

# Supermarket Shooter Sought Black Neighborhood

BUFFALO, N.Y. (AP) — The white 18-year-old who shot and killed 10 people at a Buffalo supermarket had researched the local demographics while looking for places with a high concentration of Black residents, arriving there at least a day in advance to conduct reconnaissance, law enforcement officials said Sunday. Authorities said the gunman shot, in total, 11 Black people and

two white people Saturday in a rampage motivated by racial hatred that he broadcast live.

"This individual came here with the express purpose of taking as many Black lives as he could," Buffalo Mayor Byron Brown said at a news conference Sunday.

The shooter, identified as Payton Gendron, had previously threatened a shooting at his high

school last June, a law enforcement official told The Associated Press. Buffalo Police Commissioner Joseph Gramaglia said the then-17-year-old was brought in for a mental health evaluation afterward.

Meanwhile, federal authorities were still working to confirm the authenticity of a racist 180-page manifesto that detailed the plot and identified Gendron by name

as the gunman. But the shooting — the latest act of mass violence in a country unsettled by racial tensions, gun violence and a recent spate of hate crimes — left local residents shattered.

It also prompted New York Gov. Kathy Hochul, a Buffalo native, to demand the technology industry take responsibility for its role in propagating hate speech.

Hochul told ABC that the heads of technology companies "need to be held accountable and assure all of us that they're taking every step humanly possible to be able to monitor this information."

"How these depraved ideas are fermenting on social media — it's spreading like a virus now," she said Sunday, adding that a lack of oversight could lead others to emulate the shooter.

Twitch said in a statement that it ended Gendron's transmission "less than two minutes after the violence started."

Screenshots purporting to be from the live Twitch broadcast appear to show a racial epithet scrawled on the rifle used in the attack, as well as the number 14, a likely reference to a white supremacist slogan.

"It's just too much. I'm trying to bear witness but it's just too much. You can't even go to the damn store in peace," Buffalo

resident Yvonne Woodard told the AP. "It's just crazy."

A preliminary investigation found Gendron had repeatedly visited sites espousing white supremacist ideologies and race-based conspiracy theories and extensively researched the 2019 mosque shootings in Christchurch, New Zealand, and the man who killed dozens at a summer camp in Norway in 2011, the law enforcement official, who spoke on condition of anonymity, told AP.

The manifesto posted online and purportedly written by Gendron, outlined a racist ideology rooted in a belief that the United States should belong only to white people. All others, the document said, were "replacers" who should be eliminated by force or terror. The attack was intended to intimidate all non-white, non-Christian people and get them to leave the country, it said.

It wasn't immediately clear why Gendron had traveled about 200 miles (320 kilometers) from his Conklin, New York, home to Buffalo and that particular grocery store, but investigators believe Gendron had specifically researched the demographics of the population around the Tops Friendly Market, the official said. The market is located in a predominantly Black neighborhood.

In a Sunday interview with ABC, Gramaglia said that Gendron had been in town "at least the day before."

"It seems that he had come here to scope out the area, to do a little reconnaissance work on the area before he carried out his just evil, sickening act," Gramaglia said.

Gendron had appeared on the radar of police last year after he threatened to carry out a shooting at Susquehanna High School

(See **SHOOTER**, P. 2)



# Artist Tries New Approach After Stroke

By Dawn Kane

News & Record

GREENSBORO (AP)—When Michael Collins saw the customer at Lowe's fall to the floor, he rushed to the man's aid.

Collins immediately recognized the signs of a stroke. The man's speech was slurred. He couldn't respond to questions

about his name or pain. He couldn't move his arms.

A Lowe's sales specialist, Collins quickly summoned an assistant manager in the store. "Get the ambulance here real quick," Collins recalled saying, "because we had a man that was having a stroke."

While Collins knew stroke signs, he didn't know the man

exhibiting them on that June day last year.

It was local sculptor and painter Jim Barnhill.

Barnhill had become known for creating the February One monument at N.C. A&T where he has taught for 25 years, the General Greene statue on a city roundabout and Minerva on the UNCG campus.

He has sculpted a bust of Pedro Silva, longtime executive director of the N.C. Shakespeare Festival in High Point.

