palestinian incidents in recent weeks is less clear, but several mosques nationwide have reported damage or been vandalized, including the Tayba Islamic Center in Brooklyn, where the words "Death to Palestine" were spray painted near the front door last week.

On social media, several candidates for mayor condemned the attack on Mr. Borgen, writing that hatred had no place in New York.

"All races & religions must feel safe in NYC & we must be a model

of diversity for the world," Eric Adams, the Brooklyn borough president and a leading Democratic candidate in the race, said on Twitter.

In another episode in New York on Thursday, a firework exploded at street level near 47th Street and 7th Avenue, leaving an older man collapsed on the sidewalk, a video showed. A 55-year-old woman suffered minor burns to her back as a result, the police said.

Many details around this incident remained unclear on Friday, and the police said they were unsure who had thrown the firework. The woman who was injured was taken to the hospital in stable condition.

Several other local elected officials including Letitia James, the state attorney general, and Councilman Mark Levine, who represents portions of Upper Manhattan, voiced concerns over the skirmishes at large and the appearance of anti-Semitic bias in several of them.

"This is outrageous and unacceptable," Mr. Levine said on Twitter. "We can not allow this in our city."

Push to Curb Use of Force By the Police In New York

By LUIS FERRÉ-SADURNÍ and ALI WATKINS

Police officers in New York could only use physical force as a last resort, would have to meet a higher threshold for using deadly force and would face new criminal penalties for violating those guidelines under a sweeping legislative proposal unveiled on Friday.

If adopted, the changes could drastically alter the nature of law enforcement in New York at a time when the issue of police accountability is at the center of a fraught national debate over persistent racism in America's criminal justice system.

The legislation was proposed by Letitia James, the state's attorney general, who said in a statement that her goal was to provide "clear and legitimate standards for when the use of force is acceptable and enacting real consequences for when an officer crosses that line."

The proposal — announced nearly a year after a white Minneapolis police officer, Derek Chauvin, killed George Floyd, a Black man — came amid continuing calls for increasing the accountability applied to officers who are involved in such killings.

Although a jury convicted Mr. Chauvin of murder last month, the outcome underscored the rarity of such verdicts. Various states have responded to the widespread protests that followed Mr. Floyd's death by revisiting laws that guide officers' use of force, but those efforts have yet to broadly alter the legal landscape related to policing. Some experts questioned whether introducing ambiguous new guidelines could make it harder to secure convictions against officers who use force improperly.

Ms. James's proposal — sponsored in the State Legislature by Senator Kevin S. Parker and Assemblyman N. Nick Perry, two Brooklyn Democrats — is certain to face opposition from Republicans and, potentially, moderate Democrats in suburban districts.

The legislation would amend state law to require officers to exhaust so-called de-escalation tactics, like verbal warnings, before using force and would create a "last resort" standard for justifying such a use of force. Current

Shelling Stops, but Palestinians Keep Fighting

By RAMI NAZZAL
and VIVIAN YEE

RAMALLAH, West Bank — Less than 12 hours after the rockets and airstrikes stopped on Friday, tear gas veiled the Al Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem and Israeli security forces stormed the holy compound, an echo of the police raids two weeks ago that preceded the deadliest fighting between Israelis and Palestinians in years.

In a Jerusalem neighborhood overlooking the mosque, the Israeli police tried to contain a crowd of hundreds of Palestinians carrying the flag of Hamas, the militant group that controls Gaza. Police officers used stun grenades to chase away protesters who had thrown stones and fireworks at them.

And across the West Bank, Israeli soldiers used rubber bullets and live rounds to disperse Palestinians demonstrating after Friday Prayers. In all, the Red Crescent said, 97 Palestinians were injured in the West Bank and Jerusalem on Friday.

An Egyptian-brokered cease-fire between Hamas and Israel might have hit pause on the formal hostilities of the last 11 days. But the unrest made clear that Palestinians still felt they had plenty to fight for: If anything, the war had only inflamed the Palestinian quest for greater rights and recognition, demonstrators said, with the truce doing next to nothing to address the broader inspiration for the rocket fire and stone-throwing.

"We, as Palestinians, will continue struggling to achieve our freedom," said Emad Mohammed, 47, a trader from Ramallah, in the West Bank, "because the Israeli occupation of our land and people has not ended."

At the Aqsa Mosque, where Palestinian witnesses said Israeli police officers had used stun grenades and rubber bullets to push demonstrators and worshippers out of the compound after Friday Prayers, the Israeli authorities said they were responding to hundreds of young Palestinian men who threw rocks and firebombs at them.

But Palestinians said the Israeli retaliation — in Jerusalem or Fri-

day, and more broadly in Gaza — was not only disproportionate, but also distracted from a larger asymmetry, in which Israel held most of the weapons, money and international backing while denying them basic rights.

Though both combatants in the war claimed victory on Friday, the cease-fire was unconditional, neither meeting Israeli demands that Hamas disarm nor improving living conditions for Gaza's nearly two million residents. It was, in other words, back to the old normal, where tensions were never far from boiling over.

One of the immediate causes of Palestinian anger remained as explosive as ever: Sheikh Jarrah, the East Jerusalem neighborhood where several Palestinian families' fight to stave off eviction has become a rallying cry.

"Just because there's a cease-fire, doesn't mean the death & destruction has ended, doesn't mean the blockade is lifted, doesn't mean those who lost their entire families will be rectified," Mohammed el-Kurd, whose fam-

ily lives in one of the Sheikh Jarrah homes, said on Twitter. "We must continue to our campaign to end the brutal siege and colonialism."

sons, among them the fact that it distrusts Hamas's brand of political Islam.

The blockade means Gazans' ability to import and export from the territory, access medical care outside of it or even fish off its coast is greatly limited. Water, power, health care and sewage systems are shaky. Unemployment tops 50 percent. Almost no one can leave.

That reality makes the destruction of the last 11 days not only a personal disaster for thousands of people and a humanitarian concern for Gaza's population, but also fuel for the next war if left unchanged.

"It's mind-boggling to me that anyone in Israel, or anywhere, thinks that having an impoverished, besieged, angry, young, traumatized, starved population in Gaza is somehow in anyone's interest, or could in any way produce stability or safety for anyone," said Khaled Elgindy, a senior fellow at the Middle East Institute who specializes in Israeli-Palestinian affairs. "It just



AMMAR AWAD/REUTERS

Israeli police with a Palestinian woman at the Al-Aqsa compound. Officers used stun grenades to push worshippers out.

leaving residents stuck in temporary housing amid a slow-burning humanitarian disaster.

In remarks on Friday, Israel's defense minister, Benny Gantz, who is in contention to become the country's prime minister, said Gaza's prospects would not improve while Hamas focused on militancy at the expense of civilian infrastructure.

The cease-fire should not only be "quiet in exchange for quiet," it should be "quiet in exchange for hope, growth and moderation," Mr. Gantz said. "The people of Gaza also deserve the type of quiet that fair employment will bring in the place of the rocket factories that were destroyed. The ability to educate their children is also the right thing for the people of Gaza, rather than the endless hatred fueled and cultivated by their leaders, who have taken them hostage to poverty and hopelessness."

Hamas controls Gaza, and the Palestinian Authority governs the West Bank. For years, the rivalry between the two groups functionally and politically turned the two occupied territories into separate islands.

But instead of dimming support for Hamas, the 11 days of conflict may have pumped up broader support for Hamas among Palestinians, who waved the group's green flag in demonstrations across the West Bank on Friday.

In interviews, many Palestinians in the West Bank said Hamas had done more to further their cause over the past 11 days of violence than the Palestinian Authority had for years.

"Hamas has once again proven to its people that it is the only political party that will stand up and fight the Israeli occupation," said Mutaz Khalil, 30, who took part in a demonstration in Ramallah's Al-Manar Square on Friday that Israeli soldiers later dispersed with live rounds, tear gas and rubber bullets.

Though the Palestinians' grievances with Israel remained unsolved by the war, there had still been one crucial result, he said: Around the world, people on social media and in the streets had rallied to the Palestinian cause, forcing a small but meaningful shift in, among other places, the political debate over Israel and the occupied territories among Democrats in the United States.

"I believe that this war has re-introduced our conflict to the world," Mr. Khalil said, "and has once again illustrated our struggle."

Rami Nazzal reported from Ramallah, and Vivian Yee from Cairo. Myra Noveck contributed reporting from Jerusalem, and Irit Pazner Garshowitz from Tzur Hadassah, Israel.

After Halt in Fighting Between Israel and Gaza, Biden Faces Tough Tests

By MICHAEL CROWLEY
and ANNIE KARNI

WASHINGTON — As a cease-fire between Israel and Hamas came together late Thursday afternoon, White House officials who helped to mediate the agreement were divided over a crucial next step: Should President Biden make a public announcement?

The downside was that the planned halt in fighting, set to take effect at 7 p.m. Washington time, could fall apart, burning the president. The upside was twofold: presenting him as a peacemaker and publicly locking in the two sides, making it less likely that either one would shatter the plan with a last-moment strike.

Mr. Biden went ahead, making brief remarks about an hour before the cease-fire took effect in which he implicitly struck back at critics who had accused him of doing too little to bring the fighting to a swifter conclusion by boasting of his administration's "intense diplomatic engagement" behind the scenes. The gamble paid off, as the agreement held and the cease-fire went into effect that night.

But now, having become the latest American president to walk the high-wire of mediating the long-running conflict between Israeli and the Palestinians, Mr. Biden faces more challenges and risks ahead.

White House officials are debating how to recalibrate their approach, hoping to avoid another crisis that would further divert Mr. Biden's attention from his top foreign policy priorities: China, Russia and restoring the Iran nuclear deal. In a reminder of Mr. Biden's more expansive agenda, he met at the White House on Friday with South Korea's president, Moon Jae-in, to discuss matters including Beijing's growing power and North Korea's nuclear program.

In the short term, Mr. Biden is taking steps to increase American engagement. Secretary of State Antony J. Blinken will visit the region early next week, and the State Department is dispatching a veteran diplomat, Michael Ratney, to lead the United States embassy in Jerusalem until Mr. Biden settles on his pick for the vacant ambassador post there, according to a person briefed on the plan.

It is unclear when Mr. Biden might select his ambassador, a task that several regional experts called urgent. Two people in touch with the White House on Israel affairs said they expected Mr. Biden to choose Thomas R. Nides, who



In Petah Tikva, Israel, Arina Klochkov, 7, right, and her sister Zoya visited their home, which was hit last week by a rocket fired from Gaza.

served as a deputy secretary of state in the Obama administration. But the process of nominating and confirming someone to the post could take months.

Administration officials also plan to reopen a consulate in Jerusalem that had been Washington's main point of contact with the Palestinians until it was merged into the U.S. embassy, which was relocated to Jerusalem under President Donald J. Trump, prompting Palestinian officials to refuse to do business there.

"The consulate used to be our eyes on the ground with the Palestinians in a moment of crisis. The Trump administration blinded the U.S. government by eliminating it, and it hurt the U.S. response in the lead up to this crisis," said Ilan Goldenberg, a former Obama administration official who is now director of the Middle East Security program at the Center for a New American Security.

"The Biden administration had been working to reopen it. I now expect that effort to accelerate and have a much higher priority," he added.

Mr. Ratney, a former deputy as-

sistant secretary of state for Israeli and Palestinian affairs, served as the consul general in Jerusalem during the Obama administration, and could act as Washington's conduit to the Palestinians in the meantime.

More broadly, Biden officials are weighing what approaches to

The White House is weighing how to recalibrate its policy.

take to de-escalating the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians. They have reached an early consensus on leading an international humanitarian effort for Gaza, one that Mr. Biden said on Thursday would be led by the Palestinian Authority, not the militants of Hamas, who currently rule the cramped Palestinian territory. In a Friday news conference with Mr. Moon, Mr. Biden added that it would be done "with-

out providing Hamas the opportunity to rebuild their weapons systems."

