

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.

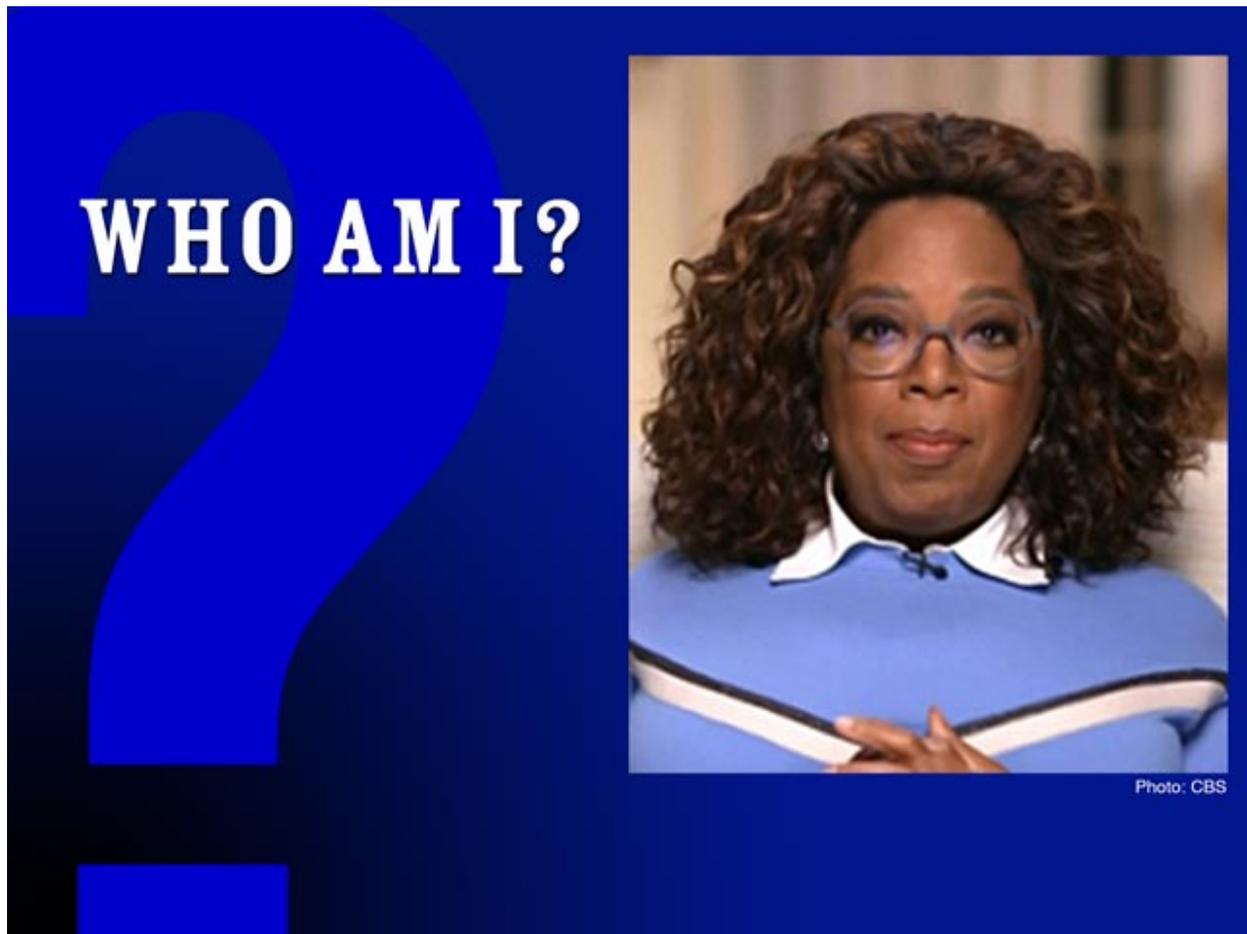
If you are interested in joining *Current Events with Frank Damon*, please go to www.dalycityseniors.org/current-events or contact Frank directly at frankdamon@my.smccd.edu.

Woman in the News

I am a world-famous talk show host, producer, actress, and businesswoman. With an estimated net worth of about \$2.6 billion, I am one of the richest self-made women in the United States.

I was born in Mississippi in 1954 to a teenage single mother. After working as a news anchor and TV host, I launched my own nationally syndicated talk show in 1986. My show ran for 25 years, and enabled me to create a business empire including my own magazine, TV network, and film production studio.

Meghan Markle and Prince Harry chose me to conduct their first television interview since leaving the United Kingdom. In this interview, which aired on March 7th, they discussed feeling mistreated by the British royal family and U.K. tabloids, based at least partially on race.



Who am I? (Oprah Winfrey)

House Passes Major Voting Rights Bill

On March 5th, the House of Representatives passed H.R. 1 by a vote of 220-210. The bill is being called the most sweeping voting rights effort in a generation and was passed largely along party lines. From what you know of the House, which party favors the bill? (Democrats.) H.R. 1 is also known as the “For the People Act,” because it is supposed to increase the power of individual voters by standardizing certain practices for all federal elections. Supporters hope this will end voter suppression laws passed by state legislatures. A similarly named bill was passed in the House by a margin of 234-193 in 2019. But Mitch McConnell, who was then the Senate majority leader, would not allow the bill to come up for a vote. Who controls the Senate now? (Democrats, by a narrow margin.) From his quote below, why do you think President Biden supports this bill?

Some of the provisions in the 800- page bill are shown here. For one thing, H.R. 1 would automatically register every eligible American as a voter. Other provisions encourage the use of mail-in ballots and early voting periods to make it easier for people to vote. It would also expand voting rights for former felons who have served their sentences. One of the most important — and controversial — parts of H.R. 1 would mean the end of partisan gerrymandering. What does this mean? (The dominant political party drawing up oddly shaped voting districts to consolidate its own power.) Instead, nonpartisan commissions would redraw voting districts in every state.

House passes major voting rights bill

H.R. 1 calls for:

- Automatic voter registration
- Expanding mail-in and early voting
- Ending partisan gerrymandering
- Voting rights for former felons

“[It] is urgently needed to protect the right to vote... and to repair and strengthen our democracy.”

— President Joe Biden



Voter suppression has always been a part of politics in the United States. Who could not vote in the country's early days? (Women, men without land, people held in slavery, and so on.) Even after the end of slavery, many communities invented creative ways to disenfranchise Black people. Some states required voters to pay a poll tax or memorize the Constitution in order to vote; but these rules were only enforced against Black Americans. How do you think they got away with this?

Leaders of the civil rights movement knew that without the power to vote, Black people would never be treated fairly. So they launched widespread voter registration campaigns. Volunteers went all over several Southern states to sign people up for the first time, risking their lives in the process. In Alabama, where only two percent of eligible Black citizens were registered to vote, civil rights leaders led a famous 1965 march from Selma to the state capital in Montgomery. What happened to some of these protesters on the day that came to be called "Bloody Sunday"? (State troopers attacked them with tear gas and clubs on the Edmund Pettus Bridge outside Selma.)

Hundreds of marchers were injured and jailed. Ironically, this turned public sentiment against segregation and voter suppression, and a few months later, President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act of 1965. This landmark legislation eliminated many suppression tactics. It also barred offending states from changing voting laws without federal approval.

Civil rights demonstrations led to the Voting Rights Act of 1965.



Voter registration drive, 1963



Selma-to-Montgomery March, 1965

"The vote is the most powerful instrument for breaking down injustice."

— President Lyndon B. Johnson



President Lyndon B. Johnson signing the VRA, 1965

The Voting Rights Act, or VRA, led to a surge in Black American voting in the next five decades. But everything changed with the 2013 Supreme Court case known as *Shelby County v. Holder*. Shelby County, Alabama, claimed that it no longer needed federal oversight due to the large increase in Black voting there. In a 5-4 vote, the Supreme Court said that progress had been made since 1965, and it struck down parts of the VRA that applied to federal oversight. It said that Congress would need to pass new oversight laws to adjust to new norms. But Congress has not taken any action yet. Why do you think Congress has failed to act?

Over the last eight years, many states with Republican-led legislatures have passed “voter integrity” laws. These are laws meant to prevent voter fraud and include requiring voter IDs and limiting mail-in and early voting. Sometimes, these measures are not even decided by law; for example, Georgia Secretary of State Brian Kemp oversaw a purge of 200,000 voters from state rolls in 2018, even though he was running for governor at the time. Did he win? (Yes.)

Since the 2020 election, state legislatures have proposed more than 200 voter-suppressing measures in more than 40 states. Iowa has just cut its early voting period and trimmed one hour off its Election Day schedule. Lawmakers in Georgia, a state that “turned blue” last November, have passed new voter suppression laws that could affect more than 1 million state residents.

The Supreme Court’s decision in *Shelby County v. Holder* led to many new voter suppression laws.



“The struggle for voting rights and civil rights continues. They are trying to strip the right to vote away from Black Americans once again. We will not stand for it.”

— Sen. Jon Ossoff (D-GA)

Dolly Parton gets “dose of her own medicine”

Dolly Parton has been a popular singer, songwriter, actress, and philanthropist for decades. Have you ever listened to her music or watched one of her movies? Are you a fan?

But during the last year, she has added a new line to her resume: funder of one of the world’s most important COVID19 vaccines. This development actually arose from Parton’s friendship with a doctor at Vanderbilt University Medical Center in Nashville, Tennessee. In 2013 Parton was involved in a minor car accident in Nashville and was treated at Vanderbilt. While receiving treatment, she became friends with Dr. Naji Abumrad. So when the coronavirus pandemic broke out in the U.S., Parton donated \$1 million to Vanderbilt University in Dr. Abumrad’s name. Parton’s donation provided the initial funding for Vanderbilt researchers as they raced to develop a COVID-19 vaccine. Moderna, a drug company based in Cambridge, Massachusetts, eventually pumped \$1 billion into producing the vaccine, which was approved for emergency use last December, a week after the first COVID vaccine, from Pfizer, was approved. Parton’s early funding was crucial for the project.

On March 2nd, Dolly Parton got her first dose of the Moderna vaccine from Dr. Abumrad. She signed up like everyone else and waited her turn before getting her shot. Why do you think she did this? Parton later posted the picture here on Instagram with the caption “Dolly gets a dose of her own medicine.”

Dolly Parton gets “dose of her own medicine”

Her \$1 million donation in 2020 kickstarted the Moderna vaccine.



Photo: Vanderbilt University



“Without a doubt in my mind, her funding made the research toward the vaccine go 10 times faster than it would be without it.”

*—Dr. Naji Abumrad,
Vanderbilt University*

Dolly Parton was born in a one-room cabin in Eastern Tennessee's Great Smoky Mountains 75 years ago. She was one of twelve children and her father was an illiterate sharecropper. Though the family lived in poverty, Dolly's parents encouraged her love of music. Parton was singing on the radio at the age of ten and performing at the Grand Ole Opry three years later. What can you tell about her personality from this photo of her at age 9?

She made her mark in Nashville as a songwriter before becoming the duet partner of Porter Wagoner. When she left for a solo career in the early 1970s, she wrote a song for him called "I Will Always Love You." Her version went to number one on the country charts. Twenty years later, Whitney Houston's remake became one of the best-selling singles of all time. Have you heard both versions? Parton's fame continued with deceptively complex songs like "Jolene" and "Coat of Many Colors." Her bubbly personality, her teased blonde hair, and her flashy outfits were perfect for TV appearances and films such as "9 to 5" and "Rhinestone." In addition to her musical and acting talents, Dolly Parton is a successful businesswoman and major philanthropist.

In 1986, she launched the Dollywood theme park close to her childhood home. She has given millions of dollars to anti-poverty programs, as well as donating more than 100 million children's books. How do you think her generosity relates to her own life experiences? Parton is also a longtime advocate for human and animal rights.

Dolly Parton has always stayed close to her Tennessee roots.



Dolly at age 9



In "9 to 5" (1980)



Performing in Germany (2014)

Photo: Josep Juan, CC BY-SA 4.0



Photo: Todd Van Hoosear, CC BY-SA 4.0

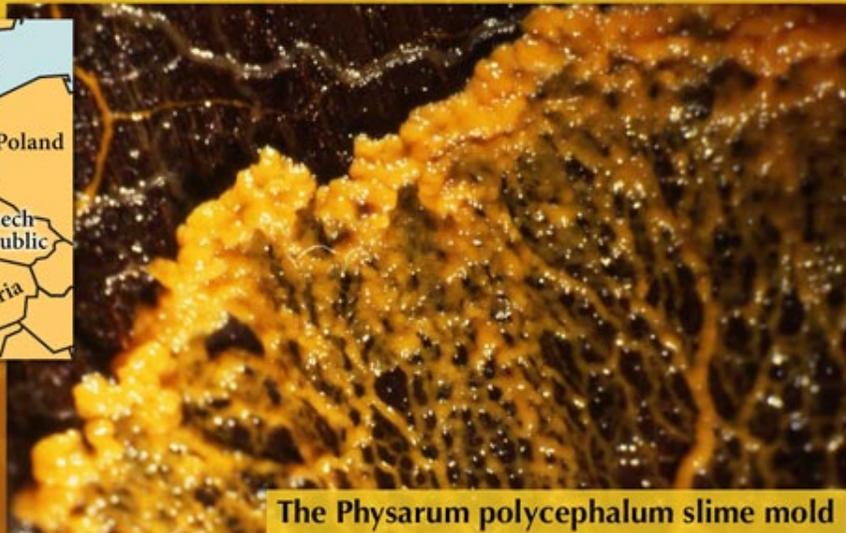
"I look so totally artificial, but I've always been the simplest person in the world."