He has created pieces beyond Guilford County, and had several more in the works at the time of his stroke on June 23, 2021.

Collins and other Lowe's employees sprung into action that day. They called 911 and tried to keep Barnhill comfortable until the ambulance arrived to take him to Cone Hospital.

"The thing that was going through my mind was that I needed to react real fast," Collins said. "The longer we wait, the worse the conditions would be and the longer the rehab would be."

Months later, Collins and Barnhill would cross paths again.

In those 10 months, Barnhill, 66, has come a long way from

hospital to home.

He still wears a brace on his right leg. But he has progressed from a wheelchair, to a walker, to walking with a cane.

He's not driving. Others drive him out to breakfast and lunch with neighbors and friends weekly.

He can understand what people say. But his own speech has returned slowly and haltingly.

Although his "yes," "yeah," "yup" and "no" are easy to understand, other words can be more difficult.

"He has not lost any of his mental faculties or his ability to understand or reason," said retired ophthalmologist Dr. Wilson McWilliams, who is married to Barnhill's sister Katherine. They drive from Pinehurst to share caregiving duties with Barnhill's longtime partner, Edie Carpenter, and others.

"I think he knows what he wants to say, but it doesn't come out as he wants it to, sometimes," McWilliams said.

Barnhill practices his speech via Zoom with Club Aphasia of The Triad. Led by speech-language pathology faculty

(See **AFTER STROKE**, P. 2)

# Earthquake Hits S.C.

By Meg Kinnard

Associated Press

COLUMBIA, S.C. (AP)—A relatively rare East Coast earthquake centered just northeast of South Carolina's capital city jolted large numbers of state residents awake early last Monday, rocking the Southern state at a preliminary 3.3 magnitude, authorities said.

There were no immediate reports of any damages or injuries, although more than 4,000 people contacted the U.S. Geological Survey to report what they felt.

The pre-dawn tremor lasted only seconds, but a number of people took to social media to describe being shaken from sleep when the quake hit shortly after 1:30 a.m.

There have been dozens of low-magnitude quakes since last December, when a 3.3 magnitude tremor originated in the same area, near Elgin, about 21 miles northeast of downtown Columbia, South Carolina's capital city.

Those awakened early Monday reported feeling the earth shak-

(See **EARTHQUAKE**, P. 2)

# Cawthorn Tries To Survive Primaries

By Gary D. Robertson

Associated Press

U.S. Rep. Madison Cawthorn's prominent role as the youngest pro-Donald Trump agitator in Congress can rub people on the right and the left the wrong way in his North Carolina district.

That's made the 26-year-old culture warrior a social media political celebrity and successful fundraiser. He's near the top of the list of the former president's most vocal allies on Capitol Hill.

But a series of unforced political

and personal errors has brought both the force of big-name state Republicans and traditional enemies to bear against Cawthorn's reelection bid. Some blunders have been headline-grabbing, like one that rankled GOP colleagues who believe he insinuated they were holding orgies and snorting cocaine. Others have been salacious, like recently released videos showing him in sexually suggestive poses.

But at home, the most consequential may have been when he decided to run for a different U.S.

House seat, only to return to the mountainous 11th Congressional District that he now represents when redistricting litigation shifted the lines again.

The two top Republican leaders in the General Assembly have thrown their support to a Cawthorn rival—state Sen. Chuck Edwards, one of seven challengers in the May 17 primary. With Trump winning North Carolina twice and endorsing Cawthorn this year, his reelection in a Republican-leaning seat in a strong GOP year would have seemed likely.

Now, after just one term in office, the upstart congressman faces a tough primary challenge, with a difficult general election fight if he survives.

"I don't know what has happened to him, but I do know this: The people of western North Carolina have not been represented in Washington, D.C.," said Michele Woodhouse, who was once a Cawthorn ally but is now running against him.

U.S. Sen. Thom Tillis, R-N.C., endorsed Edwards in the race in late March, saying, "Cawthorn has fallen well short of the most basic standards western North Carolina expects from their representatives."

A super PAC aligned with Tillis is taking the unusual action of spending \$1.5 million in the district on mailers and TV ads, one of which calls Cawthorn a "reckless

embarrassment" and "dishonest disaster."