Administration officials hope to empower the more moderate Palestinian Authority, which they consider the only plausible partner for peace with the Israelis. The U.S. considers Hamas a terrorist organization.

The White House is also bracing for a new test of the relationship with Israel's prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, when it comes to its efforts to restore the 2015 Iran nuclear deal, which Mr. Netanyahu and many other Israeli leaders strongly oppose as a threat to Israel's security.

"Israel and the United States are going to have big things to work out, in particular Iran," said Richard N. Haass, president of the Council on Foreign Relations. "Both men needed to maintain a working relationship so that if and when the Iran situation moved to the front burner they would be able to work together."

The White House has promoted the administration's role in brokering the cease-fire, and Mr. Bi-

den's careful management of Mr. Netanyahu, whose hold on his own job remains tenuous in the midst of a partisan political deadlock in Israel.

Throughout the diplomatic effort, Mr. Biden acknowledged Israel's right to retaliate against Hamas's rocket attacks after recent Jewish-Arab clashes within Israel. The president only increased pressure after more than a week of fighting, by which time, analysts said, the Israeli military was close to completing its military objectives.

"About 90 percent of the reason for the cease-fire is that both Hamas and the government of Israel determined that prolonging the conflict didn't serve their interests," said Mr. Haass. "This was a cease-fire that essentially was ready to happen."

By some accounts, Mr. Biden was more influential, and at minimum avoided politically tempting actions that could have made matters worse. His tactic was to avoid public condemnation of Israel's bombing of Gaza — or even a public call for a cease-fire — in

order to build up capital with Mr. Netanyahu and then exert pressure in private at the right time, according to two people familiar with the administration's internal debates.

"How does this end?" Mr. Biden pressed Mr. Netanyahu.

There is no question that, when diplomacy reached a key moment, Mr. Biden's team played an important role in mediating the cease-fire.

At one point Thursday afternoon in the offices of the National Security Council, Jake Sullivan, Mr. Biden's national security adviser, was on the phone with his Israeli counterpart, Meir Ben-Shabat, while Brett H. McGurk, the council's top official for Middle East affairs, was speaking with a senior official in Egypt's government, which served as the U.S. intermediary with Hamas.

Both the Israelis and Hamas were seeking assurances from the other side that neither would launch a last-second attack before a cease-fire in an effort to claim a late victory. Mr. Sullivan and Mr. McGurk, still both on the line, passed messages between Jerusalem and Cairo in real time.

While such efforts paint a welcome picture of a United States engaged in multilateral, peace-making diplomacy, they were also a diversion from Mr. Biden's many other priorities.

In an analysis for the Brookings Institution published on Friday, Tamara Cofman Wittes, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, warned that administration officials would need to spend more time on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

The White House, Ms. Wittes wrote, "needs to recognize that, while it would prefer the senior-level U.S.-Israeli conversation to focus on Iran and security cooperation, the president, national security adviser, and other national security principals will also have to devote time and attention to this issue if they want to avoid a continued slide that derails other priority regional goals."

Administration officials have given no indication that they will change course and name an envoy charged with restarting an Israeli-Palestinian peace process in pursuit of a two-state solution, an outcome widely viewed as almost hopelessly beyond reach for now.

But on Friday, Mr. Biden affirmed that as his long-term goal, saying, "we still need a two state solution. It is the only answer. The only answer."

Mask confusion

Was the CDC's about-face on indoor protection premature?

Walmart



Coronavirus Update

W.H.O. Counts 3 Million Dead From Virus

New Infections Down 36 Percent in U.S.

States Offer Prizes for Getting Vaccinated

By JAMES BARRON

Numbers have been a constant during the pandemic. They gave a scared world a sense of where the outbreak was exploding and, lately, where it had subsided — even as they tracked the devastation in the places it was still ravaging. They were cold, impersonal and unemotional, as numbers always are. They said nothing about the people they represented — people whose lives had been cut short.

On Friday, the World Health Organization called into question the numbers of deaths reported during the pandemic. The agency said that deaths had been undercounted by a factor of two to three. Dr. Samira Asma, the assistant director of W.H.O.'s data division, said that some six to eight million people may have died from Covid-19 or its effects since the pandemic began, compared with the 3.4 million deaths that countries have reported in their official counts. At least three million people may have died from Covid-19 last year, compared with the 1.8 million deaths recorded in official data, according to annual statistics that the W.H.O. released on Friday.

The W.H.O. based its assessment on a statistical model that estimated "excess" deaths attributable to Covid-19 — that is, the number of overall deaths in the world that would have been expected, given recent trends, if the coronavirus had not worked its way around the globe. Using that methodology, the W.H.O. said that 1.1 million to 1.2 million people died in the 53 countries it counts in its European zone, double the number officially recorded, and 1.3 million to 1.5 million died in the 35 countries in the agency's Americas zone, where the official total was 860,000.

The discrepancies between the W.H.O.'s estimates and official data reflected the limited testing capabilities in many countries. But there were other reasons. William Msemburi, a W.H.O. data analyst, said that some Covid-19 victims died before they were tested, so their deaths were not classified as Covid-related in official statistics.

Globally, Covid-19 — whose existence was not known before late 2019 — was the sixth leading cause of death in 2020.

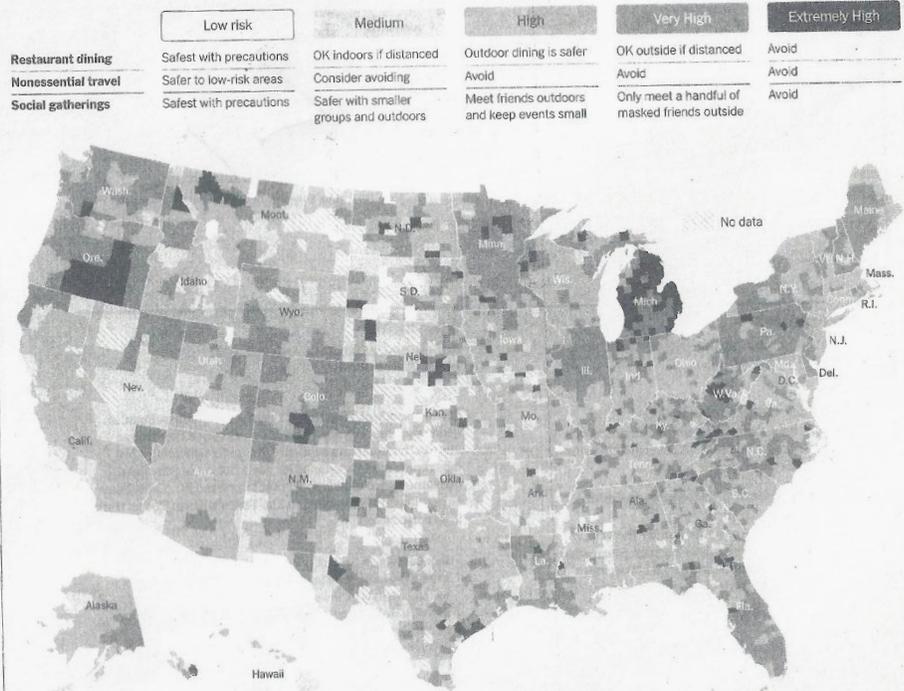
Even before the virus exploded in India and there were widespread reports that infections and deaths there were underreported, there had been indications of undercounting elsewhere. The Office of National Statistics in Britain released data last month that suggested that the death toll from the virus could be at least 10 times higher than the official toll (which stood at just over 127,700 on Friday). The reason: The daily counts did not include people who had died in nursing homes or in their own residences.

The W.H.O. will present its statistics next week to the annual meeting of its policymaking assembly in Geneva, hoping to encourage member nations to improve their ability to track and report future health trends.

"We can only be better prepared with better data," Dr. Asma said.

Covid-19 Risk in the United States for Unvaccinated People

As of Friday evening, about 62 percent of people nationwide have not yet been fully vaccinated against Covid-19. For these people, many counties across the United States are at a high, very high or extremely high risk for Covid-19, according to an analysis of coronavirus case and testing data by The New York Times and public health experts. Vaccinated people are at lower risk. This map shows the current risk level for each county. For information about every county and a description of what is safe to do, go to [nytimes.com/covidrisk](https://www.nytimes.com/covidrisk)

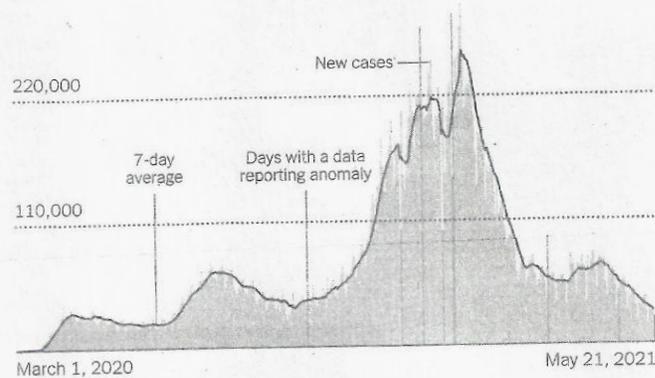


Source: The Covid-19 risk assessment by The New York Times and Resolve to Save Lives is based on reported cases and test positivity data. Data for share of people vaccinated is from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention and the U.S. Census Bureau | Note: These recommendations were developed for unvaccinated individuals. Although risk levels are assigned based on expert guidance and careful analysis, it is possible that the level in a specific county may be over- or underestimated because of a lack of reliable data. Unvaccinated people within the same county may have different personal risk levels that are not reflected by these county-level risk assessments.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

New Coronavirus Cases Announced Daily in U.S.

As of Friday evening, more than **33,099,400** people across every state, plus Washington, D.C., and four U.S. territories, are known to have had the coronavirus, according to a New York Times database. More than **588,700** people with the virus have died.



Note: Data is as of May 21, 2021, at 5 p.m. Eastern.
Sources: State and local health agencies; hospitals; C.D.C.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

New Approach With Younger Set

Since not long after the inauguration in January, the Biden administration's coronavirus briefings have followed the roller coaster the nation was riding. In late March, Dr. Rochelle P. Walensky, the director of the Centers for Disease Control and a regular participant in the briefings, said she had a sense of "impending doom."

The case counts have been falling since mid-April. The 28,933 cases reported on Thursday were down 36 percent from two weeks earlier.

During the briefing on Friday, Andy Slavitt, a senior White House pandemic adviser who often moderates the news conferences, had trouble keeping a straight face as he did something that had never been done in that setting: He read a list of dating apps. Dr. Walensky, seen behind him on a video wall, suppressed a smile.

Mr. Slavitt explained that the White House was counting on dating apps to encourage younger people to get vaccinated. Noting that people who had displayed their vaccination status on OKCupid were 14 percent more likely to find a match, he said, "We have finally found the one thing that makes us more attractive — a vaccination."

The dating apps were the latest incentive in a week when other promotions have drawn attention — when was the last time you saw a governor at a lectern flanked by a man dressed as a lottery ball? (It happened, on Thursday in Maryland.) And by some measures, lottery promotions tied to vaccinations have enticed unvaccinated people to get shots. Officials in Ohio reported that vaccinations jumped 53 percent from May 13 to 18, compared with a similar period the previous week, before the state announced that it would give five \$1 million prizes to Ohioans who had been vaccinated.

Stephanie McCloud, the director of the Ohio Department of Health, said on Thursday that more than 113,000 people had received their first dose of a vaccine after the prizes were announced. She said the numbers had increased across all age categories except one — people over 80, a group that is already highly vaccinated. But she said the Vax-a-Million offer had arrested the rate of decline among octogenarians, nonagenarians and centenarians, "demonstrating some positive impact even in that group."