New Research Looks at how Slime Molds Store “Memories”

Have you ever seen a slime mold in the wild? What did you think? Recently, researchers in Germany conducted an experiment to learn how simple organisms like slime molds store “memories.” Despite their name, slime molds aren’t actually molds. What kind of organism are molds? (Fungi). Scientists have debated how to classify slime molds for some time, and for a while, they were grouped in with fungi. Like fungi, slime molds don’t have brains or nervous systems, but unlike fungi, the cell walls of slime molds are composed of a substance called cellulose. The cell walls of fungi are composed of a substance called chitin. Slime molds are similar to amoebas. What is an amoeba? (A tiny, single-celled organism that has the appearance of colorless jelly.)

Similar to amoebas, slime molds are capable of moving and changing shape. In the image here, you can see the gooey tendrils of a slime mold exploring its environment. These tendrils are used by the slime mold to locate and consume food. The German research team discovered that when searching for food, those tendrils closer to food would become thicker. They found that a slime molds pattern of thicker and thinner tendrils would remain even after the food was consumed. The researchers believe that this network of thicker and thinner tendrils creates a basic type of “memory” for the slime mold. They hope that this information could one day be used to create “soft robots” that could navigate complex environments. Can someone read the quote here? What do you think these “soft robots” might help humans accomplish?

New research looks at how slime molds store "memories"



The *Physarum polycephalum* slime mold

"Even very simple organisms store information about past experiences to thrive in a complex environment."

— Study authors Mirna Kramar and Karen Alim

Scientists have identified more than 900 different species of slime molds around the world. Slime molds have been discovered on every continent and can survive in very harsh conditions. Similar to fungi, slime molds are neither plant nor animal. Today, these organisms are considered members of the Protista kingdom. Does anyone know what protists are? (Protists are simple, single-celled organisms such as algae and amoebas that are not considered animals or plants.) Slime molds are primarily found in damp conditions near forest floors or flower beds. Why do you think that is? (They primarily feed on bacteria found in dead plant material.) When food is abundant, slime molds can exist as single-celled organisms, but when food becomes scarce, these single cells combine to form a multicellular organism. In this form, the slime mold can move by pulsating, giving it the appearance of a flowing ooze. In its multicellular form, the slime mold can pulsate and extend tendrils as a way to locate nutrients. In the bottom image here, you can see a slime mold sprouting bulbs, referred to as “fruiting bodies.” These bulbs produce millions of tiny spores that are carried by the wind or other organisms to new locations, allowing the slime mold to reproduce. Scientists have been studying the way slime molds move and access food to learn more about how simple organisms “compute” or make decisions. Some slime molds have been shown to be capable of solving complex mazes to locate food.

Slime molds are neither plant nor animal



Fuligo septica, known as the "dog vomit" slime mold



The *Trichia Decipiens* slime mold

Slime Molds:

- There are more than 900 different kinds of slime molds.
- Once believed to be fungi, slime molds are now classified under the kingdom Protista.
- Feed on microorganisms that live in dead plant material.
- Reproduce by releasing seed-like spores.

Scientists Clone Endangered Black-Footed Ferret

The black-footed ferret you see here is named Elizabeth Ann. She currently lives in Fort Collins, Colorado, and she is the first endangered species successfully cloned by scientists. What is cloning? (Making an exact genetic copy of an organism). Since 1996, scientists have been successfully cloning mammals, including pigs, deer, horses, and cats. But Elizabeth Ann represents a major scientific milestone, as her species is in danger of extinction.

Disease and a significant decrease in the American prairie dog population have caused a major decline in black-footed ferret numbers. The American prairie dog population has been declining in recent decades because farmers and ranchers think of them as pests, and poison them. Why do you think the prairie dog decline has affected ferrets? (Prairie dogs are a primary food source for blackfooted ferrets). As of 2013, only about 1,200 black-footed ferrets were believed to live in the wild. All of the black-footed ferrets alive today are descendants of just seven ferrets that were a part of a captive breeding program started in the 1980s. Why is this an issue? (A lack of genetic diversity in a group of animals can lead to genetic diseases and other health issues.) Because Elizabeth Ann was cloned from frozen cells taken from a ferret that died 30 years ago, she is not related to any members of the living black-footed ferret population. Scientists are hopeful that when Elizabeth Ann is old enough to breed, she can bring some much-needed genetic diversity to the threatened ferret population.

Scientists clone endangered black-footed ferret



Elizabeth Ann, the cloned
black-footed ferret



“If [Elizabeth] produces kits and we can properly harness her genetic diversity, it will absolutely benefit the species—the more genetic diversity we have, the better.”

— Paul Marinari of the
Smithsonian Conservation Biology Institute

Ferrets belong to a family of short-legged, longbodied animals known as mustelids. What other animals are in the mustelid family? (Weasels, polecats, badgers, otters, wolverines, and others.) Humans domesticated ferrets thousands of years ago, and the two species have had a close relationship since. In the past, and even in some places today, ferrets have been used to hunt rodents and rabbits. Using ferrets for hunting is called “ferreting.” Why do you think ferrets are good at hunting small prey? (They’re fast, agile, and can squeeze into the small tunnels where rodents live.) Like other mustelids, ferrets are carnivorous. While hunting for prey, some ferrets are known to use a strange “dance” to confuse or hypnotize their prey. Domesticated ferrets also dance, although pet ferrets usually do this to signal that they want to play. Ferrets are crepuscular, and usually sleep between 14 and 18 hours a day. What does crepuscular mean? (Most active during dawn and dusk hours.)

Male, female, and young ferrets all have different nicknames. Male ferrets are called hobs, females are called jills, and baby ferrets are kits. Today, many people keep ferrets as pets, although people often underestimate how much work these very active animals can be. But they are also affectionate and social, which makes them appealing to many people. Some states in the U.S., including California, have banned keeping ferrets as pets.



Ferret Facts:

- Ferrets have been used by humans to hunt rodents for hundreds of years.
- When threatened, ferrets will dance to confuse predators.
- Male ferrets are called hobs, females are jills, and babies are called kits.
- Keeping ferrets as pets is illegal in some states and cities.

This Week in History

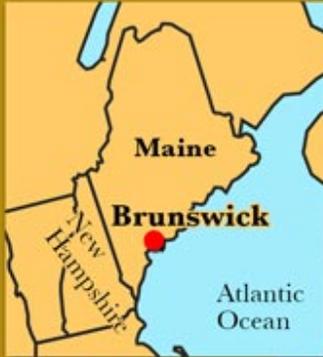
In the 1800s, “Uncle Tom’s Cabin” helped turn people’s opinion against slavery. Throughout history, writers have used their words to shape public opinion and ideas. But only a few have actually changed history. The woman on the left is part of this group. Harriet Beecher Stowe published her most famous novel on March 20, 1852. From the picture, what was the name of this novel? (“Uncle Tom’s Cabin; Or, Life Among the Lowly.”) This book brought the horrors of slavery to people all over the United States, and the rest of the world. For this reason, some say it may have helped lead to the Civil War. Harriet Beecher was born in Connecticut in 1811. She was one of 11 children. Her father was a minister and he was active in the abolitionist movement, or the movement to end slavery. Her mother died when Harriet was just five years old. At that time, most girls did not get much schooling, but Harriet’s father made sure his children got a good education. She moved with her family to Cincinnati, Ohio, and in 1836, she married a professor named Calvin Stowe. Ohio was a “free” state. What does this mean? (It did not allow slavery.) But Kentucky, a slave state, was right across the Ohio River. Harriet Beecher Stowe first met fugitive, or runaway, enslaved people in Cincinnati. From them, she learned a great deal about the cruelties of slavery. She often wondered why more Northerners did not know how horrible slavery was. Do you think many people did not want to know? Two important things happened in 1850. The first thing was that the Stowe family moved to Brunswick, Maine, so Calvin could teach at Bowdoin College. The second thing was the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act. This law said that even if an enslaved person escaped to a free state, he or she had to be returned to slavery. The law also made it illegal for someone to help enslaved people to escape. This law made Stowe especially angry, and she decided to do something about it. She wrote “Uncle Tom’s Cabin” as a serial. What is a serial? (A story written in short sections, with the sections published one at a time.)

The story was first published in an abolitionist newspaper. These sections became very popular. “Uncle Tom’s Cabin” tells two stories. The first is of an enslaved person called “Uncle Tom.” He is a very religious man who refuses to fight back against his cruel master — and ends up dying for his beliefs. The second story focuses on an enslaved woman named Eliza. Holding her baby in her arms, she makes a daring journey across the ice of the Ohio River to freedom in Canada. Eliza’s escape is one of the most famous scenes in all of American literature. Have you read this book? If so, what did you think of it?

THIS WEEK IN
HISTORY

March 20, 1852

Uncle Tom's Cabin published



Harriet Beecher Stowe

UNCLE TOM'S CABIN;
OR,
LIFE AMONG THE LOWLY.

BY
HARRIET BEECHER STOWE.



VOL. I.

ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTH THOUSAND.

BOSTON:
JOHN P. JEWETT & COMPANY
CLEVELAND, OHIO:
JEWETT, PROCTOR & WORTHINGTON.
1852.

Stowe had seven children of her own. One son died at age 18 months from a disease called cholera. Later, she wrote that this experience made her understand the incredible pain that mothers felt when they were separated from their children. She said this helped inspire her to write "Uncle Tom's Cabin." How do you think it helped her to shape the character of Eliza? On March 20, 1852, "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was published as a complete book, and was an immediate bestseller. It sold 10,000 copies in its first week in print, a huge number back then. Readers were horrified by the vivid and emotional descriptions of slavery. These scenes helped build support for the Civil War. In what year did the Civil War begin? (1861.) Abraham Lincoln is said to have welcomed Harriet Beecher Stowe to the White House with the words, "So you're the little woman who wrote the book that made this great war." Harriet Beecher Stowe died in 1896, at the age of 85. She wrote 30 other books and many shorter pieces over her 50-year career. None of them, however, had the same success as "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

Remember When...

Do you remember handbags like these? Along with shoes, and jewelry, handbags may be a woman's most personalized accessory — and, just like shoes, it seems that women can never have too many of them! Today, many women favor big carryall bags. Some women seem to carry everything in their bags; they might have books, makeup, kids' toys, tissues, even snacks stored away in there. What else can be found in handbags? Given their usefulness and importance today, you probably won't be surprised to learn that handbags are not a modern invention. In fact, there are ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics that show people carrying pouches. It was men, not women, who carried the first bags, however. These "pockets" as they were called, contained scented oranges and money. Why do you think men don't carry handbags today? Do you think they should?

By the 1400s, both men and women carried drawstring purses, which were attached at the waist to the girdle. In the 1500s, these were replaced by pouches that women wore under their skirts. In the 18th century, women's clothing got too delicate to support these pouches. But, women needed a place to store their things, so they began to carry bags called "reticules" with long strings. This was the beginning of the handbag we know today. In the 20th century, handbags became a must-have accessory. Women needed to have a bag for any occasion, from a day of errands to an evening out.



Of course, handbags had to also match a number of different outfits, activities, and even moods. Bags were also made out of more different materials than ever before. In the top right corner is a gold mesh handbag. The most famous mesh bag maker was the Whiting and Davis Company. Early on, mesh bags had to be created by hand. In 1912, Whiting and Davis found a machine to make the bags. This allowed them to satisfy the growing demand and bring the prices down. Also shown above is a bag made out of Lucite, a translucent plastic. Lucite bags became popular in the 1950s. Lucite could be molded in many different shapes and colors, creating fun bags such as the blue oval one you see here. On the bottom right, you see a handbag made of one of the most popular materials in the 1950s. Can anyone guess what this bag is made of? (Alligator skin.) But alligator handbags started to go out of style as people became more environmentally conscious during the 1960s. Did you or anyone you know ever own an alligator or crocodile handbag? Would you ever wear one today? Did you use different handbags with different outfits or for different occasions?

Through the decades, some handbags have come to represent status, glamour, and high fashion. High fashion designer Coco Chanel created a quilted bag with a long gold chain strap. She called it the “2.55” bag for the month and year it was introduced: February 1955. A handbag can become a person’s trademark. In the 1960s, Jacqueline Kennedy was known for her pillbox hats and small, structured bags. The woman on the left also knew something about trademark bags. Does anyone recognize this actress? (Grace Kelly.) Always a fashion icon, Grace Kelly was photographed for the cover of “Life” magazine in 1956, carrying a designer Hermes crocodile handbag over her belly to hide her pregnancy. The purse became known as the “Kelly Bag,” and it’s still one of fashion’s most popular handbag styles, even though it sells for thousands of dollars. Did you or did someone you know own a Kelly bag? Today, Chanel and Hermes, and other designers, reinvent these classic bags every year, and they remain as coveted as ever!

Why We Care About the Royal Family Feud



DECLARATIONS
By Peggy Noonan

What just happened? That wasn't just a high-charged celebrity interview that everyone talked about and then it went away. Oprah Winfrey's conversation last weekend with the duke and duchess of Sussex will reverberate and last. It was history, a full-bore assault on an institution, the British monarchy, that has endured more than 1,000 years.

Harry and Meghan famously leveled two big charges, that the House of Windsor is racist and that it is weak. Previous incarnations of criticism painted it as invincible—the sharp-elbowed courtiers, the cold-hearted family, they can crush you

The British monarchy has endured for more than a millennium, and the queen is a symbol of stability.

like a bug. No, Harry said, *they* are the bugs, trapped in fear of the tabloids that control whether they'll keep the throne. "There is a level of control by fear that has existed for generations. I mean generations," he said. "My father and my brother"—Prince Charles and Prince William—"they are trapped. They don't get to leave. And I have huge compassion for that." That must be a comfort to them.

No immediate-family heir to the British throne has ever talked like this. You are made quite vulnerable when people suddenly see you as weak. What remains of your mystique is lessened when you're seen as just another group of frightened persons.

