

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.

Person in the News

At the age of 45, she is one of the most famous female actors in the world. She has won an Academy Award, several Emmys, and a Grammy for her work. She grew up in Reading, a city in England, and started acting when she was just five years old. At the age of 19, she won her first film role as a teenage murderer in the hit film “Heavenly Creatures.” This led to lead parts in other huge hit films, including “Titanic,” which became the biggest-grossing movie in history at the time. She won a Best Actress Oscar in 2009 for “The Reader.” In recent years, she has taken on more complex characters. She has also been very outspoken about issues such as animal and human rights, global warming, and Hollywood’s impossible beauty standards.

The first season of her new show, “Mare of Easttown,” recently finished on HBO Max. In it, she plays a detective investigating a murder in small-town Pennsylvania. So many people tuned in to the final episode that it crashed the network’s internet servers.



Photo: Somewhere in Toronto, CCA-SA-Lic. 2.0

(Kate Winslet)

Mexico apologizes to its Maya people

Recently, Mexican President Andrés Manuel Lopez Obrador, also called AMLO based on his initials, made an important speech in the country's Yucatán Peninsula. The Yucatán, which includes Cancún and Playa del Carmen, is one of the main tourist spots in the country. But AMLO was not there for a vacation. He went to the Yucatán because it was once the central location of the Maya civilization.

The Maya were one of the four great civilizations of Central and South America. The other three being the Aztecs, the Olmecs, and the Inca. The Maya were treated cruelly by Spanish explorers who arrived in the 1500s. The nation of Mexico, which marks its 200th anniversary this year, has also often discriminated against the Maya. This discrimination led some Maya activists to fight for their own independence against Mexican troops. The Mayan revolt began in 1847 and continued for more than half a century. It finally ended with a government victory 120 years ago in the town of Tiohusco. AMLO's recent speech, which took place in Tiohusco, acknowledged the Mexican government's part in the five centuries of oppression against the Maya. It was the first time that Mexico had ever offered any apology for how the Maya have been treated.

Many people were touched by this gesture. However, many others wondered about the timing of AMLO's speech, as the country has important elections coming up. Maya activists also pointed out that the apology will be meaningless unless it is backed up by actions that help their people get the same opportunities as other Mexican citizens.

Mexico apologizes to its Maya people

Photo: Eric Walker, CCA-SA-Lic. 3.0

Young Maya women in traditional clothing

Photo: Simon Burchell, CCA-SA-Lic. 3.0

6th-century statue of King Bahlam Yaxuun Tihl

California Arizona New Mexico Texas Gulf of Mexico Yucatán Peninsula Mexico Pacific Ocean Guatemala

"We offer the most sincere apologies to the Maya people for the terrible abuses committed...during three centuries of colonial domination and two centuries of an independent Mexico."
—Mexican President Andrés Manuel Lopez Obrador

Photo: U.S. White House (Public Domain)

Although the first examples of Maya culture can be dated back to about 2600 B.C.E., this culture only became dominant in its region somewhere about 1800 B.C.E. The map shows the region controlled by the Maya at the height of their civilization, between about 250 and 900 C.E. Which modern countries can be found in this region? (Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, and Belize.)

Some people call this culture the “Mayan Empire.” But the Maya were never united into one empire; instead, this group was divided into city-states, each ruled by powerful, wealthy families who claimed descent from the gods. In some ways, the ancient Mayans might seem primitive. For example, they believed in sacrificing humans to guarantee good fortune. But in other ways, the Maya were a highly developed civilization. They invented advanced farming techniques and created a large trade network in Mexico and Central America. They developed an impressive system of hieroglyphics, or picture writing. Here, you see an example: the fish glyph shown below was pronounced “ka.” The two bubblelike marks at left means that this syllable was to be repeated, so “ka-ka.” And the two symbols at bottom stood for the syllable “wa.” Therefore, the word was “ka-ka-wa,” or “cacao,” the plant that yields chocolate. The Maya also had a sophisticated numerical system, which included the concept of “zero.”

They combined their skill in mathematics and their interest in astronomy to create a very accurate, and beautiful, calendar. The Maya are also well known for their architecture, including the huge pyramid at Chichen Itza — chee-CHEN eet-ZAH — in Mexico, which still stands today and is a big tourist attraction. Chichen-Itza was once a thriving city and center of Mayan culture. Chichen Itza’s pyramid, a temple to the gods, has 365 steps, one for each day of the year.

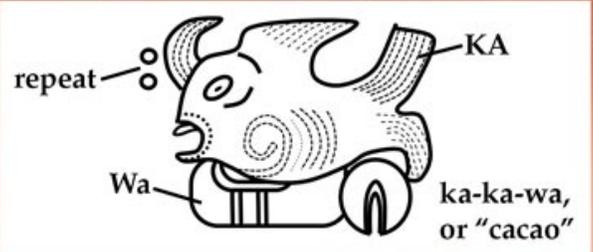
The Maya culture was dominant in its region for more than 3,000 years.

Photo: Daniel Schwen, CCA-SA-Lic. 4.0

El Castillo (“The Castle”) at Chichén Itzá



Mexico Belize Honduras Guatemala El Salvador Pacific Ocean



Maya calendar

Image: Herve Gallet, CCA-SA-Lic. 4.0

Eventually, Chichén Itzá and other large cities collapsed under the pressure of too many people. But many places were still thriving when Spanish explorers arrived in the 16th century. These conquerors were determined to wipe out all aspects of Mayan culture. Priests tried to “re-educate” the Maya away from their religious beliefs, and authorities forced people to speak Spanish instead of their own languages. The Spanish even burned every book they could find. Fortunately, three books survived and are now in museums. Despite Spanish efforts, however, the culture’s influence remains very strong in the modern world. About 7 million people in the region claim some Mayan heritage. This heritage has become very popular with the discovery of ancient and long-forgotten Mayan temples and pyramids.

As people around the world have learned about this fascinating culture, they have flocked to Mexico and Guatemala to learn more. This has created a huge tourist boom, especially along the coast now called “the Riviera Maya.” But despite the fact that Mexican businesses have made millions of dollars by exploiting aspects of Mayan culture, Maya people have seen very little of that money. Many of them live in relative poverty, some very close to Maya-themed amusement parks and resort hotels. Should these people be compensated for this, in your opinion?

An even bigger threat to the Maya has been the loss of their land and habitat. They have seen their ancestral lands claimed by rich developers and spoiled by polluters. In Mexico, Mayan leaders are angry about the government’s Tren Maya project, which would create a 948-mile tourist train running through the Yucatán. This has been described as a “pet project” for AMLO.

About 7 million Maya are alive today.



Photo: Josué Gogge, CCA-SA-Lic. 2.0

Young woman in Chimaltenango, Guatemala

Mayan family living in Yucatán

Photo: Enrique Matos, CCA-SA-Lic. 2.5

"For us, the war hasn't ended. We still struggle with many of the same causes, like the right to decide over our future and to question the system."
—Jose Koyoc, *Indignación*.

Jane Goodall wins 2021 Templeton Prize

This is famous primatologist Jane Goodall. A primatologist is a person that studies primates. Recently, Goodall was awarded the 2021 Templeton Prize. The Templeton Prize is meant to honor those who work to use the, quote, “power of the sciences to explore the deepest questions of the universe and humankind’s place and purpose within it,” unquote. Previous recipients of the prize include Mother Teresa, the 14th Dalai Lama, and famous physicist Freeman Dyson. The award is meant to honor Goodall’s work on animal consciousness and her environmental activism. The award comes with a \$1.5 million prize which will be used to aid Goodall’s environmental work around the world.

Goodall was born in 1934 and developed a love for chimpanzees after her father gave her a stuffed chimp toy when she was a child. This passion for primates eventually led Goodall to the Gombe Stream National Park in Tanzania. While there, Goodall created a strong personal bond with the Kasakela chimpanzee community, a group of chimps that lived in the park. Goodall is still considered one of the only humans to ever be accepted into chimpanzee society.

While studying the chimps in Tanzania, Goodall made two groundbreaking discoveries. The first was that, like humans, chimpanzees use tools. She witnessed a chimp using a stick to “fish” for termites in their nest. She also discovered that chimps weren’t vegetarians as previously believed. She saw groups of chimps hunting other, smaller primates. She also found that some members of the chimp community behaved more aggressively than researchers previously believed.

Jane Goodall wins 2021 Templeton Prize

In Tanzania in the 1960s

“Her discoveries have profoundly altered the world’s view of animal intelligence and enriched our understanding of humanity in a way that is both humbling and exalting.”
— Heather Templeton Dill,
head of the John Templeton Foundation.

The graphic includes a map of East Africa with Tanzania highlighted in red, and labels for neighboring countries: Uganda, Kenya, Rwanda, Burundi, Zambia, and Mozambique, as well as the Indian Ocean.

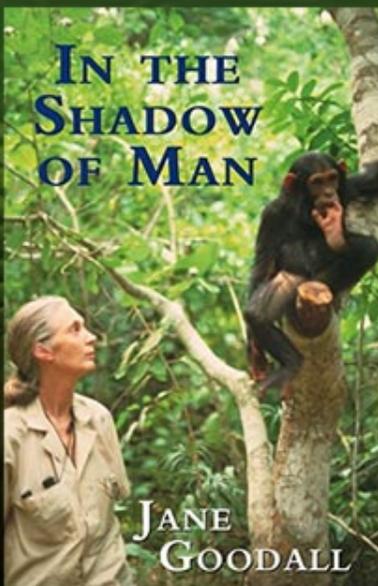
Jane Goodall's important work didn't end with her famous chimpanzee study. Since then, she's continued to advocate for animals and protections for the natural world. In 1971, she wrote a book about her groundbreaking chimp study in Tanzania, called "In the Shadow of Man," the cover of which is shown here. The book went on to be a best-seller, and it introduced the world to Goodall's new way of thinking about primates. Goodall has written several other bestselling books since then.

In 1977, she founded the Jane Goodall Institute, an organization dedicated to protecting chimpanzees and their habitats. After the founding of the Institute, Goodall began working with African countries to help them better protect the native chimp populations. At the same time, she tried to help people who lived near chimpanzees, especially women, by creating educational opportunities and new sustainable jobs. Goodall continues to fight for the rights of other animals as well. She has campaigned against using animals as research subjects, believing that scientists need to find less harmful alternatives. She is also a vegetarian and has stated that she believes farm animals are more intelligent than humans assume and are deserving of respect and kindness.

Today, at the age of 87, Goodall spends most of her time traveling around the world to advocate for chimpanzees and the environment. She travels an estimated 300 days a year to advocate for environmental causes. In recent speeches, she's said that she hopes to inspire the next generation of environmental activists.

**"If we kill off the wild,
then we are killing a
part of our souls."**

— Jane Goodall



Scientists test the limits of tardigrades

The tiny animal you see below is a tardigrade. What do you notice about it?

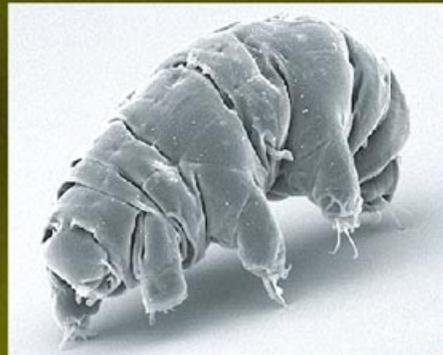
Tardigrades are only the size of a period at the end of this sentence. Because they are so small, they can only be seen under a microscope, and photos like the one here are taken using an electron microscope. Although they are only about half a millimeter in size, tardigrades are some of the toughest creatures on the planet. They live everywhere on Earth, from the tops of mountains to the depths of the oceans to the driveway near your house. They can survive extreme cold in Antarctica or 300-degree heat. They can live under intense water pressure at the bottom of the ocean, and survive radiation levels that would kill most other animals. They can even live for years without food and water. Tardigrades do this by ejecting all the water from their cells and shriveling up so that all body activity stops. This process is called cryptobiosis. They can stay in this form for years before returning to their old selves with just a few drops of water.

Recently, scientists in the U.K. at the University of Kent completed a study to test the limits of these animals. In 2019, an Israeli space mission was trying to land a probe on the moon, but the spacecraft crashed while carrying tardigrades. The scientists at the University of Kent wanted to find out if the creatures could survive such an impact. So, they devised an experiment to test how much force tardigrades could survive. The scientists placed several tardigrades inside a hollow nylon bullet, which was then fired by a specialized gas gun into a pile of sand. The scientists discovered that tardigrades could survive impacts of up to 900 meters per second, but any more than that would kill them. The results of the experiment led the scientists to believe the tardigrades aboard the Israeli moon probe likely didn't survive the impact.

Scientists test the limits of tardigrades

Tardigrades can survive:

- impacts of up to 900 meters per second.
- pressure six times higher than that of the deepest ocean trench.
- states of extreme dehydration for more than 10 years.
- 1,000 times more radiation than any other animal.
- exposure to the vacuum of outer space.



Tardigrades were originally discovered in 1773 by Johann August Ephraim Goeze. He gave them the name Kleiner Wasserbär, which translates to “little water bears.” A few years later, an Italian biologist gave them the name Tardigrada, which means “slow-stepper.” These creatures are considered microanimals, animals so small they can only be viewed under a microscope.

The tardigrade has five segments, covered in a hard outer shell called the cuticle. Only six of its eight legs are for walking, which it does very slowly. The last two legs are backward to help them grasp things. From studying their fossils, scientists think tardigrades might have been the first land animals to develop legs. Each tardigrade also has a tube-shaped mouth full of sharp pincer-like structures called stylets. When it wants to eat, its mouth telescopes out so its stylets can poke through the cell walls of decaying plants, bacteria, algae, and other food. Some of the 1,300 recorded species around the world eat only plants, while others are carnivorous.

Tardigrades are some of the oldest creatures on the planet. Their earliest fossils date back about 530 million years. This means they have survived Earth’s five “mass extinction events.” The most recent of these took place 66 million years ago, killing off the dinosaurs. Some scientists think human activity might be causing a sixth mass extinction event right now.

Tardigrades are found everywhere on Earth:

- They have eight legs and tubular mouths
- They mostly eat plants and bacteria
- Most of the 1,150 species are less than one millimeter long
- They have been on Earth for 530 million years



Credit: Eye of Science/Science Source

Immersive Van Gogh exhibit arrives in the U.S

For more than 100 years, people around the world have marveled at the art of Vincent Van Gogh. But, during his short, troubled life, his work was largely ignored. Today, his paintings are famous around the world. Now a new traveling exhibition called “The Immersive Van Gogh Exhibit” is giving art lovers a new way to experience his amazing art

This exhibition uses room size projections, music, and other media to make visitors feel like they are inside Van Gogh’s greatest paintings. The exhibition ran in art museums around the world in the last several years. But, the exhibition finally arrived in the U.S. in spring of 2021. The new version of the Van Gogh exhibition has opened in several cities around the country, including Chicago and San Francisco.

The exhibition will be available to visit in more U.S. cities this summer. Nearly 40 different cities are expected to host an immersive Van Gogh exhibit. Most are sold out before they even open.

Van Gogh isn’t the only artist to be featured in immersive exhibits . Picasso and Monet have also been featured in immersive exhibits in recent years. If you could choose to see a famous artist’s work in this way, who would you choose? The room shown here illustrates his famous painting called “Irises.” Van Gogh made an entire series of studies, or quick paintings, focused on these delicate and beautiful flowers. They grew in the garden at the Saint-Paul Asylum in Remy, France, where Van Gogh was living in 1889. As the visitors move through the painting, their view of the work’s rich colors and textures shift and change.

