

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.

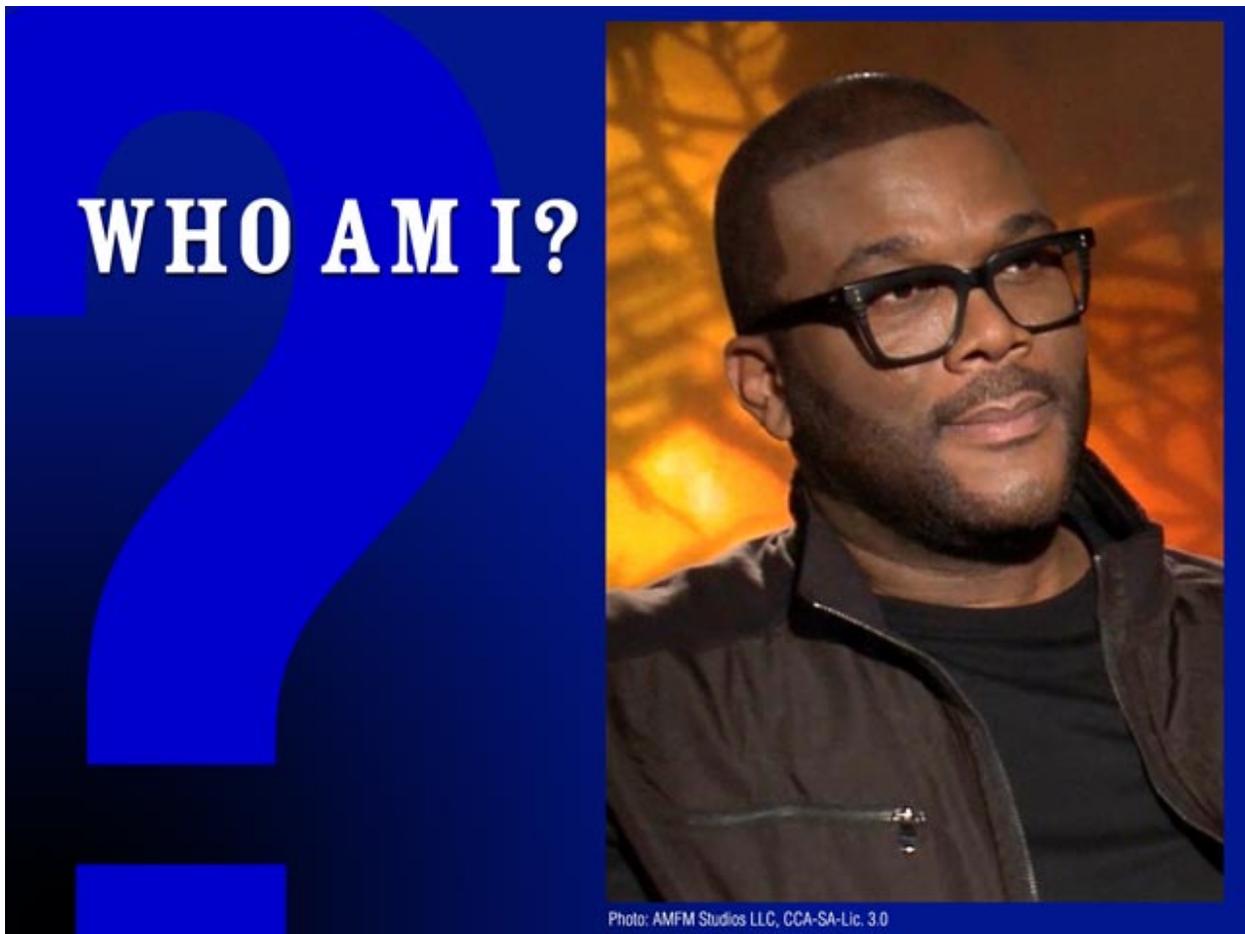
If you are interested in joining *Current Events with Frank Damon*, please go to www.dalycityseniors.org/current-events or contact Frank directly at frankdamon@my.smccd.edu.

Man in the News

He is a 51-year-old screenwriter, director, actor, and producer. He also owns the largest TV and film production studio in the country, located in Atlanta, Georgia. His estimated net worth is \$1 billion.

His childhood in New Orleans was marked by physical abuse and poverty. After dropping out of high school and earning a G.E.D., he began writing stage plays that became extremely successful in Black communities across the U.S. He turned many of them into films and TV shows. He may be best known for my films focusing on Madea, a female character that he played.

Over the course of his career, he has donated millions of dollars to help eliminate poverty and homelessness, and to support civil rights work. At last week's Oscar ceremony, he received the Jean Hersholt Humanitarian Award for these efforts.



Who am I? (Tyler Perry)

U.S. announces withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan

Nearly 20 years ago, the U.S. led an international coalition to invade Afghanistan. The War in Afghanistan is now the longest war in U.S. history. Troops from many nations invaded the country to oust an Islamic extremist group called the Taliban, which had taken over the country's government. The coalition was able to remove the Taliban from power, but the group has continued fighting. Its stated goal is to re-establish its version of an "Islamic state" in the country. The Taliban now controls about half of Afghanistan. The Trump administration held talks with Taliban leaders last year. Do you know why Afghanistan's government was not part of these talks? (The Taliban refused to meet with President Ashraf Ghani or his representatives.)

These talks ended up with an agreement that the U.S. would pull all its troops out by May 1, 2021. In return, the Taliban vowed not to ally itself with ISIS or any other terrorist groups, and to finally agree to talks with Afghanistan's government. Some pundits thought President Biden should ignore previous U.S. promises and keep troops in Afghanistan. But he recently announced that he will pull soldiers out of the country, although at a slower rate than was previously promised. President Ghani supports the troop withdrawal. The U.S. has set a final date for this withdrawal: September 11th, 2021.

The group known as the Taliban originally formed in Pakistan. It moved over the Hindu Kush mountain range to Afghanistan in the mid-1990s, and soon took over the government. Most Afghans welcomed the Taliban rule at first, as it promised safety and security after years of civil war and infighting among brutal warlords. Can you see why this would be an improvement?

Although the Taliban did limit corruption and restore peace, it also enacted an extreme version of Islamic law. The Taliban banned "non-Islamic" influences such as television, movies, music, and the internet. They destroyed cultural treasures like the huge, ancient Buddha statues in the Bamiyan Valley. New laws, supposedly put in place to protect women's honor, required women to wear full-body garments called burqas. Girls could not attend school, and women were forced to give up jobs and professions. Women were not even allowed to laugh in public. Anyone breaking these rules could be publicly beaten or executed.

Human rights groups and U.S. lawmakers protested the Taliban's brutality. But military intervention did not happen until after the 9/11 terror attacks, which Osama bin Laden had masterminded from Afghanistan. Do you know the name of the terrorist group he led? (Al Qaeda.) The coalition invaded Afghanistan intent on finding him, and ousting the group that sheltered him from power.

U.S. announces withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan

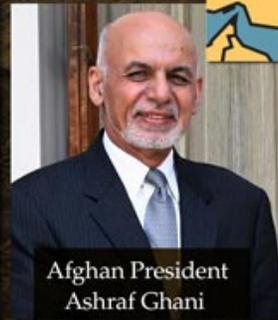
Last troops will leave on Sept. 11, 2021



Credit: U.S. Marines photo by Lance Cpl Jessica S. Gonzalez



U.S. marine with Afghani boys



Afghan President Ashraf Ghani

Photo: Indian Prime Minister's Office, GODL-India

"I have concluded that it's time to end America's longest war. It's time for American troops to come home."

—President Joe Biden

The Taliban took over Afghanistan's government in the 1990s and provided shelter to Osama bin Laden.



Taliban patrolling streets in Herat

An Afghan woman wearing a burqa.



Osama bin Laden



Osama bin Laden was not found for another ten years but, in 2011 the U.S. Navy SEALs killed him in a compound in Pakistan. U.S. troops quickly removed the Taliban from power, and helped Afghanistan establish a democratic government. The country held its first democratic elections in 2004. However, coalition troops were unable to stop Taliban fighters from fleeing to Afghanistan's mountainous north and into Pakistan. They were also unable to stop this group from continuing to fight to regain territory and power. Since the original invasion, the U.S. has sent 600,000 troops to Afghanistan, spending more than \$2 trillion. But despite this, Taliban forces now control an even greater area of Afghanistan than they did following the original invasion.

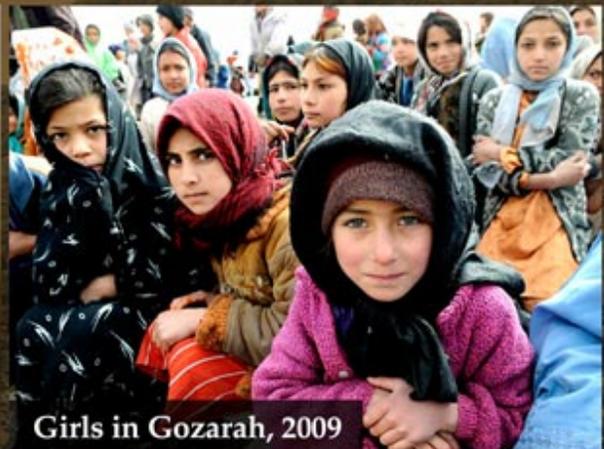
More than 100,000 people have died due to fighting, hunger, and disease related to the war, the great majority of whom were Afghan citizens. The nation's economy and quality of life have been devastated. About 55 percent of Afghans live in extreme poverty, surviving on less than one dollar a day. The country's infant mortality rate is the third-highest in the world; life expectancy is only about 63.5 years; and about 5 million people have fled the country. While many Afghans are happy to see U.S. troops leave, others are afraid of increased Taliban violence and perhaps civil war. Others worry that the Taliban will once again rule the country and reimpose strict Islamic law.

The impact of the War in Afghanistan



U.S. Marines in Afghanistan, 2014

Credit: U.S. Marine Corps photo by Cpl. Joseph Scanlan



Girls in Gozarah, 2009

Credit: ISAF photo by U.S. Air Force TSgt Laura K. Smith

Since 2001:

- U.S. has spent \$2 trillion on war
- More than 100,000 have died
- 55 percent of Afghan population lives in poverty
- Nearly 3 million have fled the country

L.A. County to return seized land to Black family

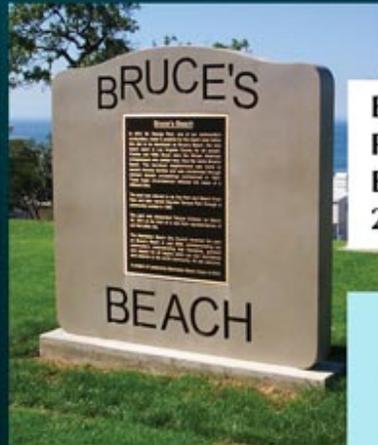
The photo here shows Charles and Willa Bruce, a Black couple that purchased a portion of valuable beachfront property in Manhattan Beach in 1912. The Bruces purchased the land for \$1,225 and created a resort to provide Black people in their community with beach access. At the time, many beaches were segregated, and the Bruces' resort received harassment from their white neighbors and even members of the KKK. What do you think this experience was like for them?

In 1924, L.A. county seized the Bruces' property under the power of eminent domain. What does this mean? (Eminent domain is the power of governments to seize private property for public use, with payment of compensation.) The city gave the Bruces only a fraction of what the property was worth, leaving them poor and destitute. Today, the Bruce family's former property is worth millions of dollars. In recent years, Charles and Willa's grandson, Bernard, sought to have the land returned to his family. In 2006, the city renamed the park Bruce's Beach. Only now, in April of 2021, has the city taken steps to return the land to the Bruce Family. Local legislators recently unveiled a bill that would allow the county to give the land over to the descendants of Charles and Willa. Today, many members of the Bruce family live under the poverty line and haven't been able to reap the benefits of owning the valuable land that was rightfully theirs.

L.A. county to return seized land to Black family



Charles and Willa Bruce



Bayview Terrace Park was renamed Bruce's Beach in 2007.

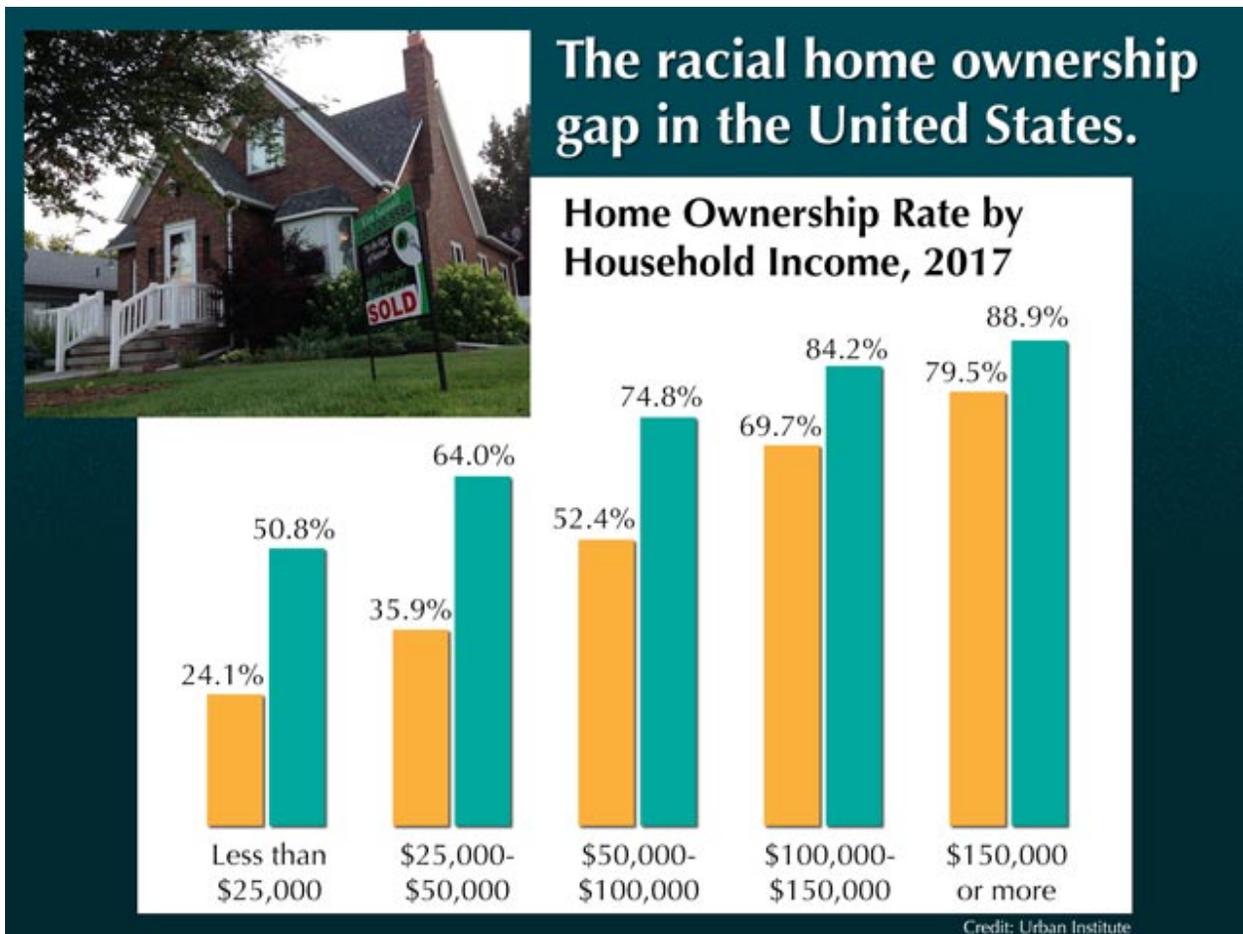


"This is a reckoning that has been long overdue."

— Anthony Bruce, great-great-grandson of Charles and Willa Bruce.

The story of Willa and Charles Bruce is just one example of the many ways federal, state, and local governments have made it more difficult for Black families to buy and keep property and homes. By losing their property, the Bruces missed out on an opportunity to build and pass on generational wealth. What is generational wealth? (Money and assets like homes that are passed down from one generation to the next.) In the United States, owning a home or property is one of the primary ways in which individuals generate wealth and pass it down to their relatives. Recent studies have shown that a major gap in home ownership persists today between Black and white households. What does the chart below tell us about the racial homeownership gap? (It exists regardless of income level.)

In 2018, overall, the Black home ownership rate was 42 percent, while the white homeownership rate was 73 percent. A 20 to 30 percent gap between Black and white homeownership has existed for the last 100 years in the U.S. While there are many reasons for this disparity, some of the primary causes include racist housing policies enacted by federal, state, and local governments. One of these policies was known as “redlining.” (A property value grading system that made it more difficult for Black and non-white people to get loans to purchase homes.) Experts say that resolving the racial homeownership gap is vital to addressing the problem of income inequality in the U.S.