Ohio has scheduled four weekly drawings. Maryland, where Gov. Larry Hogan appeared with the human lottery ball, is promising smaller prizes but daily drawings of \$40,000 from May 25 to July 4. There will also be a drawing for a \$400,000 grand prize. Any Maryland resident who has been vaccinated in the state will be automatically enrolled. "The sooner you get your shot, the more lottery drawings you will be eligible for," Mr. Hogan said.

In New York, the state will provide free scratch-off tickets for the Mega Multiplier lottery to people 18 and older who get a shot at 10 state mass vaccination sites next week. The tickets could yield prizes from \$20 to the \$5 million jackpot.

NASA's Ingenuity helicopter explores surface of Mars

In February 2021, the NASA Perseverance rover landed on Mars. But the Perseverance rover was only one of the tools NASA sent to the red planet. Included with the rover was a small solar helicopter known as the Ingenuity. Ingenuity means the quality of being clever, inventive, and original.

While the rover has been on Mars for several months, the Ingenuity only took flight for the first time in April. This was the first controlled flight by an aircraft on a planet other than Earth. The first take-off area where the helicopter launched from was named Wright Brothers Field as a tribute to the Wright Brothers.

Below you see an image of the helicopter in flight on Mars taken by cameras on the Perseverance rover. But flying a remote-controlled helicopter on Mars is much more complicated than doing so on Earth. The atmosphere of Mars is 1/100th as dense as that of Earth's, which makes take-off much more difficult. As a result, the Ingenuity's rotors must spin five times faster to achieve flight on Mars than they would need to on Earth. Below, you see a diagram that shows the different parts that make up the Ingenuity. What special components allow the helicopter to fly on Mars?

As of early May, the Ingenuity has completed five flights. The goal of the initial flights was to demonstrate that the helicopter could fly safely. Now that those flights are complete, NASA will use the Ingenuity to map the surface of Mars. NASA has made images, video, and audio recordings taken by the Ingenuity available to the public online.

NASA's Ingenuity helicopter explores surface of Mars

Blades
Are made from lightweight carbon fiber foam core.

Antennas
Allow the helicopter to communicate with the Perseverance rover and scientists on Earth.

Solar Panel
Batteries are powered by solar power.

Batteries
Help power the helicopter.

Avionics & Body
The avionics—or "brains"—help the helicopter function and navigate.

Legs
Ultra-light carbon fiber tubes help the Ingenuity land.

Sensors & Cameras
Cameras help the helicopter to see and sensors collect data.

The Ingenuity on Mars

**"This recording will be a gold mine for our understanding of the Martian atmosphere."
—NASA Scientist David Mimoun**

New U.K. Bill Recognizes Animals as Sentient Beings

The United Kingdom, or U.K., recently introduced a bill that will recognize vertebrate animals as sentient beings. What does vertebrate mean? (Having a backbone.) What does sentient mean? (Able to experience feelings such as pain or joy.)

The bill is a part of the U.K.'s Action Plan for Animal Welfare. This is a plan to help change how animals are treated in the U.K. and in other countries. But the U.K. isn't the first country to recognize animals as sentient. Several other countries including France, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Tanzania have all passed similar laws. Government officials say the new bill is a major step forward in making sure animals are treated humanely. The bill will also create the Animal Sentience Committee, which will help guide lawmakers on decisions related to animal welfare.

The bill is seen as a major win for animal rights activists, who have campaigned for years to have animals recognized as sentient beings. The debate around animal sentience has been going on for a long time, but in recent years, more scientific evidence has been discovered to support it. In 2012, a group of Neuroscientists in the U.K. signed the Cambridge Declaration of Consciousness. This was a statement declaring that, based on scientific research, non-human animals are sentient beings. These neuroscientists also said that grey parrots, like the one shown here, have near human-like levels of consciousness.

New U.K. bill recognizes animals as sentient beings



Scientists say grey parrots have "near human-like levels of consciousness."



"Respect for animal welfare is not only the right thing to do for animals, it will also play a critical role in tackling global environmental and public health challenges such as climate change, antibiotic resistance, and pandemic prevention."

— Claire Bass, Director of Humane Society International.

The Animal Sentience Bill is only one part of the U.K.'s broad Animal Welfare Action Plan. This plan includes several other laws and policies that will affect how animals across the country are treated by humans. Some of those laws and policies are listed below. Some of the new laws will focus on making the lives of pets better. The new laws will crack down on puppies smuggled into the U.K. from other countries. It will also make microchipping cats mandatory. E-collars that shock pets for training purposes will be banned and keeping primates as pets will be made illegal. The U.K. intends to help animals in other countries by banning imported hunting trophies of endangered animals, and by banning the sale of ivory.

The government is currently debating banning foie gras, which is made from the liver of geese or ducks that are force-fed several times a day. Many animal experts believe the process of making foie gras is cruel and a number of places have banned it already.

Additionally, the import and export of shark fins of certain shark species will be banned. Killing sharks for their fins, which are used in shark fin soup, is a cruel practice and has greatly decreased shark populations. The bill will also create changes in the way that farm animals are raised. Officials plan to examine the use of certain cages used to house livestock animals to determine if they are inhumane. Several measures in the plan also attempt to improve how slaughterhouses function to limit animal suffering.

The U.K.'s Animal Sentience Bill is part of the government's Action Plan for Animal Welfare



"We can no longer ignore the inextricable link that exists between the way we treat animals, our own health, and that of the planet."

*— Chris Sherwood,
Chief Executive of the RSPCA.*

The Action Plan for Animal Welfare will:

- formally recognize animals as sentient beings**
- encourage efforts to improve the lives of livestock animals**
- make microchipping cats mandatory**
- ban puppy smuggling**
- ban keeping primates as pets**
- ban the import of shark fins**
- ban the import of hunting trophies of endangered animals**

“Amazing Amy” Bockerstette becomes first person with Down syndrome to play in college golf tournament

The young woman shown below is 23-year-old golfer Amy Bockerstette. Amy recently made history. On May 10th, she competed in a National Junior College Athletic Association, or NJCAA, golf tournament in Ormond Beach, Florida. This made her the first person with Down syndrome to compete in a national collegiate athletic championship on any level.

Down syndrome is a genetic condition that occurs when a child is born with an extra chromosome. This can cause medical issues as well as physical and mental disabilities. Why do you think her participation in a college athletic championship was such an important accomplishment?

This is the second time Amy, a sophomore at Paradise Valley Community College in Phoenix Arizona, has made history. When she decided to attend Paradise Valley, she became the first person with Down syndrome to receive a college athletic scholarship. Because of her many accomplishments, Amy has earned the nickname “Amazing Amy.” But the tournament in Florida isn’t the first time Amy has been in the spotlight. A clip of her golfing with PGA pro Gary Woodland went viral in 2019 after she made par on the 16th hole at TPC Scottsdale. In the clip, Amy can be heard saying “I got this” before sinking a 15-foot putt. Since then, Amy and her family created the “I Got This Foundation,” an organization that provides instruction and assistance for golfers and other athletes with disabilities. In addition to being a fantastic golfer, Amy has also given speeches and worked with charities, all to help promote inclusion in sports for people with disabilities. In December of 2020, she was appointed to President Biden’s Council on Sports, Fitness, and nutrition.

“Amazing Amy” Bockerstette becomes first person with Down syndrome to play in college golf tournament



“Don't put limits on your child with a disability. They are far, far more capable than you can imagine.”

—Amy's Father, Joe Bockerstette.

Roshan the “Book Camel” delivers books to children in Pakistan

The animal shown here is Roshan the camel. What do you notice about what Roshan is wearing? (He’s wearing a saddle that holds books.) Camels are known for their humped backs. They belong to a family of animals known as even-toed ungulates. Ungulates are mammals with hooves. Other ungulates include cows, pigs, sheep, deer, giraffes, horses, etc.

Roshan’s owner is a Pakistani woman named Raheema Jalal. Recently, Jalal started the Camel Library project with her sister. The two take Roshan and his books to different villages, giving children a much-needed opportunity to read books they wouldn’t normally have access to. In response to the COVID-19 pandemic, many schools in Pakistan closed last March. Around 50 million students around the country were encouraged to continue their studies from home. But in many rural areas, internet access is extremely limited. So, Jalal and her sister created the Camel Library project to get books to children in remote villages. Based on the map, where does the camel deliver books? (In Pakistan’s Balochistan province.)

Today, Roshan brings books to children in four different villages in the Kech district, staying for about two hours several times a week. When Roshan arrives, children crowd around the camel shouting with excitement. Balochistan is the poorest province in Pakistan. The female literacy rate there is just 24 percent, which is one of the lowest in the world. The founders of the project say they chose a camel to transport the books because the animals are well-suited to travel in harsh, desert-like terrain, and can carry heavy loads. Jalal and her sister say they’ve been overwhelmed by the positive response to the project. Other areas in Pakistan are now looking to create their own traveling camel library projects.

Roshan the “Book Camel” delivers books to children in Pakistan



“When the camel came to our area for the first time, the kids were very happy and excited. Schools have long been closed in our area due to Covid and we do not have any libraries, so this was welcomed by all the kids.”

— Sharatoon, a 27 year old Pakistani woman in Mand, Pakistan.

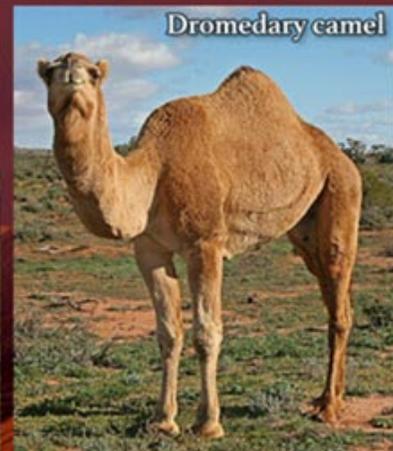
There are two main types of camels, the Bactrian camel, and the Dromedary camel. Looking at the photos, what is the major difference between the two? (Dromedary camels have a single hump, while Bactrian camels have two.)

The camel's large humps give them their unique look, but they also serve an important purpose. People sometimes mistakenly believe camels store water in their humps. But the humps are actually used to store fatty tissue. This fat is used as nourishment when food is scarce. As of 2010, there were around 14 million camels living around the world, 90 percent of which are dromedary camels. Camels live mainly in Africa, South Asia, and the Middle East. Because camels have spent most of their history in harsh, desert climates, they have developed many adaptations to these environments. Camels can withstand changes in body temperature and water consumption that would kill most other mammals. Dromedary camels can drink as little as once every ten days even in extremely hot environments. When they do get access to water, they can drink 26 gallons in ten minutes! Camels also have three eyelids to help keep dust and sand out of their eyes during sandstorms.)

In addition, camels have special nostrils which can close to keep out sand. They can also trap water vapor in their nostrils when exhaling as a way to conserve water. Camels are known as working animals. Like horses, camels have been used for thousands of years to carry people and things across great distances. In many parts of the world, people still depend on camels for survival. And while they may move slowly most of the time, camels are actually great runners and can reach speeds of up to 40 miles per hour!

Camels have evolved to live in harsh climates

- There are two types of camels: dromedary camels have one hump and Bactrian camels have two.
- Camel humps store fat, not water.
- Camels have three sets of eyelids to help keep sand out of their eyes.
- Camels can close their nostrils during sandstorms.



Camels are working animals use to transport people and cargo.