Cawthorn is fighting back, accusing the Washington establishment and Tillis of trying to shut him down.

"I have never folded in Washington and the swamp hates me for it," he says in an ad. "They want someone who will make backroom deals to sell out our values and someone who will abandon America First principles."

The 11th District field became crowded with well-known or well-funded challengers after Cawthorn decided in the fall to run in another district closer to Charlotte under boundaries retooled during redistricting that would have made his path to reelection much easier.

But the statewide House map was struck down by state courts, and its reshaping ultimately forced Cawthorn in late February to return to what is largely the 11th District he currently represents. Meanwhile, Edwards, Woodhouse and other Republicans had been running there for months.

"It's clear that his interest was to move somewhere else and seek a political career someplace else after we, including myself in this district, worked to get him elected," Edwards said in an interview. "He turned his back on us."

Cawthorn's campaign said he wasn't available for an interview.

(See **CAWTHORN**, P. 2)

# What Governor Cooper Would Do With \$6.2B

Gov. Roy Cooper proposed Wednesday that North Carolina government spend or earmark much of a projected \$6.2 billion surplus to address further a host of needs like building construction, education inequities, affordable housing and worker retention.

The Democratic governor unveiled his recommended adjustments to the second year of a two-year budget lawmakers approved and he signed last fall. They also include higher pay for state employees and teachers beyond what the enacted budget already directs.

"Despite a difficult few years, North Carolina families and communities are marching ahead with the resilience that has always defined us," Cooper told reporters. "The budget that I'm presenting today will build on our success and strengthen those areas that need reinforcement."

The budget proposal came two days after the General Assembly and Cooper's administration announced the state would exceed previous revenue projections for the current fiscal year by \$4.2 billion, or 15 percent. That news also upped projections for the year starting July 1 by nearly \$2 billion.

Cooper handles the overcollections by increasing second-year spending by \$2.3 billion, or 8.5 percent, to \$29.3 billion. But there's also another \$2.4 billion going to a host of itemized "investments" he places in reserves for things like infrastructure, economic development and workforce training that does not count in the \$29.3 billion.

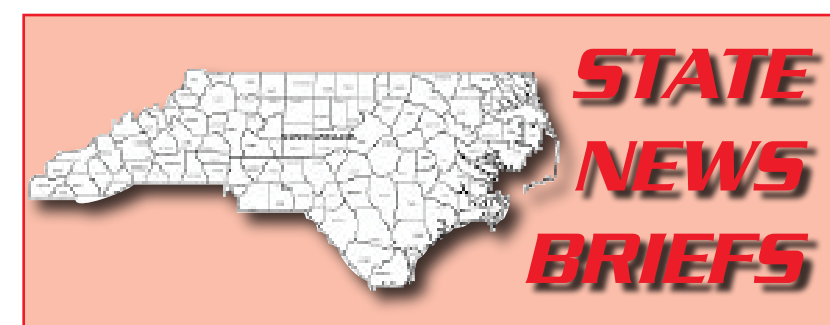
The remaining \$1.5 billion is unspent, but appropriating the rest is likely to breed skepticism among Republican legislators who will review his ideas before passing their own adjustments. The legislative session begins next Wednesday.

"While the governor's budget proposal includes several shared priorities, we are wary of excessively increasing spending in the face of potential economic downturns," House Speaker Tim Moore said in a written statement.

Cooper's proposal contains neither additional tax cuts nor more money for state's rainy day fund. He pointed out that the fund is already on track to reach \$4.25 billion once the new fiscal year begins July 1 and that income tax cuts are already contained in the current budget.

While calling his proposal "a smart, fiscally sound budget," Cooper also added: "I think that it's clear that we want to invest more than (Republicans) do." Any final legislative budget would be presented to the governor, who could let it become law or veto it.

(See **GOVERNOR**, P. 2)



## US FOREST SERVICE COVERS ABANDONED SHAFT TO PROTECT HIKERS

ASHEVILLE (AP)—The U.S. Forest Service has put a grate over an abandoned pit mine shaft in North Carolina that had posed a hazard on a popular biking trail.