This Week in History

Henry Dunant, founder of the International Red Cross, was born in 1828. Whenever there is a disaster anywhere in the world, the Red Cross is there to help. The Red Cross is a humanitarian organization. What does “humanitarian” mean? (Dedicated to helping people.) This group provides medical care for those injured in war or natural disasters. It does many other things around the world. For example, the American Red Cross coordinates the collection and storage of an extremely important medical resource, blood.

Henry Dunant, the man who inspired the Red Cross, was born in Geneva, Switzerland on May 8, 1828. He was born Jean Henri Dunant — ZHAWN ohnREE doo-NAHNt — but went by the name Henry. Despite being very intelligent, he was not a very good student in school. That is because he was more interested in helping the poor and visiting people in prison. After failing out of college, he joined a bank and traveled in Africa and Italy. On one visit to northern Italy in 1859, he visited a town called Solferino. There had just been a huge battle there. Dunant saw tens of thousands of dead and wounded soldiers on the ground. There was no medical attention for the living, and there was no one to bury the bodies of the dead. He snapped into action, organizing people from local villages to help care for these soldiers — no matter what army they had been fighting for. After this, Henry Dunant dedicated his life to making sure nothing like this would ever happen again.

His book, “A Memory of Solferino,” became popular among important people in Europe. In 1863, he met with four other people for the first meeting of what came to be called the International Committee of the Red Cross. Can you guess how this group came up with the idea for the Red Cross? (The flag of Switzerland is a white cross on a red background; they reversed it to create a flag that could be seen on the battlefield.) The idea of the Red Cross spread quickly across Europe. The Red Cross started to help those wounded in wars. It also set out rules for how to treat prisoners and wounded people during wars. Within a year, 12 nations agreed, and signed it in Switzerland. The agreement is still in place among the nations of the world. Do you know what this agreement is called? (The Geneva Convention.)

Unfortunately, Henry Dunant spent so much time organizing this group that he ended up in financial trouble. In 1867, Dunant was forced to resign from the Red Cross International Committee. Gustave Moynier, another member of the committee who often disagreed with Dunant, took over, and also took credit for what Dunant had done. Dunant moved to Paris, where he lived in poverty for a long time. But he continued to work for social justice. He was behind an international meeting in 1875 calling for the abolition of slavery. He also founded other organizations, including the Alliance for Order and Civilization, which focused on how countries should treat prisoners of war.

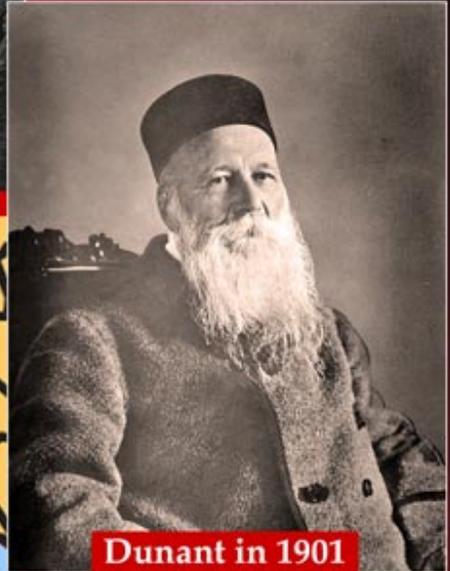
THIS WEEK IN
HISTORY

May 8, 1828:

Henry Dunant,
founder of
the Red Cross,
is born



Dunant in the 1850s



Dunant in 1901

It wasn't until 1895 that a German newspaper editor published a story discussing Dunant's role in founding the Red Cross. In 1901, Henry Dunant — now much older, as shown in the picture at right — shared the very first Nobel Peace Prize with one of the co-founders of the Alliance for Order and Civilization. Dunant died an international hero in 1910 at the age of 82.

Today, Red Cross workers travel to war zones, sites of natural disasters, and communities fighting outbreaks of disease. They provide medical attention, food, and emergency shelter to all. Most countries have their own Red Cross organizations. Do you know what the Red Cross is often called in Muslim countries? (The Red Crescent.) The American Red Cross, founded by Clara Barton in 1881, helps coordinate blood donation, medical research, public health programs, and many other crucial initiatives.

Remembering When...

Tea is more than a beverage — it is part of a way of life. Tea is the most widely consumed beverage in the world, after water. Although coffee is more popular than tea in the U.S. today, that could change as tea seems to be especially popular with millennials. Which beverage do you prefer?

Some people think a good cup of tea is a nice thing to drink on a chilly afternoon. But for others, tea is more than just a hot beverage — it is a ritual, a way of life. Read the quote below from famous etiquette expert Letitia Baldridge. Is this how you feel about tea?

Remember When . . .

Tea



Delicious!
Flavor - Fresh!
Thrifty!

“Tea time is a chance to slow down, pull back and appreciate our surroundings.”

— *Letitia Baldridge, the “Doyenne of Decorum”*



Tea party in the 1950s

Tea is made from the leaves of a small Asian evergreen tree. Scientists call this plant *Camellia sinensis*. It is native to Southwest China, near the current border of Myanmar. More than 3,000 years ago, Chinese herbalists started to use the crushed leaves of this plant as part of a medicinal drink. Later generations discovered that these crushed-up leaves could be delicious on their own with hot water. Tea leaves contain a chemical that gives them their slightly bitter taste. The leaves also contain another natural stimulant that is relatively rare in nature: caffeine. Some other foods have caffeine such as coffee, chocolate, and so on.

The drinking of tea spread quickly to the rest of Asia, and Europeans were first introduced to the practice in the 1500s. The British loved tea but did not like how much they had to pay for it, so they started their own tea plantations in India. This was likely the tea consumed

by the first British settlers in the Americas. This custom stopped being quite as popular in America after 1773. What happened that year in American history? (The Boston Tea Party, in which the Sons of Liberty dumped British tea into Boston Harbor to protest the high taxes.)

Many families had their own special tea set, with bone china cups, saucers, and teapot. This was also the set that came out when people came over for a tea party like the one shown above, to go with tasty cakes and some good old-fashioned conversation. Did you ever host tea parties like this?

Most serious tea drinkers prefer to buy loose tea and steep it in hot water. This traditional method adds more flavor to the drink. Many of us, however, use tea bags as a more convenient method. The tea bag was accidentally invented by U.S. tea merchant Thomas Sullivan in 1908, when he sent tea samples in silk bags and distributors dunked them in hot water. Are you more of a loose-leaf or tea bag person?

New methods of tea delivery came along during our lifetimes. Powdered instant tea was developed in the late 1940s. Did you ever drink Nestea or any other kind of powdered tea drink? Do you remember ads like the one shown above? Companies started packaging iced tea in bottles, adding sugar and other flavorings to them.

Today, iced tea makes up about 75 percent of the tea consumed in the U.S. In the South, people often drink “sweet tea” flavored with lots of sugar or honey. How do you like to drink your tea? Do you prefer the British style of tea with milk? Or do you like tea with lemon and sugar, or honey?

In the last 20-plus years, tea has boomed in popularity in the U.S. The U.S. market for tea has grown from \$2 billion in 1990 to about \$12 billion today. More than half of Americans drink tea on a daily basis. Most drink black tea, but sales of green tea and herbal teas, have been growing fast. Many people drink ginger tea to aid digestion; others find that a cup of chamomile tea is just the thing to soothe away anxiety before bedtime. And specialty tea shops have popped up all over the country, bringing exciting new flavors and preparations with them.

Leaving Afghanistan

The implications of Biden's decision to end 20 years of war



APRIL 30

VOLUME 14 NUMBER 1

Afghanistan: Is Biden ending the ‘forever war’ too soon?

Joe Biden just made the biggest decision of his young presidency, said *The Washington Post* in an editorial, and “the consequences are likely to be ugly.” Against the advice of his generals, Biden last week announced an unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Afghanistan before Sept. 11, ending the longest war in U.S. history by the 20th anniversary of the terrorist attacks that triggered it. In the short term, the move will probably “spare the United States further costs and lives,” but it “will almost certainly be a disaster for the country’s 39 million people—and, in particular, its women.”

Withdrawing our tiny force of 3,500 troops, who haven’t suffered a combat death since 2020, makes it likely, if not inevitable, that the Taliban will regain control of Afghanistan and reverse the years of “political, economic, and social progress” that cost the U.S. more than \$2 trillion and more than 2,000 lives. All Americans share Biden’s frustration, said Jonah Goldberg in *The Dispatch .com*. As he said last week, “When will it be the right moment to leave? One more year? Two more years? Ten more years?” But when the potential costs of leaving so outweigh the minimal costs of staying, it’s foolish to put “feelings over facts.”

The costs of staying aren’t as minimal as they look, said Michael Brendan Dougherty in *NationalReview.com*. U.S. combat deaths have stopped largely because the Trump administration signed a deal last year with the Taliban, promising full withdrawal by May 1; attacks on our troops will likely resume when that deadline passes. As for the risks of leaving, the Taliban *already* act “with impunity” in most of Afghanistan. “We do not have the ability to transform Afghans’ traditional society outside of Kabul,” so what



Afghan women at a recent Women’s Day event

is the point of staying indefinitely? It was “arrogant” to believe we could transform “the graveyard of empires,” said Fred Kaplan in *Slate.com*, and “it’s time to come home.”

Afghanistan may never be “a modern liberal democracy,” said Jeff Jacoby in *The Boston Globe*, but our intervention there “has immensely improved the lives of countless Afghan civilians who were rescued from the Islamist hell of Taliban rule.” When we leave, girls and women will again be flogged or killed if they

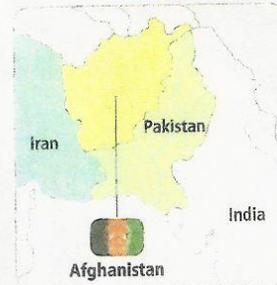
leave their homes alone, work, or attend school. As for the talk of a “forever war,” let’s remember that we’ve kept far more troops in South Korea and Germany for more than 50 years. When we pulled out of Iraq, on the other hand, it opened the door to ISIS and several years of bloody horror there and around the world.

Biden wants to focus U.S. power where it can be most effective, said Peter Beinart in *PeterBeinart.Substack.com*—and that’s no longer Afghanistan. Despite al Qaida’s success against a somnolent U.S. on 9/11, the terrorist group was a small, rag-tag enemy, and the “war on terrorism” was never the “world historical struggle” we thought it was. The Biden administration wants to “clear the decks” to focus on what it sees as the next “great power” conflict—with China. For Americans who served in Afghanistan, said Dan Lamothe and Alex Horton in *The Washington Post*, the pullout will bring a flood of torn emotions. Tyler Burdick, 40, who lost both legs in Helmand province, says that while he reluctantly supports Biden’s decision, “it means a lot of guys got hurt and a lot of guys got killed, and it was all for nothing.”

GLOBAL PRESENCE

The US has as many as 800 military bases in other countries.

Afghanistan fact file



- Afghanistan is in central Asia, between Pakistan and Iran.
- It has 37.4 million people and more than 30 languages, including Dari and Pashto.
- Over 252,000 square miles, its landscape ranges from snowy mountains to dry deserts.
- Islam is its official religion.

About 800,000 US troops have served in Afghanistan since 2001.

US will exit Afghanistan

President Joe Biden announced on April 14 that after having the US military in Afghanistan for nearly 20 years, America will withdraw its troops. US soldiers have been fighting in the nation since shortly after terrorists (people who use violence to achieve their goals) attacked America on September 11, 2001.

What happened?

Biden, who as President is also commander in chief of the military, said it's time to end what has been called "the forever war." The US will pull troops from Afghanistan starting on May 1 and finish by September 11, the 20th anniversary of attacks on the US that killed nearly 3,000 people. The conflict in Afghanistan has cost the US nearly \$2 trillion. More than 2,300 Americans and more than 230,000 Afghans have died.

Why are US troops there?

On September 11, 2001, members of al Qaeda, a terrorist group based in Afghanistan, hijacked (took control of) four airplanes in the US. Al Qaeda was an Islamic extremist group—a group of Muslims (people who follow Islam) with extreme, hateful views

toward other countries and religions. Most Muslims do not agree with these beliefs. The attackers flew one plane into the Pentagon (US military headquarters near Washington, DC). They crashed two more into the World Trade Center buildings in New York City, which collapsed. A fourth plane was headed for Washington, DC, but crashed in Pennsylvania. In October 2001, the US invaded Afghanistan to fight al Qaeda and another extremist group called the Taliban, which had taken control of the country. US leaders said they wanted to help Afghanistan create a stable democratic government and military to prevent the rise of more terrorism.



US Secretary of State Antony Blinken

What do people who support the withdrawal say?

Many military veterans expressed relief at Biden's decision. "Words cannot adequately express how huge this is for troops and military families," Jon Soltz, leader of a veterans' group, said on Twitter.

Jens Stoltenberg, head of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO, a military alliance of 30 countries), agreed it was time to withdraw. NATO troops have fought alongside Americans in Afghanistan. "We went into Afghanistan together...

and we are united in leaving together," he said. Afghan President Ashraf Ghani tweeted that his nation "respects the US decision, and we will work with our US partners to ensure a smooth transition."

What do people who disagree say?

Many US officials argue that the mission in Afghanistan is not complete. They say that if American troops leave now, terrorist groups will take over and the Afghan military, which the US helped build, could not stop them. The Taliban could also punish Afghans who supported the US. "This is a reckless and dangerous decision," said James Inhofe, a US senator from Oklahoma. Others are concerned that troops are being withdrawn too quickly. "If I were still in uniform today, I'd readily accept a few months more in Afghanistan to end the war right," said US Navy veteran Andrew McCormick, who served there twice.

What will happen next?

There are about 3,500 American troops and 9,600 NATO troops in Afghanistan, and they will begin leaving the country on May 1. US Secretary of State Antony Blinken said the US will continue to support peace talks between the Afghan government and the Taliban. He also said the US will be ready to take action if there is a renewed threat of terrorism.

AFGHANISTAN

Women fearing Taliban will strip them of freedoms

By Kathy Gannon

KABUL — Inside Ms. Sadat's Beauty Salon in Afghanistan's capital, Sultana Karimi leans intently over a customer, meticulously shaping her eyebrows. Make-up and hair styling is the 24-year-old's passion, and she discovered it, along with a newfound confidence, here in the salon.

She and the other young women working or apprenticing in the salon never experienced the rule of the Taliban over Afghanistan.

But they all worry that their dreams will come to an end if the hard-line militants regain any power, even if peacefully as part of a new government.

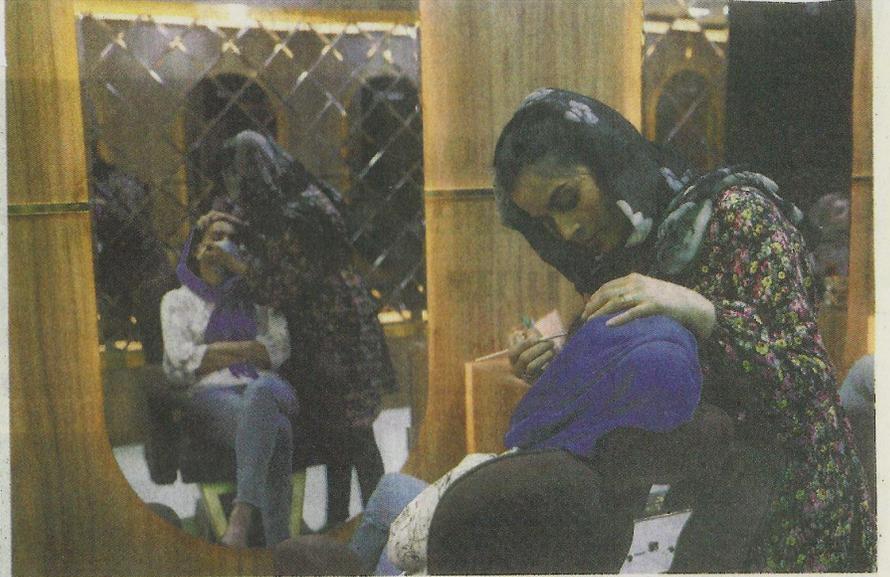
"With the return of Taliban, society will be transformed and ruined," Karimi said. "Women will be sent into hiding, they'll be forced to wear the burqa to go out of their homes."

yellow

blouse that draped off her shoulders as she worked, a style that's a bit daring even in the all-women space of the salon. It would have been totally out of the question under the Taliban, who ruled until the 2001 U.S.-led invasion. In fact, the Taliban banned beauty salons in general, part of a notoriously harsh ideology that often hit women and girls the hardest, including forbidding them education and the right to work or even to travel outside their home unaccompanied by a male relative.

With U.S. troops committed to leaving Afghanistan completely by Sept. 11, women are closely watching the stalemated peace negotiations between the Taliban and the Afghan government over the post-withdrawal future, said Mahboba Seraj, a women's rights activist.