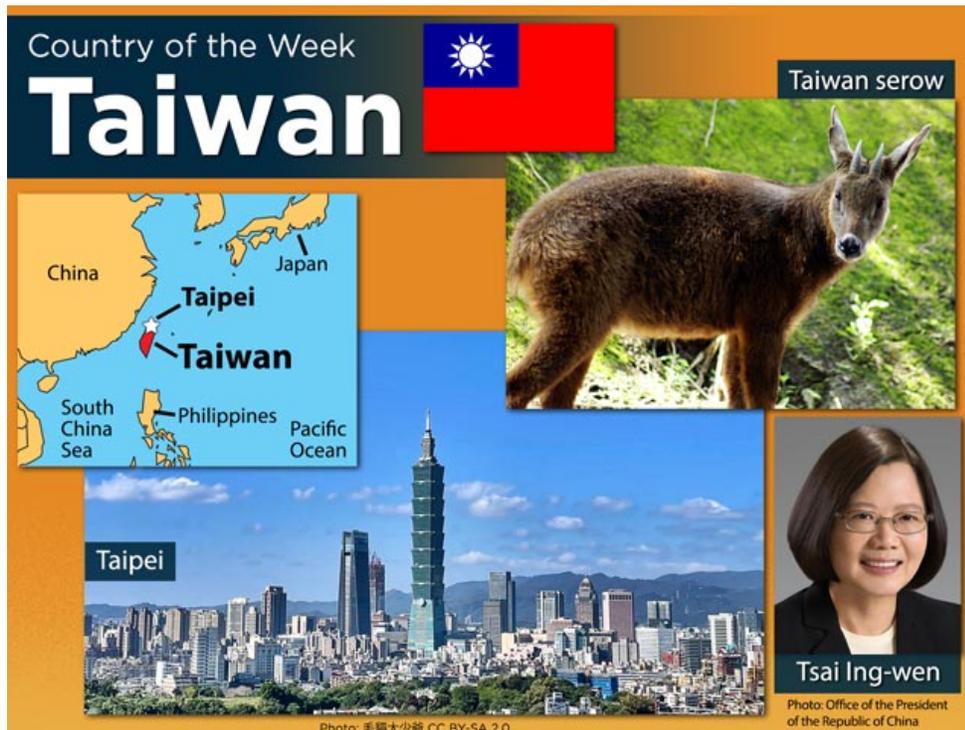


Country of the Week: Taiwan

Taiwan is an island country in southwestern Asia. It is near China and the Philippines, and it sits in the Pacific Ocean. About 23.5 million people live in Taiwan. The eastern side of the country is mountainous while the western side, where about 90 percent of the population lives, is flat. Forests in the eastern mountains are largely untouched, and they are home to more than 200 species of animals that cannot be found anywhere else on Earth. One of these species is the Taiwan serow. The Taiwan serow is a bovid. A bovid is a mammal with horns and cloven hooves, which includes cows, bison, sheep, and goats. The Taiwan serow is listed as a protected species by the government of Taiwan, and some Taiwan serow live in the country's national parks.

The capital of Taiwan is Taipei. Taipei has a population of more than 2 million. It is a highly developed city with many modern buildings and skyscrapers, including one of the tallest buildings in the world, called Taipei 101. Taipei lies entirely inside of the city of New Taipei. New Taipei, which is a large area surrounding the capital, is considered the biggest city in the country, with a population of more than 4 million people. Taipei is still considered the economic center of the country, however, and most of Taiwan's largest banks and businesses are there. Despite Taiwan's small size, it has one of the largest economies in Asia. Taiwan has many private businesses that generate a lot of wealth. The government is also important to the economy, as its many social services and jobs programs keep Taiwan's poverty rate very low. This is called a mixed economy.

Taiwan is one of the world's largest producers of advanced electronic equipment such as semiconductors and microchips. The president of Taiwan is Tsai Ing-wen—SAI ING-when. Tsai has been in office since 2016.



Members of Taiwan’s indigenous communities have lived on the island for at least 6,000 years. The “Amis people make up the largest indigenous group in Taiwan today, with a population of around 200,000.

Han Chinese people started to settle in Taiwan beginning in the 13th century, and several European countries tried to colonize the island in the early 1600s. In 1683, however, Taiwan was annexed by the Chinese Qing Empire. Taiwan remained a part of this empire until it was given to the Japanese Empire in 1895. After the Japanese Empire fell in 1945, Taiwan became a part of China, which was embroiled in a civil war between Communist and Nationalist armies.

In 1949, the Communist forces won the war and gained control of mainland China, and in 1950, many Nationalists fled and set up a rival government in Taiwan. One of these nationalists was Chiang Kai-shek—SHANG KAI-sheck.

Chiang was the leader of the Nationalists, and after fleeing to Taiwan he was named the first president of this new government. He remained in power until his death in 1975. Taiwan’s official name is the Republic of China, and its government still believes that it has legitimate authority over all of China. For its part China, or the People’s Republic of China, believes that it controls Taiwan. This dispute has led to a strained relationship between the two countries, and as a result, Taiwan is not currently recognized by the United Nations. Some elements of Taiwanese culture have spread around the world. One of the most famous cultural exports from Taiwan is bubble tea, also known as boba, which was invented in the country in the 1980s. Bubble tea is a kind of iced tea to which tapioca balls are added.



This Week in History

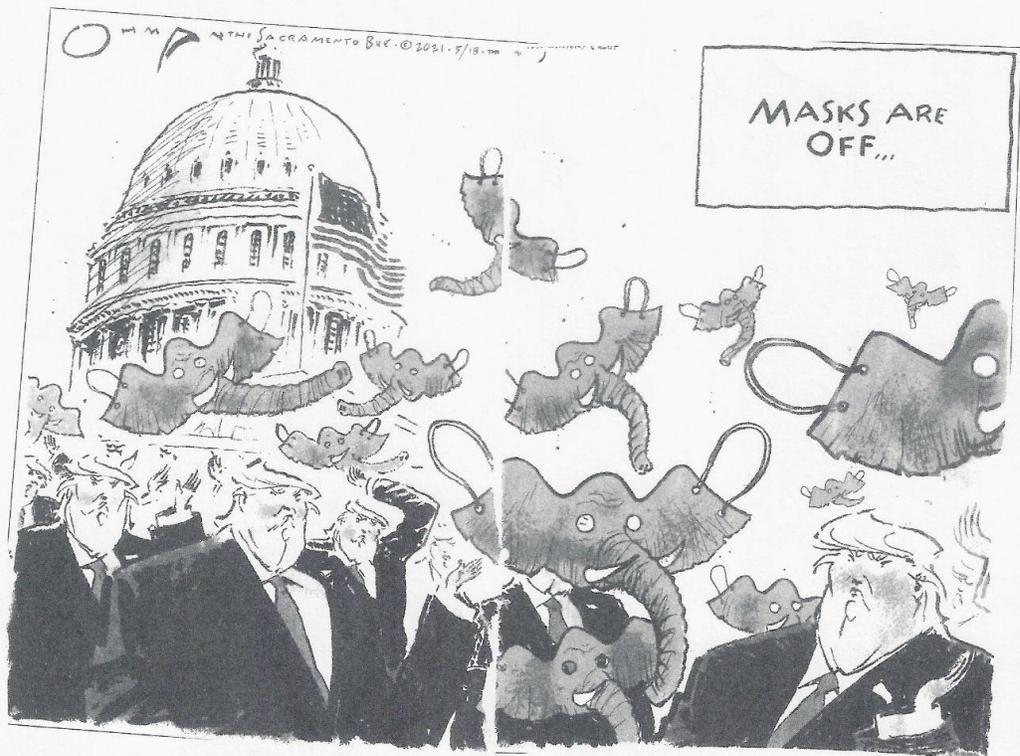
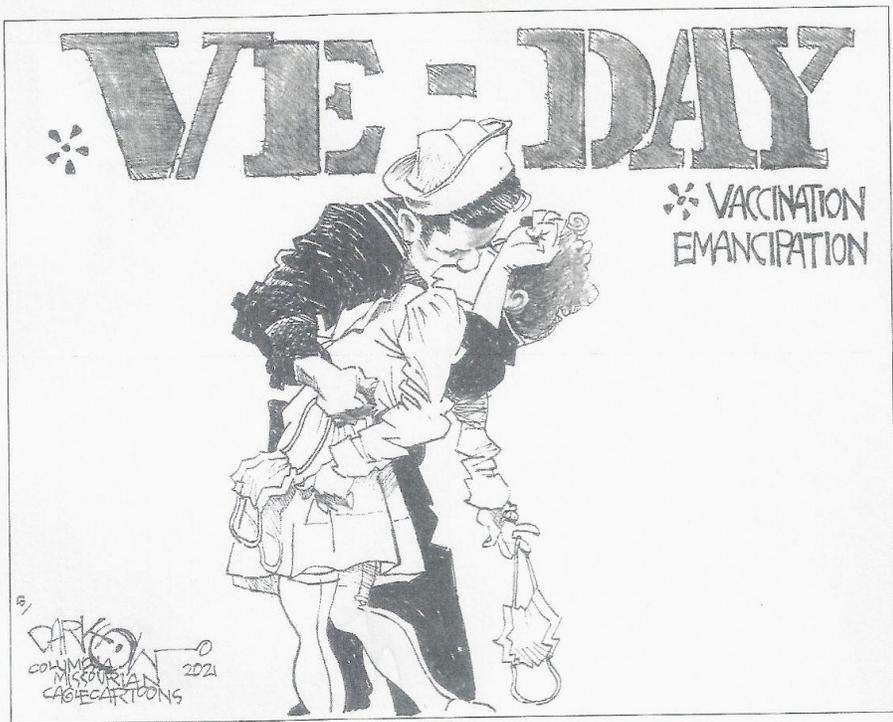
One of the world's greatest feats of engineering turns 138 years old this week. The Brooklyn Bridge connects Brooklyn and Manhattan. Before it was built, there was no land connection between these two parts of New York City.

But this bridge, which took 14 years to build, changed New York forever. The Brooklyn Bridge was an incredibly dangerous project. It was designed in 1852 by a German immigrant named John Augustus Roebling. But, Roebling died in an accident before main construction began. His son, Washington Roebling, took over the project. The bridge required workers to sink posts deep under the East River. As a result, many workers got sick with the disorder we know as "the bends." The bends occur when, due to underwater pressure, bubbles form in the blood and make people sick. After construction started in 1869, Washington Roebling also developed "the bends" and had to stay in bed. His wife, Emily Warren Roebling, taught herself the mathematics and physics of bridge building, and supervised the rest of the construction.

When the Brooklyn Bridge was built, it was the longest suspension bridge in the world — it was 50 percent longer than any other similar bridge. At left, you see workers wrapping the steel cables holding up the center section of the bridge.

On May 24th, 1883, the bridge was opened. This was a very big event, and many famous people wanted to be part of it, including former president Ulysses S. Grant. But the first person to actually cross the bridge was Emily Warren Roebling. The Brooklyn Bridge made it possible for New York to become a truly connected city for the first time





A CAPITOL OFFICER WAS KILLED!



104 OTHER POLICE WERE INJURED...



...CONCUSSIONS...
BROKEN RIBS...
SKULL FRACTURES...



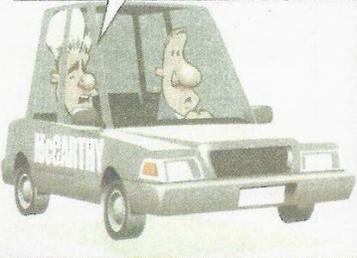
...ONE WAS LEFT
HALF BLIND!!



DEL PETT 6123/21/EX/LL/IN.COM/REVUNE

WHERE WE GOING, SIR?

TO A PRESS CONFERENCE AGAINST BIDEN'S OVERREACH ON INFRASTRUCTURE INVESTMENT...



WE MIGHT BE LATE...

WORST ROADS IN U.S.