Meghan charged that her infant

son, Archie—the "first member of color in this family"—was treated differently and denied things due him because he was biracial. There were "concerns and conversations about how dark his skin might be when he's born." She wouldn't say who was involved. "I think that would be very damaging to them." So she knew the power of the charge she was bringing. Harry, asked about it, said, "That conversation I'm never going to share, but at the time—at the time it was awkward. I was a bit shocked." His refusal to name the person with whom he had the conversation didn't limit guilt but dispersed it.

The queen's response was a small masterpiece of blandness that sucked the heat from the moment: Accusations of racism are "concerning" and will be "taken very seriously," but "recollections may vary."

This is a story that will evolve for some time. Some observations:

Public life has gotten extremely, unrelentingly performative. Have you noticed you keep hearing that word? It means everyone is always performing—the politician, the news anchor, the angry activist. This gives natural actors an edge, and leaves those who aren't by nature actors at a disadvantage. Meghan was a professional actress.

Both Meghan and Harry speak a kind of woke-corporate communications language that is smooth and calming but also slippery and opaque. You can never quite get your hands around the thought as you grab for meaning.

They spoke a great deal about their pain—it is a subject that animates them—but they seemed also to wield that pain as a weapon in a way that left you wondering if pain is really the word for what they experienced, as opposed to anger followed by cool desire for revenge.

Some of what was said beggared belief. Meghan claimed that going in she didn't really have any idea what the royal family was, didn't Google or do any research. "As Americans especially what you do know about



Meghan Markle, Prince Harry and Queen Elizabeth II in 2018.

the royals is what you read in fairy tales." Actually, no. When Princess Diana died in 1997 it was a worldwide, epic drama. Diana was raised to heroic status, the people's princess, roughly treated by royals who didn't deserve her. Her funeral was watched by 2.5 billion people. Meghan Markle, home in California, was 16, presumably loved media, and went on to study acting. Is it believable she didn't know this story, follow it, see who had the starring role?

As I watched I got the sense she knew more history than she said, that perhaps on some level she wanted to be Princess Diana, only she wanted not to die.

She sees herself as a moral instructor, an ethical leader. She and Harry were originally "aligned" by their "cause-driven work": "I've always been outspoken, especially about women's rights." She wishes to "live authentically," "just getting down to basics." This apparently involves rescue chickens. She and Harry spirited them from a factory farm. "Well, you know, I just love

rescuing," she said. This was perhaps meant to underscore the idea that she rescued Harry from his charnel house of a family.

She is good at underscoring. She watches "The Little Mermaid" and comes up with a handy metaphor for her journey: "And I went, 'Oh my God! She falls in love with the prince and because of that, she has to lose her voice.' . . . But by the end, she gets her voice back."

This is performative to the nth degree.

They have a foundation and a media-content company called Archewell. Asked about the latter, she said, "Life is about storytelling. About the stories we tell ourselves, what we're told, and what we buy into." Well, that's part of what life is. "For us to be able to have storytelling through a truthful lens, that is hopefully uplifting, is going to be great knowing how many people that can land with." Can land with? That is practiced show-people talk. She wishes to "give a voice" to those who "underrepresented, and aren't really heard."

Why should an American care about any of this? I suppose we shouldn't. In a practical way we're interested in the royal family because we don't have one, don't want one, and think it's great that you do. We get the benefits—the pictures of clothes and castles, the horses and military outfits, the stories of backstairs and love affairs—and you pay the bills.

But I think there's something deeper, more mystical in our interest, a sense that however messy the monarchy, it embodies a nation, the one we long ago came from and broke with. The high purpose of monarchy is to lend its mystique and authority to the ideas of stability and continuance.

Henry VIII, Mad King George, Victoria—these names still echo. It is rare and wonderful when you can say of a small old woman entering a large reception area, "England has entered the room." Someday Elizabeth II will leave us and the world will honestly mourn, not only because of what she represented but because she was old-style. She performed but wasn't performative. She was appropriately, heroically contained, didn't share her emotions because after all it wasn't about her, it was about a kingdom, united. You could rely on her to love her country and commonwealth; she was born and raised to love them. And so she has been for the world a constant. And in this world, a constant is a valuable thing.

I keep thinking of the special predicament she and her family are in. Diana did them a lot of damage in her life, and her death, but their feelings about her were mixed. She wasn't born into the family, she was a thing that happened to the family. But Harry—Harry they would have loved, as brother and son and grandson. They would miss him. And now he has done great damage to everything they are and represent.

The old queen must be grieving. Not that she'd say it, or share the wound. There's something so admirable in that.

BRITAIN

Prince William defends monarchy against racism claim

By Danica Kirka

LONDON — Prince William insisted Thursday that his family is not racist as he became the first British royal to speak out about accusations of bigotry made by Prince Harry and Meghan, his brother and sister-in-law.

William made the comments in response to questions shouted at him by reporters during a visit to an East London school. William, second in line to the throne after his father, Prince Charles, used the opportunity to address the explosive allegations that have rocked the monarchy.

"We're very much not a racist family," William, 38, said as his wife, Kate, walked by his side.

Buckingham Palace is struggling to quiet criticism after Harry and Meghan alleged that



Prince William sits next to his wife, Kate, at a London school. He is the first royal to address accusations by his brother.

the duchess was the victim of racism and callous treatment during her time as a working member of the royal family. The palace tried to respond to the charges, made during an

interview with U.S. TV host Oprah Winfrey, with a 61-word statement that critics called "too little, too late."

Harry, 36, and Meghan, 39, walked away from royal duties

last year and moved to California, saying they wanted to escape the intrusive British media and live a normal life.

Meghan, who is biracial, said in the interview that she was so isolated and miserable as a working member of the royal family that she had suicidal thoughts. She also said Harry told her that member of the royal family had expressed "concerns" about the color of her baby's skin before the birth of their son, Archie.

Thirty-six hours after the comments were first aired Sunday, the palace issued a written statement in the name of Queen Elizabeth II, Harry's grandmother.

"The whole family is saddened to learn the full extent of how challenging the last few years have been for Harry and Meghan," the palace said. "The issues raised, particularly the

of race, are concerning. While some recollections may vary, they are taken very seriously and will be addressed by the family privately."

The allegations — and the palace's response — have touched off conversations around the world about racism, mental health and even the relationship between Britain and its former colonies. The revelations stood in stark contrast to the hopes many had when Harry and Meghan wed that the glamorous former actress would help the monarchy relate to young people in an increasingly multicultural nation.

William said Thursday that he hadn't yet spoken to his younger brother since the interview, "but I will do."



Meghan and Harry, center right, with Queen Elizabeth II and other members of the royal family in 2018. The couple left Britain for Canada a year ago, and eventually settled in the United States.

In Britain, Meghan and Harry Talk Stirs Debate on Entrenched Racism

By MEGAN SPECIA

LONDON — Hours after an interview with Prince Harry and his wife Meghan was broadcast in the United States on Sunday, Britain was grappling with the shock wave rippling out across the Atlantic, exposing a deep royal rift.

In the two-hour prime time interview with Oprah Winfrey — which was scheduled to be shown in Britain Monday night — Meghan and Harry spoke frankly about what drove them away from Britain last year, taking a sharp turn from the default silence of the royal family. They spoke of comments by one family member about the potential color of their son's skin, racist coverage from the tabloid press and a general lack of support that Meghan said drove her to thoughts of suicide.

For many Black Britons, the interview offered a scathing assessment of the royal family and resurfaced barely submerged tensions over entrenched racism in the country at large.

"It's very hard listening to the interview not to focus on some of the salacious details and the family drama," said Marcus Ryder, a visiting professor of media diversity at Birmingham City University. "But what we're talking about is a major part of the British state, it's a major institution."

The allegations of racism made during the interview could have major implications for the monarchy, he said, whose family members and their households are paid in part with public funds.

"Once you realize that, and divorce it from the idea of the personal family drama, what you have is a Black woman who was the first, in the modern era anyway, to enter that British institution," Mr. Ryder said, "and makes allegations of racism at the very top."

Meghan's revelation that someone in the royal household ques-

Stephen Castle contributed reporting.

tioned whether her son would be "too dark to represent the U.K." was a major problem, he said. (On Monday, Ms. Winfrey said that Harry had asked her to clarify that neither Queen Elizabeth II nor Prince Philip was the source of that comment.)

Many critics noted the marked imbalance between the bombshell disclosures in the interview and the palace's clumsy attempts to discredit Meghan as a bully in a leak to *The Times* of London last week.

For others, the interview was a moment to reflect on the decidedly different public persona of Harry and Meghan as they broke with the dutiful silence expected of the royal family and brought a more American approach.

Meghan had previously spoken about her struggle to adopt the British stiff-upper-lip sensibility,

Straining a country's love/hate relationship with its monarchy.

and during Sunday's interview the couple signaled a desire to seize control of their own narrative, positioning themselves as global philanthropists.

The *Daily Mail*, a British tabloid Meghan won a privacy case against last month, on Monday morning led its website with the all-caps headline "I wanted to kill myself." While it trumpeted Meghan's comments about her mental health, it called the discussions about race "a sensational claim."

The interview left the country divided, with major news outlets publishing biting commentary. On social media, some denounced the couple's infidelity to the family, while others defended them.

Nadine Batchelor-Hunt, a British journalist, applauded Meghan's "fearlessness" and said her

treatment reflected the deep-rooted racism experienced by Black people in Britain.

"In my family, we don't really care about the monarchy," Ms. Batchelor-Hunt said, but as a mixed-race woman, she found that the allegations resonated deeply. "A lot of our ancestors were enslaved under the banner of the British empire in the name of the crown."

Allegations of racism from within the royal family, both from Meghan and Harry, had given the royal family new relevance, she said.

"Seeing her speak so openly about it is really liberating," she said, "which is why I think a lot of young people, particularly a lot of Black people, care so much."

The reaction illustrated divisions between those who view Harry and Meghan as victims and those who disapprove of their behavior and of their willingness to attack the monarchy in public. Critics argued that by refusing to name the person who questioned the skin color of their son, they had made it impossible for the royal family to try to rebut the allegation.

In the *Daily Telegraph*, Camilla Tomlinson wrote that the conclusion the couple seemed to want the public to draw was that since "we are never likely to know, we may as well consider them all white supremacists, along with any journalist who has ever written anything vaguely negative about them."

In the beginning, when her engagement to Harry was announced, Meghan was acclaimed as an international beacon of a more inclusive royal family — until then a profoundly white institution. But that moment quickly passed, and she soon found herself under frequent attack in the British tabloids, often the subject of articles using overtly racist language or undertones of bigotry.

Before the wedding, articles appeared in the tabloids about her driving her sister-in-law Kate, the



Harry and Meghan talked with Oprah Winfrey in a CBS special.

Duchess of Cambridge, to tears in a disagreement over the flower girls' dresses — the exact opposite of what actually occurred, Meghan said in the interview Sunday. Then came accusations in the tabloid press of her bullying the staff of being so demanding as to be impossible to satisfy.

Some noted that the tabloids would sometimes criticize her for doing almost the same things that earned Kate lavish compliments.

Not that Kate escaped criticism entirely. While her parents are highly successful professionals, the tabloids made much of the fact that her mother began her career as a flight attendant and is more likely to trace her lineage to a coal miner than an aristocrat.

Yet what cut particularly deeply, Meghan said, was the lack of support from other family members. And when she went in search of help for her increasingly desperate mental state, the palace's human resources department said its hands were tied because she was not a staff member. She was further told, she said, that she could not go to a psychiatric facility because that would reflect poorly on the family.

Black Britons had been calling out the problematic portrayals of Meghan in the British press for

"And what we have is that we have a British media that has so far been slow to recognize that this is actually a racial story."

Mr. Ryder also said the allegations could have broad repercussions for the monarchy, pointing to longstanding questions about inclusion and the hereditary model of succession.

"We keep talking about issues of diversity, and how well does diversity sit with the hereditary principle?" he asked, noting that some may argue that there is a way to make it work. "But what she's saying is that there seems to be a conflict."

The palace has said nothing in the aftermath of the interview, and it remains to be seen how the queen herself will respond and whether the palace will investigate the claims Harry and Meghan made as enthusiastically as it pledged to look into the claims of Meghan's bullying of staff.

Keir Starmer, the leader of the opposition Labour Party, said that the allegations in the interview around racism and mental health need to be taken "very seriously." But the government reacted with caution. During an afternoon news conference, Prime Minister Boris Johnson said he "had the highest admiration for the queen and the unifying role that she plays in our country and across the Commonwealth."

He added: "As for the rest, all other matters to do with the royal family, I've spent a long time now not commenting on royal family matters, and I don't intend to depart from that today."

But many agreed that the fallout from the interview could linger.

"I've always said that the royal family would come out at best looking out of date, out of touch, perhaps unwelcoming," Katie Nicholls, the royals editor at *Vanity Fair*, said in an interview on Sky News shortly after the broadcast. "But this is so much worse than that."

JOE PHELPS/HANCO PRODUCTIONS, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

MATT DUNHAM/ASSOCIATED PRESS

We Are Obsessed With Royalty

Farah Stockman

My 4-year-old daughter is into princesses. Really into princesses. I have given the Princess Industrial Complex more money than I'd like to admit to keep those episodes of "Elena of Avalor" coming.

It isn't as bad as I feared it would be. These are not the helpless princesses of my youth, yearning for their prince to come. These princesses are feminists. They fight, do magic and ride flying creatures, all while wearing sparkly ball gowns. They are also a racially diverse bunch. Elena is Disney's first Latina princess. Her friends include a Black princess, a Jewish princess and kings who hail from places that seem awfully similar to India and Japan.

But there is one thing about them that still feels, well, not particularly progressive: They are royalty. The whole premise still rests on the notion that certain people were born to rule.