The U.S. is pressing for a power-sharing government that includes the Taliban. Seraj



Rahmat Gul / Associated Press

Sultana Karimi applies makeup on a client at Ms. Sadat's Beauty Salon in Kabul, Afghanistan. Women such as Karimi fear their working days may be over if the Taliban return to power.

said women want written guarantees from the Taliban that they won't reverse the gains made by women in the past 20 years, and they want the international community to hold the insurgent movement to its commitments.

"I am not frustrated that the Americans are leaving ... the time was coming that the Americans would go home," said Seraj, executive director of Afghan Women's Skill Development.

But she had a message for

the U.S. and NATO: "We keep yelling and screaming and saying, for God's sake, at least do something with the Taliban, take some kind of assurance from them ... a mechanism to be put in place" that guarantees women's rights.

Last week the Taliban in a statement outlined the type of government they seek.

It promised that women "can serve their society in the education, business, health and social fields while maintaining correct Islamic hijab."

It promised girls would have the right to choose their own husbands, considered deeply unacceptable in many traditional and tribal homes in Afghanistan, where husbands are chosen by their parents.

But the statement offered few details, nor did it guarantee women could participate in politics or have freedom to move about unaccompanied by a male relative.

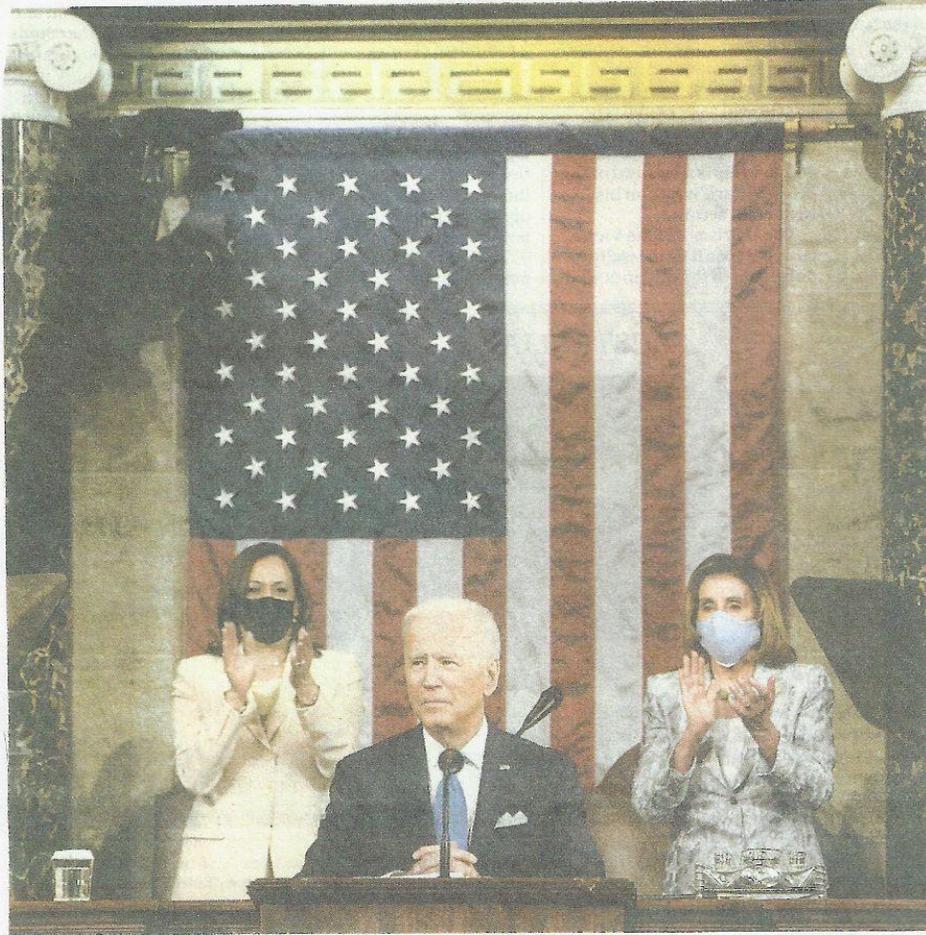
Grand ambitions

Biden's \$6 trillion plan to rebuild America—
and become the next FDR



Madam Speaker, Madam Vice President. No president has ever said those words from this podium ... and it's about time."

President Joe Biden, addressing Speaker Nancy Pelosi and Vice President Kamala Harris



Melina Mara / Pool / Getty Images

In a historic moment in front of two women — Vice President Kamala Harris, left, and House Speaker Nancy Pelosi — President Joe Biden addresses a joint session of Congress for the first time.

Biden lays out a sweeping agenda

\$1.8 trillion plan foresees a renewed government role

By Peter Baker

President Joe Biden laid out an ambitious agenda Wednesday night to rewrite the American social compact by vastly expanding family leave, child care, health care, preschool and college education for millions of people, to be financed with increased taxes on the wealthiest earners.

The \$1.8 trillion plan he unveiled in his first address to a joint session of Congress, along with previous proposals to build roads and brid-

ges, expand other social programs and combat climate change, represent a fundamental reorientation of the role of government not seen since the days of Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society.

"We have to prove democracy still works, that our government still works and can deliver for the people," Biden said.

In a notable first, Biden became the first president to deliver an address to Congress with two women sitting behind him representing the next in the line of succession to

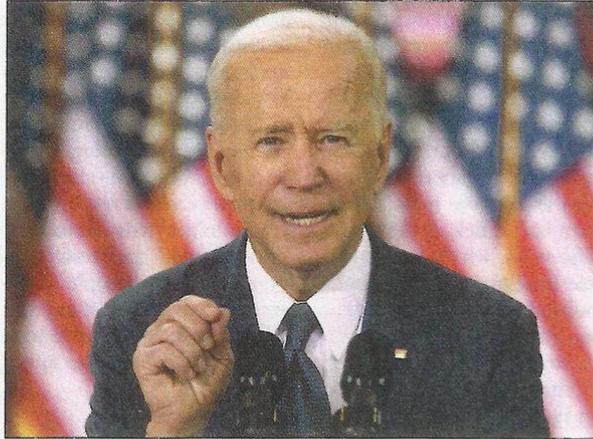
his office, Vice President Kamala Harris and House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, D-San Francisco. After addressing Harris as "Madam Vice President," Biden said to applause, "No president has ever said those words from this podium, and it's about time."

The collection of initiatives that Biden has introduced in his first 100 days in office suggest a breathtaking scope of change sought by a 78-year-old president who spent a lifetime as a more conventional lawmaker.

Biden's big pitch for his own New Deal

What happened

President Biden marked his first 100 days in office this week by unveiling the \$1.8 trillion American Families Plan, the latest in a \$6 trillion package of bills that seek to reshape the U.S. economy and the role of the federal government. In a speech to Congress scheduled to take place after *The Week* went to press, Biden was to outline and promote the provisions of the bill, which would expand access to education and child care and pay for it by boosting taxes on the wealthy. The bill would provide two free years of community college, universal pre-K classes, and \$85 billion in need-based Pell Grants for college tuition. It would earmark billions for child-care subsidies, extend child tax credits for most parents, and create a federal family and medical leave program. Biden proposes to fund it by raising the capital-gains tax rate from 20 to 39.6 percent and the top marginal income tax rate for high earners from 37 to 39.6 percent. He also wants to raise \$700 billion over a decade by increasing the IRS budget by \$80 billion to root out tax evaders.



Another \$1.8 trillion spending plan: Will it die in Congress?

The sweeping bill comes on the heels of two massive spending packages that together make up the most progressive agenda since Franklin Delano Roosevelt enacted the New Deal nine decades ago. The \$1.9 trillion pandemic relief bill passed in March provided billions for poverty-reduction measures, direct stimulus payments to most Americans, and state and local relief. Last month Biden unveiled a \$2.3 trillion infrastructure bill that would allocate billions for rebuilding roads, bridges, and railways and would also extend broadband across rural America, build affordable housing, and provide billions for home care for the elderly and the disabled. “Now—after just 100 days—I can report to the nation: America is on the move again,” said Biden in an excerpt from his prepared speech. “We have acted to restore the people’s faith in our democracy to deliver.”

Biden’s new package got an immediate thumbs-down from Republicans. “President Biden ran as a moderate,” said Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell, “but I’m hard-pressed to think of anything at all that he’s done so far that would indicate some degree of moderation.”

he’s governing like Bernie Sanders and pushing “a spending blowout unseen since the 1960s.”

Yes, Biden abandoned his pledge to build bipartisan consensus, said the Newark *Star-Ledger*. But the reality is “he has little choice.” Republicans are “playing the same game they played with President Obama”—trying to deny him any successes even on measures with broad public support, like infrastructure spending, pandemic relief, and gun safety. Biden was elected to get things done, “and if that means doing it without GOP support, then so be it.”

Biden's bet on Big Government

By Alana Abramson and Brian Bennett

PRESIDENT JOE BIDEN WAS HUDDLING WITH aides in the Oval Office in late April, preparing for a Zoom tour of Proterra, an electric bus and battery plant in Greenville, S.C. The company does the kind of eco-friendly manufacturing that Biden hopes will balloon if Congress passes his \$2 trillion infrastructure proposal, which includes nearly \$80 billion in federal investment in these types of clean-energy jobs. Biden was blunt about the larger goal. "This is how we show people that the government has a role to play," he said before getting on the call.

That vision of government has been at the heart of Biden's first 100 days in office. He has pumped nearly \$1.9 trillion into the economy, more than any other President at this point in a first term, through a stimulus bill that offers everything from rental assistance to vaccine distribution. Biden has laid out plans for an additional \$2 trillion to create millions of jobs while redefining infrastructure, and \$1.8 trillion for education and paid leave, paid for largely through tax increases on the wealthy. If all become law, the three initiatives will constitute the biggest federal investment in the middle and lower classes since President Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society.

Biden is making a \$6 trillion bet. He has calculated, aides say, that the twin shocks of the past four years—President Donald Trump's gutting of the federal government and a historic pandemic—have created a once-in-a-career opportunity. By embracing a pre-Reagan vision of expansive government that delivers for a hurting nation, he hopes to capitalize on the post-Trump political moment. "It's comparable to the Great Depression and World War II, where there were massive emergencies that affected everyone, and people were very, very responsive to a major [government] role," says Celinda Lake, a Democratic pollster who advised Biden's campaign.

SO FAR, Biden's bet seems to be paying off. His approval rating has hovered in the mid-50s, according to Gallup, modest by historical standards but strong in the acutely polarized political climate. (Trump never cracked 50%.) Some 46% of Americans say the country is headed in the right direction, according to a Monmouth University poll released on April 14—the highest number in eight years.

But even Biden's allies acknowledge that goodwill is

tenuous. The country remains deeply divided. Biden has a narrow, fragile majority in Congress, and holding together progressives and moderates in his party is already proving hard. Republicans are eager to make it harder, seizing on crises like the surge of unaccompanied migrant children at the U.S.-Mexico border to attack him and dampen his approval ratings. With midterms 18 months away, and the Democrats facing challenges on multiple fronts, Biden has little time to get his ambitious agenda enacted.

That he is pursuing it at all is a surprise for a man who was a middle-of-the-road Democrat for most of his 35-year career in the U.S. Senate. "I really kind of thought he would be much more of a traditionalist," says Representative Jim Clyburn, the House majority whip who gave Biden a critical endorsement during the campaign, "though I am very pleased and excited." Allies say Biden's shift is partly a function of his new role: the Senate requires compromise, while the presidency offers greater unilateral power. It's also true that the country has

changed. For much of Biden's Senate career, politics demanded a commitment, in principle at least, to minimizing the government's role and limiting spending. Biden has concluded that what voters want, above all else, is for the government to deliver. In 2015, Pew Research found 68% of Democrats and 23% of Republicans said the government should do more to solve problems. By September 2020, those numbers had increased to 82% of Democrats and 32% of Republicans.

If Biden's first 100 days were all about getting shots in arms and cash into people's wallets, his next 100 will be more complicated. Biden aims to pass both the \$2 trillion American Jobs Plan and the \$1.8 trillion American Families Plan by the end of the year. He pitched the latter plan in his first address to Congress on April 28, pledging to work across the aisle. Fights among Democrats may prove just as challenging. Already, Biden's party is squabbling over whether to include a tax break that mostly benefits Northeastern states, just one of the friction points he'll have to grease to get a bill passed on party lines.

So far, Biden's been helped by circumstance. The Trump Administration ordered the bulk of the vaccine shots Biden inherited and distributed. He's also benefited from an opposition party with few unifying principles beyond fealty to an unpopular former President. That has left room for Biden to evangelize for government solutions wherever he can. As he told an executive at Proterra, the South Carolina company building electric school buses and city buses, "We have a lot of catching up to do, but we're going to be in a position where we ought to own the future here." For Biden, success may come down to how much he and the American public are willing to pay for it.

\$6 trillion

Cost of Biden's proposed federal pandemic, infrastructure, education and other programs, per government estimates. Congress passed \$1.9 trillion of it in March

69%

Biden's approval rating for handling the pandemic. His overall approval is 53% and disapproval is 39%, according to an April 25 NBC News poll

6.5%

Estimated U.S. GDP growth in 2021, up from a 2020 Fed forecast of 4.2%, thanks in part to the March relief bill

Fundamental Shift in How Government Serves

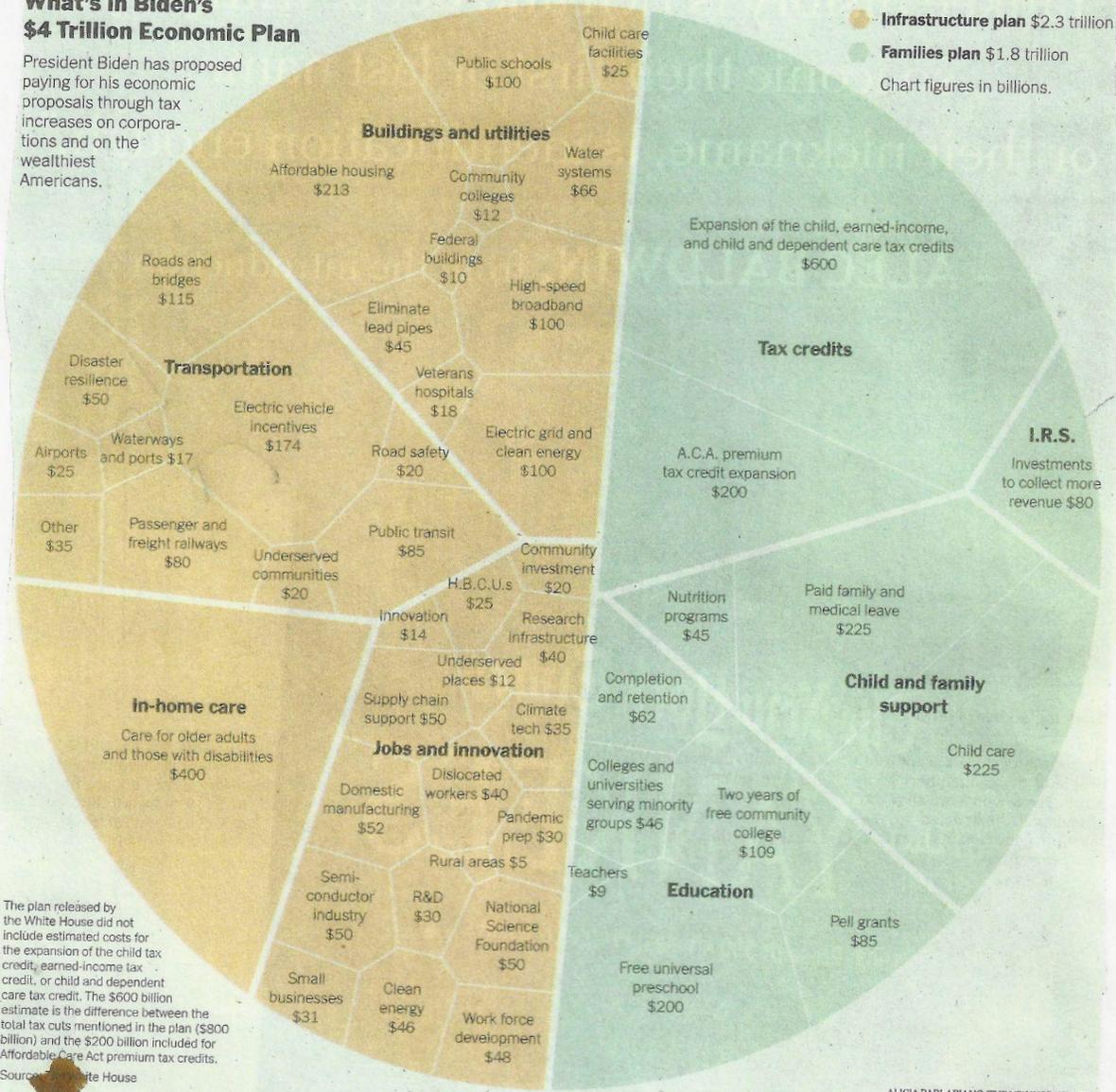
What's in Biden's \$4 Trillion Economic Plan

President Biden has proposed paying for his economic proposals through tax increases on corporations and on the wealthiest Americans.