ELECTRIC GRID

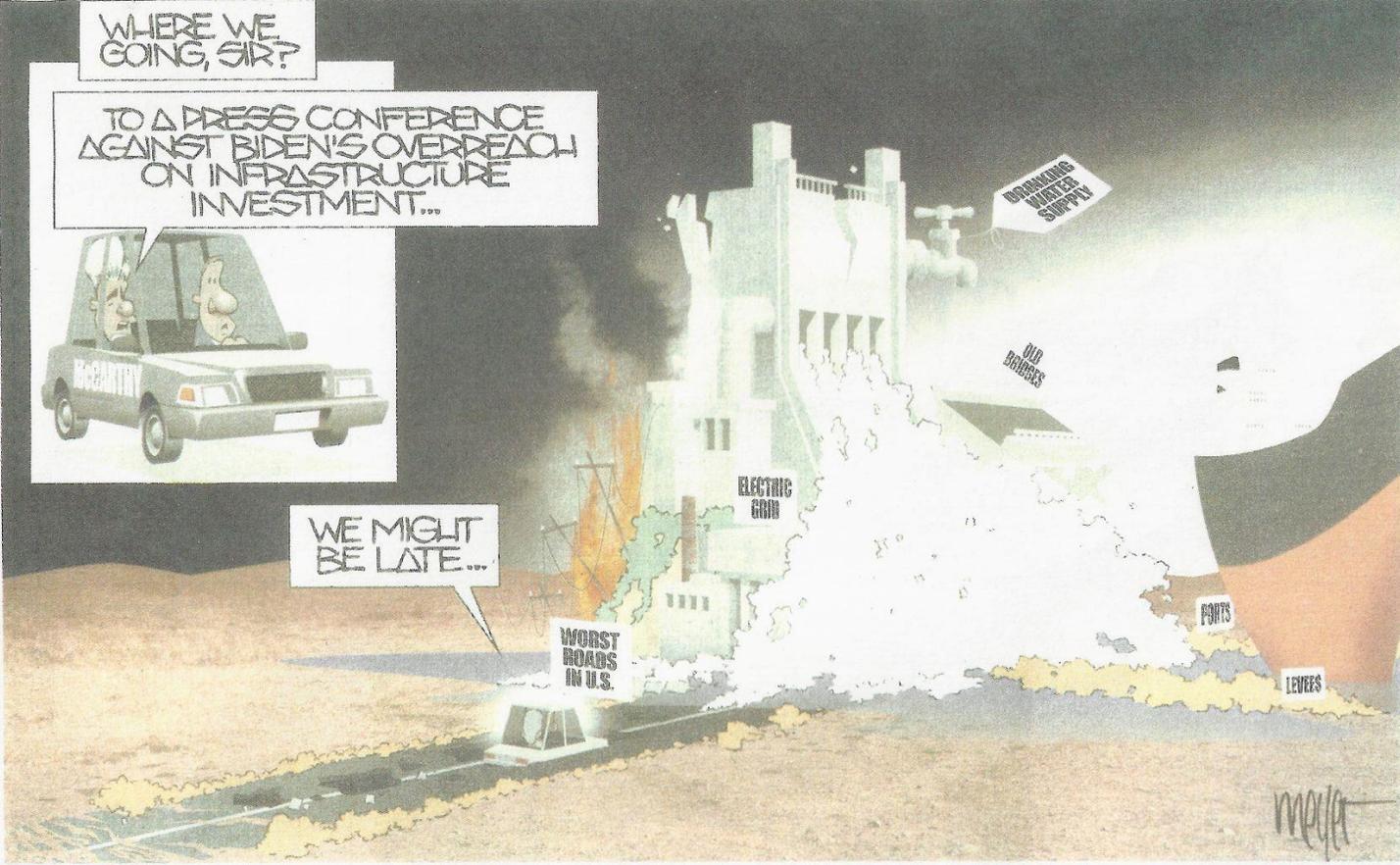
WORKING WATER SUPPLY

OLD BRIDGES

PORTS

LEVEES

media



MEDAL OF HONOR

Biden bestows award on veteran of Korean War

By Josh Boak

WASHINGTON — President Biden awarded his first Medal of Honor on Friday to a 94-year-old retired Army colonel for bravery under enemy fire more than a half-century ago in the Korean War.

Ralph Puckett's Medal of Honor was made possible under the 2020 defense policy bill, which lifted a requirement that the military's highest honor be made within five years of the commission of the act of valor for which the individual is being recognized. The five-year limit was waived for Puckett and three other U.S. service members.

"Today we are hosting a true American hero and awarding an honor that is long overdue — more than 70

years overdue," Biden said during the East Room ceremony. "Though I understand that your first response to us hosting this event was to ask why all the fuss."

Biden said Puckett had suggested they just mail him the award.

"Rather than mail it to you, I would've walked it to you," Biden said, adding that the retired Ranger indeed deserved "a little bit of fuss."

Over two days in November 1950, Puckett as first lieutenant helped the 8th U.S. Army Ranger Company to secure a strategically important Hill 205 near Unsan. They faced mortar, machine gun and small arms fire.

Puckett sprinted across the open area to draw fire so that Rangers could find and destroy enemy positions. Two mortar rounds later landed in



President Biden presents the Medal of Honor to retired Army Col. Ralph Puckett, who led a group of 51 men in the capture and defense of a hill against an overwhelming Chinese attack. Getty Images

his foxhole during the fighting and seriously wounded him. He ordered his men to leave him behind and depart the hill, but they refused.

While under enemy fire, the Rangers retrieved Puckett from the foxhole and brought him to the bottom of the hill, where he directed operations against the enemy.

South Korean President Moon Jae-in also attended the

White House ceremony ahead of his summit with Biden, making him the first foreign leader to do so.

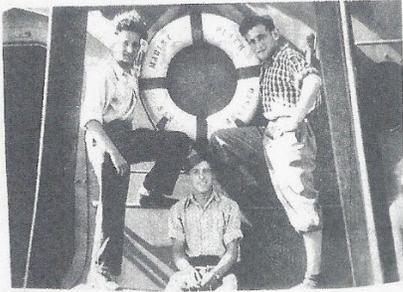
"Without the sacrifice of veterans, including Colonel Puckett and the Eighth Army Ranger Company, the freedom and democracy we enjoy today couldn't have blossomed in Korea," Moon said.

Puckett later spent about a year in combat in Vietnam as

a member of the 101st Airborne Division.

In 1992, he was an inaugural inductee into the U.S. Army Ranger Hall of Fame.

Puckett lives in Columbus, Ga., with Jean, his wife of 68 years, who attended the ceremony along with their children and grandchildren.



Roman Kent, 92, Dies; Reminded the World Of Holocaust Horrors

By JOSEPH BERGER

Roman Kent, who as an orphaned teenager endured the horrors of Auschwitz and other hellish camps and later channeled his sorrow and rage into helping to lead an American movement to memorialize the Holocaust and provide reparations for aging Jewish survivors, died on Friday at his home in Manhattan. He was 92.

His death was confirmed by his daughter, Susan.

While many Holocaust survivors have chosen to stay quiet about their experiences or share them only with close friends and other survivors, Mr. Kent believed that the world needed to be reminded of the six million Jews who perished at the hands of the Germans and their collaborators, and that Germany needed to repay the remnants of European Jewry for what they suffered and whom they lost.

Elie Wiesel, with his eloquent speeches and vivid writings, compelled the world to recognize the enormity of what had happened and appealed for an end to silence and indifference in the face of persecution. A handful of others, like Benjamin and Vladka Meed, Ernest Michel, Josef and Hadassah Rosensaft, Sigmund Strochlitz, Sam Bloch, Norbert Wollheim and Mr. Kent did the painstaking work of galvanizing and organizing survivors into a movement.

"I didn't want our past to become our children's future," Mr. Kent would often say.

Several times each year the survivors would gather in large numbers at cavernous temples or local arenas and, by their presence and the shattering power of their stories, remind the world of how it had stood by for years while millions of Jews were oppressed, humiliated and eventually slaughtered.

Mr. Kent did not attend Mr. Michel's world gathering of 6,000 survivors in Jerusalem in 1981, but he was so inspired by the event's scale and impact that he helped organize succeeding convocations in Washington and Philadelphia. Along the way, the American Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors and Their Descendants was formed. Mr. Kent was its chairman at his death.

In 1988, he joined the board of the Conference of Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, which has negotiated most of the \$80 billion that Germany has paid in assistance to survivors and for educational and memorial programs. He eventually served as the organization's treasurer and co-chairman of its negotiating committee. Stuart E. Eizenstat, a former deputy secretary of the Treasury and the conference's chief negotiator, said Mr. Kent had used his visceral knowledge of the enduring problems of survivors when prodding Germany to augment monthly pensions, provide \$9 billion for survivors still living in the former Soviet Union and Iron Curtain countries, and, as survivors lived into their 90s, set aside \$554 million for home care.

"I had some talent as a negotiator, but Roman was able to add that personal commitment, that drama, that passion," Mr. Eizenstat said. "He understood the issues from the perspective of the survivor, which I couldn't."

Menachem Z. Rosensaft, a second-generation Holocaust activist, said that Mr. Kent "had the ability to engage the German government officials and persuade them to go beyond their original commitments."

At various times Mr. Kent was president of the International Auschwitz Committee, whose purpose is to inform the world about the horrors of Auschwitz-Birkenau, where 1.1 million people — almost one million of them Jews — were slaughtered in gas chambers or perished from hunger and disease. He also served as president of the Jewish Foundation for the Righteous, which provides aid to non-Jews who had hid Jews or helped them escape.



Roman Kent, top left, with his brother, Leon, at right, in 1946. Roman Kent, above, in 2019. He did the painstaking work of galvanizing and organizing Holocaust survivors into a movement.

"He was not seeking revenge, he was seeking justice," Ronald Lauder, president of the World Jewish Congress, who worked with Mr. Kent on Auschwitz remembrance efforts, said in a phone interview. "He was a person who looked to the future instead of the past."

On a visit in 2019 to the Auschwitz exhibit at the Museum of Jewish Heritage in Lower Manhattan, Mr. Kent seemed to explain his zeal for immersing himself so fully in Holocaust remembrance.

"How can I forget the smell of burning flesh that constantly filled the air?" he said in a trembling voice as tears rolled down his cheeks. "Or the heartbreak of children torn from their mothers? Those shouts of terror will ring in my ears until I am laid to rest."

Roman Kniker was born on April 18, 1929, in the manufacturing center of Lodz, Poland's second largest city, with 600,000 people, one third of them Jews. His father, Emanuel, was a textile manufacturer, and his mother, Sonia (Lipszytz) Kniker, tended to the home and the four children, including Roman's two older sisters, Dasza and Renia, and his younger brother, Leon.

The family lived comfortably, spending summers horseback riding and bicycling at a villa they owned 30 miles outside Lodz. Roman attended a private school for

Jews with a Hebrew curriculum. When he walked past a public school he was often the target of slurs and sometimes stones. He and his brother spent much of their free time kicking a soccer ball in a courtyard in his father's factory.

The German army invaded Poland on Sept. 1, 1939, and the occupiers confiscated the factory and the apartments across the street. Roman's family squeezed into a small side building on the factory grounds. By the end of the year, they and the city's other Jews were forced into a squalid ghetto that had no electricity, running water or medication, though in the early days gentle workers at his father's factory slipped food to the family. Mr. Kent recalled in a video interview. Thousands succumbed to malnutrition, disease and cold temperatures. Among them was

'How can I forget the smell of burning flesh that constantly filled the air?'

Roman's father, who died in 1943.

The ghetto was emptied in the fall of 1944, its inhabitants crammed into cattle cars and deported to concentration camps, mainly the sprawling Auschwitz-Birkenau complex. When they arrived, Roman was separated from his mother and two sisters. He would never see his mother again.