Immersive Van Gogh exhibit arrives in the U.S.

Visitors to “Van Gogh: The Immersive Experience” can walk around “inside” some of the artist’s greatest paintings.

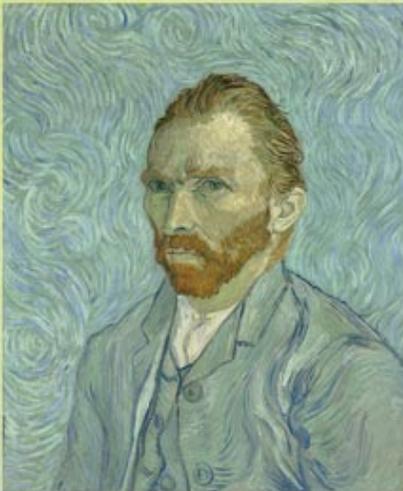
The composite image includes a large photograph of an immersive Van Gogh exhibit, showing visitors walking through a room where the walls and floor are covered in projections of his paintings, including a large field of irises. To the right of the photograph are two maps of the United States. The top map shows the Midwest region, with a red dot marking Chicago, Illinois. The bottom map shows the West Coast region, with a red dot marking San Francisco, California. The title and caption are positioned at the top and bottom of the composite image, respectively.

Vincent Van Gogh was born in 1853 in the Netherlands. As a young man, he followed the family business by working as an art dealer. He didn't decide to become an artist until he was 27 years old. He taught himself to draw and paint and moved to Paris to join his brother Theo. There, he learned a lot from Impressionist painters like Claude Monet. But Van Gogh did not follow any kind of art movement.

Throughout his life, his brother Theo — who stayed in the family business — was his biggest champion. But Theo found it hard to sell any of Vincent's paintings. Van Gogh's first major work was 1885's "The Potato Eaters," shown here at right. He explained this painting saying, "I wanted to convey the idea that the people eating potatoes by the light of an oil lamp used the same hands with which they take food from the plate to work the land."

To this day, Van Gogh's most famous work is "The Starry Night," shown at bottom right. Van Gogh was trying to show a village lit by the planet Venus, which he called "the morning star." But once it was done, Van Gogh considered the painting a failure. Today, it is one of the most recognized paintings in the world, reproduced on everything from posters to phone cases. Van Gogh was most productive in his later years, while often living in mental institutions.

During one mental breakdown he cut off a part off his own ear. In 1890, at the age of 37, Vincent Van Gogh shot himself in the chest and died. The self-portrait here was painted in 1889, the year before he died. He left behind a legacy he could never have imagined. In 2017, one of his paintings sold for more than a hundred million dollars.



Vincent Van Gogh (1853-1890)



"The Potato Eaters" (1885)



"The Starry Night" (1889)



Seeking van Gogh's Last Days

This watercolor may be the work of a friend who shared the artist's final months.

By PETER LIBBEY

The 19th-century painter Edmund Walpole Brooke occupies a tiny but durable place in art history. Not because of his own work, but because he offers a tantalizing look into the tragic last days of Vincent van Gogh.

That the two shared something close to friendship during the weeks before van Gogh committed suicide in July 1890 was a noteworthy feat, given van Gogh's embrace of isolation during his stay in Auvers-sur-Oise, a village on the northwestern outskirts of Paris.

But Brooke had grown up in Japan, a place that fascinated and inspired the Dutch painter. And so off they would go into the plein air on painting excursions, their relationship chronicled in a few letters that have made Brooke an intriguing figure to a van Gogh scholar who is still struggling to understand what led him to put a bullet in his chest.

"He is a very enigmatic person," Tsukasa Koderu, a curator and professor of art history at Osaka University in Japan, said of Brooke, who has become a focus of his re-



VIA JOHN MATHEWS

search. "He might have received letters from van Gogh, he might have received drawings or paintings as a gift — they might have exchanged works."

Koderu has spent the better part of a decade, with limited success, hunting for information about Brooke. He has visited his grave site in Japan and found records to establish that Brooke's work was included in

Katherine Mathews paid \$45 for a painting at an antique shop in Maine. She was drawn to it, but did not realize until later that it had probably been created by Edmund Walpole Brooke, an acquaintance of van Gogh.

exhibitions during his lifetime at the Royal Academy of Arts in London and at the 1891 Paris Salon, and was the subject of at least two solo shows in Japan.

But finding a painting by Brooke has stymied Kodera, at least until now, perhaps. In April, Katherine Mathews, a thrift store enthusiast, happened upon a watercolor with the signature E. W. Brooke while rummaging through Warehouse 839, a shop in Saco, Maine, that specializes in everything from estate furniture to odds and ends.

She paid \$45 for the image, which depicts a Japanese woman and a child. On her way home, curious to know just what she had bought, she stopped in a grocery store parking lot to look up this Brooke person on her iPad. She soon saw the van Gogh connection and later, with the help of her husband, John, made contact with Kodera.

The professor thinks they have probably discovered a rare thing, an original Brooke. "Are there any other painters who painted this subject matter, with the name E. W. Brooke, and with a Japanese lady and baby?" Kodera said in a telephone conversation. "We cannot imagine any other painters."

The painting in question is small, 13 by 19 inches, and the woman is toting the child on her back. They are depicted in front of a rural home surrounded by lush foliage.

Kevin Keraghan, who owns the Maine shop, said he acquired the painting about 15 years ago from the estate sale of a family in New Hampshire. That family had originally come from California, which Kodera bought a good sign since two of Brooke's brothers lived there.

For more than a decade, the watercolor hung in Keraghan's home until he decided to put it up for sale. "My tastes changed,"



RAIN-GRAND PALAIS/ART RESOURCE, NY

Top left, Kevin Keraghan, the owner of Warehouse 839, in Saco, Maine, where Katherine Mathews bought a watercolor of a Japanese woman and a child. The painting hung in Keraghan's home for more than a decade before he decided to sell it. Top right, work by E. W. Brooke, whose signature can be seen in the lower left corner of this painting, has rarely surfaced; above, an 1889 self-portrait by van Gogh.

Keraghan said.

Mathews said she was immediately drawn to the painting. It was the last item she selected that day. "The little face of the little girl peeking over the mother's shoulder jumped right out at me," she said.

Among the few glimpses available of van Gogh's last days are the moments captured in letters he swapped with his brother Theo, his mother, Anna, his sister Willemien, and a couple of others. Brooke is one of the few people mentioned in their correspondence from a time when van Gogh, working at a typically feverish pace, created "Wheatfield With Crows," "The Church at Auvers" and other paintings.

In the letters, van Gogh's perspective on Brooke, who was then 24, appears to be that he is fine as a companion but is a middling artist, so far.

"He'll probably show you some of his studies, which are rather lifeless, but however he does observe nature," he wrote to Theo on July 2. "He has been here in Auvers for months, and we went out together sometimes, he was brought up in Japan, you would never think so from his painting — but that may come."

Though he was no fan of Brooke's artwork, and was famously irascible and mercurial, van Gogh enjoyed learning about Japan. He had been exposed to Japanese art in for the first time in Belgium in 1885 and became passionate about it. He collected, copied and festooned the walls of his studios with Japanese prints. Sometimes they even showed up in the background of his paintings. And he incorporated what he learned from Japanese artists, like Utagawa Hiroshige, into his own technique in subtle and inventive ways.

At one point, van Gogh's obsession grew so deep that he began to see echoes of Japan in the landscape and lifestyle of Provence.

"My dear brother, you know, I feel I'm in Japan," van Gogh wrote to Theo in 1888, soon after arriving in Arles.

Brooke, born in Australia, was only a child when he moved to Japan, where his father, John Henry, worked as a reporter for and then director of The Japan Daily Herald, an English-language newspaper based in Yokohama. The father ultimately "came to occupy an important position in Yokohama's expatriate society," Kodera said in the catalog for an exhibition, "Van Gogh & Japan."

But piecing together the rest of Brooke's biography proved to be a major challenge. After two years of research, Kodera managed to find the artist's grave at the Kobe

In a letter, van Gogh told his brother that Brooke was a fine companion but a middling artist, at least so far.

Municipal Foreign Cemetery, surprisingly only 30 minutes away from the professor's own home in Takarazuka.

"He had moved to Kobe having nothing at the age of 58," Kodera said. "That is a very sad story."

Similarly difficult has been finding any trace of Brooke's work. A few years ago, the professor found a record indicating that the Redfern Gallery in Laguna Beach, Calif., had sold a painting by an artist named E. W. Brooke, but the gallery owner said he could not recall who had purchased it. A work by E. W. Brooke also showed up in the records for a 2014 estate sale in Los Angeles, but again the actual work proved elusive.

Kodera was as surprised as anyone when he received an email from Maine saying a painting by Brooke may have been located in a place where the artist has no known connection. Though the piece is still not fully authenticated — a particularly tricky task because there is little else by Brooke to compare it with — the early signs are very promising, according to Kodera.

A watermark on the painting's paper has been found, identifying it as the product of J. Whatman, a firm based in England that made high-quality paper used by van Gogh and many other artists.

The content of the painting, too, suggests it was made by Brooke, Kodera said. During his research, he found a grave in Yokohama, where Brooke lived after he returned to Japan, marked "Ume Brooke," who the professor thinks may be the painter's daughter.

The girl in the picture found in Maine, he said, could very well be Brooke's child, who died at the age of 6, and her mother.

One target of the search for Brooke is the possibility that somewhere, in the environs of Brooke's life, there would be more evidence of van Gogh, maybe even an undiscovered work hidden away that was once a gift from the artist. But hopes for that kind of revelation, for finding even an additional example of Brooke's work, were dented when Kodera found that Brooke's home in Yokohama had been destroyed by the catastrophic 1923 earthquake and the terrible fires it spawned.

Now some optimism has resurfaced. If a Brooke can appear in an unlikely precinct of Maine, maybe there are others that have not been lost to time or disaster.

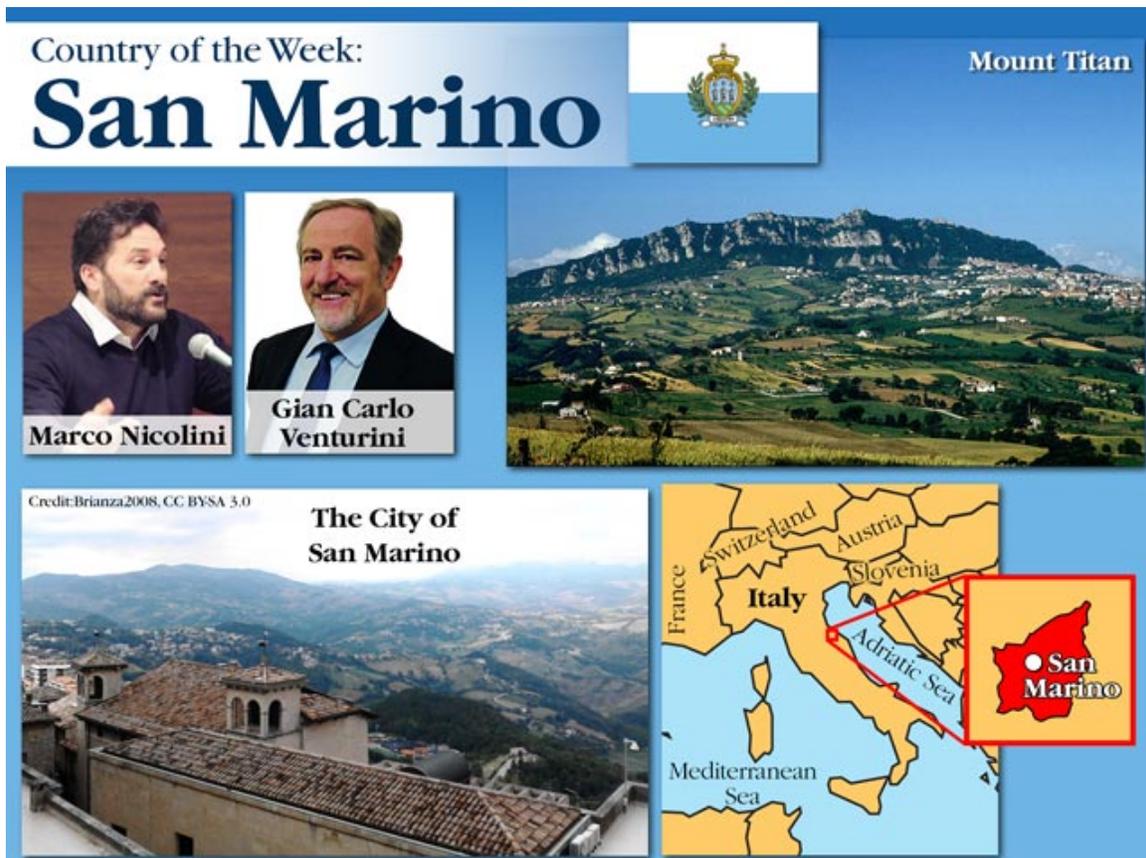
"This CAN be a breakthrough," Kodera said in an email, using caps for emphasis, "to shed new light on the painter, and on Van Gogh's last months."

Country of the Week: San Marino

San Marino is a very small country in southern Europe. It is an enclave inside of Italy. An enclave is a country that is located completely inside of another country.

San Marino is the third smallest country in Europe and the fifth smallest country in the world by area, and it has a population of only around 33,000 people. Mount Titan is the tallest mountain in San Marino, and a person standing on its highest summit would have a view of the entire country. There are many species of plants and animals on Mount Titan, including several species of owls and deer. The famous Three Towers of San Marino are all located on the mountain as well. In 2008, Mount Titan was designated as a UNESCO World Heritage Site.

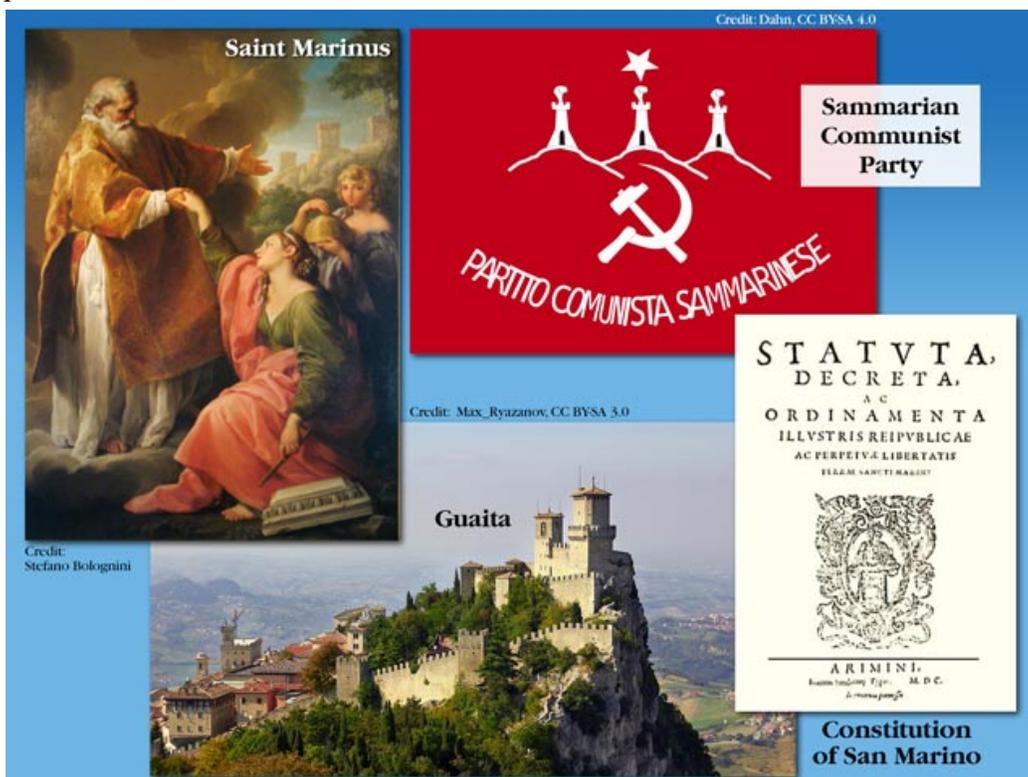
The City of San Marino is the capital of San Marino. It has a population of just over 4,000 people and is located by the western slope of Mount Titan. The economy of the City of San Marino, like the economy of the entire country, is largely dependent on tourism from surrounding countries, especially Italy. Industries such as banking and ceramics manufacturing are also important. Unlike other small countries in Europe such as Monaco and Luxembourg which are much wealthier than their neighbors, San Marino has a standard of living that is very similar to that of Italy. San Marino has a unique government structure laid out in its constitution, and it is run at all times by two individuals who share power equally. These leaders are known as the Captains Regent of San Marino, and the government has been run in this way since the 1200s. The current Captains Regent are Gian Carlo Venturini and Marco Nicolini, and they have been in office since April.