● Infrastructure plan \$2.3 trillion

● Families plan \$1.8 trillion

Chart figures in billions.



The plan released by the White House did not include estimated costs for the expansion of the child tax credit, earned-income tax credit, or child and dependent care tax credit. The \$600 billion estimate is the difference between the total tax cuts mentioned in the plan (\$800 billion) and the \$200 billion included for Affordable Care Act premium tax credits.
Source: White House



Doug Mills / New York Times

Rosalynn Carter watches President Biden and wife Jill leave after a visit with ex-President Jimmy Carter.

GEORGIA

Longtime allies Biden, Carter reconnect privately in Plains

By Bill Barrow and Zeke Miller

PLAINS, Ga. — President Biden was a first-term Delaware senator in 1976 when he endorsed an upstart former Southern governor for the presidency over the party's Northern establishment players.

Biden came full circle Thursday, visiting Jimmy Carter and his wife, Rosalynn, in tiny Plains, Ga., where the 96-year-old former president and 93-year-old former first lady have lived for most of their lives.

"He showed us throughout his entire life what it means to be a public servant," Biden, 78, said of Carter for a new documentary, "CARTERLAND," set to debut this weekend as part of the Atlanta Film Festival.

The private meeting on Thursday brought together the oldest sitting president and the longest-lived former president in history. It was their first in-person encounter since Biden took office. The two presidents didn't appear together outside the Carters' home. Biden was seen with Rosalynn Carter at the door as he departed. The former first lady stood alongside him supported by her walker.

Many of the 650 residents of Plains turned out to see Biden's motorcade.

The Carters were unable to attend the Jan. 20 inauguration, the first they'd missed since Jimmy Carter was sworn in as the 39th president in 1977. The Carters have retreated from public life for most of the coronavirus pandemic, but they now are vaccinated and

recently began attending church services again at Maranatha Baptist Church, where the former president taught Sunday school for decades.

Biden's visit comes after Carter's vice president, Walter Mondale, died April 19 at the age of 93. Carter and Biden both spoke to Mondale by phone in the days before his death.

In his "CARTERLAND" remarks, recorded last week and made available by producers Will and Jim Pattiz, Biden credits Mondale and Carter as formative figures in his political career.

Biden noted Mondale changed the vice presidency into the kind of active role Biden would go on to play during his two terms in the post.

"When President (Ba-

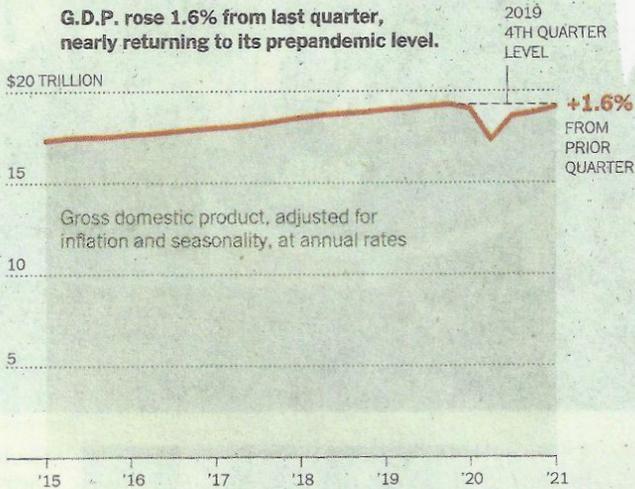
rack) Obama asked me to consider being his vice president, I said I had to go home and talk about it," Biden said. "Fritz was my first call outside of my family."

Recalling the seeds of his friendship with Carter, Biden named the date — March 25, 1976 — he traveled to Wisconsin to make the case that the devout Baptist then from the party's moderate wing was the right candidate to defeat President Gerald Ford.

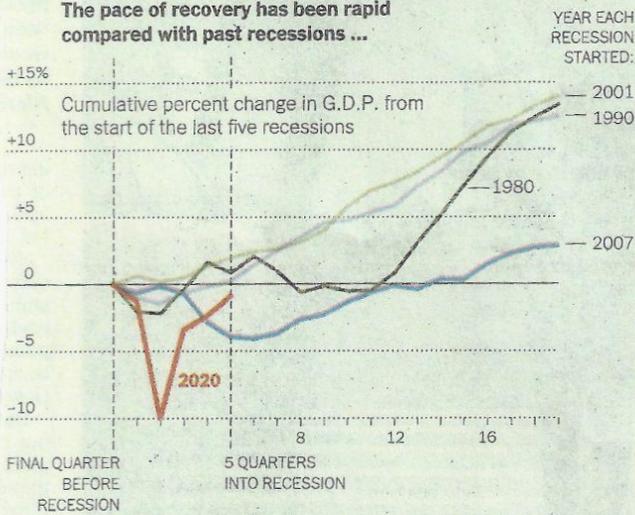
Carter didn't endorse anyone in the 2020 primary that included Biden. But the former president warned Democrats not to veer too far left and risk alienating moderate voters needed to defeat President Donald Trump.

A Sharp Rebound

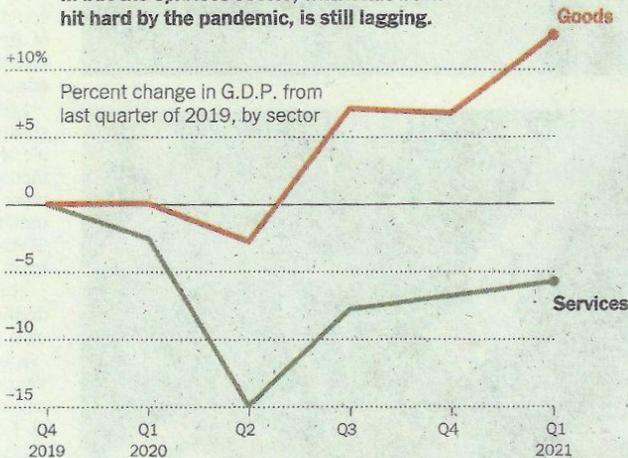
G.D.P. rose 1.6% from last quarter, nearly returning to its prepandemic level.



The pace of recovery has been rapid compared with past recessions ...



... but the services sector, which has been hit hard by the pandemic, is still lagging.



Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis

ELLA KOEZE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Spurred by Checks, Household Income Rises a Record 21.1%

By SARAH CHANEY CAMBON

Household income rose at a record pace of 21.1% in March as federal stimulus checks helped fuel an economic revival.

The March surge in income was the largest monthly increase for government records tracing back to 1959, largely reflecting \$1,400 stimulus checks included in President Biden's fiscal relief package signed into law in March. The stimulus payments accounted for \$3.948 trillion of the overall seasonally adjusted \$4.213 trillion rise in March personal income.

Spending was also up sharply, increasing 4.2%, the Commerce Department said, the steepest month-over-month increase since last summer.

Consumers shelled out more on goods, particularly big-ticket items such as autos and furniture, compared with services in March. Economists expect that to change in the coming months due to widespread vaccinations and broader reopening of the economy.

"If we have Covid-19 cases under control, that would ideally make way for us to reopen the services sector of the economy," said Pooja Sriram, U.S. economist at Barclays. "That, in fact, is a crucial as-

pect of ensuring that this recovery continues."

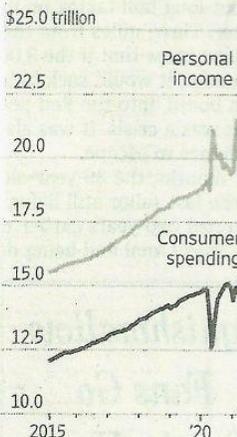
Americans will have cash to spend. The personal-saving rate surged to 27.6% in March, the second-highest rate on record, eclipsed only by April 2020 when a first round of government aid was distributed early in the pandemic.

Stimulus payments in the latest package propelled spending the most of all three rounds of pandemic stimulus checks, according to data-analytics company Earnest Research.

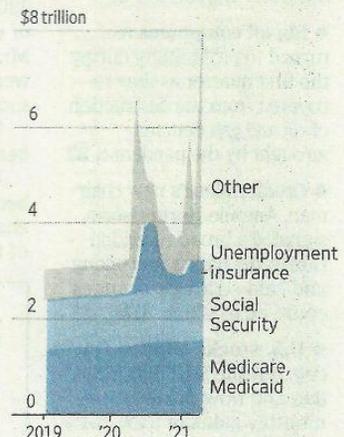
People who received stimulus money drove up total spending growth by 29 percentage points in mid-March compared with the same period in 2019, Earnest transaction figures show. That outpaced bumps of 23 and 22 points after the first and second stimulus checks, respectively.

The spending effect was larger this time because the checks were bigger and aligned with economic reopenings, said Zach Amsel, data analytics director at Earnest. Spending among stimulus recipients grew twice as fast in Pennsylvania, Texas and Florida compared with California and New York, according to Earnest, reflecting stronger stimulus effects in states that reopened faster.

Income and spending



Personal income from government programs and benefits



Note: Seasonally adjusted at annual rates
Source: Commerce Department

Which States Will Gain or Lose Seats in Congress

By WEIYI CAI
and REID J. EPSTEIN

The new census numbers are in and they show an America continuing its long population shift from the Northeast and Midwest to the South and West, a trend that will shape Congress for the next decade.

The country's old center of political power — the industrial belt stretching from New York to Illinois — is once again losing seats in Congress while Sun Belt states like Florida, North Carolina and Texas will gain them. California will lose a seat for the first time.

Several of the states gaining or losing seats are swing states, and the changes to the political map will help determine which party holds majorities in the House through the 2020s, beginning with next year's midterm elections.

Most of the congressional district lines will be drawn in the coming months by state legislatures and local commissions that have been given redistricting authority. Republicans control the redistricting process in far more states than do Democrats, because of G.O.P. dominance in down-ballot elections.

Democrats, meanwhile, have shifted redistricting decisions in states where they have controlled the government — like California, Colorado and Virginia — to independent commissions intended to create fair maps.

Congressional apportionment is determined by essentially dividing the U.S. population by 435, the number of seats in the House. The fastest-growing states will add seats, while those that are shrinking or growing slower than the national average will lose them.

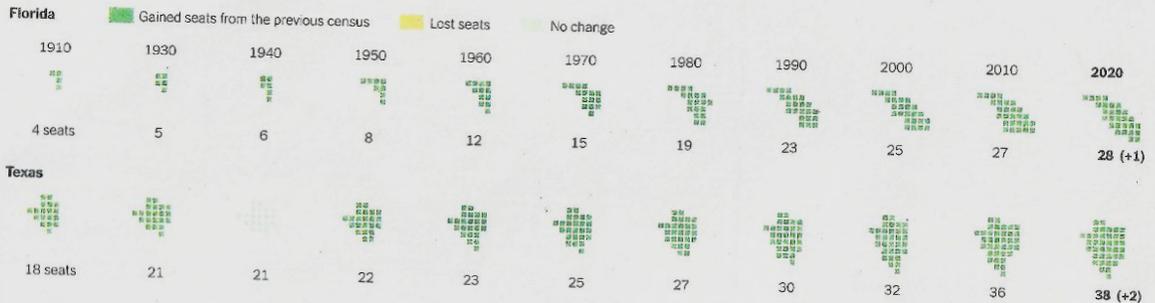
Republicans will need to flip only about five House seats in the 2022 election to gain control of the chamber.

The results released on Monday show that seven states will lose seats while six will gain. Texas will add two seats and Florida one. The fast-growing states Montana and Oregon will each add one seat, as will Colorado and North Carolina. Montana's second seat comes after 30 years of having just a single at-large district.

At the same time, the big states of the Midwest and Northeast that historically have backed Democrats will lose congressional seats and the electoral votes that come with them. Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, New York, Pennsylvania and West Virginia will each lose one district. California's loss of one seat reflects the slowing population growth of the nation's largest state.

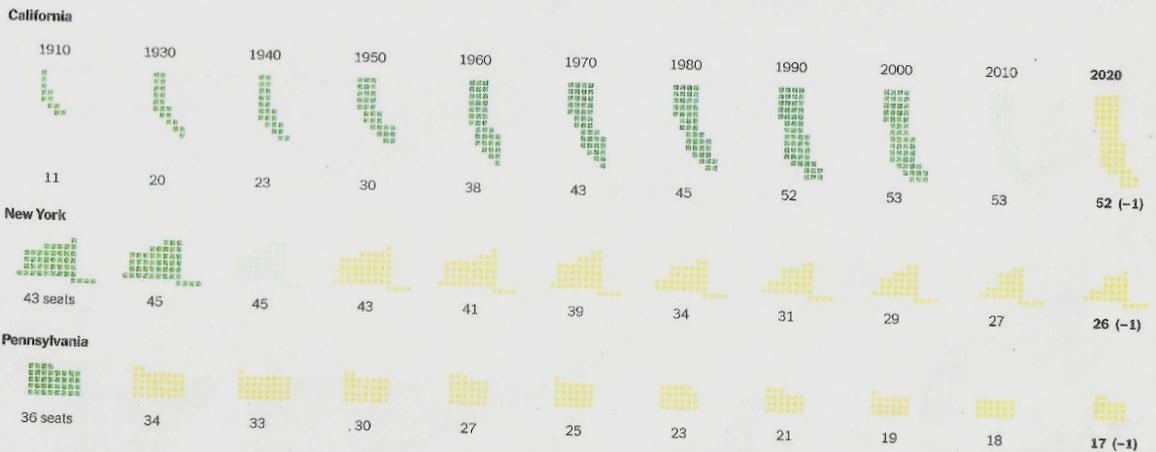
Who Wins?

The fastest-growing states are the obvious winners. Texas has added multiple seats in each census since 1970, and Florida has added seats after each census since 1890.



Who Loses?

California will lose a seat for the first time in its history. New York and Pennsylvania will again lose seats, as they have for many decades. In addition to these three, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio and West Virginia will each lose one seat.



THE NEW YORK TIMES

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If the 2020 election was re-run with the new Electoral College numbers, President Biden would have won 303 electoral votes, instead of the 306 he took last November.

The census was hampered or delayed by an array of Trump administration efforts to remove undocumented immigrants from the count, a shift that mostly likely

would have increased the number of Republican-held districts in the next Congress.

Who wins?

The fastest-growing states are the obvious winners. Texas has added multiple seats in each census since 1970, and Florida has added seats after each census since 1890.

No state has been gaining more people than Texas. In the last decade, it has effectively increased its

size — primarily because of the swarms of Americans and new immigrants moving to its booming metropolitan areas surrounding Austin, Dallas and Houston.

Having more members of Congress means more political power for the growing states of the South and West. And having more electoral votes will highlight the priorities of these states in presidential contests — especially battlegrounds like Florida and Texas —

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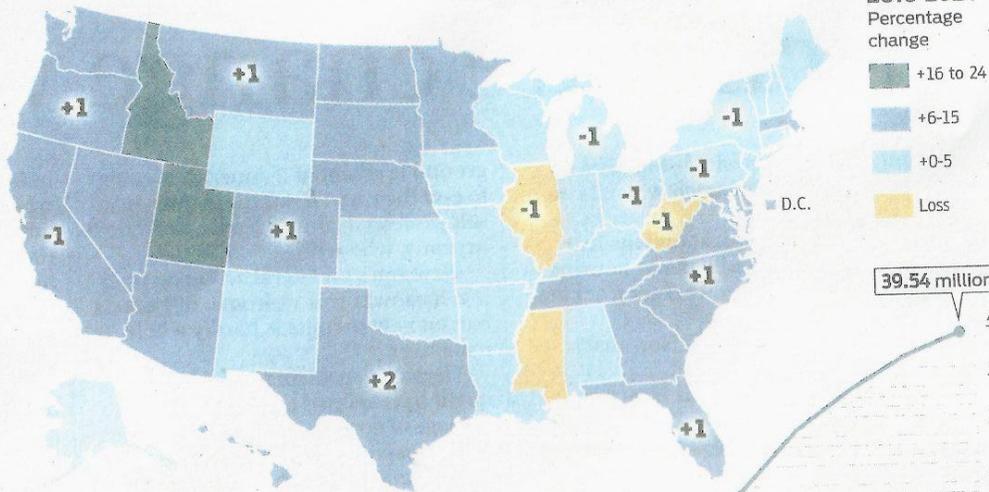
more members of Congress than Texas has added in that period alone.

Who loses?