It's odd that this idea is so widely accepted in 2021 even in the United States, a country borne out of a rebellion against a king. Our popular culture is awash with royalty — from "Coming 2 America" to the Netflix series "The Crown."

This week, 17 million people in the United States tuned in to Oprah Winfrey's interview with Prince Harry and his wife, Meghan Markle, the Duchess of Sussex, which ignited an outcry about the injustice of denying a hereditary title to the couple's child, possibly because of race. The allegations seemed to lay bare the empty promises of racial equality in Britain.

But isn't there something inherently unjust and unequal about hereditary titles themselves? Why do so many people who routinely attack patriarchy and white supremacy give monarchy a pass?

Some have pointed out the absurdity. "Having a queen as head of state is like having a pirate or a mermaid or Ewok," wrote Patrick Freyne in *The Irish Times*. To the assertion that the monarchy "looks archaic and racist" after that interview, he offered these wise words: "Well duh."

And yet, the concept of royalty manages to be both enduringly compelling and entirely natural, so much so that it can occupy a 4-year-old's entire imaginary world. If princesses suddenly ceased to exist, I'm quite sure that my daughter would reinvent them.

In real life, monarchies have been surprisingly resilient and popular around the world, according to Mauro Guillén, a Wharton international management professor who has analyzed 120 years' worth of data from 137 countries.

Although Americans associate royalty with Europe, it's a system that's been used virtually everywhere, from the pharaohs of Egypt to the emperors of Japan and ancient Rome, to the Mayan kingdom that stretched across modern-day Mexico and the royal courts of West Africa. The Old Testament, the New Testament and the Quran all reference kings and queens.

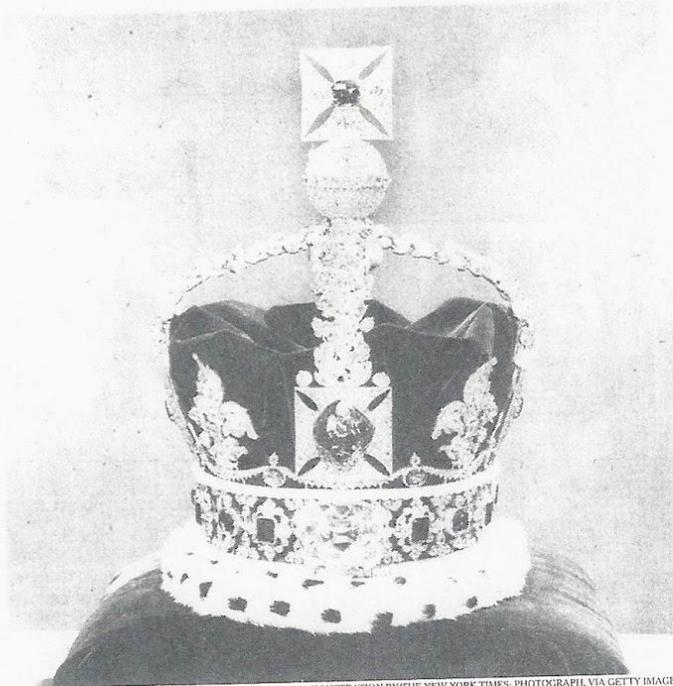


ILLUSTRATION BY THE NEW YORK TIMES. PHOTOGRAPH VIA GETTY IMAGES

Monarchies are resilient, in real life and popular culture.

The idea that rulers derive their legitimacy from God and might pass it down to their children has been around for at least 7,000 years. For most of that time, kingship has been the dominant form of government. Today, 29 countries still have monarchies (43 if you include those in the British Commonwealth).

Another reason for their enduring popularity might be their success. Dr. Guillén's study concluded that monarchies tend to produce higher standards of living than republics, apparently because they do a better job protecting private property rights and provide a necessary check on pesky politicians. Constitutional monarchies, where royals throw lavish weddings but leave the actual governing to elected leaders, have some of the highest standards of living on the planet — the United Kingdom, Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands and Japan.

"The fascination, the magic, the continuity, the stability that comes from a monarchy with a dynasty that has been playing this role for centuries, a lot of people find comfort in that," Dr. Guillén told me. "In the U.K., that's the reason the monarchy has 55 percent support."

John Jost, a New York University professor, told me that people tend to cling to traditions and longstanding social systems that justify our understandable desire for order, safety and predictability. That's what his 2009 book, "Social Psychological Bases of Ideology: System Justification," is all about.

"I also suspect that some people are simply drawn to the glamour of royalty and the fantasy that some very, very special people are living opulent, extravagant lives, and this could be a way of transcending our mundane realities," he told me. "Perhaps we hope that they will protect and take care of us as a reward for our adulation? That's how it works out in fairy tales, at least."

Is it possible that people crave pomp and pine for leaders who embody grandeur? Leaders who live in fancy towers, full of gaudy gold stuff, perhaps? Leaders who are said to have been chosen by God? Donald Trump obviously thought so.

"I play to people's fantasies," he wrote in "The Art of the Deal." "People want to believe that something is the biggest and the greatest and the most spectacular."

There are certainly many who'd rather be represented by the richest man in the biggest palace, instead of an ordinary guy in a cardigan sweater.

Amid the uncertainty and bad faith that has overtaken so much of American democracy, it feels good to escape into Avalor, a world where kings and queens rule benevolently over contented villagers, and nobody ever has to worry about voter suppression or the Electoral College. As terrible as the wicked witch is on the show, she's not nearly as terrifying as the thought of millions of American voters who believe in QAnon or Pizzagate.

On Jan. 6, the day Trump supporters ransacked the U.S. Capitol, it calmed my nerves to watch "Elena of Avalor" with my daughter. It felt good to retreat into a world where villains aren't real, and the princesses always prevail in the end. □



FACUNDO ARRIZABALAGA/EPA. VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

British tabloids on Monday after Prince Harry and his wife, Meghan, spoke to Oprah Winfrey.

A Royal Interview With Echoes of Princess Diana

By SARAH LYALL

Anyone who remembers the funeral of Diana, the Princess of Wales, in 1997 can't help being haunted by the wrenching sight of her two young sons, Princes William and Harry, walking slowly behind her coffin as it made its way to Westminster Abbey. Their hands were clasped in front; their heads were bowed. Harry looked so small in his suit.

Son Saw His Wife Hurt by Press and In-Laws

That image has reverberated down the years, a ghostly reminder of the princes' traumatic childhood, and it hovered again in the background as Prince Harry and his wife, Meghan, spoke to Oprah Winfrey on Sunday night.

While the British tabloids like to cast Meghan in the villainous role of the Duchess of Windsor — the American divorcée who lured away their king in 1936 and lived with him in bitter exile, causing an irreparable family rift — Harry and Meghan seem determined to position her instead as a latter-day Diana, a woman mistreated by her in-laws, more sinned against than sinning.

Harry has often spoken with anguish and bitterness about what happened to Diana all those years ago when she was cast out of the royal family after her divorce from Prince Charles and later died in a car wreck in a Parisian underpass, the paparazzi in hot pursuit. He raised the subject again on Sunday, drawing parallels between the experiences of his mother and his wife and saying, of Diana, that he has "felt her presence through this whole process." It felt Shakespearean, the sense of history repeating itself through the immutable structure of a royal lineage and an ancient institution — while a prince spoke of breaking free from the old patterns and finding a new way forward.

Harry made the comparison explicit on Sunday when he referred to the "constant barrage" of criticism and racist attacks on his wife.

"What I was seeing was history repeating itself," he said, though he described the treatment of Meghan as "far more dangerous" because of the ubiquity of social media and the corrosive element of racism.

Meghan's discussion in the interview of her mental health struggles as a royal wife, of loneliness and desolation and thoughts of suicide, were reminiscent of Diana's account of the bulimia and depression that consumed her during her own marriage. Both women said they had desperately

sought help from the family, only to be ignored and rebuffed.

"When I'm talking about history repeating itself, I'm talking about my mother," Harry said. "When you can see something happening in the same kind of way, anybody would ask for help."

But just as with his mother, when Meghan pleaded for help, he said, none was forthcoming. Instead, the family dismissed her concerns and told her, essentially, to keep her head down.

The couple was repeatedly told: "This is how it is. This is just how it is," Harry said. There are many parallels between Meghan and Diana.

Like Diana, Meghan married into a family that did not understand her and believed she would conform, without complaint, to royal customs and protocol. As with Diana, when Meghan proved unable or unwilling to toe the family line, she said, the palace did nothing to dispel the emerging public narrative that she was demanding, petulant, entitled. And like Diana, Meghan found herself hounded by the tabloids, which accused her of constantly seeking attention while happily filling their pages with stories about her.

But there are differences, too, beyond the fact that Diana was white and Meghan is biracial, and the fact that Diana's marriage fell apart, while Meghan has a strong marriage and a fierce champion in Harry.

Diana was just 20, and very



Princes William and Harry at the funeral of their mother, Diana, the Princess of Wales, in 1997.

sheltered and naïve, when she and Charles married; Meghan was 36 and worldly, having made her own living for years, when she married Harry. She was also divorced, with a high-profile job as an actress.

And Meghan is American, with an American sensibility.

Diana came from a culture of reticence in which tradition is venerated; Meghan comes from one where it is normal to ask for help, to discuss your feelings and to suggest that there might be better, newer ways of doing things.

Still there were more than a few hints of Diana when Meghan sat

down with Oprah for the interview. Meghan wore a diamond bracelet that had once been Diana's. (Diana's most famous piece of jewelry, her sapphire-and-diamond engagement ring, can now be found on the finger of Prince William's wife, Kate, the Duchess of Cambridge.) Then there was the interview itself.

The bold decision of a royal wife to level criticisms against her husband's family in a televised special was reminiscent of Diana's 1995 interview with the BBC. That was the one in which, in somber tones, she revealed that her mar-

riage had always been doomed because there were "three of us" in it: her, Charles, and Camilla Parker Bowles, his longtime lover and later his wife.

But it was Harry who most pointedly invoked his mother on Sunday. He said he believed Diana would have been angry and sad at the couple's treatment. And he said she would have supported their decision to leave Britain and seek a new life away from the constraints of the royal family.

Given her experience, he said, his own plight had an air of inevitability to it.

"Touching back on what you asked me — what my mum would think of this — I think she saw it coming," he told Oprah. "But ultimately, all she'd ever want is for us to be happy."

For Harry, there is the added element of knowing that his father caused his mother pain, and that Charles knew how unhappy she was as a royal wife. Now, he told Oprah, he and Charles have had a falling-out over Meghan, with his father at one point refusing to take his calls.

"There's a lot to work through here," Harry said. "I feel really let down, because he's been through something similar. He knows what pain feels like, and Archie's his grandson. At the same time, of course, I will always love him. But there's a lot of hurt that's happened." Toward the end of the interview, Harry spoke of his son, Archie, and his new life in California. He sounded both loving — and wistful. For a moment, he seemed to be recalling how it felt to be without a mother at the age of 12.

"The highlight for me is sticking him on the back of his bicycle in his little baby seat and taking him on these bike rides," he said. "Which is something I was never able to do when I was young."

If you or someone you know is having thoughts of suicide, call the National Suicide Prevention Lifeline at 1-800-273-8255 (TALK). More resources available at SpeakingOfSuicide.com/resources.

Carla Wallenda, Sure-Footed Member Of a High-Wire Act, Is Dead at 85

By SAM ROBERTS

Carla Wallenda, who spent seven decades with both her head and her feet in the clouds (or close to them) as a member of the Flying Wallendas aerial act, died on Saturday in Sarasota, Fla. The last surviving child of the family troupe's founder, she was 85.

Her death was confirmed by her son, Rick Wallenda. No cause was given.

Ms. Wallenda made her high-wire debut when she was just 6 weeks old — when "my father rode the bicycle and my mother sat on his shoulders, holding me and introducing me to the public," she recalled in a Sarasota television interview in 2017.

Fatal accidents took the lives of family members, including her husband, but Ms. Wallenda continued to soar to new acrobatic heights. Her signature was a heart-stopping headstand on a sway pole — a flexible steel shaft — from a perch of 100 feet (later scaled down to 65 feet as she grew older).



Practicing at 9 years old with her brother Mario in 1945.

Though weakened by diabetes and a chronic inflammatory lung disease (she stopped smoking in 2013), she continued to perform until she was 82.

A career as an aerialist that might have been destined by dynasty, she said, but in fact it was propelled as much by her own desire.

An aerialist born into a dynasty embraced her career's thrills.

"Accidents can happen anywhere," she told The Sarasota Herald-Tribune in 2014. "I have to make a living, and this is the only way I know or want to. I've done waitress work and hated every minute of it. Why should I go and do a job that I hate?"

Carla Wallenda was born on Feb. 13, 1936, in Florida. Her fa-



Ms. Wallenda, shown in 2017, shrugged off her act's dangers.

ther, Karl Wallenda, founded his acrobatic troupe in Germany before moving to the United States in 1928. Her mother, Helen (Kreis) Wallenda, who was known as Matti, was also a high-wire acrobat.

As a toddler Carla appeared in a 1939 newsreel showing her being taught to walk the wire by her parents. She toured with her family in the Ringling Brothers and Barnum & Bailey Circus and began appearing in the family's act with her brother Mario and sister Jenny in 1947.

She joined the troupe's high-wire act only after she demonstrated to her father that she could perform a headstand atop the family's hallmark seven-person pyramid — without a net. The death-defying act featured four acrobats on a wire supporting two on the next tier, with the seventh sitting at the top on a chair.

Ms. Wallenda formed her own aerial ensemble in 1961, then re-joined the family troupe in 1965 after three of her relatives were killed performing and her brother Mario was paralyzed. Her aunt Rieta Grafent fell to her death from a 100-foot-high sway pole in 1963 when she was 43. Ms. Wallenda's husband Richard Guzman, who was known as Chico, died in 1972 in a 60-foot plunge after his pole struck a live electrical wire.