San Marino was founded in the year 301 C.E. by Saint Marinus, a stonemason and early Christian who set up a monastery on Mount Titan. A monastery is a building or group of buildings separated from the rest of society where monks and nuns live and pray.

This monastery turned into a country, and many Christians came to San Marino to escape persecution by the Roman Empire. Because San Marino has existed since the 4th century, it is the world's oldest surviving country. San Marino grew over the next few centuries, and by 1463 it had expanded into its current size. The Constitution of San Marino was first drafted in 1600. Although it has been revised and updated recently, this constitution still serves as the bedrock for San Marino's political and legal systems, which makes it arguably the oldest constitution that is still in use today by a country. Guaita is the oldest and most famous of the Three Towers of San Marino. The other towers are named Cesta and Montale, and all three were built between the 11th and 14th centuries on peaks of Mount Titan. These towers were constructed as fortresses meant to protect San Marino from invaders. Today they are important cultural landmarks and are depicted on the country's flag.

San Marino was under fascist control from 1923 until 1943. A fascist regime places the nation over the individual and is headed by a strong dictator who suppresses opposition. During that time the country allied itself closely with the fascist dictator of Italy. In 1945, however, San Marino became the first country in the world to elect a communist government. The communist and socialist parties of San Marino ruled the country together until 1957. The country's political situation has since become much less radical, and today it is mostly governed by coalitions of centrist parties.



This Week in History

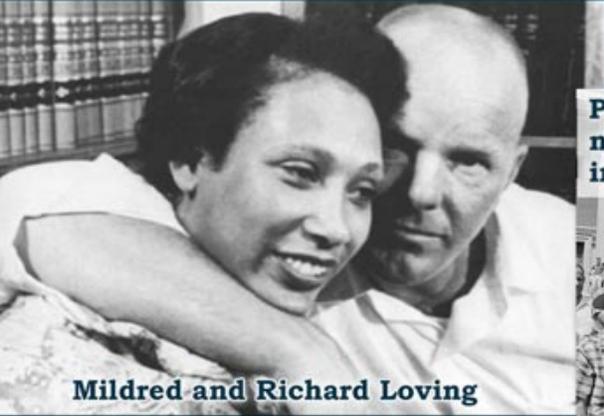
On June 12th, 1967, the U.S. Supreme Court handed down its ruling in the case called *Loving v. Virginia*. This case was brought by the two people shown here. Mildred Jeter and Richard Loving grew up in the same small town in Caroline County, Virginia. Their friendship turned to love. But interracial marriage was illegal in Virginia, and much of the South, at that time. In the photo on the right, you see people protesting interracial marriage in Arkansas in 1959.

In 1958, Richard and Mildred Loving went to Washington, D.C. to get married. Back in Virginia five weeks later, they were arrested in the middle of the night and thrown in jail. A judge sentenced them each to a year in jail, but said he would suspend their sentences if they left Virginia and didn't return for 25 years. They left, but they missed their families and friends and they wanted to go back. By 1963, the civil rights movement had begun. Inspired by this, Mildred Loving got in touch with Robert F. Kennedy, the U.S. attorney general at that time. Mr. Kennedy referred her to lawyers from the American Civil Liberties Union, or ACLU, who took on the Lovings' case. Four years later, *Loving v. Virginia* finally went before the Supreme Court. In a unanimous ruling, the court said men and women should be able to marry people from any race they wish. Mildred and Richard Loving went back to Virginia where they lived a peaceful life and raised their three children. The Supreme Court's decision in this case affected more than just the Lovings. Any U.S. state that had laws against interracial marriage got rid of them. Today, people in interracial relationships celebrate "Loving Day" on June 12th.

THIS WEEK IN HISTORY June 12, 1967:
The Supreme Court rules on *Loving v. Virginia*



Ohio
West Virginia
Caroline County
Virginia
Maryland
Kentucky
Tennessee
North Carolina



Mildred and Richard Loving



Protest against mixed marriages in Arkansas, 1959
Photo: Library of Congress

“Marriage is one of the ‘basic civil rights of man,’ fundamental to our very existence and survival.”
—Chief Justice Earl Warren

Remember When . . .

When we were growing up, it was a lot more challenging to clean and dry our laundry. Whether or not we had access to an electric washing machine and dryer, the main laundry force in many families was usually known as “Mom.” Do you remember these times?

Modern technology has made doing the laundry much easier, with machines that can sense the kinds of clothes being washed and automatically adjust water levels. But this week, let’s remember “laundry day,” the way it used to be. Although the electric washers and dryers that we know today were invented in the early 1900s, they were too large and too expensive for many homes until later in the 20th century. Before then, most home washing took place on a washboard. How did this work? (Soap and water were applied to clothes, and they were rubbed on a wooden board with metal slats.) The picture in the lower left shows what happened next if you lived in a city.



After being washed, clothes needed to be hung up on lines to dry. The picture here is typical of urban environments. Women hung wet clothes on lines that stretched across the street to other apartments. These lines could be pulled in or out using a pulley system. Of course, if you lived in a single house, you usually had a way to hang clothes on a line in your backyard. In the 1950s, clothes wringers became available for home use. Here, you see a woman using a clothes

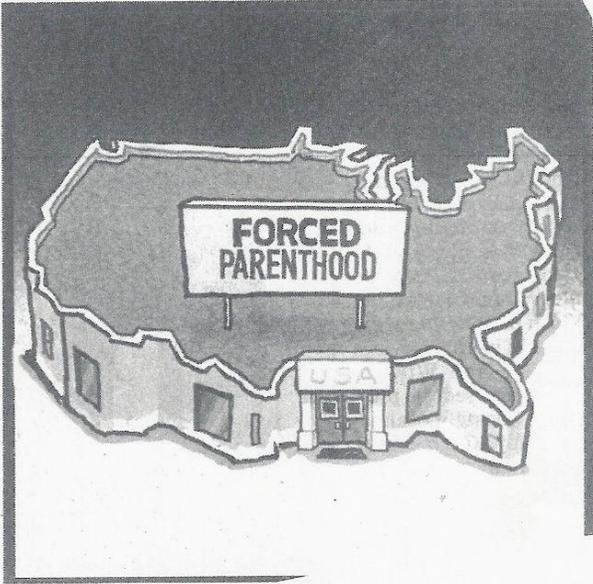
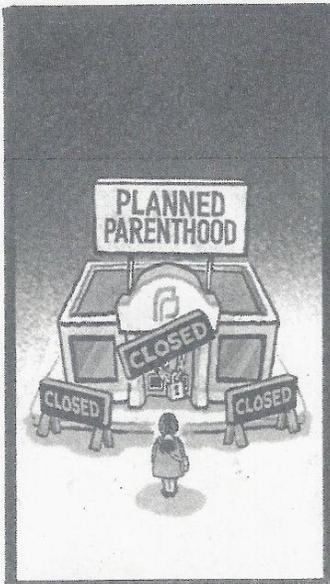
wringer, or “mangle.” This helped to speed up drying time, as wringers are actually faster than electric dryers at getting most of the water out of clothes.

Needless to say, it was important to make sure one’s clothes had been washed well before they were hung up — this is where the expression “airing one’s dirty laundry” comes from.

As times changed, so did the ways we took on laundry day. The first commercial laundromat opened in 1934 in Texas, and the idea quickly spread across the U.S. Some people in the West and Southwest did their laundry at communal laundry stations. And apartment buildings in urban areas added washers, and sometimes dryers, in their basements. Often, this led to people talking while washing and folding. At other times, however, we had to wait for someone else to get clothes out of a machine before we could start. How long did you usually wait before taking someone else’s clothes out so you could start your own load?

After World War Two, laundry became a much less communal affair. As machines like the one shown here became much more affordable in the late 1940s and the 1950s, more and more families decided to purchase their own washers and dryers. This might have been more expensive in the short term, but much more convenient for poor overworked parents. And while some mothers (and fathers) took on the entire burden themselves, other parents insisted that their children learn how to wash their own clothes. Did you teach your children how to do this when they were young? This was a useful skill, although it sometimes led to disasters. Did you ever leave a red garment in with a load of whites, creating pink clothing? Mistakes like this might never happen with today’s sophisticated machines — but we learned never to do that again!

IF THEY HAVE THEIR WAY



DO YOU KNOW THE WAY
TO AVOID ANOTHER
SAN JOSE?



F. Lee Bailey — famed lawyer for O.J. Simpson, Patty Hearst

By Mark Pratt

WALTHAM, Mass. — F. Lee Bailey, the celebrity attorney who defended O.J. Simpson, Patricia Hearst and the alleged Boston Strangler, but whose legal career halted when he was disbarred in two states, has died, a former colleague said Thursday. He was 87.

Bailey died at a hospital in the Atlanta area, according to Kenneth Fishman, Bailey's former law partner who went on to become a Superior Court judge in Massachusetts.

Fishman did not disclose the cause of death but said Bailey had moved to Georgia about a year ago to be closer to one of his sons and had been dealing with several medical issues for the past few months.

"In many respects, he was the model of what a criminal defense attorney should be in terms of preparation and investigation," said Fishman, whose legal association and friendship with Bailey dates to 1975.

In a career that lasted more than four decades, Bailey was seen as arrogant, egocentric and contemptuous of authority. But

he was also acknowledged as bold, brilliant, meticulous and tireless in the defense of his clients.

"The legal profession is a business with a tremendous collection of egos," Bailey said in an interview with U.S. News and World Report in September 1981. "Few people who are not strong egotistically gravitate to it."

Some of Bailey's other high-profile clients included Dr. Samuel Sheppard — accused of killing his wife — and Capt. Ernest Medina, charged in connection with the My Lai massacre during the Vietnam War.

Bailey, an avid pilot, bestselling author and television show host, was a member of the legal "dream team" that defended Simpson, the former star NFL running back and actor acquitted on charges that he killed his wife, Nicole Brown Simpson, and her friend, Ron Goldman, in 1995.

In a tweet Thursday, Simpson said, "I lost a great one. F Lee Bailey you will be missed."

Bailey was the most valuable member of the team, Simpson said in a 1996 story in the Bos-

ton Globe Magazine.

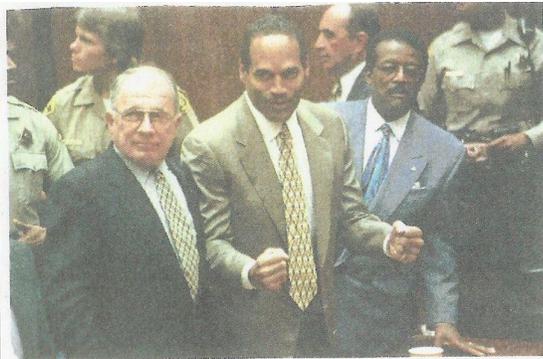
"He was able to simplify everything and identify what the most vital parts of the case were," Simpson said. "Lee laid down what the case's strategy was, what was going to be important and what was not. I thought he had an amazing grasp of what was going to be the most important parts of the case, and that turned out to be true."

One of the most memorable moments of the trial came when Bailey cross-examined Los Angeles police Detective Mark Fuhrman in an attempt to portray him as a racist whose goal was to frame Simpson. It was classic Bailey.

Fuhrman denied using racial epithets, but the defense later turned up recordings of Fuhrman making racist slurs.

Even though Fuhrman remained cool under pressure, and some legal experts called the confrontation a draw, Bailey, recalling the exchange months later, said, "That was the day Fuhrman dug his own grave."

Bailey's latest book, "The Truth About the O.J. Simpson Trial: By The Architect of the Defense," was being released



Myung J. Chun / Associated Press 1995

F. Lee Bailey (left) stands with client O.J. Simpson (center) and lawyer Johnnie Cochran when the not guilty verdict was read.

this month.

Bailey earned acquittals for many of his clients, but he also lost cases, most notably Hearst's.

Hearst, a publishing heiress, was kidnapped by the Symbionese Liberation Army terrorist group on Feb. 4, 1974, and participated in armed robberies with the group. At trial, Bailey claimed she was coerced into participating because she feared for her life. She still was convicted.

Hearst called Bailey an "ineffective counsel" who reduced the trial to "a mockery, a farce, and a sham," in a declaration she signed with a motion to reduce her sentence. Hearst accused him of sacrificing her defense in an effort to get a book deal about the case.

She was released in January

1979 after President Jimmy Carter commuted her sentence.

Bailey made his name as the attorney for Sheppard, an Ohio osteopath convicted in 1954 of murdering his wife.

Sheppard spent more than a decade behind bars before the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in a landmark 1966 decision that "massive, pervasive, prejudicial publicity" had violated his rights. Bailey helped win an acquittal at a second trial.

Bailey also defended Albert DeSalvo, the man who claimed responsibility for the Boston Strangler murders between 1962 and 1964. DeSalvo confessed to the slayings, but was never tried or convicted, and later recanted.

The GOP senator who had an independent streak

John Warner

1927–2021

When he arrived in the Senate in 1978, John Warner faced some harsh critics. They said he'd ridden to wealth on the back of his first wife—banking heiress Catherine Mellon, who gave him an estimated \$7 million in their 1973 divorce—and won a Virginia Senate seat thanks to the star power of his second, actress Elizabeth Taylor. His chiseled good looks earned the Republican the title “the senator from central casting.” But over 30 years in the Senate, Warner earned bipartisan respect for his diligence, consensus building, military expertise, and willingness to buck his party. He supported gun control and legal abortion and angered many Republicans by opposing Oliver North's 1994 run for Virginia's second Senate seat, citing the former White House aide's role in the Iran-Contra scandal. “I sure risked my political future,” Warner said. “But I'd rather the voters of this state remember that I stood on my principle.”

Warner was born in Washington, D.C., to an obstetrician father and a homemaker mother, said *The Times* (U.K.). He left high school at age 17 “to enlist in the Navy for the final months” of World War II. As a law student at the University



of Virginia, he again interrupted his education to enroll in the Marine Corps during the Korean War. Warner finished his studies in 1953 and then worked as a U.S. attorney in Washington before joining a private law firm. By now married to Mellon, he gave “time and money” to Richard Nixon's 1968 presidential campaign, and “was rewarded with the job of undersecretary of the Navy.” Three years later he became Navy secretary.