That certain states are losing seats is predictable, based on historical performance. New York has now lost congressional seats for eight reapportionments in a row. Pennsylvania has lost seats after every census since 1920. Ohio and Michigan have both lost seats five times in a row. West Vir-

Change in House of Representatives seats

This map shows the 13 states that had their allotment of House seats adjusted and changes in population since the 2010 census:

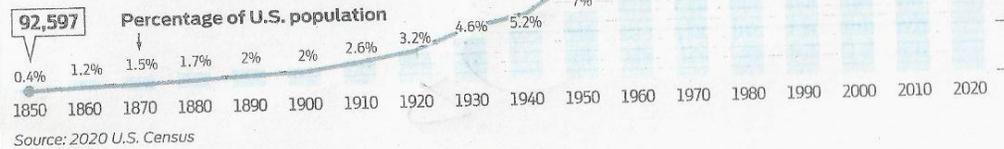


Census highlights

Changes from 2010 that came out in 2020 U.S. Census:

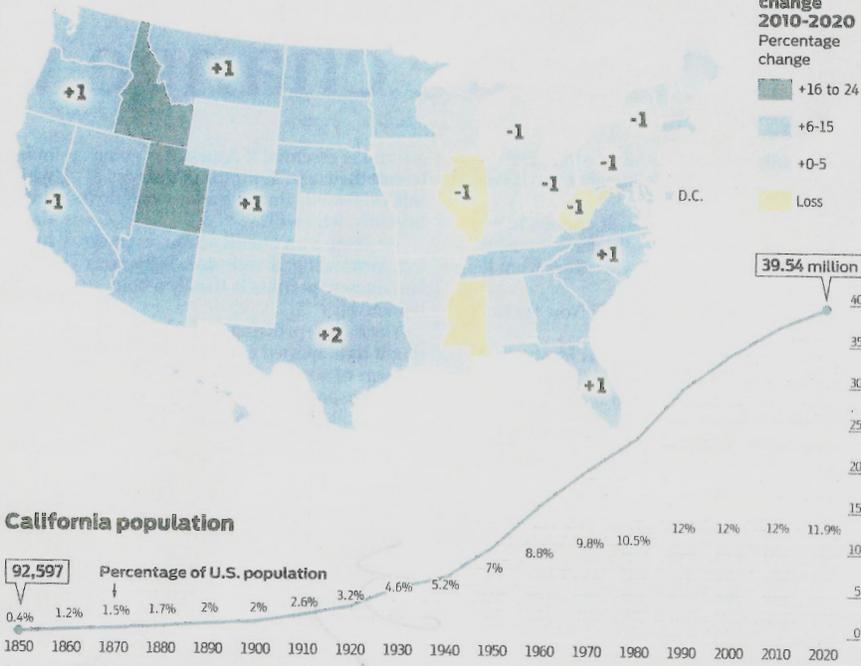
- ▶▶ California was one of seven states to lose a seat in the House of Representatives.
- ▶▶ California's population grew 6.1%, to 39.5 million. The U.S. grew 7.4%, to 331 million.
- ▶▶ California had more births than deaths, a positive net international migration, and negative net domestic migration for an increase of 2,284,267 people.
- ▶▶ Utah (up 18.4%) and Idaho (up 17.3%) had the largest percentage gains in population.
- ▶▶ West Virginia, Illinois, Mississippi were the only states with population decreases.
- ▶▶ Population gains by region were 10.2% in the South, 9.2% in the West, 4.1% in the Northeast and 3.1% in the Midwest.

California population



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Source: 2020 U.S. Census

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Who Controls Redistricting

Democrats Republicans Split Independent commission

States gaining seats



States losing seats



NEW YORK

Feds search Giuliani's apartment and office

By William K. Rashbaum, Ben Protess and Maggie Haberman

NEW YORK — Federal investigators in Manhattan executed search warrants early Wednesday at the home and office of Rudy Giuliani, the former New York City mayor who became President Donald Trump's personal lawyer, stepping up a criminal investigation into Giuliani's dealings in Ukraine, three people with knowledge of the investigation said.

The investigators seized Giuliani's electronic devices and searched his apartment on Madison Avenue and his office on Park Avenue about 6 a.m., two of the people said.

Executing a search warrant is an extraordinary move for prosecutors to take against a lawyer, let alone a lawyer for a former president. It is a major turning point in the long-running investigation into Giuliani, who as mayor steered New York through the Sept. 11 attacks and earlier in his career led the same U.S. attorney's office in Manhattan that is now investigating him.

Giuliani's lawyer, Robert J. Costello, called the searches unnecessary because his client had offered to answer questions from prosecutors, except those regarding his privileged communications with the former president.

"What they did today was legal thuggery," Costello said. "Why would you do this to anyone, let alone some-



Jacquelyn Martin / Associated Press

Federal investigators in Manhattan are reportedly looking into Rudy Giuliani's dealings in Ukraine.

one who was the associate attorney general, United States attorney, the mayor of New York City and the personal lawyer to the 45th president of the United States."

The federal authorities have been largely focused on whether Giuliani illegally lobbied the Trump administration in 2019 on behalf of Ukrainian officials and oligarchs, who at the same time were helping Giuliani search for dirt on Trump's political rivals, including President Biden, who was then a leading candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination.

The U.S. Attorney's office in Manhattan and the FBI had for months sought to secure a search warrant for Giuliani's phones.

Under Trump, senior political appointees in the Justice Department repeatedly sought to block such a warrant, the New York Times reported, slowing the investigation as it was gaining momentum last year. After

Merrick Garland was confirmed as Biden's attorney general, the Justice Department lifted its objection to the search.

While the warrants are not an explicit accusation of wrongdoing against Giuliani, it shows that the investigation has entered an aggressive new phase. To obtain a search warrant, investigators need to persuade a judge they have sufficient reason to believe that a crime was committed and that the search would turn up evidence of the crime.

Spokesmen for the FBI and the U.S. attorney's office declined to comment.

The investigation of Giuliani grew out of a case against two Soviet-born men who aided his mission in Ukraine to unearth damaging information about Biden and his son, Hunter, who was on the board of a Ukrainian energy company.

William K. Rashbaum, Ben Protess and Maggie Haberman are New York Times writers.

Probe of Giuliani includes efforts to dismiss envoy

By Eric Tucker

WASHINGTON — Federal authorities investigating Rudy Giuliani are seeking information related to a former U.S. ambassador to Ukraine who was ousted from her job two years ago on orders of then-President Donald Trump, a lawyer for Giuliani said Friday.

Robert Costello confirmed via text message that a search warrant served this week on Giuliani made reference to Marie Yovanovitch, who as a central player in the first impeachment case against Trump detailed a smear campaign by Giuliani and other Trump allies that preceded her 2019 removal from the job. Costello said the warrant also referenced Ukraine's former top prosecutor Yuri Lutsenko, who met with Giuliani and was also

part of efforts to remove Yovanovitch from her position.

The fact that the warrant makes mention of Yovanovitch, and that it seeks communication between Giuliani and several Ukrainians, suggests authorities are attempting to determine whether Giuliani's efforts to remove the ambassador were being done at the behest of Trump or of Ukrainians. That distinction matters because federal law requires anyone lobbying the U.S. on behalf of a foreign country or entity to register their work with the Justice Department.

Giuliani has denied any wrongdoing. The New York Times first reported on the warrant's reference to Yovanovitch.

The May 2019 ouster of Yovanovitch was one of the pivotal episodes of the Trump im-



Mike Mulholland / Grand Rapids Press 2020

Rudy Giuliani appears at a December hearing with Michigan lawmakers in Lansing. Federal authorities this week served search warrants for Giuliani's home and office in New York City.

peachment case, coming just months before a phone call in which Trump urged his Ukrainian counterpart to investigate Democratic rival Joe Biden and his son, Hunter. Giuliani advanced those same efforts in his own discussions with Ukrainian officials, meeting with a Ukrainian lawmaker who released audio recordings during the 2020 presidential campaign in an effort to dis-

credit Biden's candidacy.

Yovanovitch, a career diplomat who served for decades under both Republican and Democratic presidents and was first appointed by Ronald Reagan, testified in chilling detail during the impeachment trial about a "smear campaign" against her by Giuliani and others before her firing.

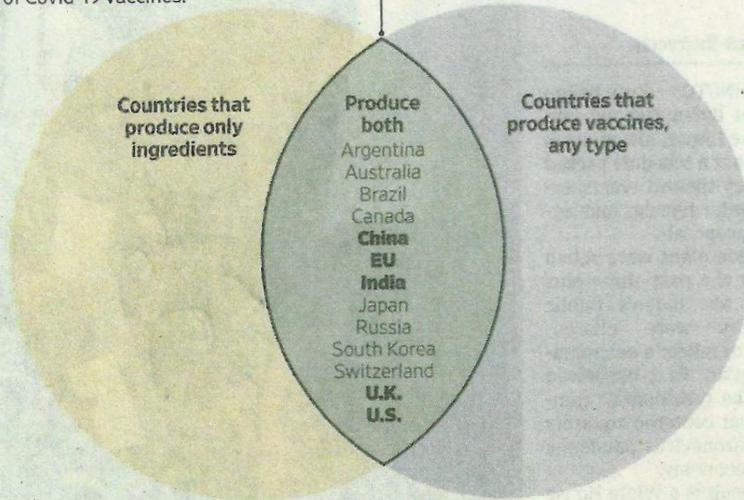
Yovanovitch also told House impeachment investigators that

she'd been told by Ukrainian officials that Giuliani was in touch with Ukraine's former top prosecutor Lutsenko "and that they had plans, and that they were going to, you know, do things, including to me."

She said she was told Lutsenko "was looking to hurt me in the U.S."

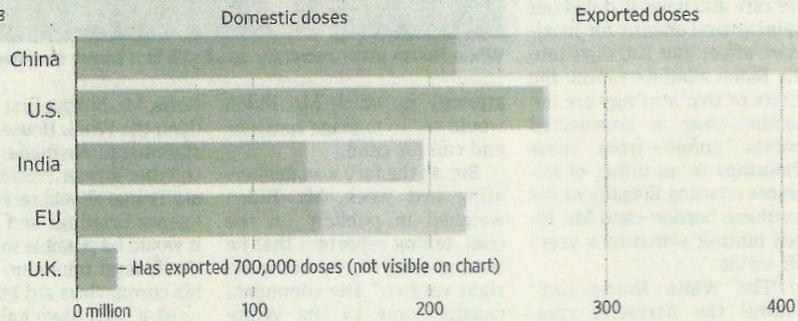
The 'Vaccine Club'

According to the World Bank, 12 countries and the EU make up the 'Vaccine Club,' a group that can produce both key vaccine ingredients as well as any type of final vaccine for the entire world. **Four of the countries—China, India, U.K. and U.S.—and the EU** account for the lion's share of the world's supply of Covid-19 vaccines.



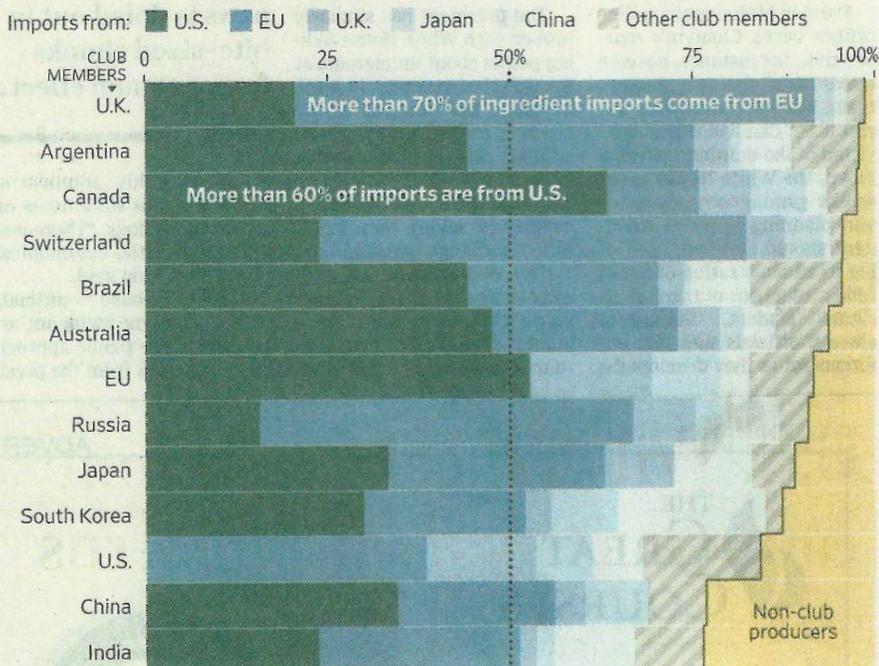
The bulk of Covid-19 vaccine dose production and exports comes from five members

As of April 23



The members of the vaccine club source ingredients for their vaccines primarily from one another. The U.K., for example, gets 98.7% of its imported vaccine ingredients from fellow club members.

Ingredient imports by vaccine club members



Sources: World Bank (vaccine club, ingredients imports); Airfinity (domestic and exported doses)

Police traffic stops and racism

As social justice advocates target police violence against people of color, traffic stops are under growing scrutiny.

Why are traffic stops important?

Scores of studies have shown the same pervasive pattern: Black people are more likely to be pulled over for traffic violations, and more likely to be searched when they're stopped. The most comprehensive study of the issue comes from Stanford University's Open Policing Project, which in 2020 found "persistent racial bias" in nearly 100 million police stops made by 21 state agencies and 35 municipal departments. Tellingly, the racial disparity dropped after sunset—when it's harder for an officer to see a driver's face. Black drivers were searched about twice as often as white drivers—even though they were less frequently found to be carrying contraband. "Driving while Black" is very much a thing," says Kelsey Shoub, an assistant professor at the University of South Carolina and co-author of *Suspect Citizens*, a book analyzing 20 million traffic stops. "It appears to be more systemic than a few 'bad apple' officers engaged in racial profiling."



From a video taken during the killing of Philando Castile

How strong is the evidence for that charge?

Multiple studies have come to the same conclusion. An ABC News analysis of data from city police departments last year, for example, found stark disparities in traffic stops. Blacks were stopped five times more in Minneapolis, four times more in Chicago and San Francisco, and three times more in Philadelphia and Los Angeles. A 2020 study of 1.8 million stops in California found Blacks were three times more likely to be searched—a figure that matches a 2013 Justice Department study. Shoub and two colleagues found that "just by getting in a car, a Black driver has about twice the odds of being pulled over and about four times the odds of being searched."

What is the impact of the stops?

Traffic stops are the most common interaction between citizens and police, with some 50,000 drivers pulled over daily—about 20 million stops a year. Police have a huge amount of discretion in deciding whom to pull over, and people of color are often singled out for scrutiny and harassment. Critics say stops over matters like broken taillights are generally a pretext to interrogate or search someone or their vehicle. Many Black Americans say repeated traffic stops breed humiliation, trauma, and distrust of police. There's "a tension that has been growing for decades," said Sen. Tim Scott (R-S.C.), a conservative African-American who has spoken of the "anguish" he's experienced during a host of groundless traffic stops dating to his teens. More troubling still is that many of the most notorious recent police killings of Black men began with traffic stops.

Laish Reynolds

Why is that?

Police are trained to believe that every citizen they pull over may be an armed criminal, so some cops approach stops with adrenalized fear and hair-trigger aggression. Consider the case of Army Lt. Caron Nazario, who was approached by two cops pointing guns and pepper sprayed in the face after a December traffic stop. Minnesotan Philando Castile was fatally shot with five bullets in front of his girlfriend and 4-year-old daughter after being pulled over for a broken taillight; an NPR analysis showed the dreadlocked 32-year-old had been stopped 46 times over 14 years. Walter Scott, a South Carolina forklift operator, was fatally shot in the back in 2015 after being stopped for a faulty brake light.

Sandra Bland, 28, died in jail in Texas after being pulled over for failing to use a turn signal. In 2015, more than 100 people were fatally shot after traffic stops, *The Washington Post* found, a third of them Black. (Blacks make up about 13 percent of the population.)

What's being done about this?

Some cities and states are putting restrictions on when police can pull people over. A new law in Virginia prevents police from pulling over drivers solely because of minor violations. The Oregon Supreme Court ruled in 2019 that police can't interrogate drivers about matters unrelated to the reason they were stopped, and San Francisco's district attorney announced last year that the city would no longer prosecute cases arising from pretextual stops. Such moves are staunchly opposed by police unions, who say traffic stops help cops find and catch serious criminals. "It's a very valuable tool," said Kevin Lawrence of the Texas Municipal Police Association. But some critics of the stop want to take traffic enforcement away from police entirely.

How would that work?