Karl Wallenda fell to his death in 1978 while walking 100-foot-high between the towers of a hotel in San Juan, P.R.

Though beset by tragedy and sometimes riven by intertact squabbles, new generations of Wallendas have continued the family tradition of breathtaking performances.

In addition to her son, Rick, who heads the family's Wallenda Enterprises, Ms. Wallenda is sur-



Carla Wallenda, whose father founded the Flying Wallendas, in 1964. She performed into her 80s.

vived by two daughters, Rieta Wallenda Jordan and Valerie Wallenda; and 16 grandchildren. She was married four times; in addition to Mr. Guzman, her husbands were Igino Bogino, Paul Jordan and Mike Morgan.

Asked once whether she was a relative of Nik Wallenda, a neph-

ew who gained fame as an aerialist by traversing Niagara Falls and the Grand Canyon, she replied, "No, he's related to me — I was here first."

And she was performing almost to the last. In 2017, Ms. Wallenda taped a sway pole headstand for a television program and per-

formed the same act the following April. She was inducted into the Circus Ring of Fame in Sarasota in 2019.

"My greatest love is performing," she said. "When I am out there, all of my pain and all that goes away, and I am in a world of my own."

Roger Mudd, Savvy Anchorman Who Stumped a Kennedy, Is Dead at 93

By ROBERT D. McFADDEN

Roger Mudd, the anchorman who delivered the news and narrated documentaries with an urbane edge for three decades on CBS, NBC and PBS and conducted a 1979 interview that undermined the presidential hopes of Senator Edward M. Kennedy, died on Tuesday at his home in McLean, Va. He was 93.

The cause was kidney failure, his son Matthew said.

To anyone who regarded anchors as mere celebrities who read the news, Mr. Mudd was an exception: an experienced reporter who covered Congress and politics and delivered award-winning reports in a smooth mid-Atlantic baritone with erudition, authority and touches of sardonic humor.

He worked for CBS from 1961 to 1980 as a Washington correspondent and weekend anchor and was being groomed to succeed Walter Cronkite on the "CBS Evening News." When the network named Dan Rather instead, a surprised and disappointed Mr. Mudd resigned.

He then joined NBC as chief Washington correspondent and in 1982 became co-anchor with Tom Brokaw on the "Nightly News," an attempt to reincarnate the Chet Huntley-David Brinkley chemistry of the 1960s. It failed after 17 months, and NBC made Mr. Brokaw the sole anchor. Mr. Mudd resumed political reporting and documentary work for several years before switching networks again, moving to PBS.

At PBS he reported for "The MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour" from 1987 to 1992. He then taught at Princeton and at his alma mater, Washington and Lee University in Virginia, and hosted documentaries on the History Channel from 1995 until his retirement in 2005.

Mr. Mudd is perhaps best remembered for the CBS interview with Senator Kennedy on Nov. 4, 1979, days before the senator began his campaign to wrest the Democratic presidential nomination from the incumbent, Jimmy Carter. Mr. Kennedy, heir to the political legacies of his assassinated brothers, had a 2-to-1 lead in the polls when he faced Mr. Mudd and a prime-time national audi-

Alex Traub contributed reporting.



FRED R. CONRAD/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Roger Mudd, above, in 1982 with Tom Brokaw, his co-anchor on NBC's "Nightly News." In 1984, top right, Mr. Mudd, left, and Marvin Kalb interviewed Representative Geraldine A. Ferraro. Right, the CBS election night team in 1974: from left, Mr. Mudd, Lesley Stahl, Walter Cronkite, Dan Rather and Mike Wallace.



JOEL LANDAU/ASSOCIATED PRESS



CBS, VIA GETTY IMAGES

ence.

"Why do you want to be president?" Mr. Mudd began.

Mr. Kennedy hesitated, apparently caught off guard.

"Well, I'm — were I to — to make the, the announcement and to run, the reasons that I would run is because I have a great belief in this country," he stammered.

It got worse. He twitched and squirmed, conveying self-doubt and flawed preparation, and stumbled through questions for an hour. His campaign, burdened by many problems, including his conduct in the drowning death of a former campaign aide to Senator Robert F. Kennedy on Chappaquiddick Island in Massachusetts in 1969, was wounded before it began and never recovered.

Mr. Mudd, who won a Peabody Award for the interview, also narrated "The Selling of the Pentagon," a 1971 documentary that exposed a \$190 million public relations campaign by the Defense Department that included junkets for industrialists and television propaganda.

Roger Harrison Mudd was born in Washington on Feb. 9, 1928, to John and Irma (Harrison) Mudd. His father was a mapmaker for the U.S. Geological Survey, his mother a nurse. An ancestor was Samuel A. Mudd, a doctor who went to prison for treating John Wilkes Booth for the broken leg he suffered jumping to the stage of Ford's Theater after shooting Abraham Lincoln in 1865.

After graduating from Wood-

row Wilson High School in Washington, Mr. Mudd joined the Army in 1945. He earned bachelor's degree at Washington and Lee in 1950 and a master's degree in history from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 1953. He began in journalism in 1953 as a reporter for The News Leader of Richmond, Va., and soon became news director of the newspaper's radio station, WRNL.

Mr. Mudd married Emma Jeanne Spears in 1957; she died in 2011. In addition to his son Matthew, he is survived by two other sons, Daniel and Jonathan; a daughter, Maria Ruth; 14 grandchildren; and two great-grandchildren.

In 1956, Mr. Mudd became a re-

porter for the Washington radio and television station WTOP, and in 1961 he was hired by CBS to cover Congress. He went on to impress audiences and critics in 1964 with marathon coverage of a 60-day Senate filibuster that delayed civil rights legislation. That led to an assignment to co-anchor, with the veteran journalist Robert Trout, the network's coverage of the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City.

Mr. Mudd was a natural on camera: tall and tanned, energetic but relaxed, with a long face that conveyed a rugged imperturbability. As his stature rose at CBS, he became the anchor on weekends and as a fill-in when Mr. Cronkite was on vacation or special assign-

ment. He also covered Senator Robert F. Kennedy's 1968 presidential campaign, and was on the scene when the senator was assassinated in Los Angeles.

Mr. Mudd won Emmys for covering the shooting of Gov. George Wallace of Alabama in 1972 and the resignation of Vice President Spiro T. Agnew in 1973, and two more for CBS specials on the Watergate scandal. He was named CBS national affairs correspondent in 1977, and became the heir

Posing a simple query in 1979: 'Why do you want to be president?'

apparent as Mr. Cronkite's 1981 retirement approached.

But Mr. Rather, the White House and "60 Minutes" correspondent, had sought Mr. Cronkite's job and threatened to jump to ABC if he did not get it. After CBS chose Mr. Rather, Mr. Mudd went to NBC, where he was expected to succeed John Chancellor as anchor. Instead, the network named Mr. Mudd and Mr. Brokaw co-anchors, one based in Washington and the other in New York, but that arrangement did not last.

Mr. Mudd went on to be an anchor on NBC's "Meet the Press" in 1984 and '85 before his move to PBS as a political correspondent and essayist for "The MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour." His documentaries on the History Channel included accounts of America's founders, biblical disasters and the sinking of the Andrea Doria.

Mr. Mudd's well-received 2008 memoir, "The Place to Be: Washington, CBS and the Glory Days of Television News," recalled an era of war, assassinations and scandals and news coverage by Eric Sevareid, Harry Reasoner, Marvin Kalb, Daniel Schorr, Ed Bradley and others who shared his spotlight.

In 2010, Mr. Mudd donated \$4 million to Washington and Lee University to establish the Roger Mudd Center for the Study of Professional Ethics and to endow a Roger Mudd professorship in ethics.

Roger Mudd, longtime TV reporter, anchor

By Dave Bryan

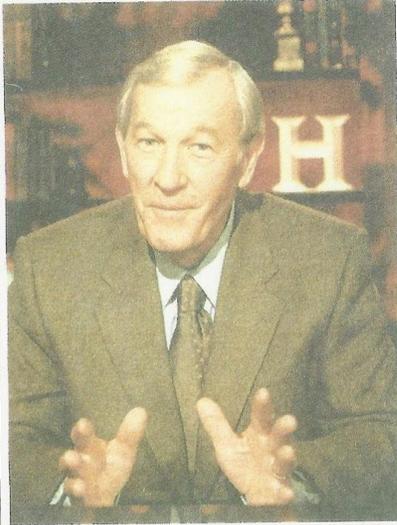
Roger Mudd, the longtime political correspondent and anchor for NBC and CBS who once stumped Sen. Edward Kennedy by simply asking why he wanted to be president, has died. He was 93. CBS News says Mudd died Tuesday of complications of kidney failure at his home in McLean, Va.

During more than 30 years on network television, starting with CBS in 1961, Mudd covered Congress, elections and political conventions and was a frequent anchor and contributor to various specials. His career coincided with the flowering of television news, the pre-cable, pre-Internet days when the big three networks and their powerhouse ranks of reporters were the main source of news for millions of Americans.

Besides work at CBS and NBC, he did stints on PBS's "MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour" and the History Channel.

When he joined Robert MacNeil and Jim Lehrer's show in 1987, Mudd said: "I think they regard news and information and fact and opinion with a reverence and respect that really is admirable."

He wrote a memoir, "The Place To Be," which came out in early



Marty Lederhandler / Associated Press

Besides CBS and NBC, Roger Mudd did stints at "MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour" and History Channel.

2008, and described the challenges and clashing egos he encountered working in Washington, where among other things he covered Congress for CBS for 15 years.

In an April 2008 interview on the "NewsHour," he said he "absolutely loved" keeping tabs on the nation's 100 senators and 435 representatives, "all of them wanting to talk, great access, politics morning, noon and night, as opposed to the White

House, where everything is zipped up and tightly held."

Mudd received a George Foster Peabody Award for his November 1979 special "CBS Reports: Teddy," which aired just days before Kennedy officially announced his attempt to challenge then-President Carter for the 1980 Democratic presidential nomination.

In the report, Mudd asked the Massachusetts senator a simple question: "Why do you want

to be president?"

Kennedy was unable to give a focused answer or specify what he personally wanted to do.

"Well, I'm, uh, were I to make the announcement to run, the reasons that I would run is because I have a great belief in this country. ... We're facing complex issues and problems in this nation at this time but we have faced similar challenges at other times. ... And I would basically feel that it's imperative for this country to move forward, that it can't stand still, for otherwise it moves backward."

It was enough to prompt New York Times columnist Tom Wicker to give Kennedy the "Safire Prize for Nattering Nabob of the Year." Carter went on to win the nomination for a second term, only to fall to Ronald Reagan in the general election.

As Mudd told viewers: "On the stump Kennedy can be dominating, imposing and masterful, but off the stump, in personal interviews, he can become stilted, elliptical and at times appear as if he really doesn't want America to get to know him."

Mudd spent a fair amount of time in the "CBS Evening News" anchor chair, substituting for Walter Cronkite when he was off and anchoring the Saturday

evening news broadcasts from 1966 to 1973.

But he lost out to Dan Rather in the competition to succeed Cronkite as the news anchor at CBS when the latter retired in 1981. Cronkite, for one, had backed Rather because he didn't think Mudd had enough foreign experience.

It was then that Mudd jumped to NBC as its chief Washington correspondent. In addition, he co-anchored NBC's "Nightly News" with Tom Brokaw for a year before Brokaw went solo in 1983, and for a time co-hosted "Meet the Press," the Sunday morning interview show.

But when he left NBC, he said management viewed news as "a promotable commodity" rather than a public service. His departure had been rumored since he sharply criticized NBC News for canceling the newsmagazine show "1986," which he co-anchored with Connie Chung.

In five years on "NewsHour," Mudd served as a senior correspondent, essayist and occasional anchor. He hosted a number of reports on American history and education, including "Learning in America: Schools That Work" and "The Wizard: Thomas Alva Edison."

Mudd left the "NewsHour" in 1992 to teach journalism at Princeton University, describing the offer to teach at the Ivy League school as simply too appealing to turn down. He also was a host and correspondent for The History Channel from 1995 to 2004.

Among his other awards over the years, Mudd shared in a Peabody for the 1970 CBS documentary "The Selling of the Pentagon," which looked at the military's public relations efforts. Mudd was the narrator of the program, which the Peabody judges said was "electronic journalism at its best."

Mudd, who was born in Washington, was a distant relative of Dr. Samuel Mudd, the doctor who was arrested for treating an injured John Wilkes Booth shortly after Booth assassinated President Abraham Lincoln. The doctor, who was eventually pardoned, said he hadn't been aware of the killing when he aided Booth.

According to CBS News, Mudd and his late wife, the former E.J. Spears, are survived by their four children, as well as 14 grandchildren and two great-grandchildren.

OUR LIVES, REVISED A Year of Pandemic

Besieged Newsom may recover if state

By Joe Garofoli

Few governors have soared quite as high or plunged as low in the public's eye during the pandemic as Gavin Newsom.

He's gone from being nationally lauded on prominent political stops like ABC's "The View" in May for doing "an amazing job" to the brink of being the first California

governor to face a recall in 18 years. In January, with the state's coronavirus infection rate peaking, Newsom's approval rating dropped precipitously in a Berkeley IGS Poll, prompting some Democrats to worry that he could be vulnerable to being ousted by voters before his first term ends.

But those fears may have been premature. Some ana-

lysts believe Newsom hit rock bottom when the state's pandemic situation did, and that his fortunes will improve if the state has already seen its worst days.