When Warner ran for the Senate, “his principal claim to fame” was his marriage to Taylor, whom he'd met at a British embassy luncheon, said *The Washington Post*. On the campaign trail in Virginia, he played down his “taste for Savile Row suits, squash, and fox hunting” and presented himself as a “farmer and cattleman.” Warner, who separated from Taylor in 1981, won the election by 4,721 votes—“the closest Senate race in Virginia history.” He reached “the peak of his power” in 1999, when he became chairman of the Armed Services Committee, said *The New York Times*, and “evolved into a Republican force on military issues.” Citing advancing age, he announced his retirement in 2007. “How fortunate,” he said, “how blessed I have been.”

Tulsa Massacre: Facing an ugly stain

A century after the fact, America has finally begun to grapple with a long-buried act of stunning racial violence, said **Deepti Hajela** in the **Associated Press**. The Tulsa Race Massacre of May 31, 1921, started when a young Black man in Tulsa, Okla., inadvertently touched a white woman and was accused of sexual assault. A white mob formed, and that night it descended on Greenwood, a “thriving Black community” home to 10,000 residents. In a sustained assault that included the use of machine guns and using crop planes to drop incendiary devices, the mob killed about 300 residents, and torched shops, restaurants, churches, and more than 1,200 homes. The neighborhood was left a smoking ruin—but nobody was ever charged with a crime. The horrific incident went “unremembered and untaught” until recently, when authors, filmmakers, and others “started bringing it into the light.” Last month, three survivors testified in front of Congress; this week, President Biden went to Tulsa to commemorate the centennial.

As a Black child growing up in Oklahoma, I never heard a word about the massacre, said **Hannibal Johnson** in *The New York Times*. “Like a wound left untreated,” the damage it wrought

has been left to fester through “years of silence and neglect.” Though Tulsa’s racial pogrom is “distinguished by its scale,” resentful white vigilantes mass-murdered Blacks numerous times—in Atlanta in 1906, East St. Louis and Chester, Pa., in 1917, Chicago in 1919. “Owning and addressing” that shameful history is crucial if “we are to advance toward racial reconciliation.”

A law signed last month by Oklahoma Gov. Kevin Stitt stands to impede that reckoning, said **Tawnell Hobbes** in *The Wall Street Journal*. It forbids public school lessons that might make children feel guilt or “discomfort” due to their own race or sex. Critics say the law—and many similar bills passed or proposed in Republican-led states—is a clear effort to “stifle lessons” about systemic racism. My fellow conservatives need to understand that “it’s not ‘hating America’ to acknowledge this is part of our story,” said **David French** in *TheDispatch.com*. If we celebrate our proudest moments, we must mourn our darkest ones to truly “understand our own nation”—and be inspired to live up to our ideals. “Thank God that we do not live in the America of 1921.” But we live with its legacy, and “to repair our land” we need to take a hard look at how it’s shaped us.

n Tulsa, President Tells Of a Massacre's Horrors

By KATIE ROGERS
and MICHAEL D. SHEAR

WASHINGTON — A century after a white mob destroyed a vibrant African American community in Tulsa, Okla., torching hundreds of homes and indiscriminately shooting people in the streets, President Biden told a crowd of survivors and their families that the story of the massacre “will be known in full view.”

It was the first time a president visited the area to address what had happened in Greenwood, a prosperous African American community, which was one of the worst outbreaks of racist violence in American history but was largely ignored in history books.

“For much too long, the history of what took place here was told in silence,” Mr. Biden said. “While darkness can hide much, it erases nothing.”

Mr. Biden, who has made racial equity and justice central themes of his presidency, was in Tulsa to shed light on a painful part of the country's history. He recalled in detail the horror that occurred from May 31 to June 1, 1921, when angry whites descended on Greenwood, killing as many as 300 people and destroying more than 1,250 homes.

“My fellow Americans, this was not a riot,” Mr. Biden said, as people in the crowd rose to their feet. “This was a massacre.”

A man was strapped to a truck and dragged through the street, the president said. The bodies of a murdered family were draped over a fence outside their home. An older couple was shot while praying.

“We do ourselves no favors by pretending none of this ever happened,” Mr. Biden told the crowd. “We should know the good, the bad, everything. That's what great nations do: They come to terms with their dark sides.”

The president's visit was also intended to highlight steps his administration is taking to close the wealth gap between Black and

white people in the United States, even as activists criticized him for not doing enough to correct historical wrongs and put the disadvantaged on equal footing.

Administration officials on Monday detailed efforts to direct more federal spending to small and minority-owned businesses, fair housing enhancements and programs intended to repair the damage to neighborhoods divided by transportation projects.

Missing from the rollout, though, was a plan to cancel student debt — which disproportionately affects Black students — or to address the issue of reparations, federal repayments that relatives of Tulsa victims say could restore what was erased. White House officials have said that the president supports a study of the issue, as he does with the broader issue of reparations for Black Americans.

The N.A.A.C.P. and other civil rights groups have criticized the Biden administration for not taking the step to cancel student loans, saying it is one of the biggest obstacles holding Black people back from sharing in the wealth of other Americans.

“Student loan debt continues to suppress the economic prosperity of Black Americans across the nation,” Derrick Johnson, the N.A.A.C.P. president, said in a statement. “You cannot begin to address the racial wealth gap without addressing the student loan debt crisis.”

On the way to Tulsa, Karine Jean-Pierre, the White House principal deputy press secretary, told reporters aboard Air Force One that the administration had provided billions in funding to Black colleges as part of its \$1.7 trillion coronavirus plan. But she did not answer questions about alleviating the financial stress of those who currently have student debt.

In a briefing for reporters on Monday night, administration officials insisted that the other steps would help Black people around



President Biden touring a cultural center in Greenwood, the area where as many as 300 were killed by a white mob in 1921. STEFFANI REYNOLDS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

the country, particularly hard-hit communities like Greenwood.

Mr. Biden's visit to Tulsa was a somber one. Before he delivered remarks, he met privately with survivors of the massacre, each between the ages of 101 and 107, whom he mentioned throughout his speech.

The violence started after the arrest of Dick Rowland, 19, a Black shoe shiner who was accused of assault against Sarah Page, 17, a white elevator operator. As Mr. Biden toured the Greenwood Cultural Center, he was told that within 24 hours of that encounter, the mob that formed after Mr. Rowland's arrest destroyed much of Greenwood. The case was later dismissed.

“The attack on Black families and Black wealth in Greenwood persisted across generations,” Mr. Biden said on Sunday in a proclamation honoring the anniversary

of the Tulsa massacre. “The federal government must reckon with and acknowledge the role that it has played in stripping wealth and opportunity from Black communities.”

The president's trip came as the country struggles to confront police brutality toward people of color a year after the killing of George Floyd by a Minneapolis police officer galvanized Black Lives Matter protesters nationwide.

But the political response to recent killings remains uncertain. Mr. Biden had vowed to secure passage of the George Floyd Justice in Policing Act by May 25, the anniversary of Mr. Floyd's death. The bill would ban the police's use of chokeholds, impose restrictions on deadly force and make it easier to prosecute officers for wrongdoing. The administration missed that deadline, but lawmakers in

both parties have expressed optimism that they would be able to reach a compromise on the legislation in the coming weeks.

Officials said that Mr. Biden's visit on Tuesday was intended to signal a new emphasis on racial equity and justice for Black Americans. Mr. Biden also said that he had directed Vice President Kamala Harris to lead Democrats in a sweeping legislative effort to protect voting rights, an issue that is critical to his legacy but faces increasingly daunting odds in the Senate.

“To signify the importance of our efforts, today I'm asking Vice President Harris to help these efforts and lead them, among her many other responsibilities,” Mr. Biden said on Tuesday. “With her leadership and your support, we're going to overcome again, I promise you, but it's going to take a hell of a lot of work.”

Despite investigations, no one was ever convicted of crimes related to the Tulsa massacre. Mr. Biden has promised that his Justice Department will be more active in helping to root out bias and bigotry in American police departments. The Justice Department has already begun “pattern or practice” investigations in Louisville, Ky., and Minneapolis, which are intended to examine excessive force, biased policing and other misconduct by officers.

The Rev. Al Sharpton, who has observed Mr. Biden's evolution for decades, attended his speech in Tulsa. He graded the president's performance on civil rights in an interview this spring.

“I think that he has gone from probably a 65 to somewhere in the early 80s,” Mr. Sharpton said. “I think that we all haven't gotten to the finals yet. He may go higher than that.”

G.O.P. Challenges Teaching of Racism's Scope

By TRIP GABRIEL
and DANA GOLDSTEIN

In Loudoun County, Va., a group of parents led by a former Trump appointee is pushing to recall school board members after the school district called for mandatory teacher training in "systemic oppression and implicit bias."

In Washington, 39 Republican senators called history education that focuses on systemic racism a form of "activist indoctrination."

And across the country, Republican-led legislatures have passed bills recently to ban or limit schools from teaching that racism is infused in American institutions. After Oklahoma's G.O.P. governor signed his state's version in early May, he was ousted

Bills Take Aim at Idea That Injustice Is Systemic

from the centennial commission for the 1921 Race Massacre in Tulsa, which President Biden visited on Tuesday to memorialize one of the worst episodes of racial violence in U.S. history.

From school boards to the halls of Congress, Republicans are mounting an energetic campaign aiming to dictate how historical and modern racism in America is taught, meeting pushback from Democrats and educators in a politically thorny clash that has deep

ramifications for how children learn about their country.

Republicans have focused their attacks on the influence of "critical race theory," a graduate school framework that has found its way into K-12 public education. The concept argues that historical patterns of racism are ingrained in law and other modern institutions and that the legacies of slavery, segregation and Jim Crow still create an uneven playing field for Black people and other people of color.

Many conservatives portray critical race theory and invocations of systemic racism as a gauntlet thrown down to accuse white Americans of being individually racist. Republicans accuse the left of trying to indoctrinate

children with the belief that the United States is inherently wicked.

Democrats are conflicted. Some worry that arguing America is racist to the root — a view embraced by elements of the party's progressive wing — contradicts the opinion of a majority of voters and is handing Republicans an issue to use as a political cudgel. But large parts of the party's base, including many voters of color, support more discussion in schools about racism's reach and believe that such conversations are an educational imperative that should stand apart from partisan politics.

"History is already under-taught — we've been undereducated, and these laws are going to get us even less educated," said Prudence L. Carter, the dean of the Graduate School of Education at the University of California, Berkeley. Attempts to suppress what is still a nascent movement to teach young Americans more explicitly about racist public policy, like redlining or the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, amount to "a gaslighting of history," she said, adding, "It's a form of denialism."

The debate over the real or perceived influence of critical race theory — not just in schools but also in corporate, government and media settings — comes as both parties increasingly make issues of identity central to politics. And it accelerated during the presidency of Donald J. Trump, when discussions over racism in the country were supercharged by his racist comments and by a wave of protests last year over police killings of Black people.

In Tulsa on Tuesday, Mr. Biden said the killing of Black citizens by a white mob a century ago had been driven by racism that became "embedded systematically and systemically in our laws and our culture." America, he said, can't pretend "it doesn't impact us today." In response, he announced policies to narrow the racial wealth gap by aiding Black home buyers and small-business owners.

Some of the discussion about education has been fueled by the 1619 Project, developed by The New York Times Magazine, which argues that "the country's very origin" traces to when the first ship carrying enslaved people touched Virginia's shore that year. "Out of slavery — and the anti-black racism it required — grew nearly everything that has truly made America exceptional," the magazine's editor wrote.

Educators have embraced curriculums created along with the project, responding to a changing nation in which a majority of public-school students are now non-white, but the teaching force remains nearly 80 percent white.

Republican pushback has been intense. Senator Mitch McConnell



DARIN OSWALD/IDAHO STATESMAN, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS



Above, a protest in May against the teaching of "critical race theory" in Los Alamitos, Calif. Left, the legislation in April opposing critical race theory is ingrained in law and other mo

of Kentucky, the G.O.P. leader, said recently that he disagreed that 1619 was important in U.S. history. He and other Republican senators are pushing the Biden administration to drop efforts by the Education Department to prioritize history courses that emphasize "systemic marginalization" of peoples.

In Ohio, Republicans in the General Assembly introduced a bill last week to ban teaching that any individual is "inherently racist," that any individual "bears responsibility for actions committed in the past by the same race or sex," or that the advent of slavery "constitutes the true founding" of the United States.

"Critical race theory is a dangerous and flat-out wrong theory," State Representative Don Jones, the bill's lead sponsor, said in a statement. "Students should not be asked to 'examine their whiteness' or 'check their privilege.'"

Mr. Jones, in an interview, could not cite any examples of such teaching taking place now in Ohio. He said his bill was a response to voter concerns.

Although parents have appeared before school boards in Ohio and elsewhere to object to critical race theory, calling it "Marxist," many school administrators vehemently deny that they are teaching the subject or are being influenced by it. They say that much of what conservatives object to amounts to little more than more frequent and frank discussions of subjects like slavery. Parents are also pushing back against the loosely related trend of anti-bias training for students and staff members, which has led to dust-ups across the country.

A biracial student sued his Las Vegas charter school for requiring him to take a sociology course that asked students to list their various racial and gender identities and that named institutions like family and religion as oppressive. A Re-

publican candidate for Senate in Ohio, Jane Timken, said that during a listening tour of the state, she had heard a parent object that second-graders were made to draw pictures of themselves as a different race.

Republicans' attacks on critical race theory are in sync with the party's broad strategy to run on culture-war issues in the 2022 midterm elections rather than campaigning head-on against Mr. Biden's economic agenda — which has proved popular with voters — as the country emerges from the coronavirus pandemic.

Because the nation's three million public-school teachers have a great deal of autonomy over what happens in classrooms, legislation will most likely be ineffective in controlling how children are exposed to concepts of race and racism, said Robert Pondiscio, an education expert who in June will join the center-right American Enterprise Institute, a think tank.

Still, he said, the controversy over critical race theory serves a purpose in warning educators to tread carefully on a divisive subject. "People have strong feelings about the degree to which race should be central to a kid's educational experience," he said.

While few K-12 educators use the term "critical race theory," discussions of systemic racism have become more common in American schools in recent years, particularly in liberal areas.

State social studies standards and textbooks have been updated to highlight subjects like redlining and the internment of Japanese-Americans during World War II.

Historically, curricular changes have often drawn backlashes, said Albert S. Broussard, a historian at Texas A&M University and an author of middle and high school American history textbooks. "It's what we as historians have seen throughout African-American his-

tory when whites — particularly conservatives — feel they have lost control," he said.

Conservatives and even some liberals have said that discussions of race are crowding out the traditional curriculum and are encouraging students and teachers to see themselves less as individuals and more as members of identity groups.

In North Carolina, Republicans who control the state House of Representatives passed a bill in May to limit teaching that the country was "created by members of a particular race or sex to oppress members of another race or sex."

The bill was a response to new social studies standards adopted by the state Board of Education

A party makes 'critical race theory' a political target.

that include themes of systemic racism. But State Representative James D. Gailliard, a Democrat who opposed the bill, said that the legislation told historically overlooked Americans that "we want to strip you of your right to tell your story."

Last year, Mr. Gailliard, the senior pastor of Word Tabernacle Church in Rocky Mount, N.C., withdrew his predominantly Black congregation from the Southern Baptist Convention over a statement by leaders of the denomination condemning critical race theory.