Nicknamed the "sinkhole," the 30-foot-deep mine shaft is on the Holly Springs Trail in Pisgah National Forest, the forest service said on its Facebook page. In the last decade, there had been multiple incidents in which people and animals had fallen into the hole, the news release said.

The forest service said several options were considered before officials decided to cover the sinkhole with a 12-foot by 10-foot flat aluminum grate that is safe to walk or ride over, and meets safety requirements while maintaining the character of the trail.

The trail had been closed since February and reopened on Wednes-

(See **STATE BRIEFS**, P. 2)



**NOT AS EASY AS HE THOUGHT**—Madison Cawthorn has managed to annoy almost everybody in political circles recently, with stories about senators doing cocaine and inviting him to orgies, and his irresponsible actions carrying guns in airports and driving over the limit without a license.

## STATE BRIEFS

Continued from page 1

day, the forest service said.

## SCHOOL RESOURCE OFFICER ON LEAVE AFTER FIGHT WITH STUDENT

HENDERSONVILLE (AP)—A resource officer at a North Carolina elementary school has been placed on administrative leave after he got into a fight with a student, officials said.

Henderson County Public Schools issued a statement on Thursday saying the principal at Fletcher Elementary School reported the fight, which occurred on Monday, to system administrators. The administrators reported the incident to the Henderson County Sheriff's Office, according to the statement.

The school system said information about the fight has been shared with the parents of the student.

The Henderson County Sheriff's Office confirmed the officer was placed on administrative leave. Spokesman Johnny Duncan said Thursday that after the office was notified of the incident by the school system and during an internal investigation, it was decided that the sheriff's office would ask the N.C. State Bureau of Investigation to look into the matter.

Duncan said that because it was a personnel matter, and because of the active NCSBI investigation, no further information would be released.

## SAMFORD UNIVERSITY ALUM LEAVES RECORD \$100M GIFT

An alumnus of Samford University in Alabama has given the school the largest gift in its history, including \$95 million for scholarships.

Marvin Mann, who died at his Cary, N.C., home in March, left Samford a \$100 million gift, the school said in a statement on Thursday. It is the largest gift to the university by a single donor and the largest gift ever made to a higher education institution in the state of Alabama by a single donor, according to the school.

Mann, a native of Springdale, Ala., graduated from Samford in 1954. He worked for IBM for 32 years and went on to found Lexmark International Inc. in 1991. He served as chief executive officer and chairman until 1999.

The gift is expected to provide approximately \$3.75 million a year for students hoping to attend Samford, the university said.

In addition to endowed scholarships, Mann donated \$5 million to support the Frances Marlin Mann Center for Ethics and Leadership, which he established in 2008 in honor of his late wife, Frances. The center promotes student development and enriches teaching and scholarship in Samford's 10 academic schools, the statement said.

## NORTH CAROLINA DAYCARE OWNER CONVICTED OF DRUG, GUN CHARGES

(AP)—A North Carolina man who ran a daycare from his home has been convicted of six felony drug and firearm offenses after authorities said he also directed an armed drug trafficking operation from the same location.

Michael Easley, U.S. Attorney for the Eastern District of North Carolina, said in a news release that Reshod Jamar Everett, 36, of Cumberland County, was found guilty by a federal jury on Tuesday. Agents seized drugs, more than \$65,000 and eight loaded firearms, including high-powered rifles from the home, the news release said.

Investigators with the Fayetteville Police Department determined in 2018, that Everett was distributing large amounts of controlled substances in the Fayetteville area. On July 16, 2018, agents obtained a search warrant for the apartment and seized more than 36 pounds of marijuana, more than 300 grams of cocaine, and a loaded CZ Scorpion firearm.

The investigators also determined the location of Everett's primary residence in Fayetteville and that he and his wife operated an in-home daycare in the residence.

Co-defendant Alvin Milton Davis III was previously convicted and sentenced to a term of imprisonment of 11 years.

Everett faces a maximum sentence of life in prison when he's sentenced during the court's Aug. 22 term.

## UNC-CHAPEL HILL TO RENAME DORMITORY, STUDENT AFFAIRS OFFICE

CHAPEL HILL (AP)—The flagship school of North Carolina's university system is renaming a residence hall and a student affairs office long named for people tied to White supremacy.