The only way he gets dragged down again, in their view, is if California mismanages another surge or bungles the vaccine distribution as the rest of the coun-



Patrick T. Fallon / AFP via Getty Images

Bombir would stay. H was u a feroi camp: bring Ab famil The! amo: unli: seea face tion dis: str: fin

try gets its shots, or if students aren't back in classrooms at least most of the time by fall.

Newsom just received a political cushion in the form of \$42.6 billion in aid coming to state and local governments in California from the \$1.9 trillion federal stimulus package. That will prevent many cuts to local services and could give Californians the feeling that life is returning to what it was before the pandemic struck.

"You won't have a lot of budget cuts, and he can sprinkle that money around," aid veteran Democratic strategist Andrew Acosta.

That January poll "may have captured a low point for a governor," said Eric Schickler, co-director of UC Berkeley's Institute of Governmental Studies, which conducted the survey. It found that 46% of registered voters approved of Newsom's performance as governor — down from 64% in September while 48% disapproved. "It was a confluence of frustration that voters were feeling at that point in the pandemic," Schickler said.

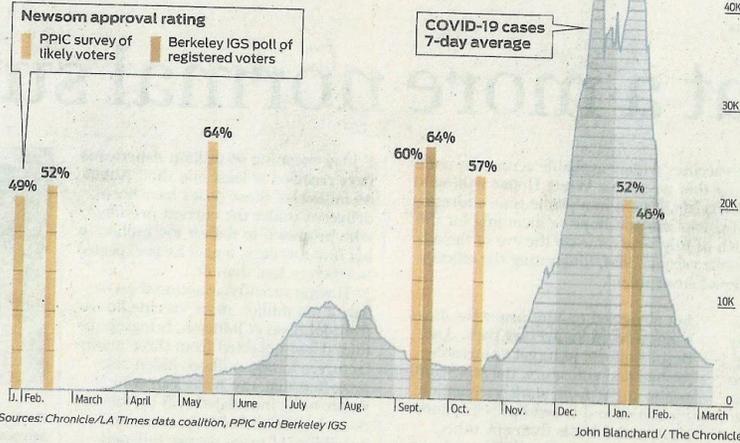
The number of COVID-19 cases was high, restrictions in businesses and restaurants had returned, the vaccine rollout was going poorly, some hospitals were overflowing, and most public schools were still closed for in-person learning.

"There was a general frustration that the state didn't have its act together," Schickler said. "But reality has shifted significantly, and he's pushing a more clear message and being more active talking about what he's doing" to address the pandemic.

But Newsom still has damage to repair. The governor who became a national star when California's infection rate was low transformed into the focal point for the public's frustration with the pace of the recovery.

Recall organizers say gathering signatures to oust Newsom became easier after The Chronicle reported that the

Newsom's approval rating compared to coronavirus curve



Sources: Chronicle/LA Times data coalition, PPIC and Berkeley IGS

John Blanchard / The Chronicle

governor had dined at the ritzy French Laundry restaurant in the Napa Valley with a lobbyist friend and more people than his own administration recommended for gatherings.

Republicans portrayed him as elitist and above following his own rules. The moment crystallized the anger that many Californians were feeling after being locked in their homes for months, and that vitriol showed in the polls.

"Dr. (Mark) Ghaly's not on the ballot," Acosta said, referring to the state's health and human services secretary. "Your county health director is not on the ballot. That's that problem the governor has — he has to eat all this."

For now, at least. If the worst of the pandemic is over, the worst of the political damage to Newsom could be, too.

"I think that governors get a lot of blame for what's going on that is not in their control, and get a lot of credit for what's not in their control," said Mark Baldassare, president and CEO of the nonpartisan Public Policy Institute of California. Its poll in January showed that Newsom's approval rating had dipped to 52% among likely voters, roughly what it was before the pandemic.

Online: Read more of our special reports on a year of the pandemic. SFChronicle.com

"I don't think he's in trouble at this point," Baldassare said. "His approval numbers have dropped from the stratosphere during the early days of the pandemic (64% in May 2020) when people's hopes were placed on their governor rather than their president in Washington."

"These next few months," Baldassare said, "will be very telling in how people view the governor."

Here are some factors that will shape Newsom's future over those months:

When will schools reopen? Newsom cut a deal with the Legislature this month to offer \$2 billion in incentives to school districts that bring at least some students back by March 31. The move was criticized by some teachers and administrators as favoring wealthier districts that were more able to put safety measures in place quickly. But it helped to spur productive conversations about returning to class, said Bob Nelson, superintendent of the Fresno Unified School District.

"The message that he sent

in this last piece of legislation was that we needed to get back to school. I think that really helped him a lot," Nelson said. "I don't think the money was the push there (for school districts). I think it is addressing the level of inertia that was there."

Getting back in class "goes a long way toward feeling better about where we're at. But it does not approximate normalcy," said Nelson, whose district will bring some students back to classrooms in early April. He said he "fully expects" students to return in the fall.

Will the federal money help? One of the many factors that led to the recall of Gov. Gray Davis in 2003 was that "the budget was upside down," Acosta said. "All that people heard was 'dysfunction in Sacramento.'"

That is not the case this year. Even without the federal stimulus money, the state had a \$15 billion surplus after tax revenues came in better than expected.

"Where governors get in trouble is when the budget news gets bad, and it affects local government and services," Baldassare said. "This governor seems to have been spared this."

Will Democratic unity

hold? Some Democrats in the Legislature have criticized Newsom for bigfooting them on emergency spending and not communicating well with them through the pandemic. San Jose Assembly Member Evan Low said he learned that Newsom was lifting the state's stay-at-home order in January when he checked his Twitter feed.

Others said some of Newsom's moves seemed aimed more at generating positive headlines than achieving anything, such as an economic task force he convened in April to chart the state's post-pandemic course.

It was filled with big names: San Francisco billionaire Tom Steyer, future Treasury Secretary Janet Yellen, Apple CEO Tim Cook and Walt Disney Co. boss Bob Iger. The group took seven months to come up with a report that was largely ignored.

In recent weeks, as the likelihood of the recall qualifying for the ballot has grown, Democrats have closed ranks. In the past week, groups of Asian American and LGBTQ officeholders and activists have held events praising Newsom and denouncing the recall as a partisan attack.

Vermont Independent Sen. Bernie Sanders, who remains popular in California after winning the state's 2020 Democratic primary, denounced the recall last week as the work of "extremist Republicans" and said, "We must all unite to oppose the recall."

For now, no Democrats have said they would run as a replacement candidate. Many Democrats recall that Davis was hurt in 2003 when his lieutenant governor, Cruz Bustamante, ran as a replacement candidate in the recall, siphoning the party's energy from preserving Davis.

Newsom doesn't want

Cuomo Impeachment Probe Launched

By JIMMY VIELKIND

ALBANY, N.Y.—The New York State Assembly said it would start an impeachment investigation into Gov. Andrew Cuomo, vowing to look into allegations that he behaved inappropriately toward female aides as well as his administration's handling of Covid-19 deaths in state nursing homes.

After lawmakers met privately Thursday afternoon, Assembly Speaker Carl Heastie, a Democrat from the Bronx, said the Democrat-dominated chamber's judiciary committee would have authority to interview witnesses, subpoena documents and evaluate evidence as members consider possible articles of impeachment.

Mr. Heastie said that "the reports of accusations concerning the governor are serious." State Senate Majority Leader Andrea Stewart-Cousins, a Democrat from Yonkers, has already called on Mr. Cuomo to resign.

Representatives for the Democratic governor didn't respond to requests to comment on the Assembly's move.

No New York governor has been impeached in more than a century. After an inquiry, the chamber could consider articles of impeachment that, if approved, would temporarily suspend Mr. Cuomo's authority. The governor would then be tried before members of the Democrat-controlled state Senate and judges of the state's Court of Appeals, who could remove him from office upon a two-thirds vote.

State officials on Wednesday referred a complaint that Mr. Cuomo inappropriately touched a female aide at the Executive Mansion to the Albany Police Department.

The latest complaint, which involves a woman who still works on the governor's Executive Chamber staff, stems

from an alleged incident last year, people familiar with the matter said. She is the fourth woman to accuse the third-term Democrat of inappropriate behavior or sexual harassment while they worked for him.

On Wednesday, a representative of the New York State Police and Beth Garvey, the governor's acting counsel, separately reached out to the Albany Police Department, state and police officials said. Ms. Garvey spoke with Deputy Chief Edward Donohue on Wednesday evening, they said.

Officer Steve Smith, a spokesman for the Albany Police Department, said that the department hadn't received a formal complaint from the woman and that there is no

active investigation.

Officer Smith said Albany Police had reached out to the woman's attorney to offer police services with respect to her allegation.

Ms. Garvey said Executive Chamber officials followed state policy by contacting the Albany Police Department about the allegation after they learned the woman hadn't filed her own complaint with police. "If they [alleged victims] decline, the agency has an obligation to reach out themselves and inform the department of the allegation," Ms. Garvey said.

A lawyer for the woman said she would speak through the legal process.

The woman became upset last week after watching Mr.

Cuomo give a news conference addressing other allegations of inappropriate behavior toward female aides, people familiar with the matter said. The woman then told a colleague what happened, and the colleague then alerted members of Mr. Cuomo's senior staff, the people said.

Mr. Cuomo's aides referred the matter this week to independent investigators overseen by Attorney General Letitia James, the people said.

In a statement on Wednesday, Mr. Cuomo said: "As I said yesterday, I have never done anything like this. The details of this report are gut-wrenching. I am not going to speak to the specifics of this or any other allegation given the ongoing review, but I am confi-

dent in the result of the Attorney General's report."

At the Capitol on Thursday morning, nearly 60 Democratic members of the New York state Legislature called Thursday for Mr. Cuomo's resignation and New York City Mayor Bill de Blasio said during a news conference that "he can no longer serve as governor" amid the accusations of inappropriate behavior toward female aides and a federal probe of Covid-19 deaths in nursing homes.

In a statement on Thursday, Ms. James said the Assembly's actions "will have no bearing on our independent investigation into these allegations against Governor Cuomo. Our investigation will continue."



New York Gov. Andrew Cuomo, shown earlier this week, has denied allegations of inappropriate behavior.

SETH WENIG/PRESS POOL

NEW YORK

N.Y. senators add voices to call for Cuomo to resign

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Senate Majority Leader Chuck Schumer and Sen. Kirsten Gillibrand called Friday on New York Gov. Andrew Cuomo to resign, adding the most powerful Democratic voices yet to calls for the governor to leave office in the wake of allegations of sexual harassment and groping.

"Confronting and overcoming the Covid crisis requires sure and steady leadership. We commend the brave actions of the individuals who have come forward with serious allegations of abuse and misconduct," New York's two U.S. senators said in a joint statement. "Due to the multiple, credible sexual harassment and misconduct allegations, it is clear that Governor Cuomo has lost the confidence of his governing partners

and the people of New York. Governor Cuomo should resign."

Both had earlier said an independent investigation into the allegations was essential.

A majority of state lawmakers had already called on Cuomo to resign, and more than half of New York's Democratic congressional members joined those calls Friday.

As the Democratic Party turned sharply against Cuomo and he faces growing allegations of sexual harassment, he insisted Friday he wouldn't resign and castigated politicians calling for him to quit as "reckless and dangerous" and engaging in "cancel culture."

"I did not do what has been alleged. Period," he said, again calling on the public to let ongoing investigations into his conduct to play out. "Wait for the



Darren McGee / Office of Gov. Andrew Cuomo

New York Gov. Andrew Cuomo says politicians calling for him to step down are "reckless and dangerous" as the number of calls for him to resign over sexual harassment allegations grows.

facts."

"Politicians who don't know a single fact but yet form a conclusion and an opinion are, in my opinion, reckless and dangerous," he added.

With a sprawling coalition of congressional leaders joining dozens of state lawmakers in calling for the embattled governor to step down, the Democrat hit back.

"You need to know the facts

before you make a decision," he said. "People know the difference between playing politics, bowing to cancel culture and the truth."