To recognize that systemic racism endures in America, he said, one need look no further than how it is often harder for Black home

buyers to acquire mortgages than it is for white people of equal means. "The whole point of systemic racism is, once it's embedded in our power structure, it works on its own," he said in an interview. "You don't need to wear a K.K.K. cloak."

Still, he acknowledged that Republicans had "figured out how to message this."

The messaging goes back to Mr. Trump, who, in the final weeks of the 2020 campaign, announced the formation of the 1776 Commission, set up explicitly to link what he said was "left-wing indoctrination" in schools to the sometimes violent protests over police killings.

A report by the commission was derided by mainstream historians; Mr. Biden canceled the project on his first day in office, but its impact endures on the right.

Media Matters for America, a liberal group, documented a surge of negative coverage of critical race theory by Fox News beginning in mid-2020 and spiking in April, with 235 mentions. And the Pew Research Center found last year that Americans were deeply divided over their perceptions of racial discrimination. Over 60 percent of conservatives said it was a bigger problem that people see discrimination where it does not exist, rather than ignoring discrimination that really does exist. Only 9 percent of liberals agreed.

Some Democratic strategists said the issue was a political liability for their party. Ruy Teixeira, a longtime political scientist and the co-editor of a Substack newsletter called *The Liberal Patriot*, recently wrote, "The steady march of 'anti-racist' ideology" into school curriculums "will generate a backlash among normie parents."

In an interview, he criticized leading Democrats for not calling out critical race theory because of their fear that "it will bring down the wrath of the woker elements of the party."

The Underground Railroad Was No Fantasy

By FERGUS M. BORDEWICH

No aspect of American history has been more saturated with myth than the Underground Railroad. Television viewers have been mesmerized, and perhaps shocked, by the 10-part series "The Underground Railroad" on Amazon Prime, based on Colson Whitehead's 2016 Pulitzer Prize-winning novel by the same name. Directed by Barry Jenkins, the series follows the odyssey of a young fugitive slave, Cora, through the grotesque cosmos of an America warped by antebellum slavery.

In an imaginative tour de force, the series and the novel render the metaphorical Underground Railroad as an actual railway, whose tunneled lines carry Cora on her flight from state to state. "The Underground Railroad" brilliantly reimagines the nation's disturbing past to portray often unacknowledged truths about race and slavery. As a representation of the Underground Railroad, however, it is fantasy, not history.

In the absence of adequate information about the Underground Railroad's real history, legends have flourished. For generations, tales of hidden tunnels, exotic hiding places, cryptic codes and secret maps abounded. These were usually the invention of white Americans who turned vague local stories into romantic sagas of kindly whites rescuing faceless blacks who were incapable of helping themselves.

In reality, from its beginnings in the early 19th century, the underground thrived by virtue of a dynamic partnership between blacks both free and enslaved and whites, first Quakers and later evangelical Christians and others. Black activists were most often motivated by a fierce desire to free family members or friends and by bitter personal knowledge of what the degradation of slavery meant. Whites were most commonly driven by a spiritual imperative that proclaimed slavery a sin that could be eradicated only by personal action.

In practice, the underground was a diverse, flexible, interlocking system that operated with surprising efficiency but without central control beyond the county or town level, spanning the free states from Maine to Iowa. As Isaac Beck, a station master in Ohio put it, "There was no regular organization, no constitution, no laws or agreement or rule except the 'Golden Rule,' and every man did what seemed right in his own eyes." It may have facilitated the escape of as many as 70,000 free-

The often-mythologized network that helped slaves escape to the North was America's first interracial mass movement.

dom-seekers over the six decades before the Civil War, but that is no more than a rough estimate based on the surviving records.

The underground was, of course, never an actual railroad, although when "conductors" deemed it safe they might occasionally take advantage of trains to speed fugitives' travel. (Harriet Tubman took at least some of her "passengers" to Grand Central Station in New York City and bought them tickets to Albany.) The term caught on as a metaphor in the 1840s as iron railroads expanded across the northern states and the language of railroading lent itself readily to what underground activists were already doing, dubbing guides as "conductors," volunteers who offered shelter as "station masters" and wagons in which fugitives might be carried as "trains" or "cars."

Although many today believe that coded songs transmitted directions for the northbound routes that freedom-seekers should follow, no documentation for such "map" songs exists. For instance, the song most closely associated with the Underground Railroad, "Follow the Drinking Gourd," was partly fabri-

not all of the patterns alleged to compose the "maps" date from the late 19th and early 20th centuries and incorporate patterns so complicated that they would have been of little help to fugitives making their way across hostile and unfamiliar territory.

It is also commonly assumed that most freedom-seekers were traveling vast distances from the Deep South to the free North and Canada. But the great majority came from just three states where information was readily available about northbound routes and sources of aid: Maryland, Kentucky and Virginia, all of which had lengthy borders with the free states (West Virginia only became

The railroad shows that our ancestors were capable of deep cooperation across the color line.



Harriet Tubman (left) with her husband and adopted daughter in 1887.

cated by an early-20th-century folklorist and then revised in the 1940s by the folk-singing group "The Weavers."

Similarly, the now popular notion that quilts made by slaves contained secret "maps" to guide freedom-seekers on their flight dates only from the 1990s. Quilting historians have shown that most if

a separate state in 1863). Almost none escaped from the Deep South. There were a few much-celebrated exceptions, but Cora, the heroine of "The Underground Railroad," would probably never have made it out of Georgia.

Nor was the underground all that secret north of the border country. In New England, upstate New York and the upper Midwest, it was barely hidden at all. In the abolitionist hotbed of Syracuse, N.Y., station-master Rev. Jermain Loguen even advertised his home in local newspapers as the main underground station in the city. Abolitionist newspapers sometimes announced the arrival of freedom seekers, and local agents often kept tallies, some of which survive. William Still, the underground's leader in Philadelphia, for one, maintained a running account of the hundreds of fugitives his office assisted in the 1850s.

Why is the real history of the Underground Railroad so little known? A primary reason is that it was actively suppressed during the long years of Jim Crow, when Americans lost interest in the significance of a movement in which

Blacks and whites worked together and which, in many areas, was organized by African-Americans such as Loguen and Still. Racial collaboration had no place in the triumphalist white narratives that dominated the post-Reconstruction "redemption" of the South from racial equality. Eventually, one of the most far-reaching grass-roots movements in the nation's history was turned into little more than a colorful folk-tale.

The myths may charm and thrill, but they do not help us to understand the realities of slavery or the real experiences of fugitives, much less the underground's far-reaching political and moral significance. Beyond delivering thousands of men and women to freedom, it was the nation's first interracial mass movement that asserted the principle of personal, active responsibility for others' human rights, as well as the first movement of large-scale civil disobedience since the American Revolution.

It was also a seedbed for American feminism, the first movement in which Black and white women were participants on an equal plane with men. As the early women's rights advocate Elizabeth Cady Stanton put it, "Woman is more fully identified with the slave than man can possibly be." In all these respects, the Underground Railroad anticipated the great, transformative social movements of the 20th century.

The underground could not have succeeded as well as it did without trust, self-sacrifice and heroic collaboration between Blacks and whites. Both shared duties as conductors, station masters, local managers and fundraisers. And both shared risks that few other Americans were willing to undertake on behalf of their fellow human beings. The story of the underground has particular resonance today, challenging the desire of some Americans to discount the brutal historical toll of slavery and of others to see the nation's development as, fundamentally, a long tragedy of unrelieved racism.

If the disheartening history of slavery shows Americans at their worst, the history of the Underground Railroad shows them at their bravest and best. It vividly reminds us that our ancestors were capable of deep cooperation across the color line at a time when virulent racism was the pervasive norm. In our own era of sometimes acrid racial suspicions, we would do well to recall the legacy of risk-taking cooperation and mutual trust that they bequeathed to us.

Mr. Bordewich is the author of "Bound for Canaan: The Epic Story of the Underground Railroad, America's First Civil Rights Movement."

Seminary Starts Paying Reparations for Labor In Slavery and Jim Crow

By WILL WRIGHT

One night in 1858, Carter Dowling, an enslaved Black man forced to work without pay at the Virginia Theological Seminary in Northern Virginia, made the brave decision to escape.

He made it to Philadelphia, where he met the famed abolitionist William Still. He then continued north to Canada and, after the Civil War, returned to Washington, D.C., where he was able to open a bank account for his children. He eventually went on to work as a labor organizer in Buffalo.

To this day, Mr. Dowling's family line continues. And, most likely for one of the first times in American history, his descendants could receive cash payments for his forced labor.

In February, the Virginia Theological Seminary began handing out cash payments to the descendants of Black Americans who were forced to work there during the time of slavery and Jim Crow.

The program is among the first of its kind. Though other institutions have created atonement programs, such as scholarships and housing vouchers for Black people, few, if any, have provided cash. (The Times could not verify whether the seminary is the first to provide cash payments.)

"When white institutions have to face up with the sins of their past, we'll do everything we can to prevaricate, and we'll especially prevaricate if it's going to have some sort of financial implication," said the Rev. Ian S. Markham, the president and dean of the seminary, which is in Alexandria, Va. "We wanted to make sure that we both not just say and articulate and speak what's right, but also take some action — and we were committed to that from the outset."

The checks, about \$2,100 this year, will come annually and have begun to flow to the descendants of those Black workers. The money has been pulled from a \$1.7 million fund, which is set to grow at the rate of the seminary's large endowment. Though just 15 people have received payments so far, that number could grow by the dozens as genealogists pore through records to find living descendants.

The program authorized payments to the members of the generation closest to the original workers, calling them "shareholders." If that generation includes people who have died, the pay-

ments would go to their children. And if that person had no children, the money would be split among the siblings of the eldest generation.

The Rev. Joseph Thompson, the seminary's director of multicultural ministries, remembers the day that Mr. Markham walked into his office and asked what he thought about creating a reparations program.

"This is one of those things I never thought I would see in my lifetime — a serious, a kind of broad conversation about reparations in the United States of America," he said. "That was a very striking moment for me."

The seminary's leaders acknowledge that the particulars of who will receive money, and how much, could be complicated. Take the case of Mr. Dowling. While he was Black, his grandchildren identified themselves on official records as white, and so have their descendants.

Maddy McCoy, a genealogist working with the seminary to find the descendants of enslaved individuals, said that while such situations have presented difficult questions, the seminary had tackled them head on.

"There is no manual that we are referring to as we move through this," Ms. McCoy said. "With that, it's going to be a lot of ups and downs and a lot of really, really difficult decisions and difficult conversations, but that's what this work is."

The expansion of the program in the coming years will coincide with the seminary's 200th anniversary in 2023. The seminary, a 25-minute drive south from Washington, has become the most powerful in the Episcopal Church. It graduates about 50 students a year and boasts a \$191 million endowment.

But the institution, for all its prominence, depended for decades on the labor of Black people who were never paid adequately for their labor — or were never paid at all. They included gardeners, cooks, janitors, dishwashers and laundry workers. The exact number of Black workers from 1823 to 1951 is still unknown, but they probably numbered in the hundreds.

Among them was the grandfather of Linda J. Thomas, the first woman to receive a \$2,100 payment from the seminary. Ms. Thomas's grandfather, John Samuel Thomas Jr., worked at the seminary after World War I as a



KENNY HOLSTON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



KENNY HOLSTON FOR THE

From left: Linda J. Thomas, whose grandfather worked at Virginia Theological Seminary; Gerald Wanzer had several relatives who worked there; the Rev. Ian S. Markham is pre-

janitor, and most likely also as a laborer on the seminary's farm.

Ms. Thomas, 65, said her mother remembered growing up in a little white house on the campus. She said her grandfather had dreamed of becoming a minister but had been barred from applying to the seminary because of his skin color. Eventually, near the end of World War II, he moved to Washington and became a minister before his death in 1967.

Though the payments are modest, she said she hoped the program would mark a shift in the American narrative around reparations — both about the exploitation of Black people and the institutions that benefited. "For so many years, people with the sweat on their backs not only picked cotton, but built institutions," she said.

While the seminary's program is groundbreaking in the United States, William A. Darity, a professor of public policy and African

American studies at Duke University, said such atonement programs should not be interpreted as sufficient in righting the wrongs of slavery or in eliminating the effects of racist policies.

The only institution that can fund a comprehensive reparations program large enough to atone for the lost wages of slavery or bridge the racial wealth gap is the federal government, he said. "This is not a matter of personal guilt," he added, estimating that such a comprehensive program would require \$11 trillion. "This is a matter of national responsibility."

Public support for reparations has grown over the years, from 19 percent of those surveyed in 1999 to 31 percent in 2021, according to polls from ABC and The Washington Post. But even within the seminary, the atonement program drew some pushback.

Mr. Markham said a handful of donors had objected and had said

they would no longer give money. They also said some people who had moved from the seminary's lists.

In determining how to fund reparations, a commission led by the City of Evanston, Ill., agreed in March to set aside \$10 million to Black families in exchange for a law requiring the city to provide housing grants to the descendants of those who worked there. Earlier this year, the Rev. Ralph Northam of Virginia announced a law requiring five cities to create such community development programs for Black individuals. In March, a prominent Catholic priest told the Vatican that he would support \$100 million to be used to help the descendants of enslaved people.

Payments are a part of the seminary's atonement program, said Ebon Jones, an associate professor of multicultural ministries, but she said



KENNY HOLSTON FOR THE

The expansion of the program will coincide with the seminary's 200th anniversary in 2023.

California task force launches study of slave reparations



Secretary of State Shirley Weber authored the state legislation creating the task force to study and recommend reparations for African Americans.

By Janie Har
THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

SAN FRANCISCO — A first-in-the-nation task force in California to study and recommend reparations for African Americans held its inaugural meeting Tuesday, launching a two-year process to address the harms of slavery and systemic racism despite the federal government's inaction.

The nine members of the task force, appointed by Gov. Gavin Newsom and legislative leaders, include the descendants of slaves who are now prominent lawyers, academics and politicians. The group's newly elected chair is a young lawyer who specializes in intellectual property, and their vice-chair is a longtime civil rights activist arrested with the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. at a lunch counter sit-in in 1961.

"I'm so thankful to my ancestors, who survived so much trauma, so much pain, so much tragedy, so much brutality, so that I could live," Lisa Holder, a civil rights attorney in Los Angeles, said. "And I am ready to fight to deliver them — our

ancestors — justice."

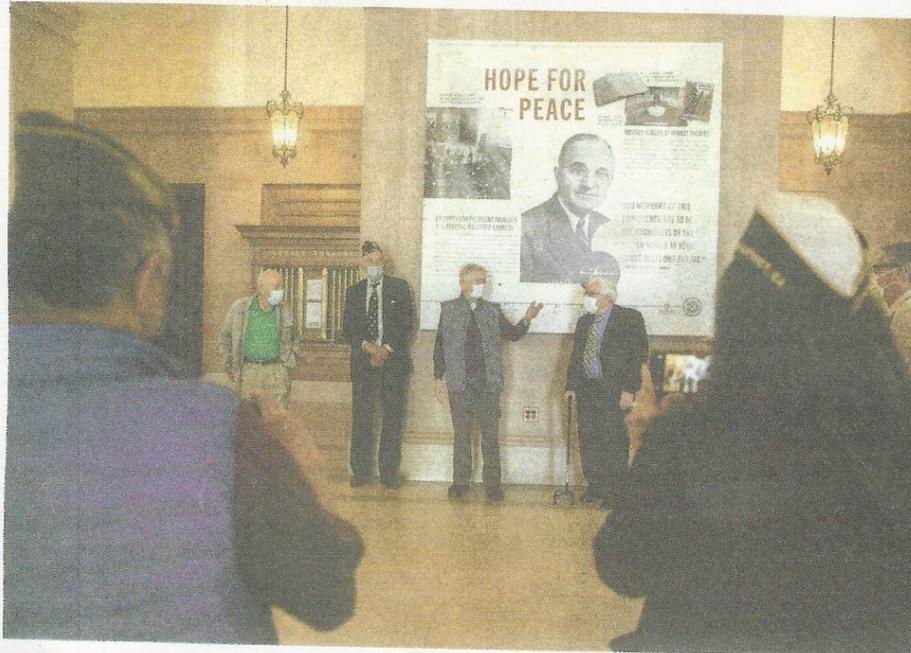
Tuesday's meeting of the first state reparations committee in the U.S. came as President Joe Biden commemorated the lives of hundreds of Black people killed by a white mob in what was then a thriving African-American community in Tulsa, Oklahoma, a century ago. It also comes just over a year after George Floyd, a Black man, was murdered by a white police officer in Minnesota.