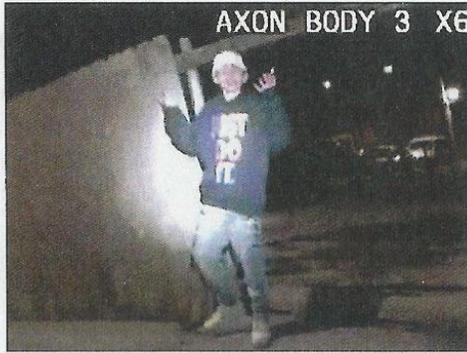
Municipalities would create a separate agency responsible for traffic issues, staffed by unarmed agents without the power to arrest or conduct searches. Cameras would be used to target violations like expired registrations as well as speeding and red-light running. Last year Berkeley, Calif., became the first city to approve such a plan. Such an approach would do much to alleviate the racial injustice around traffic enforcement, said Jordan Blair Woods, a University of Arkansas law professor who's studied the issue. "Removing police from traffic enforcement," Woods said, "could also eliminate key reasons traffic stops escalate into violence."

How the courts back the police

The courts have generally given police wide latitude to stop and arrest motorists. In the 1996 case *Whren v. United States*, the Supreme Court ruled police can use a minor infraction as justification for stopping a driver in pursuit of an unrelated crime. It "put the rubber stamp on pretextual traffic stops," said University of Arkansas law professor Jordan Blair Woods. The high court went a step further in 2014, ruling in *Heien v. North Carolina* that evidence found in a traffic stop is admissible even if the matter the driver was stopped for wasn't actually a violation of law; as long as the officer *believed* it was, the court ruled, the stop and subsequent search was legal. Even without that leeway, reform advocates note, traffic laws contain so many regulations that police who want to stop a car can always find a reason. "If you're driving," said Farhang Heydari of the NYU School of Law's Policing Project, "it's impossible not to break a traffic law."

Police shootings: An endless toll of Black lives

A Chicago police officer chased down 13-year-old Adam Toledo “and fatally shot him as he turned with his hands up.” A cop in Brooklyn Center, Minn., fatally shot Daunte Wright, 20, in the chest after accidentally grabbing her gun instead of her Taser. Officers killed Anthony Thompson Jr., 17, in a Knoxville high school bathroom after responding to reports of an armed student. These Black and Latino men and boys are among “at least 64 people” killed by law enforcement since testimony began in the trial of Derek Chauvin, the former Minneapolis officer convicted of murdering George Floyd, said **John Eligon** and **Shawn Hubler** in *The New York Times*. About 1,000 Americans die every year at the hands of police, and as the nation watched the Chauvin trial there were more than three police killings a day. “With people of color, there is a different aggression,” said Ron Johnson, a retired Missouri State Highway Patrol captain and an African-American. When cops see black or brown faces, he said, the “adrenaline starts going out of the roof.” Look at the case of Adam Toledo, said **Mikki Kendall** in *NBCNews.com*. A skinny seventh-grader, he tossed away a handgun at Officer Eric Stillman’s command, yet the cop pulled his trigger on “a child with his hands in the air.”



Toledo, a split second before he was killed

Toledo’s death is “tragic,” said **John Kass** in the *Chicago Tribune*, but he wasn’t the victim of an “assassination,” as his family attorney claimed. Police chased him because Toledo was with a 21-year-old who was firing shots for fun around 2:30 a.m. Based on Stillman’s bodycam footage, it looks as if Toledo “had a gun in his hand” just before he whirled to face Stillman; the officer couldn’t see whether he’d dropped it. Regardless of the circumstances, liberals blame virtually every police shooting on racism, said **Zachary Faria** in *WashingtonExaminer.com*. Take Wright who jumped

an Asian-American CNN producer while screaming, “Do you speak English?” The Chauvin trial and Black Lives Matter movement have cops feeling threatened and “their powerful, reactionary unions doubling down on authoritarianism.”

So what is the liberal solution? asked **Jim Geraghty** in *National Review.com*. The Left blames “irredeemably racist” police while seldom acknowledging that U.S. cities with “tense relationships between Black communities and heavily white police forces are almost entirely Democratic run.” Minnesota Gov. Tim Walz, Minneapolis Mayor Jacob Frey, and Chicago Mayor Lori Lightfoot are all Democrats. Liberals now admit that far-left calls to “defund the police” are extremely unpopular, even in minority communities, and backfired horribly at the polls in 2020. The truth is that “no one wants to see 13-year-olds shot and killed by police,” but when people resist arrest or flee from police, bad things happen.

Every Black person knows that any encounter with police can end badly, said **Charles Blow** in *The New York Times*. Black people

Inquirer. Quite the opposite. The department, just 10 miles from where Chauvin was on trial, defiantly raised a “thin blue line” flag over their station house—proof the cops see themselves in the Alamo, surrounded by a dangerous enemy. When protests erupted, cops, state troopers, and National Guard troops dressed in Robo-Cop gear and driving military cruisers shot tear gas and rubber bullets at both rioters and peaceful demonstrators and actively targeted journalists covering the assault. Officers pepper-sprayed a reporter in a yellow “Press” vest, beat a *New York Times* reporter with sticks, and arrested

G.O.P. INTENSIFIES NATIONWIDE PUSH TO RESTRICT VOTE

FLORIDA ADOPTS LIMITS

Next Front Is in Texas — Democrats Pressured to Strike Back

By NICK CORASANTINI and REID J. EPSTEIN

The pleas from Florida election officials were direct and dire: Passing the state's new voting bill would be a "grave security risk," "unnecessary" and a "travesty."

The restrictions imposed by the new law, they warned, would make it harder to vote and hurt confidence in the balloting process.

But their objections were brushed aside on Thursday night as the Legislature gave final passage to a bill that would limit voting by mail, curtail the use of drop boxes and prohibit actions to help people waiting in line to vote, among other restrictions, while imposing penalties on those who do not follow the rules. It was perhaps the clearest sign yet that Republicans are determined to march forward across state capitols to establish new restrictions on voting.

The Republican effort puts added pressure on Democrats in Con-



WILFREDO LEE/ASSOCIATED PRESS
Joe Gruters, chairman of the Republican Party of Florida.

gress to find a way to pass federal voting laws, including a sweeping overhaul known as the For the People Act. But in Washington, just as in state capitols across the country, Republicans have remained united and steadfast against the Democratic effort.

Georgia Republicans in March enacted far-reaching new voting laws that limit ballot drop boxes and forbid the distribution of food and water to voters waiting in line. Iowa has also imposed new limits, including reducing the period for early voting and in-person voting hours on Election Day.

America's airlines and moving on a vast election bill that would be among the most severe in the nation. It would impose new restrictions on early voting, ban drive-through voting, threaten election officials with harsher penalties and greatly empower partisan poll watchers. The main bill passed a key committee in a late-night session on Thursday, and could head to a full floor vote in the House as early as next week.

Bills to restrict voting have also been moving through Republican legislatures in Arizona and Michigan.

Throughout the process, Republican legislators have been largely unmoved by opposition to new voting laws by Fortune 500 companies, major American sports leagues, Black faith leaders and election administrators. Nor has the lack of popular support for any of the bills deterred them. Even as some of the more strident initial proposals have been watered down, there has rarely been a pause, even for a moment, in the drive to pass new legislation on voting.

"I don't think anybody was concerned about it," Joe Gruters, a Florida state senator and the chairman of the Republican Party of Florida, said of outside criticism.

Lightening his state's election laws, Mr. Gruters has said, is a top priority not just of Republican lawmakers but also of the party's base. Though he characterized Florida's election system as a national "gold standard" and said he wasn't aware of any fraud in the 2020 election, Mr. Gruters said in a phone interview on Friday that his state's voting could always be improved.

"It's just like when the Tampa Bay Buccaneers won the Super Bowl — they're still making improvements and signing new players," he said.

A representative for Gov. Ron DeSantis said on Friday that he is a "strong supporter" of the Florida bill, and he is widely expected to sign it. But state election officials were still protesting the measure on Friday morning, barely 12 hours after it had passed.

The group representing Florida election supervisors issued a statement lamenting the new limits on voting by mail, saying the changes would make it "harder" to cast a mail ballot. "After days of debate, our hope is that the initial and unnecessary call for election reform will not detract from the confidence that was well-earned in 2020," Craig Latimer, the head of the group, said in the statement.

The unrelenting push by Republicans to roll back voting access has left Democrats despondent. In an emotional floor speech before the final vote in Florida on Thursday night, State Representative Angela Nixon of Tampa both pleaded with her colleagues to vote against the bill and chastised those supporting it.

"It's very frustrating, and it's tougher hard to be in this chamber, not to be cool with people and corral with people who are making



Gov. Brian Kemp of Georgia said he would continue to defend the state's new voting restrictions despite boycotts by businesses.

The fixation on voting laws reflects how central the issue has become to the Republican Party, driven by a base that still adheres to former President Donald Trump's false claims that the 2020 election was stolen from him. Pledges to ensure voting integrity have become common in political ads and stump speeches, and opposition to the federal voting rights bills in Congress is universal among Republican members.

A number of Republicans run-

A party's base has become a chief driver of legislative action.

ning for office in 2022 have begun campaigns with messaging that pushes the false narrative that the nation's voting systems are flawed. They include Representative Ted Budd of North Carolina, who on Wednesday announced a Senate bid with a three-minute video in which he called for fair and secure elections, adopting Republicans' rationale for revamping the voting laws.

In a political era in which partisan primaries are often the only challenge a candidate faces, the party's base has become a chief driver of legislative action. A CNN poll released on Friday found that while 97 percent of Democrats believed President Biden "legitimately won enough votes to win the presidency," 70 percent of Republicans said he did not.

And polling from Quinnipiac

pressure. (Numerous audits, court cases and reports have found no significant fraud in the 2020 election.)

Republicans have been largely dismissive of the business community's objections to new voting restrictions, part of a longer-running split between the parties and local chambers of commerce that began when corporations vocally opposed laws enacted by Republican-run states in the 2010s that sought to protect businesses from having to recognize same-sex marriage.

An array of corporations also denounced the Jan. 6 attack on the Capitol and said they would not donate to Republican members of Congress who voted to overturn the election results. That threat didn't sway most lawmakers from their fealty to Mr. Trump, and in the weeks since the attack, some companies have pulled back from that pledge.

Indeed, some Republicans have turned public opposition from major businesses and outside entities into a political weapon; rather than seek to appease businesses,

lawmakers have instead taunted them, castigating corporate activism and daring businesses to act.

"Major League Baseball caved to fear and lies from liberal activists," Gov. Brian Kemp of Georgia announced the day after the decision by Major League Baseball to move its All-Star Game from Atlanta. Free and fair elections, he said, "are worth the threats." He added, "They are worth the boycotts, as well as the lawsuits. I want to be clear: I will not be backing down from this fight."

Lt. Gov. Dan Patrick of Texas was just as firm. "Texans are fed up with corporations that don't share our values trying to dictate public policy," he said after American Airlines released a statement denouncing one of the voting bills in the state. "The majority of Texans support maintaining the integrity of our elections, which is why I made it a priority this legislative session."

Republicans not in thrall to Mr. Trump see the standoff with businesses as an ominous sign. "We say the party has gone full Trump, but what we mean is the party has



gone full populist and nationalist," said Michael Wood, an anti-Trump Republican running in Saturday's 23-candidate special election to Congress in the Dallas suburbs. "We've turned away from our roots as a pro-business party, a pro-small business party, and that, if we don't correct course, is going to be really bad for America."

Yet Republicans are also seizing on a potential political opportunity. The aftermath of the 2020 election, and Mr. Trump's insistence that the vote was rigged, provided the party with the first major public support from its partisans to pursue new voting legislation, after the Supreme Court hollowed out the Voting Rights Act in 2013.

Indeed, many of the laws being proposed and passed by Republicans would most likely have been challenged by the Justice Department under what was known as the preclearance provision in Section 5 of the act.

"We saw something like this in 2010 after Obama got elected," said Myra Pérez, the director of the Voting Rights and Elections Program at the Brennan Center for Justice. "But we had more of a pushback and were able to block or blunt many of those laws. Now there's not the kind of guardrails that we had in the past, and voters are suffering because of it."

Mr. Wood, the Texas Republican running in Saturday's special election, worries that this could drive away supporters.

"It's keeping Republicans from talking honestly to themselves about why we're getting a smaller and smaller share of the vote in Texas," he said. "We can either have that conversation, or keep screaming about quote unquote

best for the state, which is not kept an unusually low profile for a new president.

Mr. Biden, meanwhile, is drawing solid if not spectacular early marks, a reflection of the country's deep polarization.

So as he turns to an expansive, and expensive, menu of domestic proposals aimed at lifting the economy, combating poverty and addressing climate change, his supporters are hoping to retain support from the voters who helped lift him to victory last year

A \$3 million effort aimed at voters in swing states.

in part by reminding them of Mr. Biden's predecessor.

"The message is simple: Chaos is out, competence is in, and help is here for Americans," said Stephanie Cutter, an adviser to Building Back Together who is close to Mr. Biden and top West Wing officials.

The group, whose formation was first reported in February, is going on the air in vote-rich and costly markets: Las Vegas, Atlanta, Philadelphia and Milwaukee, as well as Scranton, Pa., Mr. Biden's childhood home. The group has drawn some scrutiny because it has said it will not disclose the identity of its donors.

The ads are aimed at winning over people of color, upscale white suburbanites and the smaller group of working-class whites who moved from supporting Mr. Trump in 2016 to backing Mr. Biden in 2020. Building Back Together is particularly focused on retaining the sort of independent or even Republican-leaning voters who backed Mr. Biden but might have voted for G.O.P. candidates farther down the ballot.

The goal for this and future ad blitzes, officials say, is to try to cement the president's new coalition by reminding them of what they may have disliked about Mr. Trump and by pitching Mr. Biden's agenda. They hope that by mixing television and digital they will reach voters across platforms and throughout the day.

In addition to being crucial presidential battlegrounds, Georgia, Nevada, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin also have some of the most significant races for Senate and governor seats next year.

This new effort, while chiefly aimed at promoting Mr. Biden, could also help Democratic candidates in those states whose fortunes in the midterms will be tied in large part to the president's popularity. Many in the party, including Mr. Biden himself earlier this year, have said that former President Barack Obama did not do enough to highlight his early agenda and paid a price for it in the 2010 midterm elections.

This is the group's first advertising campaign, but the organization intends to be active as the main outside group for Mr. Biden,

Remote workers wanted: Small towns offer cash, perks

By Carolyn Said

Small towns across America have a message for the new crop of remote workers: We'll pay you to move here.

From Maine to Michigan, communities are dangling incentives ranging up to \$20,000 in cash and perks for out-of-state folks who relocate and stay at least a year, while continuing their existing jobs from a distance. Besides the money,

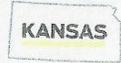
the main lures are lifestyle amenities — a slower pace, affordable housing, less traffic, access to nature, close-knit communities.

For towns and counties, it's well worth forking out money to diversify their populations and boost their economies. New residents patronize local restaurants and stores, pay taxes, enroll their kids in schools and may volunteer or immerse themselves in civic activities.

"Many of these communities historically have been flyover towns," said Evan Hock, co-founder of MakeMyMove.com, a clearinghouse for incentive offers that lists about three dozen nationwide. "Maybe they lost population in the last decade; growth has slowed. Brand-new citizens bring a lot of income and spending that is enormously valuable as it trickles through the economy."

Would any of these offers persuade you to leave the Bay Area?

Five relocation offers from communities around the United States include cash and other perks — such as sandwiches from Jimmy John's — according to MakeMyMove.com.

 <p>ALABAMA</p> <p>Value: \$10,000</p> <p>Community: Lauderdale and Colbert counties</p> <p>Offer type: Cash</p>	 <p>KANSAS</p> <p>Value: \$11,000</p> <p>Community: Topeka</p> <p>Offer type: Part of home down payment, perks (\$1,000 of free Jimmy John's sandwiches)</p>	 <p>MICHIGAN</p> <p>Value: \$15,000</p> <p>Community: Berrien County</p> <p>Offer type: Part of home down payment, perks (including an annual pass to local beaches)</p>	 <p>OKLAHOMA</p> <p>Value: \$11,000</p> <p>Community: Tulsa</p> <p>Offer type: Cash (\$10,000), perks (including access to co-working space)</p>	 <p>WEST VIRGINIA</p> <p>Value: \$20,000</p> <p>Community: Morgantown</p> <p>Offer type: Cash (\$12,000), perks (including a year's worth of free recreational activities such as skiing)</p>
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Note: Offers may change

The nationwide swing to working from home is propelling incentive programs. Almost half of companies now plan to allow full-time remote work, according to a recent Gartner survey. Meanwhile almost a third of Californians already working from home said they want to stay permanently remote, according to a survey released last week.

"It's a magical strategic intersection of new workforce trends and a shift in geographic preferences," said Brad Smith, Intuit's former CEO, and currently executive chair of its board and chair of the Nordstrom board.

A Menlo Park resident, he's loyal to his roots in West Virginia. He and his wife, Alys, are financing a new program called Ascend WV that offers \$12,000 cash and a year's worth of free outdoor activities and co-working space to people who relocate to the self-named "wild, wonderful" state.