Cuomo's growing list of detractors now covers virtually every region in the state and the political power centers of New York City and Washington. His allies insist he will not resign, but as allegations of sexual harassment grow, his political

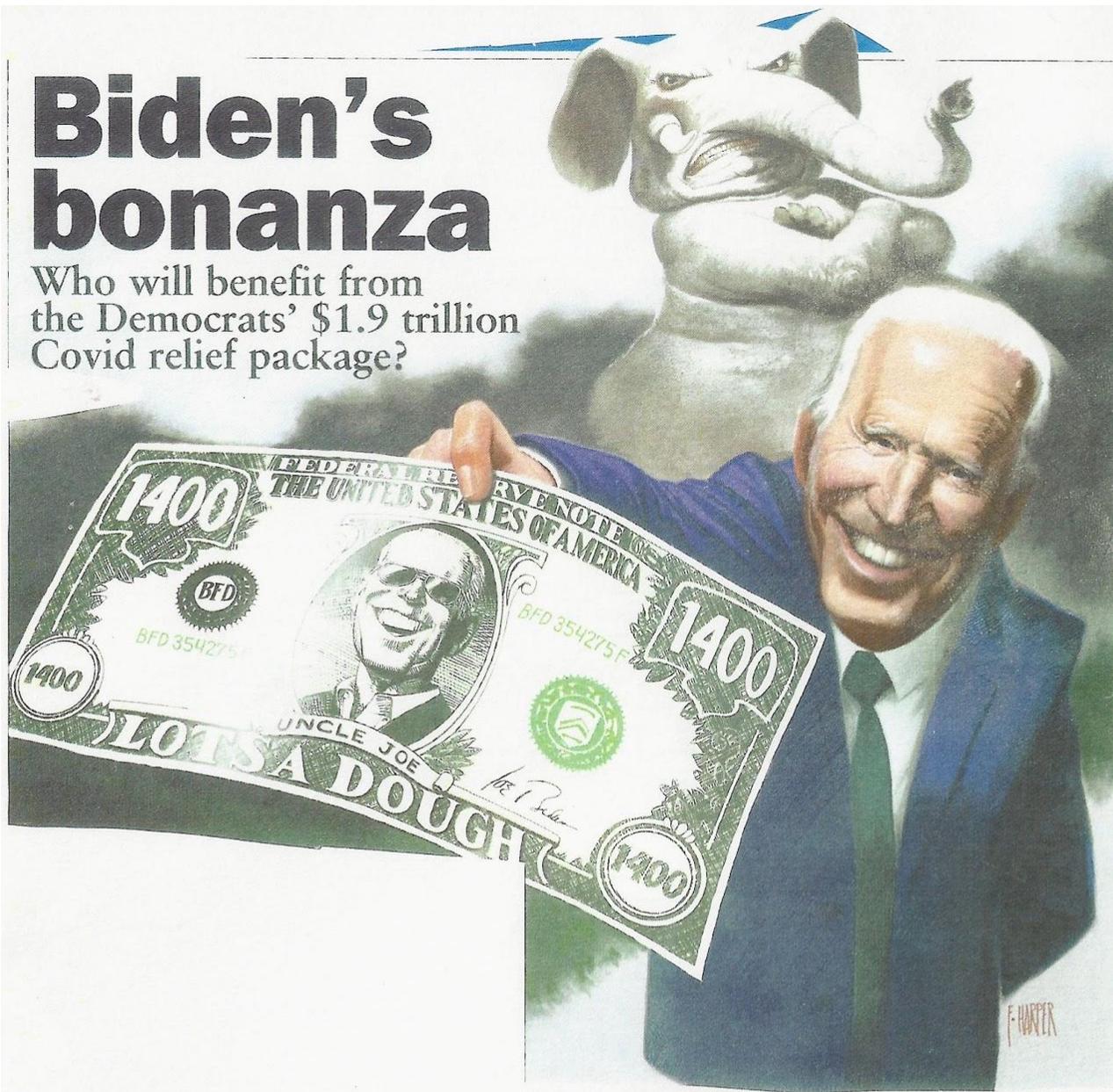
isolation has reached unprecedented levels.

Cuomo has denied he ever touched anyone inappropriately and has said he's sorry if he ever made anyone uncomfortable. He reiterated that Friday while insisting: "I never harassed anyone. I never assaulted anyone. I never abused anyone."

The New York Times contributed to this report.

Biden's bonanza

Who will benefit from the Democrats' \$1.9 trillion Covid relief package?



The Democrats' mammoth Covid stimulus bill

What happened

The House gave final passage to the \$1.9 trillion American Rescue Plan this week, handing President Biden a major win seven weeks into his presidency and unleashing an avalanche of federal spending that will reach well beyond pandemic relief. The package is "one of the most consequential and most progressive pieces of legislation in American history," said White House press secretary Jen Psaki. It cleared the Senate on a 50-49 vote, after some modifications, and then passed the House 220-211, with not a single Republican supporting it. Aimed at middle-class and poor Americans, the package delivers \$1,400 Covid-relief payouts to every American making under \$75,000 (or \$150,000 for married couples), including their children; extends \$300 weekly unemployment benefits through Labor Day; and provides \$350 billion to fill pandemic-related holes in the budgets of state and local governments. It allocates additional billions to schools, testing and vaccination programs, cultural venues, public transit, and ailing industries from airlines to restaurants.

Analysts estimate the sweeping bill will cut poverty by a third and child poverty by half. These provisions include an expansion of the child tax credit that for most parents will yield from \$3,000 to \$3,600 per child a year, whether or not they're employed. The bill also provides a big increase in federal subsidies for middle-class Americans who buy health insurance plans under the Affordable Care Act, making the plans more affordable. The nonpartisan Tax Policy Center projects that the combined benefits will boost incomes for the poorest 20 percent of Americans by 20 percent. It's "the most significant legislation for working people that has been passed in decades," said Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.).

Republicans hammered the package as excessive and overstuffed with liberal spending priorities with no direct connection to the pandemic. "It's a Trojan horse for socialism," said Rep. Matt Gaetz of Florida. "It's everything Democrats have wanted wrapped and bran in coronavirus so that people are sc into voting for it."



Biden: Hundreds of billions in spending for progressive goals

revive restaurants and other local businesses.

This massive handout isn't about Covid relief, said *The Wall Street Journal*. The real objective is "to expand and solidify the role of government as the guarantor of every American's income." From tax credits to direct payments to health-care subsidies, the bill is larded with generous benefits that will kill people's incentive to work and "slow the labor market's recovery as the pandemic eases." The Democrats are intent on building a "cradle-to-grave welfare-entitlement state."

Covid: Are red states reopening too quickly?

Finally, there's a "bright light at the end of the tunnel" of the Covid-19 pandemic, said Paul Krugman in *The New York Times*. So why are Republican governors recklessly inviting the virus to infect and kill more of their constituents? Govs. Greg Abbott of Texas and Tate Reeves of Mississippi both announced last week the lifting of *all* pandemic restrictions, including limits on bar and restaurant capacity and mask mandates. "Texas is OPEN 100%. EVERYTHING," a giddy Abbott tweeted. The sheer recklessness of the move prompted President Biden to slam the governors' "Neanderthal thinking," which in turn triggered a wave of manufactured outrage on the Right. The reality is that while infections have dropped from their January peak, there are still more Americans hospitalized than last June, more infectious variants are spreading, and "the danger is far from over." By now, Abbott should have learned that lesson, said Jonathan Reiner in *CNN.com*. Last April, he prematurely allowed nonessential stores to reopen, followed by bars in May, leading to a surge that forced him to ruefully reimpose closures. In October, he opened bars again, and by November, Texas had the most Covid-19 cases in the nation. For Abbott to lift *all* restrictions now—with his state's test-positivity rate three times the national average—shows his utter disregard for the "health and safety of 29 million Texans." Not incidentally, a new surge in Texas will spread to other states.

Liberals are reacting as if Abbott declared "victory over the pandemic," said Noah Rothman in *CommentaryMagazine.com*. In reality, he told Texans explicitly last week that "removing state-wide mandates does not end personal responsibility," that masks were still "strongly encouraged," and that businesses were free



Burning masks in Idaho last week

to impose their own restrictions. Texans aren't Neanderthals, said Cynthia Allen in the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*. Like most Americans, we'll keep "erring on the side of caution," but we'll just do it free from government mandates.

If only that were true, said Meryl Kornfield in *The Washington Post*. Abbott and Reeves have put the onus on store and restaurant owners and employees to enforce mask requirements they've kept in place for their own safety. Now there are already reports of people strutting into Texas restaurants and threatening staff who ask them to mask up. Case numbers have dropped nationwide, said Dr. Kavita Patel in *MSNBC.com*, but that's mainly because mask mandates and other restrictions "are actually working." With the end of this nightmare so close, could there be a worse moment to abandon the "measures that led to this progress in the first place?"

Notice how "the goalposts have shifted?" said Philip Klein in *WashingtonExaminer.com*. A year ago, the experts said we needed "a few weeks" of restrictions to "flatten the curve" and keep hospitals from being overwhelmed. Now they say calamity still awaits unless there are a few more weeks of restrictions. Look—there are "legitimate arguments about where and when to open up," said Megan McArdle in *The Washington Post*. But let's be honest: Red-state governors are rushing to lift restrictions only because they've become "a political symbol." In Idaho last week, protesters at the state capitol urged kids to throw masks into a fire. As a right-of-center libertarian, I worry that Republicans have become "literally reactionary"—a party that stands only for opposing "whatever the Left is doing." This is conservatism in 2021: a perpetual adolescent howl of "I'm not gonna, and you can't make me."

The Covid vaccine pipeline

Pharma firms are racing to produce billions of coronavirus shots. Can they deliver?

What's the production target?

To fulfill President Biden's goal of having enough Covid-19 vaccine for all 260 million American adults by June, Pfizer and Moderna must each deliver 200 million doses of their two-shot vaccines by that deadline. So far, the federal government has received and distributed about 110 million doses. Johnson & Johnson has pledged to deliver 87 million doses of its one-shot vaccine by the end of May. But shortly before receiving FDA authorization for its shot in late February, J&J revealed it would ship 17 million fewer doses this month than planned. Factories in Kalamazoo, Mich.; Bloomington, Ind.; and Baltimore are producing the new vaccines at a speed that has never been seen before in the history of pharmaceutical manufacturing, and a record 2 million jabs are now being administered in the U.S. each day. But with some 1,700 Americans dying daily of Covid—and vaccine orders pending from foreign countries for billions of doses—pharma firms are under enormous pressure to speed up and overcome production bottlenecks across an incredibly intricate supply chain. “The big problem,” said Georgetown University global health law professor Lawrence Gostin, is “how do you get a company that is already producing at maximum capacity to go beyond that?”

How are the vaccines made?

The pipeline for Pfizer's innovative shot starts in St. Louis, where bacterial cells embedded with the DNA blueprint for the coronavirus' spike protein grow in massive steel vats. After about four days, scientists break open the cells and strain out the DNA, which is frozen and shipped—sometimes on Pfizer's company jet or helicopter—to Andover, Mass. That DNA is then incubated with genetic building blocks to create messenger RNA, which when injected into the human body teaches cells to build replicas of the spike proteins, which in turn teach the immune system to recognize the real thing. Next, frozen mRNA is transported to the 2,000-acre campus in Kalamazoo. There, it is used to make the bulk vaccine, which is put in vials, capped, inspected, labeled, and shipped. The mRNA in Moderna's shot is made in Norwood, Mass., and Portsmouth, N.H., then packaged in Bloomington, where five shifts of 2,000 employees keep the assembly line running 24/7.

What about Johnson & Johnson?

Its vaccine uses a more traditional approach, employing a harmless cold virus to deliver DNA instructions for fighting the coronavirus. The two-month process of fermenting J&J's vaccine is supposed to take place at a Baltimore plant run by a partner firm, Emergent, which received \$628 million from the Trump administration to expand production capacity. However, Emergent has still not received FDA approval to make J&J's vaccine; that is expected to happen in the



Boxing up vials at a Pfizer plant in Kalamazoo, Mich.

FDA approved lipids as a drug-delivery system only three years ago, as part of a treatment for a genetic disease that affects some 50,000 people worldwide. Unsurprisingly, the pharma industry was in no way prepared to suddenly supply nanoparticles for billions of Covid shots. Pfizer and Moderna are sourcing the material from the few companies in the U.S. and Europe that produce lipids, and are helping those firms scale up the complex manufacturing process. Both the Trump and Biden administrations invoked the Defense Production Act to give Pfizer and Moderna priority for lipids, and also used the Korean War-era law to address a shortage of glass vials needed to hold the finished vaccines.

What else is the federal government doing?

The Biden administration has helped factories secure much-needed machinery, tubing, and filtration systems. Officials have also scoured the country for additional manufacturing capacity and last week brokered a historic deal under which the government will pay pharma giant Merck \$269 million to devote two of its facilities to producing Johnson & Johnson's vaccine. “This is the type of collaboration between companies we saw in World War II,” said Biden. One Merck location will ferment the vaccine, potentially doubling supply, and the other will provide “fill-finish” services. Setting up those facilities will take several months, but could aid with the production of booster shots that might be needed to tackle variants later this year.

Are other firms collaborating?

Yes, but it's not as simple as “giving a recipe to another restaurant,” said John Grabenstein of the Immunization Action Coalition. “That ‘recipe’ is thousands of pages long.” Each facility that works on a component of a vaccine needs regulatory approval to perform that specific function. Despite these hurdles, Pfizer has struck deals with 10 partners worldwide, including French giant Sanofi and Swiss firm Novartis. Sanofi will also help J&J fill vials in Europe. Those working day and night at vaccine factories know the importance of their work. “It's a dream project,” said Chaz Calitri, who leads the vaccine program at Pfizer's Kalamazoo plant. “But at the same time, it's the weight of the world.”

Calling all vaccinators

With a steadily rising number of vaccine doses being shipped each week, many states are now reporting a different kind of shortage: people to give shots. Volunteer vaccinators must be current or retired medical professionals and the training requirements vary by state—even those skilled in giving jabs sometimes have to take online refresher courses that can last six hours. To fill out the workforce, some states are recruiting dentists, pharmacy interns, paramedics, medical students, and trainee nurses. The Pentagon has also deployed more than 1,000 active-duty service members to help staff Federal Emergency Management Agency mass-vaccination sites. Katie Croft-Walsh, a 65-year-old lawyer who'd previously worked as a registered nurse, recently volunteered at a vaccination center in San Antonio. The patients receiving jabs were “very kind and nice,” she says. “It made me remember why I went into nursing in the first place.”

Eligible for Vaccine? Depends Where You Live

By JULIE WERNAU
AND TALAL ANSARI

States are making new groups eligible for Covid-19 vaccines at a faster but uneven pace, creating discrepancies that are stoking confusion and encouraging some people to trek to places with more lenient policies.

New Yorkers ages 60 and older became eligible for vaccinations on Wednesday. In neighboring New Jersey, residents 65 and older are eligible, while in Connecticut, the cutoff age is 55. Hospitality employees in Pittsburgh aren't eligible, but some of their co-workers are because they smoke. And in Michigan, restaurant and bar workers are subject to different rules depending on the county where they live.

Aimée Coldren, a 37-year-old bartender in Detroit, said she has received two vaccine doses. Her friend Casey Miller, 34, a bartender at a speakeasy in nearby Ann Arbor, isn't eligible yet. "Why are things different county to county?" Mr. Miller said.

Vaccination rates across the U.S. are picking up. President Biden said there would be enough vaccines for all American adults by the end of May. Over 95 million shots have been administered in the U.S. so far, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, and the rate has risen to



Zemoria Harvey, 77, got her first dose of a Covid-19 vaccine last month in Long Beach, Calif.

about 2.2 million shots a day.