Secretary of State Shirley Weber, who as a state assemblywoman authored the state legislation creating the task force, noted the solemnity of the occasion as well as the opportunity to right an historic wrong that continues today, in the form of large racial disparities in wealth, health and education. African Americans make up just 6% of California's population yet were 30% of an estimated 250,000 people experiencing homelessness who sought help in 2020.

"Your task is to determine the depth of the harm, and the ways in which we are to repair that harm," said Weber, whose parents were sharecroppers forced to leave the South.

"The United Nations Charter was signed right here in this building."

Marine Corps Maj. Gen. Mike Myatt



Photos by Santiago Mejia / The Chronicle

Maj. Gen. J.M. Myatt (left), retired Judge Quentin Kopp, Ken Maley and Dana Lombardi speak at the Veterans War Memorial Building unveiling of banners depicting local World War II history.

S.F.'s WWII history made into artworks

Banner project arrives at Veterans Building a year late

By Sam Whiting

Retired judge and politician Sen. Quentin Kopp is rarely stuck for words, but he stood speechless while viewing a banner titled "Fortress San Francisco" at the War Memorial Veterans Building.

"At 92, I thought I knew everything," he finally said. "But I didn't know there were 120 military bases in the Bay Area during World War II."

True, it was not Kopp's war. The former state senator and onetime member of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors served as an Air Force captain in the Korean War. But not that many World War II veterans are left, and educating veterans of subsequent wars, along with the general public, is the mission of "The End of World War II and the Birth of the United Nations: A Hope for Peace." The project uses eight large square banners, bearing text and illustrations, to tell a history of the war and its aftermath. The canvas banners hang on the walls in the War Memorial Veterans Building lobby.

The project, sponsored by the San Francisco Performing Arts



Helen Wong gets a first look at a series of banners at the War Memorial Veterans Building depicting Bay Area events related to World War II.

Foundation, details the role played by the greater Bay Area, much of it unfamiliar to successor generations who now live around the region: the local construction of war supply ships; the embarkation of troops at Fort Mason; the start of the United

Nations.
"San Franci-

Assault weapons ban ruled unlawful

Judge overturns state law, citing Second Amendment

By Lauren Hernandez

A federal judge in California overturned the state's decades-old ban on assault weapons Friday, ruling that it violated the Second Amendment — a ruling that was promptly blasted by Gov. Gavin Newsom.

Newsom called the ruling by U.S. District Judge Roger Benitez of San Diego a “direct threat to public safety and the lives of innocent Californians, period.”

Benitez ruled that California's definition of illegal military-style rifles robbed Californians of their constitutional right to obtain the type of weapons allowed in other states.

In a statement, Newsom pledged to fight to reinstate gun restrictions in California:

“As the son of a judge, I grew up with deep respect for the judicial process and the importance of a judge's ability to make impartial fact-based rulings, but the fact that this judge compared the AR-15 — a weapon of war that's used on the battlefield — to a Swiss Army Knife completely undermines the

credibility of this decision and is a slap in the face to the families who've lost loved ones to this weapon. We're not backing down from this fight, and we'll continue pushing for common sense gun laws that will save lives.”

California's assault weapons ban, the Roberti-Roos Assault Weapons Control Act of 1989, is the oldest of its kind in the United States.

The ban passed after a man sprayed a Stockton schoolyard with dozens of rounds from a semiautomatic rifle in January 1989, killing five children and wounding 29 others and a teacher before killing himself.

The state law initially banned the sale of more than 50 models of semiautomatic

rifles and pistols. A semiautomatic gun is one that, when fired, loads the next round of ammunition automatically, but requires a squeeze of the trigger for each shot.

A provision in the legislation allowed the state to add models to the banned list as they came to the attention of the attorney general. And in a later bid to stop gun makers from circumventing the law, legislators prohibited certain characteristics of weapons.

Guns with fixed magazines can't hold more than 10 rounds. Those with detachable magazines, which enable swift reloading, can't have any of a number of features that give them added functions or make them easier to handle, such as forward



Sen. Dianne Feinstein, D-Calif., discusses assault weapons on Capitol Hill in 2013. Feinstein has sought to ban the weapons.

Mantel Balce Ceneta / Associated Press 2013

grips, folding stocks, flash suppressors and shrouds to protect a shooter from burns.

The ban has survived challenges, but gun makers have found ways around it, selling firearms similar to banned ones. And guns purchased before the ban were protected by a grandfather clause.

Assault weapons as defined by the law are more dangerous than other firearms and are disproportionately used in crimes, mass shootings and against law enforcement, with more resulting casualties.

The Associated Press contributed to this report.

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THE ANSWER MIGHT SCARE YOU

'What the hell is wrong with us' on gun control?

By Marcus Breton

Gov. Gavin Newsom spoke for California and the nation when he said, "What the hell is wrong with us?"

Newsom, of course, was in San Jose last Wednesday when he asked this basic question. The governor was speaking about the unspeakable, again. He was standing with another group of devastated people after a mass shooting, again.

"What the hell is going on in the United States of America?" Newsom asked. "When are we going to come to grips with this? When are we going to put down our arms — literally and figuratively — our politics, stale rhetoric, finger-pointing, all the hand-wringing, consternation that produces nothing except more fury and frustration ... over and over and over again."

These are urgent questions about the soul of our nation, and the feeble answers we barely muster each time are almost as tragic as the unrelenting spree of mass shootings in our communities. These should be once-in-century massacres but they have become routine, expected, and quickly surpassed by other, lesser, stories until the next massacre.

Is it true that all we can do is shrug? Is it true that all we can do is type "thoughts and prayers" into our Twitter feeds?

What the hell is wrong with Americans?

Nine people were murdered in their work-

place last Wednesday morning by a co-worker with a violent past, at the Valley Transportation Authority in the heart of Silicon Valley, in one of the wealthiest counties in California. This abomination happened in a reliably blue city in a state boasting some of the strictest gun control laws in the nation.

National Public Radio reported on May 10 that there had already been 194 mass shootings in the first 18 weeks of 2021, about 10 a week.

The Gun Violence Archive, which defines mass shootings as gun violence where at least four people are killed or wounded at one time, tabulated 610 mass shootings in 2020.

It's noteworthy that while Newsom identified the right questions we should be asking ourselves as Americans awash in the blood of our neighbors, friends, family and co-workers, he didn't promote any particular gun control policy.

In truth, this American proclivity for gun violence is bigger than any gun control measure, though more are surely needed.

The San Jose gunman, Samuel Cassidy, allegedly had a history of domestic violence. According to the Giffords Law Center, domestic violence and gun violence are tragically intertwined.

California is one of 17 states that prohibits domestic violence misdemeanants from possessing guns. California also is one of 17 states that authorizes or requires

the surrender of guns or ammunition after conviction of a domestic violence misdemeanor. But, according to the Giffords Law Center, California is not among the four states that go a step further: enacting laws "designed to ensure records regarding domestic violence crimes that fall within the federal definition of a 'misdemeanor crime of domestic violence' are submitted to the federal and/or state databases used for firearm purchaser background checks."

But here is the rub: It's unclear if Cassidy was ever convicted of domestic violence, despite the harrowing record of domestic violence claims in his past cited by Bay Area news outlets.

Does this reflect how hard it is to protect people from gun violence? Yes. What's the answer? To make it harder for people with violent pasts to obtain guns, whether they have a conviction of a violent crime or not. To attach firearms prohibitions to people with histories of violence and substance abuse. To lengthen waiting periods for gun sales. To make it very hard to buy a gun.

Anything less means there is no good answer to Newsom's question about us as Americans.

It means we don't have the courage to protect citizens. Is that really us?

Marcus Breton is a Sacramento Bee columnist. © 2021 The Sacramento Bee. Distributed by Tribune Content Agency.

SAFETY CONCERNS

Afghan women in grave danger when U.S. withdraws its troops

By **Trudy Rubin**

“Don’t abandon us!” That’s the message I’m getting from brave, educated Afghan women — as the Pentagon advances the date for the final troop withdrawal from Afghanistan to mid-July.

There is a last-minute Pentagon scramble to plan for evacuating 18,000 translators who worked with the U.S. military, but it’s still unclear whether this will happen.

But little thought seems to have been given to the fate of thousands of Afghan women who have been educated and taken up jobs in the past two decades since the Taliban was defeated — or to the fate of millions of girl students. Over one-third of Afghanistan’s 9 million schoolchildren are now female, but those numbers are shrinking as the Taliban shuts down girls’ education in rural areas. Meantime, hardline Islamists attack and bomb girls’ schools.

A conversation with two Afghan female university students reminds me of how hard so many Afghan girls have struggled for an education. These gains, about which U.S. officials brag, could disappear if the Taliban takes power.

The students are deeply worried, but have ideas about how Americans can still help.

“Don’t give up on us,” urges Yasameen Mohammadi, a graduate of Bucknell University in Lewisburg, Pa., who is starting a master’s degree at University of Pennsylvania.

She was born a refugee after her parents fled Taliban rule in the 1990s.

When her family returned to Afghanistan in 2005, her father chose the poor Dasht e Barchi neighborhood of Kabul, because he wanted to send Mohammadi to the unique Marefat School. The school was founded by another returned refugee, the visionary Aziz Royesh, who sought to give equal educational opportunities to girls.

“My dad would always say ‘I’m ready to sell my eye for your education,’” Mohammadi recalls. “Marefat really gave me motivation, and our teachers were hopeful for the future. I grew up at a time when girls were treated like human beings.”

I visited the Marefat school in 2010 and was deeply moved by the steely determination and optimism of female high school students. (Most are from the Shiite Hazara minority whom the Taliban persecutes as infidels.) Their open confidence was a far cry from my 1999 visit to Kabul under the Taliban when girls’ education was banned and girls snuck into secret schools.

Mohammadi was helped by the New-Jersey based Afghan Girls Financial Assistance Fund to attend high school and college in America, and now wants to create educational projects for people in war zones. With AGFAF’s help and fundraising, she built the first library for the blind at the Kabul School for the Blind.

“Part of me is very scared and worried about a Taliban takeover,” she says, “but looking at friends and cousins at home and seeing how far they have come ... I can’t wrap my head around it, how the Taliban are so savage and closed-minded. People who fought for an

education, I don’t know how they can fight back.”

Qamarnisa Ayoub is also struggling to imagine Afghanistan’s future. She hopes to return to Kabul as a doctor. With AFGAF’s help she attended Wagner College in New York City and is now a student researcher at Beth Israel Deaconess Medical Center in Boston. But her high school, Sayed Ul-Shuhada, was bombed last month, targeting girls who were leaving classes and killing around 90 students. “The school was badly damaged,” she says, “and students are still dying. It’s harder for them to convince parents to let them attend.”

Mohammadi urges Americans to continue supporting educational opportunities for Afghan women and minorities, and to connect local U.S. schools to Afghan schools with cultural exchanges.

“One hundred percent God forbid, but if the day comes when the Taliban takes over,” she adds, she hopes Americans will help develop distance learning projects for Afghan girls and women. Her final request: “Please keep an eye on the fate of women and minorities and let the wider world know what is happening.”

For Americans who want to help, AGFAF (agfaf.org) and the Bamyan Foundation, which gives scholarships to Marefat and other schools (bamyanfoundation.org), are a good place to start.

Trudy Rubin is a Philadelphia Inquirer columnist. © 2021 The Philadelphia Inquirer. Distributed by Tribune Content Agency.

Biden's Agenda Hits a Senate Wall



POTOMAC WATCH
By Kimberley A. Strassel

Senate lawyer to drive their point home.

A recent straightforward ruling by Senate Parliamentarian Elizabeth MacDonough unraveled Democratic plans to use a procedural maneuver to whisk through Joe Biden's multitrillion-dollar expansion of government. A furious left is now calling on senators to

The parliamentarian nixes Schumer's plan to evade the filibuster via 'reconciliation.'

ignore her decision on budget reconciliation—or to fire her outright. But don't blame Ms. MacDonough for reiterating the rules, thereby exposing how tenuous Mr. Biden's strategy was from the start.

The president has repeatedly claimed a mandate for action despite knowing better. Even with the Democratic Party's twin Georgia runoff victories in January, it ended the election with a 50-50 Senate and the narrowest Democratic House majority since before the New Deal. The prudent course would have been to govern from the middle, working with Republicans on incremental change.

Democrats instead decided to "go big" with a strategy

Democratic centrists keep warning the Biden administration about the political risk of untethered progressive governance. It might have taken a quiet

that had no margin for error and relied on two big bets. First, that they could juke or blow up the Senate rules to get around the 60-vote filibuster. Second, that they could force or cajole every member of their razor-thin majority to adopt one of the most progressive agendas in U.S. history.

The first bet bombed late last week with the MacDonough ruling. Sens. Joe Manchin (D., W.Va.) and Kyrsten Sinema (D., Ariz.) haven't wavered in their support for the filibuster rule, so Majority Leader Chuck Schumer in March concocted an unprecedented scheme to pass the Biden agenda via a series of budget-reconciliation bills, which require only a simple majority. Reconciliation is meant to be used only once a fiscal year, so Mr. Schumer claimed that the 1974 budget law gave him the power to keep "revising" the annual bill, providing him endless 51-vote vehicles. The plan was to divvy up the rest of the Biden agenda into smaller, more palatable chunks.

Ms. MacDonough said that while revision is possible, the budget law's framers made clear revision should be used only in situations of sharply changed economic conditions—not to avoid the filibuster. (Surprise.) More important, she ruled the Budget Committee must hold a vote to pass a revision to the floor. The budget panel is split 11-11. While the full Senate could vote to break a tie, the GOP budget members could simply boycott proceedings and prevent a committee vote in the first place.

This means Democrats likely have only one vehicle this year (the fiscal 2022 reconciliation) left to pass Mr. Bi-



Elizabeth MacDonough

den's flotilla of proposals. It could mean lumping together a \$2.3 trillion infrastructure bill, a \$1.8 trillion "families" plan, Medicare expansion, prescription-drug changes, and potentially parts of Mr. Biden's recently unveiled \$6 trillion budget. Not to mention all of his crushing tax hikes—on corporations, family farms and middle-class earners.

Which brings up the second shaky bet—that nearly every member of the Democratic Party can be compelled to support \$4 trillion or \$5 trillion or \$6 trillion in additional spending in one reconciliation blowout. Centrist Democrats in March gritted their teeth and passed Mr. Biden's \$2 trillion Covid "relief" bill, but only after fretting over the cost and paring back some provisions.