Roman and Leon were assigned to a work detail and transferred to other labor camps to feed the ravenous industrial and military needs of the German army as it lost battle after battle. The brothers were interned in Gross-Rosen and Flossenbürg, and from there forced at gunpoint on a death march to Dachau in Germany. They were liberated along the way by the United States Army in April 1945.

They searched for their relatives and learned that their mother had died at Auschwitz but that their sisters were alive in Sweden. The four siblings were briefly reunited, but Dasza, still sick from her wartime ordeal, died a few months later. Renia remained in Sweden and married there.

In the postwar years, when the American government was reluctant to lift immigration quotas, even for the 250,000 Jewish survivors who had been deported to concentration camps or otherwise displaced, Mr. Kent was among the first to enter the United States. He and Leon did so as a result of a special directive by President Harry S. Truman that admitted a few thousand orphans.

The brothers lived with foster families in Atlanta and attended Emory University. Leon studied medicine and became a neurosurgeon, while Mr. Kent studied business and started successful companies that imported cookware, dinnerware, guitars, hospital gowns and other products from Europe and China.

After Emory, the brothers moved to New York and simplified their last name to Kent. Roman met Hannah Starkman, a Lodz native who had survived three concentration camps, on a visit to the New York area; they married in 1957. They had two children, Jeffrey and Susan, who survive him, as do three grandchildren and one great-grandchild. Mrs. Kent died in 2017.

Mr. Kent was a vigorous supporter of Holocaust education, and in a speech he gave in 2015, on the 71st anniversary of the Lodz ghetto's liquidation, he explained why. It was the obligation of adults, he said, to get children to understand "what happens when hatred and prejudice are allowed to flourish."

MICHAEL GEORGE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Remembering When

When you think about the greatest actors in U.S. history, you might not include the name “Norman Lloyd.” Do you recognize his name? Lloyd, who recently passed away in his sleep at the age of 106, wasn’t flashy, and he didn’t get a lot of lead roles. But during his more than 80-year-long career, he worked with everyone from Orson Welles and Alfred Hitchcock to Denzel Washington, Amy Schumer, and Robin Williams. Norman Perlmutter was born in 1914 in Jersey City, New Jersey, but his family soon moved to Brooklyn.

Encouraged by his mother, a homemaker who often sang at local functions, Norman had become a professional vaudeville entertainer by the age of nine. He graduated from high school at 15 and briefly attended New York University.

The young college dropout had no problems getting work, even during the Great Depression. He was quickly swept up into several different theater groups and made his Broadway debut at the age of 20. He was invited to join the Federal Theatre Project, and then joined Orson Welles and John Houseman in their brand new Mercury Theatre program. Lloyd won tremendous reviews in several Mercury plays, but passed up the chance to take part in Welles’ first film as a director. What movie was this? (“Citizen Kane.”) He once wrote, “I have always regretted it.”

Remember When . . .

Norman Lloyd passes away at 106



As Frank Fry, the villain
in “Saboteur” (1942)



Being recognized as SAG-AFTRA’s
oldest working actor (2018)



As Dr. Daniel
Auschlander in “St.
Elsewhere” (1980s)

“I knew what I wanted to do, and I just walked out of college. So, from the age of 17, I’ve been able to do what I wanted, and that makes for a kind of contentment.”

In 1943, Norman Lloyd went back to Hollywood to work for another famous director, Alfred Hitchcock. He played Frank Fry, the villain of Hitchcock's movie "Saboteur." His association with Hitchcock continued in both movies and TV. Lloyd spent much of the 1960s directing episodes for "Alfred Hitchcock Presents." He continued to direct TV shows throughout the 1970s, while taking odd acting roles to fill in any gaps in his schedule. This changed in 1982, when he won a key TV role as Dr. Daniel Auschlander in "St. Elsewhere."

His character was a crusty but goodhearted surgeon serving as a mentor for younger doctors played by actors such as Denzel Washington, Howie Mandel, and Ed Begley, Jr. Lloyd's work in this series led to many more TV and film roles in the years to come; in one of these, he was the school headmaster clashing with Robin Williams' free-spirited teacher in "Dead Poets Society." Lloyd remained a proud member of the Screen Actors Guild union his entire career. The picture here shows him being celebrated as the union's oldest working actor — at age 104!

But his last film appearance came when he was 101 in Judd Apatow's comedy film "Trainwreck." That was also the year he had to give up his twice-weekly game of tennis, which he had played all of his life, often against such film legends as Charles Chaplin and Spencer Tracy. Can you imagine what these games must have been like? Lloyd was married to actress and director Peggy Craven for 65 years until she died in 2011 at the age of 98; they had two children together.

Their daughter, Josie Lloyd was also an actress, who played several roles on "The Andy Griffith Show." She died last year at the age of 80. Lloyd attributed his long life to a healthy lifestyle and a good attitude. He said: "You must be active, you must be positive, even if things don't go the way you want them to."

McCarthy Grapples With Legacy of Trump

Dissent over party leadership and a Capitol-riot inquiry have sharpened divisions

By Kristina Peterson
and Lindsay Wise

WASHINGTON—When House Minority Leader Kevin McCarthy helped engineer the ouster of Rep. Liz Cheney from House GOP leadership ranks last week, he hoped it would restore public unity among House Republicans—and change the subject from former President Donald Trump. It didn't take.

Instead he hit another barrier Wednesday, when the House took up a bipartisan bill to create a commission to investigate the Jan. 6 attack on the U.S. Capitol by a mob of Trump supporters. The California Republican and Mr. Trump urged GOP lawmakers to oppose the measure, but 35 Republicans broke with party leaders to back the legislation, which goes to the Senate.

Those defections—which included many of the GOP's moderate and swing-district lawmakers—came just five days after dozens of conservatives voted against New York Rep. Elise Stefanik as Ms. Cheney's successor in leadership, in part because they were annoyed by Mr. McCarthy having anointed her for the job so

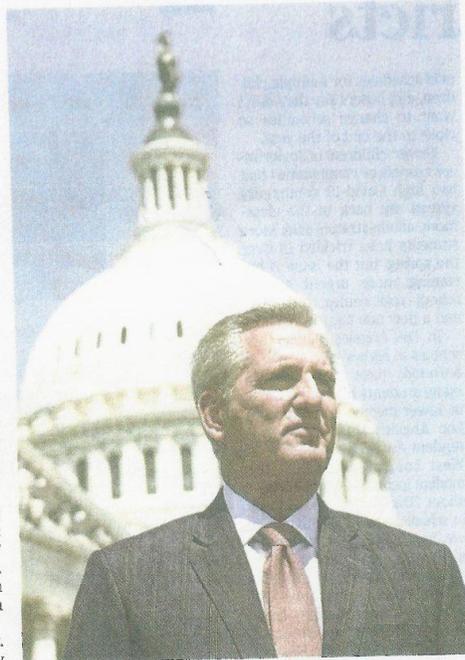
quickly. If Republicans succeed in capturing the House majority next year, Mr. McCarthy would need to keep both the moderate and conservative factions on his side to realize his goal of becoming speaker.

"What members of the House want is someone that's going to take the bullet for them, not make them take the bullet," said GOP strategist Terry Sullivan. Mr. McCarthy is "trying to have it both ways when it comes to the role Donald Trump plays in the future of the party," he said.

The decision to publicly align the House GOP with Mr. Trump has created both opportunities and pitfalls for Mr. McCarthy and House Republicans. They hope to tap Mr. Trump's continued popularity among the GOP base without having to confront his continued false claims about the election.

Mr. McCarthy is "standing up for what the majority of his members are concerned about," said Rep. Tom Cole (R., Okla.). "He's making the best decision that anyone could make in a supercharged atmosphere."

The challenges facing Mr. McCarthy were on display Thursday. He told reporters he wasn't surprised that nearly three dozen Republicans backed the commission, and said he had thought the number would be higher. But Mr. Trump then attacked those lawmakers: "See, 35 wayward



Kevin McCarthy must keep both the moderate and conservative factions on his side to realize his goal of becoming House speaker.

Republicans—they just can't help themselves," he said. "The Democrats stick together, the Republicans don't." Republicans head into next

year's midterm elections favored by historical trends that tend to punish the party in power, as well as the once-a-decade redistricting process

expected to help the GOP draw the boundaries of more House districts to its advantage. Democrats currently have a 219-211 majority in the House.

Mr. McCarthy, who bowed out of an earlier race to become speaker in 2015, has a much clearer path to the top now. His close ties to Mr. Trump helped him enjoy a long stretch in the good graces of members of the Freedom Caucus, the House GOP's most conservative wing, with whom he has tangled in the past.

But Mr. McCarthy, long seen by critics within his party as a creature of politics over principles, has shown more malleability in recent months, frustrating some GOP lawmakers who want their leaders to be clear about their stances and stick to them.

"Kevin has made the decision to just put it all in on Trump—might be a good move for 2022," said Rep. Adam Kinzinger (R., Ill.), a critic of Mr. Trump. "But I'm going to tell you, for the long arc of the history of this party, it's not going to be good."

Mr. McCarthy's efforts to shape the GOP message into one appealing to suburban voters who fled the party last fall sometimes run smack into Mr. Trump's continual airing of grievances. Mr. Trump never conceded defeat in the election and has continued to falsely claim election fraud

cost him the White House.

"I don't think anybody is questioning the legitimacy of the presidential election," Mr. McCarthy said last week.

Mr. Trump contradicted him a few days later: "There is no way he won the 2020 Presidential Election!" Mr. Trump said about President Biden.

No widespread fraud has been detected in the 2020 election, and the Justice Department under Mr. Trump said there was no evidence of fraud significant enough to question the outcome.

Republicans have been wrestling with the Trump question for months. Leading up to the Jan. 6 vote to certify President Biden's win, House Republicans split over whether to challenge Mr. Biden's electoral victories in some states.

After the mob attacked the Capitol, Mr. McCarthy said Mr. Trump bore responsibility, but then sought to make amends with the former president.

Mr. McCarthy initially defended Ms. Cheney when some Republicans tried to oust her from leadership in February. She had denounced Mr. Trump when she joined nine other Republicans to vote to impeach him over the Capitol riot. He was acquitted in the Senate. But Mr. McCarthy later turned on Ms. Cheney as frustration among the House GOP mounted, backing her successor, Ms. Stefanik.

KEN CERRINO/REUTERS

Biden Sends Republicans New Infrastructure Offer, but a Gulf Remains

By JIM TANKERSLEY
and NICHOLAS FANDOS

WASHINGTON — The Biden administration sent Senate Republicans an offer on Friday for a bipartisan infrastructure agreement that sliced more than \$500 billion off the president's initial proposal, a move that White House officials hoped would jumpstart the talks but that Republicans swiftly rejected.

The lack of progress emboldened liberals in Congress to call anew for Mr. Biden to abandon his hopes of forging a compromise with a Republican conference that has denounced his \$4 trillion economic agenda as too expensive and insufficiently targeted. They urged the president instead to begin an attempt to move his plans on a party-line vote through the same process that produced his economic stimulus legislation this year.

Mr. Biden has said repeatedly that he wants to move his infrastructure plans with bipartisan support, which key centrist Democrats in the Senate have also demanded. But the president has insisted that Republicans spend far more than they have indicated they are willing to.

He also says that the bill must contain a wide-ranging definition

of "infrastructure" that includes investments in fighting climate change and providing home health care, which Republicans have called overly expansive.

The sides remain far apart. Mr. Biden's latest offer is for \$1.7 trillion in spending, a drop of more than \$500 billion from his initial proposal. It includes building or repairing roads, bridges, water pipes, broadband internet, the power grid and a national network of electric vehicle charging stations, along with investing in home care for older and disabled Americans.

Republicans have countered with a \$568 billion plan, though many Democrats consider that offer even smaller because it includes extensions of some federal infrastructure spending at expected levels. In a memo on Friday to Republicans, obtained by The New York Times, Biden administration officials assessed the Republican offer as no more than \$225 billion "above current levels Congress has traditionally funded."