For now, though, states and cities are setting wildly different rules for who is eligible for a shot and when. Some places, including Chicago and Florida, are enforcing residency requirements to reserve shots for people most vulnerable to severe cases of Covid-19. Others, including Ohio, are vaccinating anyone who claims eligibility, even nonresidents. About 45,000 nonresidents have gotten vaccinated there, according to state data.

In Kentucky, hospitality workers are included among

the groups of people currently eligible for vaccines. But many hotel workers in Louisville, for instance, live across the Ohio River in Indiana, which hasn't opened vaccinations to hospitality workers and is focused on inoculating people 50 years of age and older, according to Indiana's health department.

"It's pretty clear in an unclear way," said Hank Phillips, president and chief executive of the Kentucky Travel Industry Association. "It's the strange Covid reality."

Hospital system Norton Healthcare has set up vaccina-

tion clinics at Louisville churches that draw attendees from Indiana as well as Kentucky, said Chief Medical Officer Steven Hester. "Our goal is to get people vaccinated," he said.

In Indiana, hospital operator Baptist Health Floyd has stepped up checks of credentials for essential workers seeking vaccines. "We were taking people's word for it that they were healthcare workers or first responders, but they clearly weren't," said Brian Cox, Baptist Health Floyd's director of hospital operations.

Some cities and states, such

as Connecticut and Maine, have scrapped categories they said they can't police in favor of an age-based system. Long Beach, Calif., recently made vaccines available to any resident 65 or older without an appointment.

City spokeswoman Jennifer Rice Epstein said some people from outside the city had taken advantage of an earlier system for booking appointments online. "When it happens, we turn those folks away," she said.

Some people are banding together to find extra doses. A Los Angeles Covid Vaccine Hunters group on Facebook has over 7,000 members. Another group in Maryland has over 63,000 members.

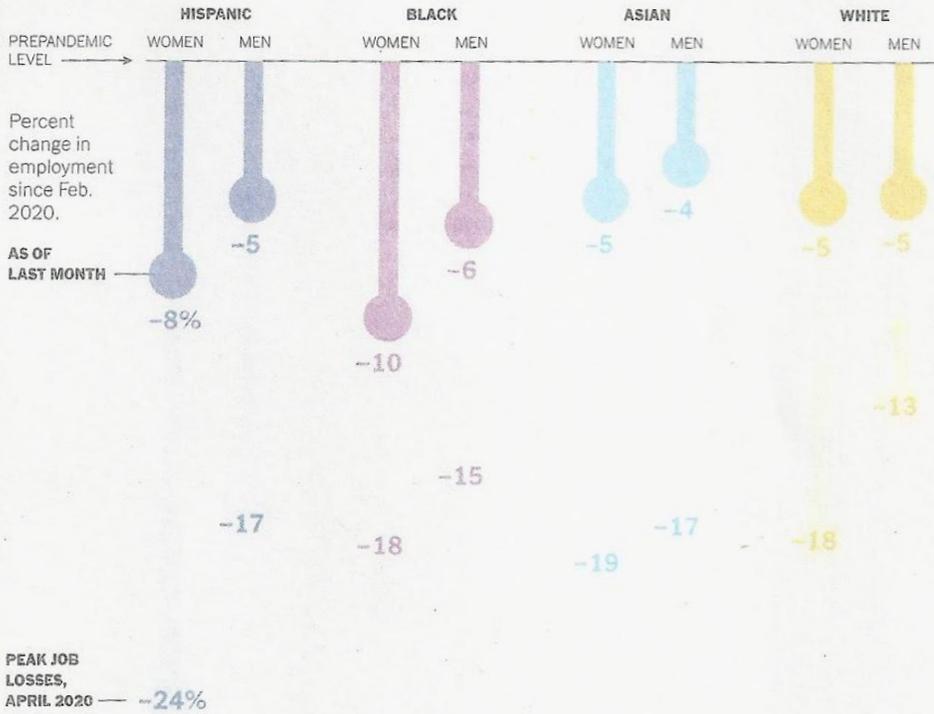
Phil Cohen, a 32-year-old literary executive in Brooklyn, said he has helped about 30 people find appointments. "I tell people you might have to go to Coney Island on a moment's notice or you might have to schlep to the Bronx tomorrow," he said.

Lisa Martin, 43, administrator of a Chicago Vaccine Hunters group on Facebook, said she drove five hours south from her home to downstate Jackson County with her entire family after scoring appointments online. While some Illinois counties are vaccinating only residents, Jackson was allowing outsiders. "Everybody deserves a vaccine," Ms. Martin said. "Nobody deserves it more than anybody else."

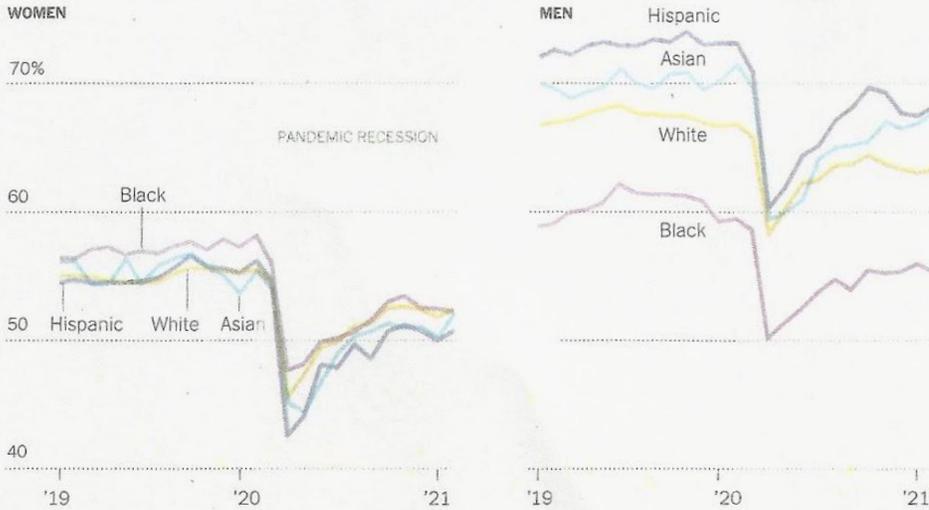
BRITTANY MURRAY/SCIENCE PHOTO LIBRARY

Who's Still Not Working, a Year Into the Pandemic

No group in the United States has recovered its losses, but women have been hit the hardest. Page A8.



Share of the working-age population that is employed



Data not seasonally adjusted. Hispanic workers may be of any race. | Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics

ELLA KOEZL, THE NEW YORK TIMES

PRESIDENT'S GOAL: JULY 4 GATHERINGS WITH CLOSE FAMILY

Lessons Learned in a Year of Trauma

By DAVID E. SANGER

WASHINGTON — The 365 days between the United States' panicked retreat from offices and schools and President Biden's speech on Thursday night, celebrating the prospect of a pandemic's end, may prove to be one of the most consequential years in American history.

People learned about national vulnerabilities most had never considered, and about depths of resilience they never imagined needing except in wartime. Even the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks, for all their horror and the two decades of war they ushered in, did not change day-to-day life in every city and town in the United States quite the way the coronavirus did.

One president lost his job in large part for mishandling a crisis whose magnitude he first denied. His successor knows his legacy depends on bringing the catastrophe to a swift conclusion.

The halting response demonstrated both the worst of American governing and then, from Operation Warp Speed's 10-month sprint to vaccines to the frantic pace of inoculations in recent days, the very best. The economic earthquake as cities and towns shuttered so altered politics that Congress did something that would have been unimaginable a year ago this week. Lawmakers spent \$5 trillion to dig the nation out of the economic hole created by the virus and, almost as a political after-shock, enacted an expansion of the social safety net larger than any seen since the creation of Medicare nearly 60 years ago.

No country can go through this kind of trauma without being forever changed. There were indelible moments. In the spring came the racial reckoning brought on by the death of George Floyd after a police officer in Minneapolis knelt on his neck for more than nine minutes. On Jan. 6 came the mob attack on the Capitol that led many to wonder whether American democracy was still capable of self-correction.

Biden Tells States to Offer Shots to All Adults by May 1

By KATIE ROGERS

WASHINGTON — Seeking to comfort Americans bound together by a year of suffering but also by "hope and the possibilities," President Biden made a case to the nation Thursday night that it could soon put the worst of the pandemic behind it and promised that all adults would be eligible for the vaccine by May 1.

During a 24-minute speech from the East Room, Mr. Biden laced his somber script with references to Hemingway and personal ruminations on loss.

"While it was different for everyone, we all lost something," Mr. Biden said, speaking a year after the nation began confronting the coronavirus in earnest. "A collective suffering, a collective sacrifice, a year filled with the loss of life, and the loss of living, for all of us."

He then offered a turning point of sorts after one of the darkest years in recent history, one that would lead to the more than half a million deaths in the United States, the loss of millions of jobs and disruptions to nearly every aspect of society and politics.

With the stimulus bill about to give the economy a kick, the pace of vaccinations increasing and deaths decreasing, Mr. Biden said Americans were on track to return to a semblance of normal life by July 4 as long as they took advantage of the chance to get vaccinated and did not prematurely abandon mask wearing, social distancing and other measures to contain the virus.

and ones is



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Joseph R. Biden Jr.
in an address Thursday night.



Gregory Bull / Associated Press 2019

Immigration and Customs Enforcement officers detain a man in Escondido (San Diego County) in 2019.

COURTS

Judge in S.F. blocks Trump's last-minute deportation rules

By Bob Egelko

Eleventh-hour rules by Trump administration immigration officials that made it harder to challenge deportation orders have been blocked by a federal judge in San Francisco, who said the restrictions could force migrants to face persecution in their homelands.

The rules, which took effect Jan. 15, included substantial reductions in the time allowed to appeal a judge's deportation ruling. Immigration judges were barred from putting cases on hold to allow time for more investigation or negotiations. Immigration appeals courts were given more latitude to uphold deportation orders, and the Justice Department official who oversees those courts was granted authority to remove many cases from the courts and decide them himself.

These changes "will foreclose noncitizens from seeking humanitarian relief to which they may be entitled and will result in the deportation of noncitizens who have meritorious claims," U.S. District Judge Susan Illston said Wednesday in granting a nationwide injunction against the rules.

Quoting a federal appeals court ruling in another case, she said the U.S. must not return migrants "into the hands of their persecutors." Undocumented immigrants who can show they face persecution for reasons such as their race, gender, religion, sexual orientation or political views are entitled to asylum, and others may be protected if they are victims of trafficking or parental abuse.

Illston also said the government violated the public's right to adequately review the changes by

allowing only 30 days for comments before the rules became final.

"This ruling is a small step forward on the path to stopping our government from criminalizing, caging and deporting people away from their families and community," said Priya Patel, a lawyer with Centro Legal de la Raza, an immigrant support organization in Oakland and a plaintiff in the case.

She and other plaintiffs noted that the Biden administration's Justice Department has continued to represent the government in the case.

"We demand that the Biden administration stop defending the rule and begin safeguarding the rights of noncitizens to a fair and just adjudication of their cases," said Tami Goodlette, a lawyer for RAICES, the Refugee and Immigrant Center for Education and Legal

Services.

The Justice Department declined to comment.

The immigration courts, which have 460 judges in 67 locations, are a branch of the Justice Department. Unlike criminal defendants, migrants facing deportation have no right to a lawyer at government expense in immigration court. Illston said most of them appear on their own, often with little ability to understand the proceedings, and would be further impacted by the rules' restrictions on the time allowed to find an attorney after a hearing and file an appeal.

"As a result, more noncitizens will be unrepresented and less likely to obtain relief to which they are entitled," she said.

Pope Meets With Iraqi Cleric in Appeal for Solidarity Among Faiths

Shared Origins Extolled in Visit

By JASON HOROWITZ and JANE ARRAF

UR, Iraq — First Pope Francis showed up at the modest residence of Iraq's most reclusive, and powerful, Shiite religious cleric for a delicate and painstakingly negotiated summit. Hours later, he presided over a stage crowded with religious leaders on the windswept Plain of Ur, a vast and, now arid, expanse where the faithful believe God revealed himself to the Prophet Abraham, the patriarch of the Jewish, Christian and Muslim faiths.

In settings both intimate and theatrical, in gestures both concrete and symbolic, Pope Francis on Saturday sought to protect his persecuted flock by forging closer bonds between the Roman Catholic Church and the Muslim world, a mission that is a central theme of his papacy and of his historic trip to Iraq.

By meeting with Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani in the holy city of Najaf, Francis threaded a political needle, seeking an alliance with an extraordinarily influential Shiite cleric who, unlike his Iranian counterparts, believes that religion should not govern the state.

In Ur, his speech, within view of a 4,000-year-old mud brick ziggurat with a temple dedicated to a moon god, added biblical and emotional resonance to the day.

The meetings, the church's top officials said, were two parts of the same piece.

"Of course they go together," Pietro Parolin, the Vatican's secretary of state, and second highest-ranking official after the pope, said in a brief interview.

"There is a direct link with what is happening here," he said, gesturing at the stage in Ur, "and the meeting with al-Sistani."

Cardinal Parolin spoke as he finished a tour of the structure of what the faithful believe was Abraham's home. Former Iraqi president Saddam Hussein had it reconstructed with new brick walls and arches.

As he moved to the stage, Francis, rode in from an airport in the provincial capital, Nasiriyah, a cen-



IVOR PRCKETT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Pope Francis, center, during an interreligious gathering in Ur, Iraq, which tradition holds was the home of the Prophet Abraham. Left, meeting with the Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani in Najaf.



AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE, VIA VATICAN MEDIA/AFP VIA GETTY IMAGES