The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill will dedicate the Hortense McClinton Residence Hall and the Henry Owl Building in a ceremony on Friday, the school said in a news release.

McClinton was the school's first Black faculty member when she was hired in 1966. Owl was the first Native American to enroll at the university as a graduate student in history in 1928, the news release said.

The residence hall had been named for Charles B. Aycock, a North Carolina governor and UNC alumnus who led a White supremacy campaign that condoned violence to terrorize Black voters and their White supporters, according to a university report.

The student affairs office had been named for Julian Carr, a self-proclaimed Ku Klux Klan member who helped fund the Democratic Party's White supremacy campaign of 1898 which stripped Black men of voting rights and institutionalized racial segregation, the university report said.

## WOUNDED DUMP TRUCK DRIVER ARRESTED IN ROAD-RAGE SHOOTOUT

(AP)—A dump truck driver who was shot and wounded on Wednesday in a road rage incident in North Carolina's capital city has been charged in the incident, police said.

A spokeswoman for Raleigh police said that at around 11 a.m., a dump truck ran a red light, leading the driver of an Audi to follow it.

Police said the dump truck driver pulled out a gun during the confrontation and fired at the Audi. The driver of the Audi fired at the dump truck and hit the driver in the leg. Police said his injury appeared to be non-life threatening.

## Supermarket Shooter —CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

around the time of graduation, the official said. New York State Police said troopers were called to the Conklin school on June 8, 2021, for a report that a 17-year-old student had made threatening statements.

The law enforcement official was not authorized to speak publicly on the investigation and did so on the condition of anonymity.

Gendron, confronted by police in the store's vestibule, put a rifle to his neck but was convinced to drop it. He was arraigned later Saturday on a murder charge, appearing before a judge in a paper gown.

Federal agents interviewed Gendron's parents and served

multiple search warrants, the law enforcement official told the AP. Gendron's parents were cooperating with investigators, the official said.

Among the dead was security guard Aaron Salter — a retired Buffalo police officer — who fired multiple shots at Gendron, Gramaglia said Saturday. A bullet hit the gunman's armor, but had no effect. Gendron then killed Salter, before hunting more victims.

"He cared about the community. He looked after the store," Yvette Mack, who had shopped at Tops earlier Saturday, said of Salter. "He did a good job you know. He was very nice and respectable."

Also killed was Ruth Whitfield, 86, the mother of retired Buffalo Fire Commissioner Garnell Whitfield.

Buffalo Mayor Byron Brown told churchgoers that he saw the former fire official at the shooting scene Saturday, looking for his mother.

"My mother had just gone to see my father, as she does every day, in the nursing home and stopped at the Tops to buy just a few groceries. And nobody has heard from her," Whitfield told the mayor then. She was confirmed as a victim later in the day, Brown said.

Katherine Massey, who had gone to the store to pick up some

groceries, also was killed, according to the Buffalo News. The names of the rest of the victims hadn't been released.

"We pray for their families. But after we pray — after we get up off of our knees — we've got to demand change. We've got to demand justice," state Attorney General Letitia James said an emotional church service in Buffalo on Sunday morning. "This was domestic terrorism, plain and simple."

The Buffalo attack came just a month after a shooting on a Brooklyn subway wounded 10 and just over a year after 10 were killed in a shooting at a Colorado supermarket.

## What Governor Would Do —CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

Senate leader Phil Berger's office declined comment Wednesday on Cooper's proposal, a spokesperson said.

Moore said Wednesday he was hopeful a bipartisan agreement could be reached with the governor. Compared to last year, when lawmakers worked for months crafting a two-year plan because no comprehensive budget was in place, Republicans have sounded less willing to stay in Raleigh this summer since the current budget would continue if no agreement is reached with Cooper.

His proposal includes \$687 million more for K-12 and University of North Carolina system construction projects and repairs; \$102 million to purchase and improve potential sites to lure large companies to the state; and \$165

million for affordable housing, including first-time homebuyer down payment assistance to low- and middle-income people.