Over the next five years, they aim to lure 1,000 remote workers, starting this year with 50 in Morgantown.

"Rural has become the new urban," Smith said. "People want to be part of that Hallmark lifestyle in communities where they have a chance to know other people."

To be sure, all the relocation incentives have fine print. They require income verification and proof that the new residents can work remotely. Some require buying a house (albeit at prices that seem laughably low by Bay Area standards). All want at least a year's residency; some mandate two years. All limit how many folks they can accept.

The Alabama counties of

Lauderdale and Colbert, called The Shoals, started a program called Remote Shoals in June 2018 with a \$10,000 incentive.

"The pandemic changed everything," said Adam Humber, vice president of the Shoals Economic Development Authority. "A lot of people are now in remote positions so the interest level has increased tremendously."

The Shoals' low cost of living may help boost interest. The median home price is \$175,000. Applicants must earn at least \$52,000 in their remote job.

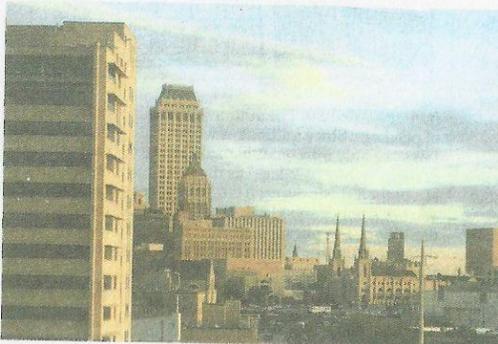
"We have a lot of people from the West Coast who will ask, 'Hey, I want to buy a house, can I get one for \$350,000?'" Humber said. "And we say, 'Yes, you can buy a mansion with a lot of land.'"

In October, Michigan's Berrien County, home to about 150,000 people, launched Move to Michigan, offering \$10,000 to transplants from other states plus another \$5,000 if they enroll a child in public schools. The full stipend requires buying a house for at least \$200,000 and staying two years.

Applications have poured in. The county now is wading through some 1,000 with a goal of recruiting 20 to 25 families.

"We wanted new people and new income," said Rob Cleveland, president of Cornerstone Alliance, a nonprofit economic development organization that is sponsoring it.

Not all the offers are cash. A variety of small towns in Iowa, Kansas and Texas offer free lots, valued at about \$3,000, for transplants to build a house. OpportunityMaine offers up to \$367 a month in state tax credits for recent college grads to pay off their student loans. The



Jumping Rocks / Universal Images Group via Getty Images

A Tulsa, Okla., program for remote workers has paid \$10,000 to more than 700 people since 2018 to relocate to the state.

grads can be from Maine or elsewhere. It also offers networking events for folks considering a relocation to get questions answered. "We found it accelerates their move to Maine," said Katie Shorey, director of engagement for Live + Work in Maine.

Some programs include quirky local bonuses. Topeka, Kan., throws in a year's worth of Jimmy John sandwiches; northwest Arkansas springs for a mountain bike; West Virginia offers free whitewater rafting, skiing and rock climbing. Many places include a concierge service to support new residents, access to a co-working space and networking events.

Tulsa Remote is among the biggest programs. Started in late 2018, it's paid \$10,000 to more than 700 people, many of whom moved to the northeast Oklahoma city (population 400,000) with spouses, children and other family members. It hopes to add 750 more "members" this year.

"In 2020 we saw a fivefold increase in applications as more and more people had the opportunity to work remotely and also were looking for communities in which they could have more space," said Ben Stewart, executive director. "Places like Tulsa got on their radar."

Of the folks who have moved there, 40% to 45% work in tech, 30% in business services. "The rest range from a Harlem Globetrotter to a Japanese opera singer," Stewart said.

Stephanie Robesky, 45, "a California girl, through and through," had barely heard of Tulsa a couple of years ago. But tired of San Francisco's rising prices, social issues and traffic, she began thinking about moving elsewhere.

The Tulsa offer popped up in her news feed and kept following her around the web. Eventually she decided to apply and found that in itself an interesting exercise to crystallize her priorities.

Tulsa Remote, then brand-new, offered her a trip to see the city. "I thought, 'Great, risk free,'" she said. "Honestly, in the back of my mind, it was a long shot."

But after a long weekend, she felt blown away by the city's amenities and decided to take the plunge. Her Oakland employer agreed to let her do her product management job remotely and she moved in spring 2019.

"Since then, I found a boyfriend, bought a house, am fostering animals and am very active in the Tulsa Remote community," she said.

The money wasn't the draw,

although it "de-risks" the move, she said. Instead, forging connections with other transplants through frequent networking events was the most valuable aspect. "It's really hard as a remote worker to move to a place where you don't have roots already and don't know anyone," she said.

The lure of cash isn't enough for everyone. Ivan and Brooke Lugo of San Lorenzo have been thinking of relocating, especially since his software development job is now remote. "We could move somewhere else; I could do the exact same job I was doing in the office and lead a higher-quality life," he said.

They randomly encountered the Michigan offer. "That was a substantial amount of money to move and find a new place," he said. But ultimately they passed. "That particular locale wasn't a fan favorite for us," he said.

MakeMyMove was started late last year by Hock and Bill Oesterle, both veterans of home-service referral site Angie's List. It seeks to help workers find offers, and give communities a channel to reach them.

"Suddenly millions of people were freed from their current location," Hock said. "We realized it was a unique opportunity to help communities recruit these remote workers. We expect to see these incentives start to get richer and richer as competition increases and as communities understand the economic value of these folks."

Smith also thinks that more places will offer enticements to move.

"There will be a large number of people who now have choices, and there will be communities like West Virginia and others who say, 'Let me make the choice easier,'" Smith said. "Other communities will follow suit."

Carolyn Said is a San Francisco Chronicle staff writer. Email: csaid@sfbchronicle.com Twitter: @csaid

How Blunders By Newsom Led To a Recall Vote

By SHAWN HUBLER
and JENNIFER MEDINA

SACRAMENTO — For all the controversies and Covid-19 crises that now have Gov. Gavin Newsom of California facing a recall election, it was a pair of prosaic events on Nov. 6 — a court hearing and a dinner — that led to the current political instability that will grip the state for months to come.

That Friday morning, a Sacramento Superior Court judge gave a small cadre of conservative Republicans four additional months to gather signatures for a petition to recall Mr. Newsom. The state felt the governor had such a compelling case that its lawyers did not even show up for oral arguments against the recall proponents, who said Mr. Newsom's pandemic restrictions had "severely inhibited" their ability to collect the nearly 1.5 million signatures required.

Then, that night, Mr. Newsom and his wife celebrated the birthday of Jason Kinney, a Sacramento lobbyist and longtime friend and adviser. The governor had recently urged residents to stay home amid fears of a holiday-season virus outbreak — but there he was in Napa Valley, schmoozing maskless at the French Laun-

dry restaurant. Photographs of him mingling set off a fury up and down the state.

Within a month, a recall effort that had only managed to submit roughly 4 percent of the necessary signatures was suddenly soaring, as major Republican donors sent money and the petition gained nearly 500,000 signatures.

With Monday's announcement that the recall has officially qualified for the ballot, California finds itself plunged into a political reversal-of-fortune scenario: A fading Republican Party that has not won a statewide election in 15 years is mounting a real challenge to a high-profile Democratic leader, in only the second recall election of a California governor in more than 80 years of attempts.

The recall effort has revealed that even a one-party stronghold like California can be rocked by the nation's political polarization, as health emergencies and lockdown policies disrupt and divide a jittery public. It has also brought into relief the conservative vein that threads through the state, from the rural Far North, through the Sierra foothills, down the Central Valley and into the tile-roof-and-cinder-block tracts of struggling Southern California exurbs.

"The whole social reality is disturbing to a lot of people," said Jerry Brown, the former four-term governor of California, who said the recall effort also reflected anger at political leaders across the country. "The destruction of so many businesses — there's an acceleration of instability and therefore in the confidence that millions of people have in their future. That's then a breeding ground for hostilities. That certainly makes scapegoats very attractive."

The political targeting of Mr. Newsom comes as public schools have yet to fully reopen, leaving many children at home and many parents aggravated. Public school enrollment has dropped by more than 160,000 students, while the state has lost roughly 1.5 million jobs and unemployment remains at 8.3 percent, one of the highest rates in the country.

"There's a lot of frustration and rising anger on a variety of issues — jobs are leaving, homelessness is rising, so many parents are



DAVID McNEW/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES



PATRICK T. FALLON/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Even though Democrats outnumber Republicans nearly two to one in California, the effort to recall Gov. Gavin Newsom shows how even a one-party stronghold can be in the grip of the nation's political polarization. Holding Democratic factions together and getting them out to vote will be essential for Mr. Newsom.

outnumbered, and Mr. Newsom has been able to keep Democratic rivals off the recall ballot. The ultimate test would be turning out his voters, which would require not only the help but also the enthusiasm of critical constituencies such as organized labor.

Polls show a solid majority of support for Mr. Newsom, though some surveys indicate his standing may be soft among Latino voters. And some policies, such as a recent vow to gradually ban new fracking permits, have already put him on a collision course with unions that view the state's fossil fuel industry through the lens of the higher-paying jobs it offers.

"California's politics are far left, but the state is predominantly blue-collar," said Erin Lehane, a Sacramento political consultant who works with unions. "Those working families — those essential workers who have been out there this whole crazy year — will decide the vote in this recall."

Recall attempts are a political pastime in California, which, as a result of Progressive Era reforms from 1911, has some of the nation's most generous rules for removing public officials from office. But initiatives to recall governors rarely manage to gather the support needed to make it onto a ballot.

California is enormous, with a population of nearly 40 million, and the funds and effort required to campaign statewide tend to thwart all but the most moneyed

and determined critics. Only one other California governor, Gray Davis, has ever faced a recall election, which he lost to Arnold Schwarzenegger in 2003. That initiative struggled until Representative Darrell Issa, who had hoped to replace Mr. Davis, donated \$2 million to the campaign.

Mr. Newsom was a target almost from the moment of his election. Three groups had made five recall attempts against him before the current campaign. Their initial complaints were ideological. The lead proponent of this recall bid, a retired Republican sheriff's sergeant named Orrin Heatlie, took issue with the governor's policies on the death penalty and immigration.

For a recall to qualify for the ballot, critics needed to gather valid signatures from 12 percent of the voters in the last election for governor. None of the petitions against Mr. Newsom came remotely close to that threshold until Judge James P. Arguelles — at that pivotal November hearing in Sacramento Superior Court — gave Mr. Heatlie and his California Patriot Coalition an extra four months to pass petitions.

"This was the sixth recall attempt," said Nathan Click, a former spokesman for the governor who is now helping run the campaign to defend him. "Elections are about money and time. They would not have raised the money to get the signatures they did if the

judge hadn't given them that extension. Without the time piece of this, there's no recall."

As the recall has become nightly grist on talk radio and conservative cable news shows, Mr. Newsom has gone on the offensive, guided by the veteran Democratic strategist Ace Smith, who has handled past campaigns for Vice President Kamala Harris and Mr. Brown.

In March, Mr. Newsom delivered his State of the State address, a usually bland affair, with an empty Dodger Stadium as his backdrop, blasting the recall effort as a power grab by right-wing extremists trying to game the political system. And he has been touting his own successes. A shelter-in-place order issued early in the pandemic initially kept case rates remarkably low, and a program that leveraged federal money to provide quarantine space in motels for homeless people now offers thousands of Californians permanent supportive housing.

Helped by a Democratic White House and a multibillion-dollar state surplus — a result of the state's heavy reliance on the kind of high-income earners whose jobs were generally untouched by the pandemic — he has dispensed state coronavirus relief worth \$7.6 billion, rolled out more than 29 million vaccine doses and recalibrated health guidelines to prod teachers back into classrooms.

"Governor Newsom thinks time is his best friend," said Joe Rodota, who worked as an aide to the former Republican governors Pete Wilson and Mr. Schwarzenegger. "Ultimately all recalls are self-inflicted; that's the history. These things don't go anywhere unless there's gasoline that has been poured on the sidewalk personally."

Already, the state is recovering, as are Mr. Newsom's approval ratings. A recent poll by the Public Policy Institute of California showed that about 56 percent of likely voters in the state do not support the recall. Unemployment, while high, has fallen steadily. Disneyland is set to reopen on Friday and the rate of new coronavirus cases in California is among the nation's lowest.

Meanwhile, his allies, including those in the Biden administration, have managed to keep Democrats in line — a feat that Mr. Davis was unable to pull off. Some influential Republicans, too, are remaining on the sideline. Mr. Schwarzenegger has said he will remain neutral.

"We have 40 million people in this state," Mr. Schwarzenegger said last week in an interview. "I think they're smart enough to figure out which direction to go. And how far they want to go — is this just going to be a threat? 'Get your act together and we're going to back off?'"

If so, he added, the recall proponents "were, in a way, very successful — because he definitely got more engaged in the last few months."

window to block the recall, by convincing enough voters who signed the petition to withdraw their support, but even Mr. Newsom's aides have called that outcome unlikely. The Legislature's joint budget committee will also have to sign off on a California Department of Finance report on the cost of the special election, which Mr. Newsom's supporters estimate could be \$100 million or more.

If those hurdles are cleared, as is widely expected, the recall would present Mr. Newsom with more political challenges and scrutiny than he has ever faced. Over the winter, the recall supporters were already capitalizing on his every move.

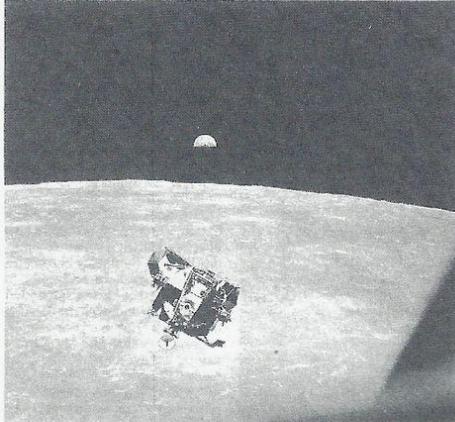
As children struggled with online instruction, critics accused Mr. Newsom of coddling teachers' unions. As small businesses withered, they pointed to Mr. Newsom's success as a wine merchant. When Mr. Newsom implied that his own children were being

schooled virtually but it turned out that their private school had actually resumed in-person classes, his critics heckled his daily livestreams, accusing him of French Laundry-style elitism.

Nor was he helped by a wave of fraud in the state's pandemic unemployment insurance program in which death row inmates and international identity theft rings stole an estimated \$11 billion to \$30 billion. Or by a string of high-profile political vacancies that forced him to choose appointees from his own party's competing political factions.

The recall effort needed only to tap a portion of the six million Californians who voted to re-elect Donald J. Trump — more Trump voters than even in Texas — to meet the signature qualifications. But actually recalling Mr. Newsom will prove far harder.

If the Democratic Party holds for the governor, the pro-Trump Republican base would be easily



NASA/AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

The Apollo 11 mission's lunar module on July 21, 1969.

Michael Collins, 90, Astronaut Who Kept A Solitary Vigil, Dies

By RICHARD GOLDSTEIN

Michael Collins, who piloted the Apollo 11 spacecraft Columbia in orbit 60 miles above the moon while his crewmates, Neil Armstrong and Col. Buzz Aldrin, became the first men to walk on the lunar surface, died on Wednesday at a hospice facility in Naples, Fla. He was 90.

A statement released by Mr. Collins's family on Twitter said the cause was cancer.

It was an epic moment of exploration, an instant when the fantasy of science fiction writers became a reality. And when it transpired, Lt. Col. Michael Collins of the Air Force was the loneliest man in history.

When the lunar module Eagle, descending from Columbia, touched down on the moon on July

there is simply a black void."

After 48 minutes cut off from any human voice, Colonel Collins emerged from the moon's far side. "My windows suddenly flash full of sunlight as Columbia swings around into the dawn," he wrote. "The moon appears quickly, dark, gray and craggy."

Colonel Collins contacted NASA and learned that the lunar module had touched down safely, Mr. Armstrong having radioed: "Houston, Tranquility Base here. The Eagle has landed."

Peering down from Columbia as he orbited at 3,700 miles per hour, Colonel Collins spotted the lunar module briefly, and he made radio contact with Mr. Armstrong and Colonel Aldrin before their moonwalks. (He was too far above to actually see them walking on the surface.)

He also heard President Richard M. Nixon's telephone call to the two men as they stood on the moon, congratulating them on the magnitude of that moment.

Colonel Collins, who had begun flying in 1952, had hurtled through the skies as a test pilot and orbited the Earth 43 times in the Gemini 10 capsule.

In 2019, he recalled his orbit of the moon for the 50th anniversary of the Apollo 11 mission. "I had this beautiful little domain," he told The New York Times. "I was the emperor, the captain of it, and it was quite commodious. I had warm coffee, even."