The president's new offer makes no effort to resolve the even thornier problem dividing the parties: how to pay for that spending. Mr. Biden wants to raise taxes on corporations, which

Republicans oppose. Republicans want to repurpose money from Mr. Biden's \$1.9 trillion economic aid package, signed in March, and to raise user fees like the gas tax, which the president opposes.

Mr. Biden "fundamentally disagrees with the approach of increasing the burden on working people through increased gas taxes and user fees," administration officials wrote in their memo to Republican negotiators. "As you know, he made a commitment to the American people not to raise taxes on those making less than \$400,000 per year, and he intends to honor that commitment."

Still, the new proposal shows some movement from the White House. It cuts out a major provision of Mr. Biden's "American Jobs Plan": hundreds of billions of dollars for advanced manufacturing and research efforts meant to position the United States to compete with China in emerging industries like advanced batteries. Lawmakers have included some, but not all, of the administration's proposals in those areas in a bipartisan bill currently working its way through the Senate.

Mr. Biden's counteroffer would also reduce the amount of money he wants to spend on broadband internet and on highways and

other road projects. He would essentially accept the Republicans' offer of \$65 billion for broadband, down from \$100 billion, and reduce his highway spending plans by \$40 billion to meet them partway. And it would create a so-called infrastructure bank, which seeks to use public seed capital to leverage private infrastructure investment — and which Republicans have pushed for.

Republican senators who were presented the offer in a conference call with administration officials on Friday expressed disappointment in it, even as they vowed to continue talks.

"During today's call, the White House came back with a counteroffer that is well above the range of what can pass Congress with bipartisan support," said Kelley Moore, a spokeswoman for Senator Shelley Moore Capito of West Virginia, who is leading the Republican negotiating group.

"There continue to be vast differences between the White House and Senate Republicans when it comes to the definition of infrastructure, the magnitude of proposed spending, and how to pay for it," Ms. Moore said. "Based on today's meeting, the groups seem further apart after two meetings with White House staff

than they were after one meeting with President Biden."

The updated White House offer drew immediate pushback from progressives as well, illustrating the extent to which the forces pushing against a deal are bipartisan. Senator Edward J. Markey, Democrat of Massachusetts, urged his party not to "waste time" haggling with Republicans who do not share their vision for what the country needs.

"A smaller infrastructure package means fewer jobs, less justice, less climate action, and less investment in America's future," Mr. Markey said in a news release.

Democratic leaders on Capitol Hill have watched the talks skeptically, wary that Republicans will eat up valuable time on the legislative calendar and ultimately refuse to agree to a deal large enough to satisfy liberals. While they have given the White House and Republican senators latitude to pursue an alternative, party leaders are under increasing pressure from progressives to move a bill unilaterally through the budget reconciliation process in the Senate.

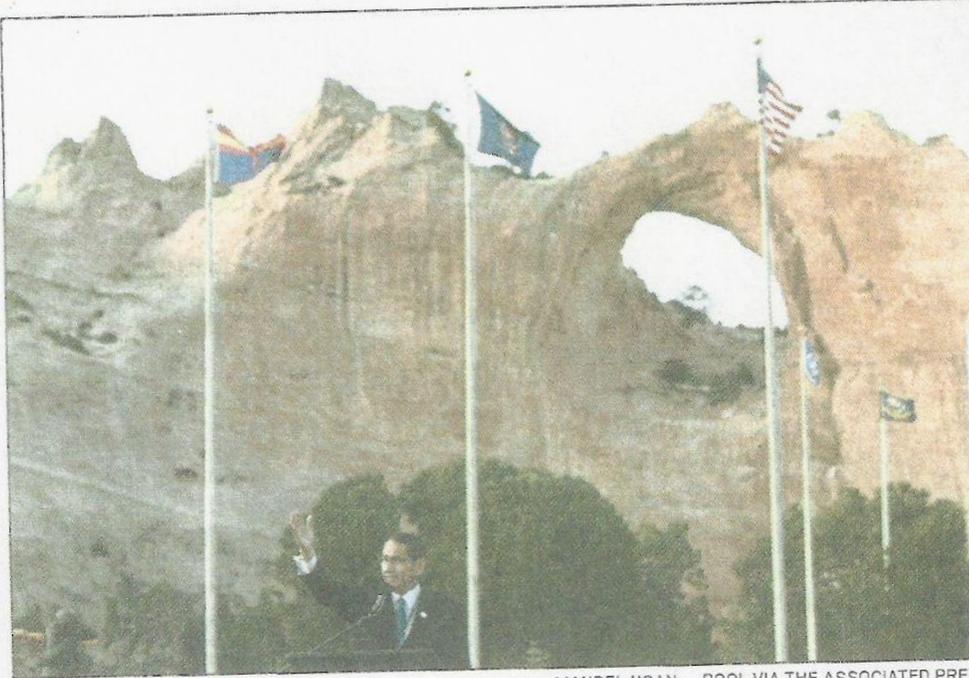
They have quietly taken steps to make that possible in case the talks collapse. Aides to Senators Chuck Schumer, Democrat of New

York and the majority leader, and Bernie Sanders, independent of Vermont and the chairman of the Budget Committee, met on Thursday with the Senate parliamentarian to discuss options of proceeding without Republicans under the rules.

Biden administration officials were frustrated that Republicans did not move more toward the president in a new offer they presented this week in negotiations on Capitol Hill. They made clear to Republicans on Friday that they expected to see significant movement in the next counteroffer, and that the timeline for negotiations was growing short, a person familiar with the discussions said.

The administration may soon find itself negotiating with multiple groups of senators. A different, bipartisan group plans to meet on Monday night to discuss spending levels and proposals to pay for them. Members of the group — which includes Mitt Romney of Utah, Susan Collins of Maine, Bill Cassidy of Louisiana and Rob Portman of Ohio, all Republicans, as well as Kyrsten Sinema of Arizona and Joe Manchin III of West Virginia, both Democrats — helped draft a bipartisan coronavirus relief bill in December.

NATIVE AMERICANS



MANDEL NGAN — POOL VIA THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Navajo Nation President Jonathan Nez speaks during a live radio address with first lady Jill Biden in attendance in Window Rock, Ariz., on April 22.

Navajo Nation now largest U.S. tribe over Cherokee

By Felicia Fonseca
The Associated Press

FLAGSTAFF, ARIZ. » The Navajo Nation has by far the largest land mass of any Native American tribe in the country. Now, it's boasting the largest enrolled population, too.

Navajos clamored to enroll or fix their records as the tribe offered hardship assistance payments from last year's federal Coronavirus Aid, Relief and Economic Security Act. That boosted the tribe's rolls from about 306,000 to nearly 400,000 citizens.

The figure surpasses the Cherokee Nation's enrollment of 392,000. But it, too, has been growing, said tribal spokeswoman Julie

Hubbard. The Oklahoma tribe has been receiving about 200 more applications per month from potential enrollees, leaving Navajo's position at the top unstable.

The numbers matter because tribes often are allocated money based on their number of citizens. Each of the 574 federally recognized tribes determines how to count its population. Navajo, for example, requires a one-quarter blood quantum to enroll. Cherokee primarily uses lineal descent.

Tribal governments received \$4.8 billion from the CARES Act based on federal housing population data for tribes, which some said was badly skewed.

The Treasury Department recently revised the methodology and said it would correct the most substantial disparities.

The Shawnee Tribe of Oklahoma, one of three tribes that sued the Treasury Department over the payments, said it's satisfied with an additional \$5.2 million it's set to receive. The Miccosukee Tribe of Indians in Florida and the Prairie Band Potawatomi Nation in Kansas would get \$825,000 and \$864,000 under the new methodology.

Both said those amounts didn't make sense when broken down to a per-person figure. They plan to continue their fight in court.

Jan. 6: Should a bipartisan commission investigate?

“Hey, remember that Jan. 6 attack on the Capitol?” said Bess Levin in *Vanity Fair*. Republicans would prefer that you didn’t. House Minority Leader Kevin McCarthy this week reversed himself and called on the GOP caucus to reject a proposed bill, brokered by McCarthy’s own negotiators, for a 9/11-style, bipartisan commission to investigate the attempted insurrection. The bill was expected to pass the House anyway and head to the Senate, where Minority Leader Mitch McConnell quickly declared

his opposition. To be fair, some Republicans said, a commission should also probe left-wing “political violence” such as the rioting in Portland. If that excuse sounds transparently absurd, consider the efforts of House Republicans last week to rewrite history about the deadly assault—which left five dead and 138 Capitol police officers injured. Rep. Paul Gosar of Arizona described the rioters as “peaceful patriots,” while Rep. Andrew Clyde of Georgia likened the violent insurrection to a “normal tourist visit.” Do tourists break down doors and windows, drag officers down steps and bash them with flagpoles and bats, and prowl the Capitol hallways shouting “Where’s Nancy?” and “Hang Mike Pence”? The GOP is now trying to memory-hole “one of the darkest days in modern American history,” said Chris Cillizza in *CNN.com*. It all speaks to “just how low the party has stooped in its worship of the former president.”

GOP leaders may not be principled, but they “are playing it smart,” said Harry Enten in *CNN.com*. They’re poised to recapture the House and perhaps the Senate in next year’s midterms if they can just turn out “their 2020 base and a little more.” To join Democrats in an investigation of Jan. 6 would endanger that prospect by incensing Trump and the 70 percent of Republican voters who



Trump supporters breaking into the U.S. Capitol

agree with him that the election was stolen. Democrats want a commission to damage the GOP and protect their own hold on power, said *The Wall Street Journal* in an editorial. Their goal is to buttress their narrative that Jan. 6 “was a planned attempted coup.” With no chance of a “fair-minded inquiry,” why should Republicans play ball?

That’s rather rich, given that Republicans staged 10 congressional investigations into the deaths of four Americans in Benghazi,

Libya, said Jonathan Chait in *NYMag.com*. But now McCarthy thinks we don’t need even *one* probe into how a defeated U.S. president enlisted a violent mob to try to “cancel an election because he lost.” Congressional Republicans have good reason to fear a thorough investigation, said Greg Sargent in *WashingtonPost.com*. The “ugly truth” is that many were “all in with Trump’s effort to overturn the election.” McCarthy also does not want to testify about his mid-riot phone call to Trump pleading with the then-president to call off his supporters. Trump reportedly told him, “Well, Kevin, I guess these people are more upset about the election than you are.”

The GOP is minimizing Jan. 6 for two disgraceful reasons, said Fred Hiatt in *The Washington Post*: to preserve the Big Lie of the stolen 2020 election and “to give cover for actions that in 2024 could turn the Big Lie into the Big Steal.” That’s why Republican state legislatures are proposing and passing bills designed not only to suppress the Democratic vote but also to let those legislators override election officials, said Michelle Goldberg in *The New York Times*. These laws will enable state legislatures to refuse to certify Democratic victories. In 2020, “Trump’s rolling coup attempt didn’t succeed,” but it revealed how to rig the system for next time.

G.O.P. Targets Ballot Initiatives To Stymie Democrats' Agenda

By REID J. EPSTEIN and NICK CORASANTI

In 2008, deep-blue California banned same-sex marriage. In 2018, steadfastly conservative Arkansas and Missouri increased their minimum wage. And last year, Republican-controlled Arizona and Montana legalized recreational marijuana.

These moves were all the product of ballot initiatives, a century-old fixture of American democracy that allows voters to bypass their legislatures to enact new laws, often with results that defy the desires of the state's elected representatives. While they have been a tool of both parties in the past, Democrats have been particularly successful in recent years at using ballot initiatives to advance their agenda in conservative states where they have few other avenues.