The governor also wants to spend an additional \$526 million to cover the next year of a public education spending remedial plan approved by a judge to meet standards cited in the long-standing "Leandro" litigation. The state Supreme Court could soon rule whether the courts can force lawmakers to fund the plan.

On pay raises, a 2.5 percent increase for most state employees set to begin in July would grow in Cooper's plan to 5 percent, while state law enforcement and health care workers would get a 7.5 percent increase. Teacher pay schedules would be adjusted to ensure instructors see a combined average 7.5 percent raise

this year and next, instead of the current 5 percent. One-time bonuses of \$1,500 to \$3,000 also would be offered for workers and teachers.

State Budget Director Charlie Perusse said these and other compensation proposals are needed to address a state government job vacancy rate approaching 20 percent. The turnover rate last year among first-year state employees reached 36 percent, he added.

Cooper once again proposed expanding Medicaid to hundreds of thousands of additional low-income adults through the 2010 federal Affordable Care Act. While Republicans have opposed the idea for years, Berger said last year he's now open to expansion. A special House-Senate study committee began meeting

in the winter to consider expansion and other health care access improvements.

"I believe that we're getting closer than ever to an agreement," Cooper said. "I do appreciate that Republican leaders are taking this seriously."

An impasse between Cooper and Republicans on Medicaid expansion was the chief reason why the state never had a comprehensive two-year budget approved in 2019.

Last year, the budget was enacted 4½ months late as Republicans finally won support from enough Democratic colleagues as spending provisions were adjusted. Cooper agreed to sign it, saying the good within the budget outweighed the bad. That budget ordered the creation of the Medicaid expansion committee.

## Artist Tries New Approach —CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

members at UNCG, the aphasia community conversation group caters to those who struggle to comprehend or formulate language because of brain injury.

Twice a week, he goes to Cone Health Neurorehabilitation Center for physical therapy with Chloe Gilgannon and Emily Parker.

During a recent session, he walked on a treadmill, climbed slowly up and down a few steps, even walked outside with assistance.

"Very nice, Jim," Gilgannon says after he walks down a few steps.

He can't sketch with his dominant right hand.

So he has taught himself to draw and write with his left—no easy feat for many who are right-handed.

"He is pretty inspiring," said Carpenter, director of artistic and curatorial programs at GreenHill Center for North Carolina Art in Greensboro Cultural Center.

Barnhill hasn't been able to sculpt again yet.

Asked if he plans to sculpt

again, he replies "yeah." Have any of his medical caregivers said when? "I don't know," Barnhill replies.

Some of his paintings and sculpture—created before his stroke—appear in the current exhibition downtown at GreenHill. Titled "H2O," it focuses on environmental stewardship.

The "H2O" exhibition originally had been scheduled for two years ago. But the COVID-19 pandemic postponed it until now.

A few days before the opening, Barnhill came to GreenHill with Carpenter and Denisa Simmons, one of his caregivers.

A whale that Barnhill carved from crabapple wood, created in 1993, hangs from the ceiling of the GreenHill gallery.

Two of his paintings—in oil paint and tar on marine-grade wood panel—show major environmental disasters.

They're huge. "Yeah!" Barnhill says in agreement. "Big or go home," he adds, slowly pronouncing each word of the popular phrase.

One from 2012 depicts the oil tanker Exxon Valdez. It ran

aground in 1989 in Prince William Sound, Alaska, spilling 11 million gallons of oil.

Another from 2013 shows the 2010 BP Deepwater Horizon oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico, considered to be the largest marine oil spill in the history of the petroleum industry.

What does it feel like to show his work to the public?

"Genius!" Barnhill said, then laughs with the small crowd around him.

Simmons sees strength.

"I've never looked at art until I met Jim," Simmons said. "When I walked in here, it just resembled him. It's strong."

Three days later, Barnhill returned to the exhibition opening. He listened as Carpenter explained his work to visitors.

His A&T students have not forgotten him, either. On April 29, Barnhill was honored at the exhibition for senior art students, held at the African-American Atelier in the cultural center.

Six of Barnhill's sculptures are now at Carolina Bronze Sculptures in Seagrove, awaiting casting.

The foundry serves artists from around the world.

Barnhill created the pieces in plaster. From here, Carolina Bronze follows a complex set of steps.