He may have been the "third man" that day, but he was busy completing the items on his task list. "I was nervous about getting every syllable of it exactly right, because this was going to be the day," he remembered. "This was no fooling around. This was it."

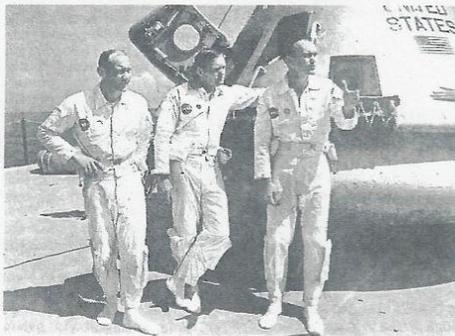
Colonel Collins was greatly worried about the moment when the lunar module was to blast off from the moon to dock with Columbia for the trip back to Earth. He knew that if the lander's ascent engine malfunctioned, Mr. Armstrong and Colonel Aldrin might be stranded on the lunar surface or be sent into a wild orbit.

"What happens if they veer this way, that way, the other way?" Colonel Collins remarked 50 years later, noting that he had carried a packet around his neck containing 18 contingency plans for rescuing his crewmates.

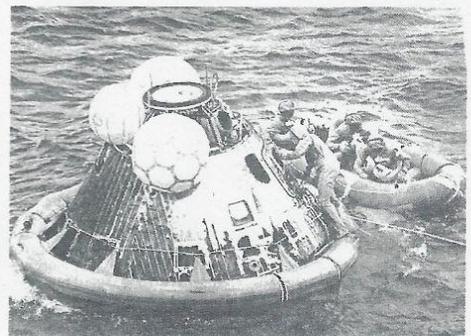
As he wrote of the moment in his memoir: "My secret terror for the last six months has been leaving them on the moon and returning to Earth alone; now I am



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Top, Col. Michael Collins training at Cape Canaveral, Fla., in 1969, one month before the mission to the moon. Above left, the Apollo 11 crew, from left: Col. Buzz Aldrin, Neil Armstrong and Colonel Collins. During the lunar landing, Colonel Collins piloted the spacecraft Columbia in orbit 60 miles above the moon. Above right, on July 24, 1969, the crew splashed down in the Pacific Ocean.



CHARLES KRUPA/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Mr. Collins in 2019.

Orbiting above the moon as two others walked on its surface.

20, 1969, Colonel Collins lost contact with his crewmates and with NASA, his line of communication blocked as he passed over the moon's far side. It was a blackout that would occur during a portion of each orbit he would make.

"I am alone now, truly alone, and absolutely isolated from any known life," he wrote in recreating his thoughts for his 1974 memoir, "Carrying the Fire."

"If a count were taken, the score would be three billion plus two over on the other side of the moon, and one plus God only knows what on this side," he added. "I like the feeling. Outside my window I can see stars — and that is all. Where I know the moon to be,

Alex Traub contributed reporting.

within minutes of finding out the truth of the matter. If they fail to rise from the surface, or crash back into it, I am not going to commit suicide; I am coming home, forthwith, but I will be a marked man for life and I know it."

The ascent from the moon and the docking of Columbia and the lunar lander proved flawless, and when the crew members splashed down in the Pacific Ocean, they were American heroes.

In a statement on Twitter, Mr. Aldrin, the last surviving member of that crew, wrote, "Dear Mike, Wherever you have been or will be, you will always have the Fire to Carry us deftly to new heights and to the future."

Michael Collins was a member of a distinguished military family.

He was born on Oct. 31, 1930, in Rome, when his father, Maj. Gen. James Lawton Collins, who had been an aide to John J. Pershing, the general of the armies, in Mexico and World War I, was the military attaché at the United States Embassy.

Michael was a nephew of Gen. J. Lawton Collins, a prominent World War II commander who also served as Army chief of staff during the Korean War.

Michael's older brother, Brig. Gen. James Lawton Collins Jr., led an artillery battalion ashore at Utah Beach on D-Day and was later director of the Army's military

history program.

Michael traveled with his father and his mother, Virginia (Stewart) Collins, to Army postings as a child, attended the St. Albans prep school in Washington and graduated from West Point in 1952.

He chose an Air Force career over the Army to avoid suggestions of nepotism in future assignments. He became a jet fighter pilot, and in 1960 he entered the test-pilot program at Edwards Air Force Base in California. He was selected by NASA three years later as part of a third group of astronauts chosen to participate in the Apollo mission to the moon.

In July 1966, he teamed with Cmdr. John W. Young of the Navy in the three-day Gemini 10 mission. They docked with an Agena rocket that had lifted off before them from Cape Canaveral, then fired its 16,000-pound thrust engine and reached an altitude of 475 miles, the farthest penetration of space that anyone had achieved at that time. Their Gemini spacecraft remained linked with the Agena for more than 38 hours in the first significant test of the docking technique to be employed by Columbia and Eagle.

The Gemini 10 astronauts carried out a second rendezvous when they came within a few inches of another Agena rocket, which had remained in space after the Gemini 8 mission. But they did not

try to dock with it since its electrical system was no longer operating, as NASA had anticipated.

Colonel Collins became the first man to emerge from a spacecraft twice during a single mission. He stood up waist-high from an open hatch in the Gemini 10 to take photographs of ultraviolet rays given off by stars, and later he carried out a spacewalk to retrieve a scientific device from the side of the Gemini 8 Agena. That was also the first time an astronaut had taken such a journey to reach another object in space.

Gemini 10 almost ran out of fuel before splashing down in the Atlantic Ocean, but it was a highly successful mission.

Colonel Collins left NASA a year after the Apollo 11 mission, when he was named assistant secretary of state for public affairs. He became director of the Smithsonian's National Air and Space Museum in 1971 and presided over the opening of its building on the National Mall five years later. He was appointed under secretary of the Smithsonian Institution in 1978 and was named vice president of the LTV Aerospace and Defense Company in 1980. He later formed a Washington-based consulting firm.

He retired from the Air Force Reserve in 1982 as a major general.

Mr. Collins's survivors include

his daughters — Kate Collins, an actress best known for her long run on the soap opera "All My Children," and Ann Collins Starr — and seven grandchildren. His wife, Patricia (Finnegan) Collins, a social worker, died in 2014. His son, Michael, also died before him.

Having long been interested in poetry and literature, Mr. Collins had a gift for writing about space. In addition to "Carrying the Fire," he was the author of "Liftoff: The Story of America's Adventure in Space" (1988), and he described a hypothetical journey in "Mission to Mars" (1990).

"It is something new under the sun to find an astronaut who isn't afraid to express his feelings," Henry S. F. Cooper Jr. wrote in his Times review of "Carrying the Fire."

Indeed, as Mr. Collins sought to capture the wonder and beauty of space, he wrote in that book: "I have been places and done things you simply would not believe. I feel like saying: I have dangled from a cord a hundred miles up; I have seen the earth eclipsed by the moon, and enjoyed it. I have seen the sun's true light, unfiltered by any planet's atmosphere. I have seen the ultimate black of infinity in a stillness undisturbed by any living thing.

"I do have this secret," he added, "this precious thing, that I will always carry with me."

MICHAEL COLLINS 1930-2021

Apollo 11 pilot orbited moon during landing

By Jessica Gresko

Apollo 11 astronaut Michael Collins, who orbited the moon alone while Neil Armstrong and Buzz Aldrin made their historic first steps on the lunar surface, died Wednesday. He was 90.

Collins died of cancer in Naples, Fla.

"Mike always faced the challenges of life with grace and humility, and faced this, his final challenge, in the same way," his family said in a statement.

Collins was part of the three-man Apollo 11 crew that in 1969 effectively ended the space race between the United States and Russia and fulfilled President John F. Kennedy's challenge to reach the moon by the end of the 1960s.

Though he traveled some 238,000 miles to the moon and

came within 69 miles, Collins never set foot on the lunar surface like his crewmates Aldrin and Armstrong, who died in 2012. None of the men flew in space after the Apollo 11 mission.

"It's human nature to stretch, to go, to see, to understand," Collins said on the 10th anniversary of the moon landing in 1979. "Exploration is not a choice really — it's an imperative, and it's simply a matter of timing as to when the option is exercised."

Collins was later the director of the National Air and Space Museum in Washington.

"Michael Collins wrote and helped tell the story of our nation's remarkable accomplishments in space," President Biden said in a statement, noting that Collins "demanded that everyone call him, simply, Mike."



Associated Press 1969

From left: Apollo 11 astronauts Neil Armstrong, Michael Collins and Edwin "Buzz" Aldrin answer questions in an isolation unit aboard the USS Hornet after splashdown and recovery.

Collins spent the eight-day Apollo 11 mission piloting the command module. While Armstrong and Aldrin descended to the moon's surface in the lunar lander, Eagle, Collins remained alone in the command module, Columbia.

"I guess you're about the only person around that doesn't have TV coverage of the scene," Mission Control radioed Collins after the landing.

"That's all right. I don't mind a bit," he responded.

Collins was alone for nearly 28 hours before Armstrong and Aldrin finished their tasks on the moon's surface and lifted off in the lunar lander. Collins was responsible for re-docking the two spacecraft before the men could begin heading back to Earth. Had something gone wrong and Aldrin and Armstrong been stuck on the moon's surface — a real fear — Collins would have returned to Earth alone.

Though he was frequently

asked if he regretted not landing on the moon, that was never an option for Collins, at least not on Apollo 11. Collins' specialty was as a command module pilot, a job he compared to being the base-camp operator on a mountain climbing expedition. As a result, it meant he wasn't considered to take part in the July 20, 1969, landing.

Hester Ford, Oldest American; Lived Through 21 Presidents

By AMISHA PADNANI

Hester Ford, who was believed to have been the oldest American, living long enough to have experienced two pandemics, both world wars, Jim Crow discrimination, civil rights movements and the tenures of 21 presidents, died on Saturday at her home in Charlotte, N.C.

Census records show conflicting information for her year of birth, but she was either 115 or 116. The Gerontology Research

The Associated Press contributed reporting.

Group, which tracks supercentenarians, or people over the age of 110, listed her age as 115 years and 245 days.

Her death was confirmed by her family in a statement.

"She was a pillar and stalwart to our family and provided much needed love, support and understanding to us all," her great-granddaughter Tanisha Patterson-Powe said in the statement.

Mrs. Ford was believed to have been born on Aug. 15, 1905 or 1904, on a farm in Lancaster County, S.C., where she grew up tilling fields and picking cotton. Theodore Roosevelt was president at

the time.

She married John Ford at 14 and gave birth to the first of her 12 children at age 15.

The couple moved to Charlotte around 1960, and Mrs. Ford began working as a nanny. Mr. Ford died three years later, at 57. Mrs. Ford continued living in their home independently, until she was 108. Her family members insisted on moving in to help her after she fell in her bathtub and bruised her ribs.

Her eight daughters and four sons gave her 68 grandchildren, 125 great-grandchildren, and at least 120 great-great-grandchild-

dren.

"She not only represented the advancement of our family, but of the Black African-American race and culture in our country," Ms. Patterson-Powe said. "She was a reminder of how far we have come as people on this earth."

Mrs. Ford celebrated her final birthday last year during the coronavirus pandemic with a socially distanced drive-by parade of friends and family members, who honked and waved from the street.

When asked what gifts she wanted, Mrs. Ford told the Char-



DEBRA LAMB/THE CHARLOTTE OBSERVER VIA AP
lotte television station WBTV. "Anything that anybody'll give me."

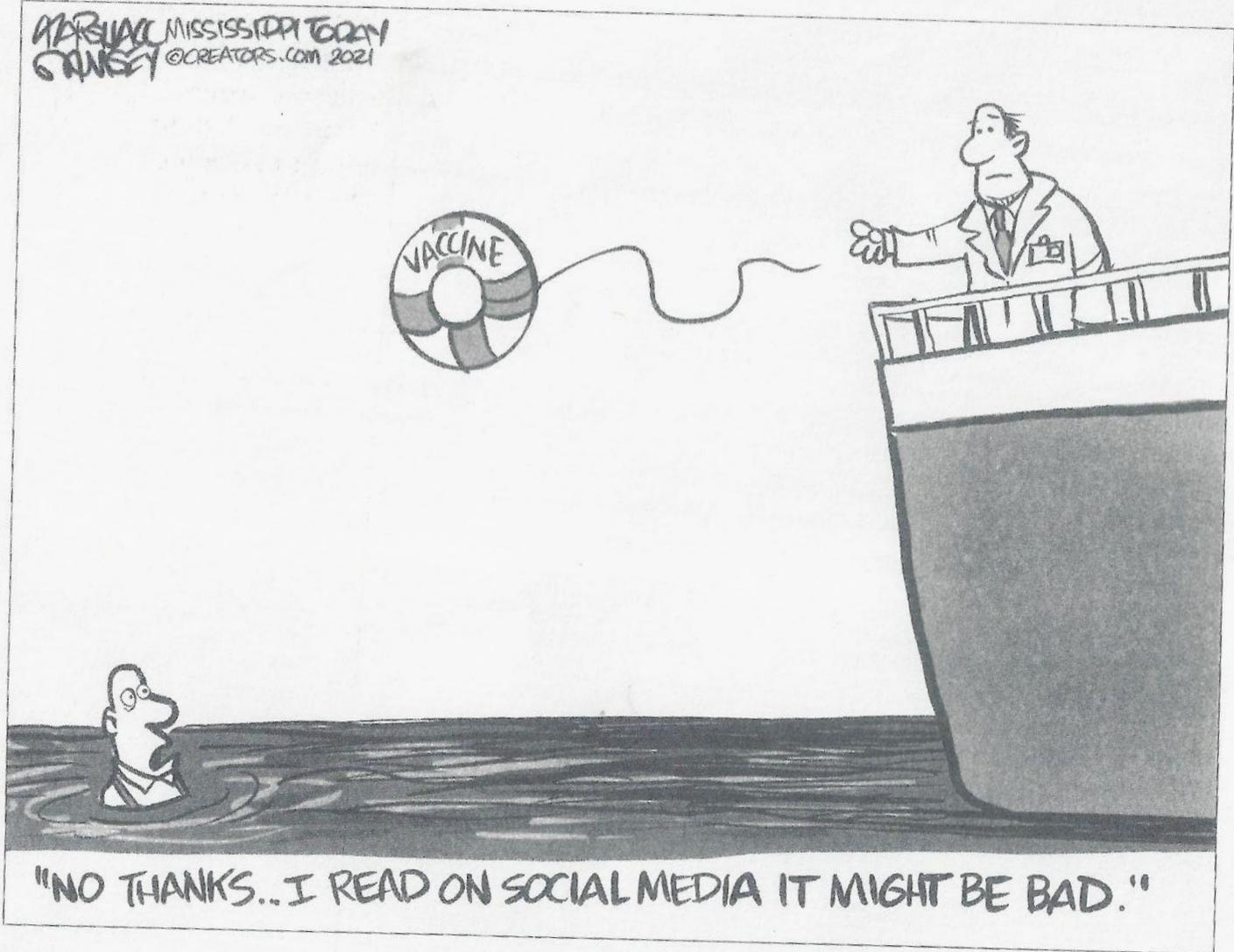
The Gerontology Research Group lists the oldest living person in the world as Kane Tanaka in

Hester Ford in 2016. Records showed she was 115 or 116.

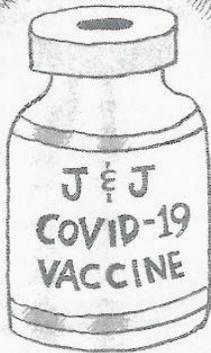
Japan. She is 118 years and 114 days old. The next oldest American is Thelma Sutcliffe, who is 114 years and 207 days old and lives in Nebraska.

Mrs. Ford's family said her daily routine involved a breakfast that always included half a banana, a trip outside for fresh air — weather permitting — and sitting in her recliner looking at family albums, doing puzzles and listening to gospel music.

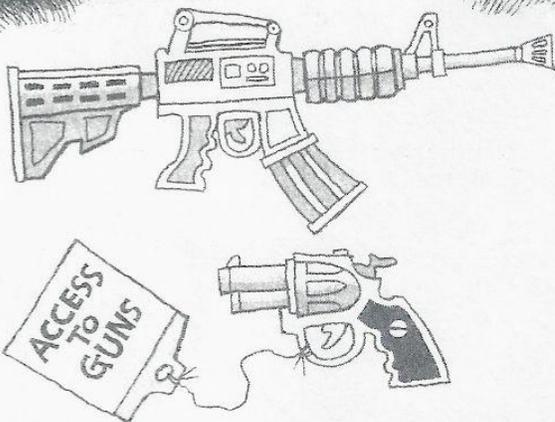
When asked about the secret to her longevity, she told The Charlotte Observer, "I just live right, all I know."



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CLOTS...



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147 MASS SHOOTINGS
SO FAR IN 2021...



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LIVES
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