Now Democrats are internally battling over tax changes and the extent to which to expand entitlements like Medicare. And because Mr. Biden has coddled the left, centrists aren't the only votes at risk. Progressives are increasingly threatening to walk away if they don't get more. Mean-

while, a sprawling reconciliation bill would again subject vulnerable Senate Democrats to painful votes as part of the "vote-a-rama" amendments that accompany the process.

All this might suggest the White House double down on infrastructure talks, an attempt to hive off \$1 trillion or so of its ambitions in a bipartisan bill. Yet congressional sources report that, as recently as Wednesday, Mr. Biden doubled down on his tax-hike demands, making negotiations that much harder.

More telling might be Mr. Biden's recent lashing of the "two members of the Senate who vote more with my Republican friends." This attack on Mr. Manchin and Ms. Sinema is dishonest; VoteView.com shows that both senators overwhelmingly vote with their party.

But it suggests the White House is still betting it can pull off the go-it-alone strategy. It's a call for activists to pile on any would-be centrist defectors. And it comes as Mr. Schumer is readying a series of summer votes on controversial topics—a federal election takeover, a Jan. 6 commission, gun measures, a paycheck "fairness" bill—designed to stoke confrontation with Republicans and pressure Democrats to kill the filibuster.

Maybe Democrats will pull off the tall feat of eliminating the filibuster or compelling complete party unity on a reconciliation blowout. Democrats are effective at wielding brass knuckles. But if Mr. Biden ends this year with little of what he promised, it won't be because of parliamentarian rulings or disloyal Democrats. It will be because he dramatically overreached.

Write to kim@wsj.com.

U.S. SENATE PHOTOGRAPHIC STUDIO

The showdown over new voting restrictions

What happened

The national battle over restrictive new election laws dramatically escalated this week, after Texas Democratic lawmakers derailed the passage of a controversial new bill by walking out of the statehouse and the Republican governor threatened to strip funding for their salaries and staff. In a surprise revolt, 60 Democrats quietly exited a Sunday-night legislative session, thus depriving Republicans of a quorum. The bill would have banned drive-through and 24-hour voting used by many Black and Hispanic voters in the Houston area in 2020, imposed new restrictions on

mail-in voting, and ended early voting on Sunday morning, when many Black churchgoers have traditionally gone to the polls. It also would have made it easier for judges to overturn contested election results. Republicans say the law is needed to ensure election integrity. It's "a strong bill that gives accessibility & security to Texas elections," tweeted co-sponsor Sen. Bryan Hughes. But Democrats say the clear goal is to quash turnout among voters of color, who overwhelmingly lean Democratic. "Every American needs to be watching what's happening in Texas right now," said Rep. Colin Allred (D-Texas). "This isn't legislation, it's discrimination."

Texas Gov. Greg Abbott vowed to call lawmakers, who adjourned for the summer, back for a special session to pass the bill. He threatened to strip funding for legislators and their staffs from a pending budget. "No pay for those who abandon their responsibilities," he tweeted. "Stay tuned."

President Biden promised to "fight like heck" against Republican efforts to restrict voting, which have led to passage of more-stringent voting laws in 14 states, including Florida, Georgia, and Iowa. He said Vice President Kamala Harris would lead the administration's efforts to pass H.R.

1, the sweeping federal bill that would establish national standards for election administration. "This sacred right is

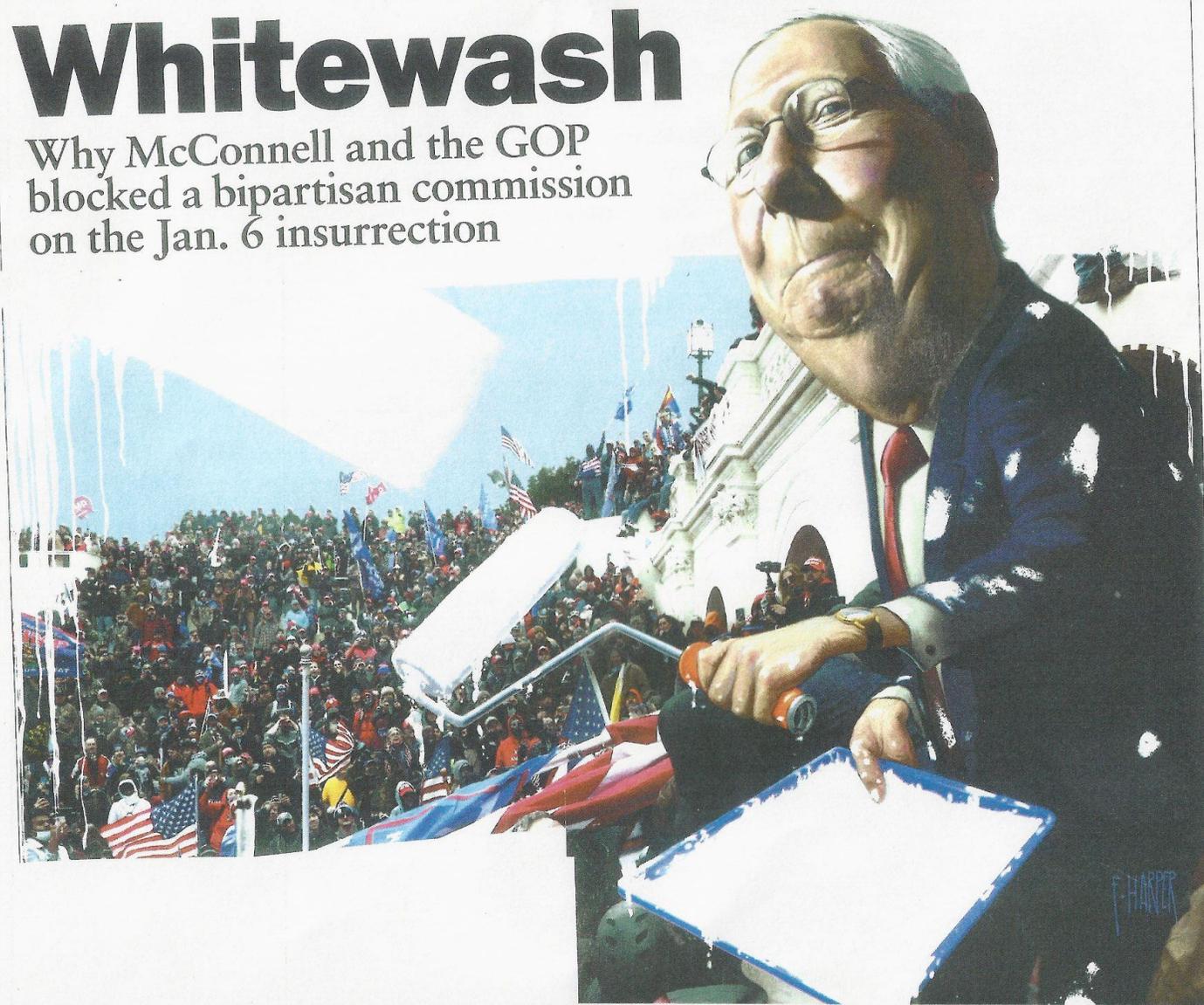


The Texas House chamber after Democrats left

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Whitewash

Why McConnell and the GOP
blocked a bipartisan commission
on the Jan. 6 insurrection



Republicans: Why they blocked the Jan. 6 commission

“American democracy isn’t dead yet,” said Susan Glasser in *NewYorker.com*, “but it’s getting there.” In the aftermath of the Jan. 6 U.S. Capitol riot, when supporters of President Trump stormed the Capitol at his urging to block the certification of Joe Biden’s victory, many Republicans agreed on the need for an independent commission to investigate the attack. Last week, however, a Republican filibuster killed a bill creating such a commission. Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell’s justification was that the proposed commission would be “slanted” against Republicans, though it would have featured five Republican and five Democratic appointees. But “the real explanation,” as Sen. John Cornyn of Texas admitted, was that the GOP doesn’t want to give Democrats “a political platform” from which to make the 2022 midterm elections a “referendum on President Trump” and his Big Lie that the election was stolen. We’ve had commissions to investigate “crises large and small,” said Matt Ford in *NewRepublic.com*, from Pearl Harbor to 9/11. For the GOP to block an investigation into the only assault in U.S. history on the peaceful transfer of power is a “grim sign for American democracy, shining among many other blinking warning lights.”

What “drama queens” Democrats are, said Eddie Scarry in *WashingtonExaminer.com*. Yes, the Jan. 6 “riot was bad,” but “this wasn’t 9/11,” and “a grand total of five people died,” including unarmed Trump supporter Ashli Babbitt, shot dead by police. With criminal prosecutions of the rioters already underway, do we really need a commission to study a few hours of civil unrest by justifiably “irritated Trump voters”? Democrats are not interested in facts, said Daniel Henninger in *The Wall Street Journal*. Their goal is to keep voters focused on “Trump-related



McConnell: ‘Slanted’

Jan. 6 realities” just before the 2022 midterms. Why should Republicans “erect a scaffold for their own hanging”?

Hanging—what an interesting choice of metaphor, said Jonathan Chait in *NYMag.com*. The insurrectionists erected a *literal* scaffold on the Capitol grounds, then stormed the building chanting “Hang Mike Pence!” because the vice president refused to block certification of the election. Republicans know any thorough probe “will incriminate them,” said Greg Sargent in *WashingtonPost.com*. It may substantiate reports that some members of Congress and the Trump administration coordinated with the rioters, before and during the attack. Further, it would spotlight the role dozens of Republicans played in voting against certifying the election and fomenting “extreme right-wing radicalization.”

“The partisan aims of the Democrats are obvious,” said Dan McLaughlin in *NationalReview.com*. Nonetheless, the nation deserves to know if members of Congress were involved in planning the Capitol attack, as well as why it took the National Guard more than three hours to respond while members of Congress had to hide. By blocking an independent, bipartisan commission, Senate Republicans have handed the issue back to Speaker Nancy Pelosi, who will now establish a Democrat-run select committee, thus ensuring the probe “will be conducted in the most partisan way possible.” It needn’t be, said Ken Ballen in *CNN.com*. As staff counsel to the 1987 select committee that investigated the Iran-Contra scandal, I’ve seen first-hand how a thorough, fair, transparent probe can “help counter any claims of partisanship.” We need answers to all questions about how Jan. 6 happened, especially with renewed talk among Trump allies of the need for a coup. “Our democracy literally hangs in the balance.”

SOCIAL MEDIA

Facebook: Trump ban to last at least 2 years

By Mike Isaac
and Sheera Frenkel
The New York Times

SAN FRANCISCO » Facebook said Friday that former President Donald Trump’s suspension from the service would last at least two years, keeping the former president off mainstream social media for the 2022 midterm elections, as the company also said it would end a policy of treating posts from politicians differently from those of other users.

The social network said Trump would be eligible for reinstatement in January 2023, before the next presidential election, and it will then look to experts to decide “whether the risk to public safety has receded,” Facebook said. The company barred Trump from the service after he made comments on social media that rallied his supporters, who stormed the U.S. Capitol on Jan. 6, but it had not given a firm timeline about when or if the suspension would end. “Given the gravity of the cir-

cumstances that led to Mr. Trump’s suspension, we believe his actions constituted a severe violation of our rules which merit the highest penalty available under the new enforcement protocols,” Nick Clegg, the vice president of global affairs at Facebook, wrote in a company blog post.

If reinstated, Trump would be subject to a set of “rapidly escalating sanctions” if he committed further violations, up to and including the permanent suspension of his account, Facebook

said. Facebook also said it was ending a policy of keeping posts by politicians up by default even if their speech broke its rules.

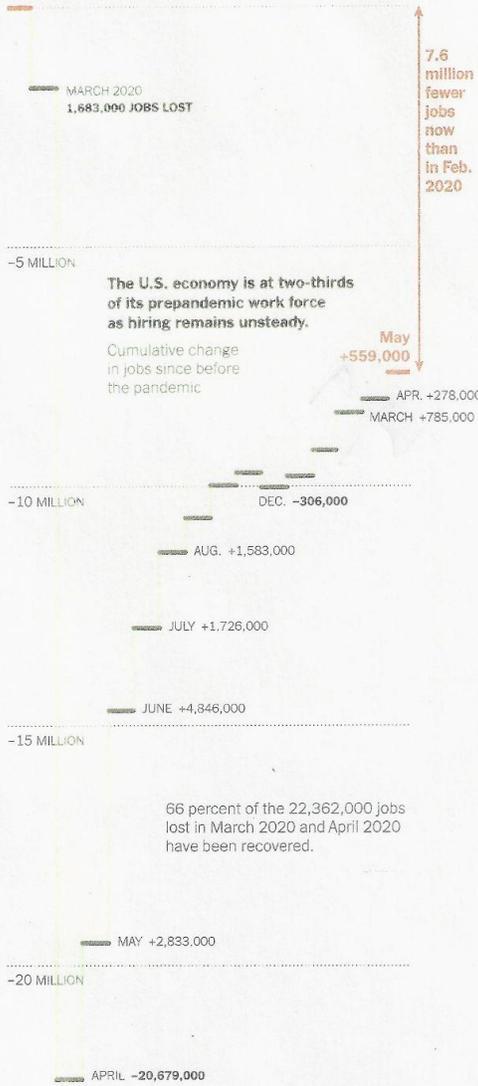
For years, Facebook and other social media companies such as Twitter had said they would not interfere with political speech because it was in the public interest. That has now shifted, largely prompted by Trump’s inflammatory social media posts. That rethinking of how to treat political speech has implications not only for American politics but also

for world leaders such as President Jair Bolsonaro of Brazil and Prime Minister Narendra Modi of India, who have been active on the platform.

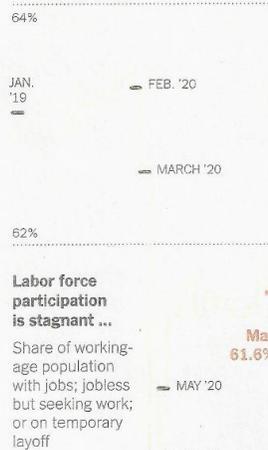
In an emailed statement, Trump said Facebook’s ruling was “an insult to the record-setting 75M people, plus many others, who voted for us in the 2020 Rigged Presidential Election.” He added that Facebook should not be allowed to get away with “censoring and silencing” him and others on the platform.

Employment Gains Doubled in May, but a Rally Has a Ways to Go

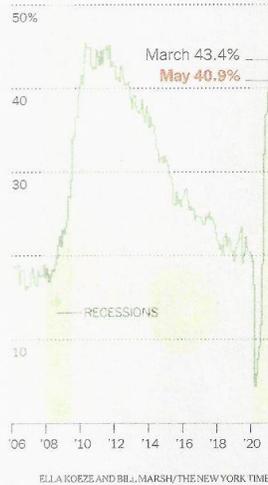
Feb. 2020: Total of 152.5 million U.S. jobs



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics | Note: Data is seasonally adjusted.



... but the share of unemployed who have been jobless for at least 6 months is falling.



U.S. HIRING IS UP, BUT UNEVEN PACE MAY LAST MONTHS

UNEMPLOYMENT AT 5.8%

'Bumpy Ride' for Labor Market as Employers Find Fewer Takers

By PATRICIA COHEN

Employers added hundreds of thousands of jobs last month as coronavirus infections ebbed, vaccinations spread and businesses reopened, the government reported Friday. But the labor market's recovery from the pandemic is proving to be choppy.

Hopes that a strong and steady surge of hiring would follow the first wave of vaccinations have so far turned out to be overly optimistic. Job creation in May doubled from the previous month but still fell below most forecasts. And payroll gains, which have bounced up and down this year, may continue their uneven progress through the summer.