But this year, Republican-led

legislatures in Florida, Idaho, South Dakota and other states have passed laws limiting the use of the practice, one piece of a broader G.O.P. attempt to lock in political control for years to come, along with new laws to restrict voting access and the partisan redrawing of congressional districts that will take place in the coming months.

So far in 2021, Republicans have introduced 144 bills to restrict the ballot initiative processes in 32 states, according to the Ballot Initiative Strategy Center, a liberal group that tracks and assists citizen-driven referendums. Of those bills, 19 have been signed into law by nine Republican governors. In three states, Republican lawmakers have asked voters to approve ballot initiatives that in fact limit ballot initiatives.

"They have implemented web after web of technicalities and hurdles that make it really hard for community-based groups to qualify for the ballot and counter why ballot initiatives were created in the first place," said Chris Melody Fields Figueredo, the executive director of the Ballot Initiative Strategy Center. "This is directly connected to every attack we've seen on our democracy."

In recent years, Democrats have leveraged ballot initiatives to bypass Republican-controlled legislatures, enacting laws in red states that raised the minimum wage, legalized marijuana, expanded Medicaid, introduced non-partisan redistricting and no-excuse absentee voting, and restored voting rights to people with felony convictions.

Republicans are trying to block that path in a wide variety of ways, including blunt measures that take direct aim at the process and others that are more subtle.

In South Dakota, where in 1898 a socialist Catholic priest named Robert Haire pioneered the American ballot initiative process, Republicans this year passed a law mandating a minimum type size of 14 points on ballot initiative petitions. Combined with a similar

on the state's 2022 ballot. The institutional amendment that created the state's initiative law was enacted in 1992, when the state had five congressional districts, and required signatures from voters in each. Mississippi has had just four districts since the 2000 census.

And in Florida, Gov. Ron DeSantis signed legislation introducing a \$3,000 limit on campaign contributions to ballot initiatives — cutting off a key source of revenue to subsidize the gathering of signatures for petitions.

The Republican effort now gaining steam has been years in the making.

In South Dakota, Republicans have in recent years limited the window for collecting petition signatures to the cold winter months and required all canvassers to register with the state and wear state-issued identification cards while gathering signatures, hurdles that the state's few Democrats say have increased the difficulty of qualifying for the ballot.

"Republicans have every statewide office, 85 percent of the Legislature and every constitutional office," said Reynold F. Nesiba, one of three Democrats in the 35-member State Senate. "The one place where Democrats can make progress is through the initiated measure process, and the Republicans want to take that away, too."



DAVID A. LEB/ASSOCIATED PRESS

MISSOURI A G.O.P.-sponsored bill would require a two-thirds majority for a ballot initiative to pass.



Such campaigns are so expensive, advocates say, because of a cascade of limitations that the Florida Legislature has placed on initiative efforts. Recently, the Legislature cut in half the time period in which signatures must be submitted before they expire; banned the practice of paying signature collectors on a per-signature basis; required those gathering signatures to use a separate piece of paper for each signature; and required every signature to be verified in person.

More signatures in less time, and paper the size of a beach towel.

"This was really just politicians trying to dramatically limit the constitutional rights of Missourians to use the process while telling us it's for our own good," said Richard von Glahn, the policy director of Missouri Jobs With Justice, a progressive organization.

In Idaho, Gov. Brad Little, a Republican, signed a law last month that will make it significantly harder to meet the signature requirements for an initiative to be added to the ballot. Before, an initiative needed signatures from 6 percent of the population of 18 different legislative districts. The new law signed by Mr. Little will now require signatures from 6 percent of residents in each of Idaho's 35 legislative districts.

And in Mississippi, the State Supreme Court last week ruled that the initiative process was "unworkable and inoperative" because of the disparity between the number of congressional districts in the law and the number of districts the state has now.

Mayor Mary Hawkins Butler of Madison, Miss., a Republican who filed the lawsuit that led to the invalidation of the state's initiative process, said that the legal action had been intended to protect her city's ability to deter marijuana retailers through zoning.

"There were those in govern-

'THIS IS A BIG DEAL'

Antioch apologizes for past mistreatment of Chinese

City will designate historic district where Chinatown once stood

By Judith Prieve

Acknowledging the mistreatment of its Chinese residents decades ago, Antioch formally apologized to the late immigrants and their descendants this week and committed to rectifying past misdeeds.

Mayor Lamar Thorpe advanced the idea of a formal apology to the Chinese — something he said no other city has ever done — during a news conference last month as he stood in Waldie Plaza, the former site of a Chinatown that was torched by an angry mob in 1876.

"I think we will be the first city, not only in the Bay Area, in California, but throughout the United States, to officially apologize for the misdeeds and mistreatment of the Chinese," Thorpe said. "And so this is, this is no small thing that we're doing here today. This is a big deal."

Chinese immigrants came to California during the Gold Rush and after, working in mines and on farms, building railroads and levees, but they encountered racism and became scapegoats, particularly between 1850 and 1870.

Despite this, it took 70 years for the state to formally apologize, which it did in 2009 under legislation co-sponsored by Assemblymen Paul Fong, D-Cupertino, and Kevin de Leon, D-Los Angeles.

But Antioch had never acknowledged its past as a sundown town where Chinese were banned from walking the streets after dark, the mayor said. Remnants of tunnels the immigrants had built connecting to businesses and their

"You can't reconcile and bring people together until harm is acknowledged. And so given a long history of Antioch, it just makes sense that this happens, and then we move forward as a community."

— Tamisha Torres-Walker, Antioch councilwoman

homes can still be seen in some spots downtown from I Street to the waterfront.

The city made headlines in 1876, Thorpe noted, when an angry White mob drove the Chinese out of town, giving them only a few hours to pack their belongings and leave. After they left, their homes and businesses were burned down.

Councilwoman Tamisha Torres-Walker said she was excited to support the resolution.

"I think the only way to get to reconciling is acknowledging a harm," Torres-Walker said. "You can't reconcile and bring people together until harm is acknowledged. And so given a long history of Antioch, it just makes sense that this happens, and then we move forward as a community."

Several residents also applauded the council for trying to do something to rectify past wrongs. In addition to the apology, the council agreed to designate a Chinese historic district downtown and work with the Antioch Historical Society and others on an exhibit or mural to recognize the Chinese immigrants' early contributions.

"This is not a history I was aware of," Nancy Drago said. "This history has had an effect on the entire region and deserves to be told. By shining a light on these misdeeds, it proves the commitment of the current mayor and city coun-

cil to fight Asian hate wherever they see it, even if it is in their own city's past; the future now looks brighter in Antioch."

"Immigrant families whose homes were burned to the ground deserve to have their stories told," another resident said. "Regardless of how it makes those who disagree feel, immigrants, indigenous and enslaved, have had to dismiss their history to make White people feel better, and they are just tired of being OK with being dismissed."

"It's time for history to be complete. And this is the first step to ensure that the brave and resilient Chinese immigrants of Antioch and its surrounding communities be honored and respected."

Mayor Thorpe said he also wants to honor the Chinese with a permanent exhibit, display or mural, which the Antioch Historical Society has already started to research.

Councilman Mike Barbanica agreed, saying "If we're going to do this, I think we should do it the right way... let's don't do it halfway."

The council unanimously agreed to work with the historical society and fund the planning and design phase for a potential exhibit or mural.

Revealing Mitsuye Endo's heroism

By Tamiko Nimura

Since 2017, a famous black-and-white photo has stayed with me: a young Japanese American woman sitting in front of a typewriter, hands poised in the home position, looking over her left shoulder and directing a close-lipped smile at the camera.

The photograph depicts Mitsuye Endo. At the time it was taken, circa 1944, she was incarcerated in an American concentration camp in Topaz, Utah. Of the four young Nisei — American-born children of Japanese immigrants — who contested the grounds of their incarceration at the Supreme Court, Endo was the only one who won her case, and unanimously at that.

As a daughter, granddaughter and niece of Japanese American camp survivors, I have been reading about my community's wartime incarceration for most of my life. But while Endo's case is familiar to those in legal circles and Japanese American studies, her story is largely unknown by the general public. Why, I wondered, didn't everyone know more about the case that helped lead to the closing of the concentration camps for all Japanese Americans?

Layers of silence have veiled Endo for years. As a scholar of Japanese American women's literature, I know that silence has multiple meanings. Silence can mean strength. It can mean a guarding of privacy. It can also mean refusal to speak on someone else's terms.

Without question, Endo wrapped a layer of silence around herself and her case. She gave only two painfully short interviews, one in 1976 and the other for John Tateishi's 1984 oral history collection, "And Justice for All." Her 2019 New York Times obituary says that she spoke about her experiences with her children when asked, but they did not know about her case or its significance for years. She did not participate in the testimonies of the 1970s and 1980s redress movement for reparations. As historian Greg Robinson notes, "(Endo) represents an unusual case of heroism — a hero both self-effacing and effaced by others."

Eleven years after Endo's death, in 2017, I began working with my co-author, Frank Abe, to tell her story. Abe, who has been working on camp history for over 40 years, was concerned that we wouldn't find what we needed to tell her story. Asian Americans Advancing Justice, which had produced a short posthumous documentary honoring Endo, connected me with her children. Eventually Abe flew to the Midwest to meet them. There he



Associated Press 1943

Mitsuye Endo won her lawsuit against the U.S. government over her World War II incarceration at a Topaz, Utah, camp.

made his own discoveries about Endo's personality, including the confirmation of his hunch that Endo, like many Nisei, went by an "American" nickname, "Mitzi."

That same year, I found a law journal article by Elissa Ouchida. Only then did I learn about Endo's participation in a lawsuit with 63 other wrongfully fired Japanese American state of California employees. I was excited; this tied Endo to a collective organized action. I also learned that a bad experience with one news reporter made Endo reluctant to grant interviews.

Shortly thereafter, I requested copies of correspondence between Endo and her attorney, James Purcell, from the California State archives. Scrolling through the 25 electronic pages, I felt vindicated: Endo's voice emerged with the quiet strength I had only sensed in summaries of her case. One particular exchange from September to October 1943 stood out. In late September, Endo was warned that the government was sending a top War Relocation Authority attorney, Philip Glick, to offer her a plea bargain. If she dropped her habeas corpus case, the government would release her from camp. She

responded by writing that because her case pertained not only to the Japanese Americans in the class-action lawsuit, but all Japanese Americans who wished to return to the West Coast, she was willing to take it "as far as she could."

In that moment I recognized my own Nisei aunts, who made many quiet — but not silent — decisions for a collective good. I thought of my oldest auntie, who was released early from camp to work in a dentist's household in Beverly Hills and once sent back her entire paycheck to my grandparents and the rest of her five siblings.

When Endo refused, she was concerned about her personal safety; she wondered about the possibility of anyone returning to California with her, given the hostile climate she had left in her home state. Though Endo could have joined her sister in Chicago (who had already been released), she did not, and remained behind barbed wire for months. That delay allowed her case to move forward until her unanimous victory in December 1944. She was not released until May 1945.

The world may know Endo best from that photo at the typewriter, but

now I think about her sending the telegram I discovered in her correspondence. Dated Dec. 19, 1944, at 2:47 p.m., just after she heard the news of victory, it begins with the words "extremely joyous." So many photos of Nisei women in camp have a restrained energy, thrown into stark relief by black-and-white photography. But this was unabashed joy I could feel echoing through the archives and decades.

Young people today might need images of leaders and resisters who were committed from the beginning, who questioned authority from the start. But Endo's resistance was complex: She stayed faithful to the cause at great personal cost. But her resistance was not a raised fist. I wanted to show that resistance is not always male — and it is not always loud. In Endo's case, resistance looks like a quiet, iron-clad devotion to a collective good. As Endo said in her lesser-known 1976 interview: "I showed people what I could do."