Several economists said they did not expect the pace of hiring to pick up steam at least until the fall, when more schools fully reopen, a majority of the population is vaccinated and pandemic-related jobless benefits end.

"It's probably going to be a bumpy ride from here till September," said Rubeela Farooqi, chief U.S. economist at High Frequency Economics.

This latest report from the Labor Department highlighted the puzzling fact that millions remain on the jobless rolls even as many employers complain of worker shortages.

President Biden acknowledged as much on Friday. "As we continue this recovery, we're going to hit some bumps along the way," he said. "We can't reboot the world's largest economy like flipping on a light switch."

Median CEO Pay Sets Fifth Straight Record

By THEO FRANCIS
AND INTI PACHECO

Median pay reached \$13.4 million for chief executives of the biggest U.S. companies in 2020, setting a fifth straight annual record in a year when businesses and their leaders battled a global pandemic.

Most S&P 500 CEOs got raises of about 5% or more as their companies recorded annual shareholder returns of about 8%, according to a Wall Street Journal analysis of data from MyLogIQ.

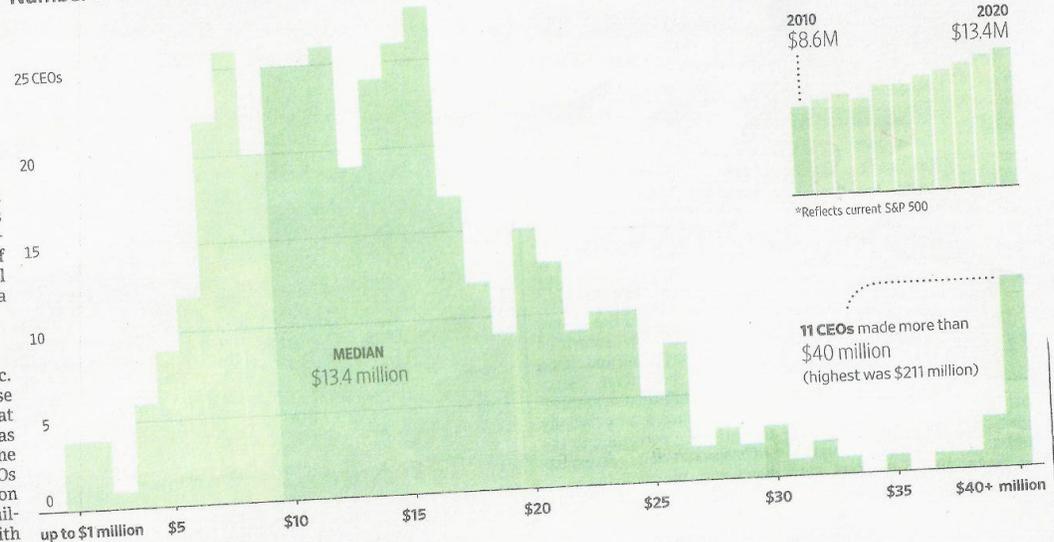
Highest pay

Paycom Software Inc. founder Chad Richison, whose pay package was valued at more than \$200 million, was the highest-paid CEO in the Journal's analysis. Seven CEOs were awarded compensation valued at more than \$50 million last year, compared with two in 2019 and three in 2018.

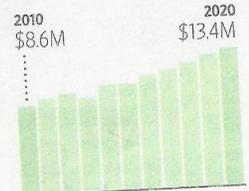
Most of the companies led by this year's top earners aren't typically in the pay stratosphere. Several reflect the winners of the pandemic and its economic turmoil, including videogame maker **Activision Blizzard Inc.** and biotech giant **Regeneron Pharmaceuticals Inc.**

Most CEO compensation packages are predominantly restricted stock or stock options, as boards continue to emphasize pay structures intended to tie executive pay to the fortunes of shareholders generally. As a result, as stock prices rise, pay packages can swell beyond reported figures: **General Electric Co.** CEO Larry Culp received equity grants in 2020 originally valued at about

Number of S&P 500 CEOs by pay, in \$1 million increments



Median pay for CEOs of S&P 500 companies*



*Reflects current S&P 500

Top-paid S&P 500 CEOs



Source: MyLogIQ LLC

\$57 million that rose to \$100 million by year's end.

GE said Mr. Culp won't receive any of his August stock grant until 2024, and then only if performance targets are met.

The first of those targets was met in December and a second one was reached in May.

Paycom said the company must make significant market and operational gains for Mr.

Richison to realize most of his pay, and noted he won't be eligible for further equity grants for five years.

Activision Blizzard's lead independent director, Robert

Morgado, said Mr. Kotick's pay was earned over four years and reflects over 30 years of creating value for shareholders.

Regeneron

Note: For methodology, see B7

Six in the Bay Area among first to win vaccine lottery



PAUL KITAGAKI JR. — THE SACRAMENTO BEE VIA AP

California Gov. Gavin Newsom selects the first 15 Californians to be awarded \$50,000 Friday in the Vax for the Win program in Sacramento.

Winners have not been named, but they're \$50,000 richer

By Lisa M. Krieger
Ukrainian

Looking a lot like Pat Sajak, Gov. Gavin Newsom drew the first \$50,000 winners Friday in the state's Vax for the Win contest.

Standing in front of a glittery gold curtain and retro-

themed Wheel of Fortune, Newsom pulled bouncing, numbered pingpong balls from a machine at the California Lottery, each connected to a mysterious numeric identifier that represents someone who has been jabbed.

It was campy and, at times, cringe-worthy. But it was California's way of persuading the

vaccine-hesitant to show up for a shot — and a shot at winning a share of \$116.5 million in giveaways over the next few weeks.

So who were Friday's winners? Here's everything we know:

- Six of you live somewhere in the Bay Area.

Of the 15 winners, three were

from Santa Clara County, two from San Francisco and one was from Alameda County.

Who are you? Drum roll, please. Of the 21.5 million eligible California residents who have received at least one dose of the COVID-19 vaccine, the mysterious winners are ... we don't know.

How about a bonus for a colonoscopy?

Maybe it's a generational thing. Back in the day as kids/young adults, we must have marched to a different societal drummer. We didn't require serious inducements to do the intelligent thing, the obvious step in the correct direction. No blatant bribes to cooperate for us.

In fairness, we often didn't have much of a choice. I can well recall lining up with my classmates as we awaited our turns to get vaccinated for childhood illnesses.

Reluctantly (few, if any, of us relished the notion of a needle in the arm), we accepted the jab. Then it was right back to the classroom for more English and math, sore arm and all.

That was it. No discussions. No protests. No lawyers. No social media spewing falsehoods and inaccurate medical data. We just did it.

Not so much now. With the latest pandemic still a concern (though easing for sure), there is a considerable swath of America that simply doesn't see a compelling reason to be vaccinated.

So what's the answer? Well, right here in the Lovely Land of Loons, our generous state officials are going to provide monetary rewards as a lure to get those dubious folks (and others who have been derelict in this matter) to receive their shots.

This vaccine lottery, with a stockpile of \$116 million, is scheduled to crank up this week. Even people who have already been inoculated are eligible; let's call it "a retroactive bonus." It's another happy cash giveaway during a period of seemingly endless largesse funded by the taxpayers in one way or another.

But why stop with the anti-COVID jab, or jabs? Why not take this exercise another step or two? You can almost visualize the possibilities for the creative bureaucrats in Sacramento and elsewhere.

Where to start? Oh, how about a colonoscopy? That's always a less-than-desired but helpful examination. Stimulate compliance with your doctor's recommendation with a gift card from Dulcolax, a favorite preprocedure colon cleanser.

Then there's your mandatory license renewal at the Department of Motor Vehicles, always a delightful adventure in interpersonal relationships and wasted time. Let's get proactive and provide Netflix/Hulu credits for people who do their duty without a lot of whining and moaning.

You get the idea.

BECKER'S TRUE COLORS REVEALED: When Josh Becker was seeking to represent most of San Mateo County in the state Senate a year ago, it wasn't always clear precisely where he stood on the issue of preserving residential neighborhoods as they are — and have been for generations of suburban homeowners.

Now we know for sure. Becker, a Democrat from Menlo Park, voted in favor of Senate Bill 9 last week. That piece of legislation, which now goes to the state Assembly for a vote, would force municipalities to permit multiunit housing on properties now zoned for single-family detached homes.

As fully anticipated, the county's other state senator, Scott Wiener, also voted in favor of SB 9. He has been an outspoken critic of R-1 zoning for years.

SB 9, if it were to become law, would mark a sea change in single-family neighborhoods along the Peninsula and throughout California.

Homeowners who purchased their detached houses in areas zoned specifically for such structures would find themselves facing something new well after the fact.

Becker, who describes himself as a "public policy innovator working at the nexus of community activism, technology and social justice," will have to face the voters again, assuming he will choose to seek reelection.

Becker's 2021 vote on SB 9 will no doubt provide helpful perspective at that time.

NICK GENNARO HAD A TOUGH TASK: When Dr. Nicholas Gennaro was named superintendent of the San Mateo Union High School District in 1984, he assumed that position during a very difficult period.

The district's enrollment decline was precipitous. Finances were tight and budget cuts were always looming. Gennaro, who died May 20, served as the district's top administrator until 1996.

It wasn't easy but he managed to guide the district through those shoals with a marked degree of skill, humanity and dedication. He was 86 at the time of his passing.



John Horgan

DAVID BROOKS

You May Live a Lot Longer

PHIL MICKELSON JUST won the P.G.A. Championship at age 50. Tom Brady won the Super Bowl at 43. Serena Williams is a top tennis star at 39. Joe Biden entered the presidency at 78. Last year Bob Dylan released an excellent album at 79.

Clearly, we're all learning to adjust our conception of age. People are living longer, staying healthier longer and accomplishing things late in life that once seemed possible only at younger ages. And it's not just superstars. The fraction of over-85s in the U.S. classified as disabled dropped by a third between 1982 and 2005, while the share who were institutionalized fell nearly in half.

Researchers distinguish between "chronological age" — how old the calendar says you are — and "biological age" — how old your body seems based on measurements of organ functioning and other markers. It turns out people vary a lot. In a study of more than 1,000 New Zealanders, the slowest-aging participant aged only 0.40 biological years for every chronological year, while the fastest aged 2.44 biological years per calendar year. A lot of this is influenced by genetics, environment and lifestyle.

As a whole, Americans seem to be aging more slowly than before. Eileen M. Crimmins of the University of Southern California and Morgan E. Levine of Yale compared how men 60 to 79 years old aged in 1988 to 1994 and in 2007 to 2010. They found that in those later years, the men they studied had a biological age four years less than the men in the earlier years, in part because of improvements in lifestyle and medications. This suggests that not only are people living longer, they're also staying healthier longer.

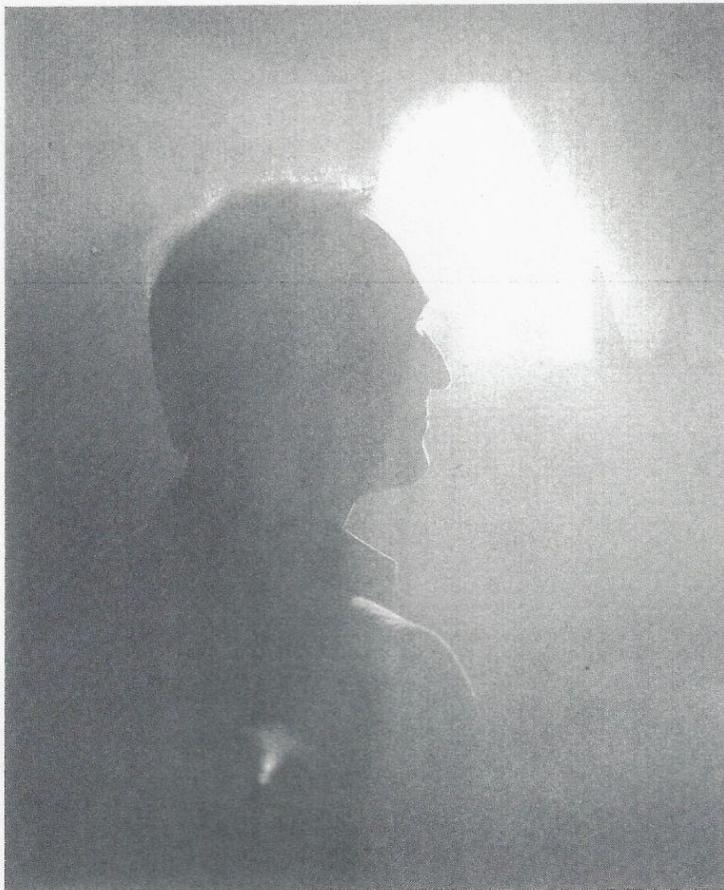
On one level, greater health and longevity is an old story. In 1900, life expectancy in the U.S. was about 47 years and now it's about 78. But we may also be on the cusp of something new.

Over the course of the 20th century, we primarily aided longevity by tackling disease. In the first half of the century vaccines and other innovations prevented people from dying young of communicable diseases. In the second half, improvements in lifestyle and other medical breakthroughs prevented many people from dying in middle age of things like heart attacks and cancer.

But while these improvements have made it more likely that people will live to be 65, after that, aging itself takes an inexorable toll. Even if you beat lung cancer or survive a heart attack, your body's deterioration will finish you off before too long. The average 80-year-old suffers from around five diseases.

That's why even if we could totally cure cancer, it would add less than three years to average life expectancy. A total cure for heart disease would give us at best two extra years.

To keep the longevity train rolling it may not be enough to cure diseases. We may also need to address the underlying condition of aging itself, which is, after all, the primary risk factor for late-life decline.



TOBIAS HUTZLER/TRUNK ARCHIVE

What happens if we slow down aging? Experts tell us.

S. Jay Olshansky, a professor of epidemiology and biostatistics at the University of Illinois Chicago, has helped define aging as "the accumulation of random damage to the building blocks of life — especially to DNA, certain proteins, carbohydrates and lipids (fats) — that begins early in life and eventually exceeds the body's self-repair capabilities."

The question becomes, *Can we intervene to slow the aging process?* This week Olshansky emailed me: "While there are no documented interventions that have been proven safe and effective in slowing aging in humans today, we are on the verge of a breakthrough."

That's a view shared by Andrew Steele, author of "Ageless: The New Science of Getting Older Without Getting Old." He describes a series of experimental interventions designed to slow biological processes that are part of aging.

For example, as we age, we build up more and more "senescent" cells, which secrete inflammatory molecules that can

effectively accelerate aging. In 2011, researchers removed these cells from mice and extended their life spans. Clinical trials on people began in 2018.

"Treating aging sounds like science fiction until you've heard about the latest developments in aging biology," Steele writes. He adds, "The crucial moment comes if we can start developing and rolling out treatments for aging that mean life expectancy rises by one year per year. That would mean, on average, our date of death would be receding into the future as fast as we were all chasing it."

An era of slow aging could present some real challenges. There are already vast health inequalities. A 25-year-old white man with fewer than 12 years of education has a 61 percent chance of making it to 65. A 25-year-old white man with 16 years or more of schooling has a 91 percent chance. Given who gets quality health care in this country, I wonder if the college-educated class would leap even further ahead.

Yet despite the disparities, it's likely that all Americans could be living longer, healthier lives. I imagine an 80-year-old bounding from bed, biking in the morning and playing softball in the afternoon.

We're all on borrowed time. More time is more life, and more of it will be sweet. □