It makes molds from the plaster, then from the molds makes wax copies of the originals.

From the wax copies, it will cast the pieces in bronze, using the "lost wax" process.

"Jim normally makes his own plaster molds," co-owner Melissa Walker said. "However, we made this batch because of his stroke."

The sculpture will be displayed this summer in GreenHill's "Presence: A Figurative Art Survey," another exhibition postponed from 2020.

Others have driven Barnhill to the foundry. Walker, who owns Carolina Bronze with her husband, Ed, has watched Barnhill's improvement.

She calls Barnhill "an outstanding sculptor" and "a great guy."

"We were just devastated to hear about his stroke," Walker said. "We are hoping he makes a full recovery."

## Earthquake Hits S.C. —CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

ing for several seconds, some even describing what sounded like a heavy truck moving nearby.

But geological officials noted that, while the events are unsettling, central South Carolina's loose soil and lack of significant bedrock—coupled with the Monday earthquake's shallow depth of about 1.9 miles below the earth's surface—mean such rumbles are felt more significantly in a place like South Carolina than they would perhaps

be along the San Andreas fault system, in California.

"There's definitely been a 'swarm' here over the past several months," Amy Vaughan, a geophysicist and seismic analyst monitoring the quake for USGS' National Earthquake Information Center in Colorado, told The Associated Press by phone.

"This is not an area that is capable of producing what we would consider a big one, of much larger magnitudes... A 3.3

is a larger deal when it occurs somewhere like South Carolina."

Noting that the 3.3 magnitude is an early assessment and could change, Vaughan added that reports had been pouring in to the 24-hour quake monitoring center.

"I have not heard of any damage reports so far but have had over a thousand... reports," she said.

Still, she called it "alarming for sure" and said some lesser aftershocks were possible in

coming days or weeks. She noted there were quakes of a preliminary 2.0 or higher in April and March and others going back little more than four months in the region—and a 3.3 quake last December.

South Carolina typically averages 20 earthquakes a year, according to the South Carolina Emergency Management Division. Elgin is along a large fault system that extends from Georgia through the Carolinas and into Virginia.

## Cawthorn Tries To Survive —CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

Campaign spokesperson Luke Ball wrote in an email that the congressman is "focused on moving forward, uniting the NC-11 GOP, and winning the November election, not relitigating the redistricting process."

Cawthorn infuriated his fellow Republicans in Congress when he alleged on a podcast that he had been invited to an orgy in Washington and that he had seen leaders in the movement to end drug addiction use cocaine. House Republican leader Kevin McCarthy reprimanded him publicly for the remarks.

He's been stopped by police three times since October—two in which he was cited for speeding and one for driving with a revoked license. He's been caught with guns at airport checkpoints twice in the past year, including two weeks ago. He called Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy a "thug" after Russia invaded the country.

"It was analogous to ripping Santa Claus on Christmas Eve," said Chris Cooper, a Western Carolina University political science professor.

In a nearly eight-minute video

posted on social media last week, Cawthorn apologized for speeding and acknowledged that carrying a gun through airport security was a mistake: "I have to own this one."

But he pushed back against other allegations made in news articles, calling them "outlandish." And he later described two videos depicting him in sexually suggestive poses as part of a "drip campaign" by his enemies to flood the district with negative stories in the race's final days.

"I was being crass with a friend, trying to be funny," he tweeted about one video. "We were acting foolish, and joking, that's it. I'm NOT backing down."

In 2020, many conservatives saw Cawthorn as a rising star who could bring young people into the party. He turned 25—the constitutionally mandated minimum age to serve in the House—during the campaign.

Cawthorn, who uses a wheelchair after being partially paralyzed from a car accident as a teenager, vaulted to prominence by winning a primary runoff for the seat being vacated by Mark Meadows, Trump's chief of staff. Both Meadows and Trump had endorsed

Cawthorn's primary rival, but the former president soon became an ally.

"I love him because he's never controversial," Trump joked at a rally last month with Cawthorn. "There's no controversy. But you know what? He loves this country. He loves this state and I'll tell you, he is respected all over the place. He's got a big voice."

Some constituents believe he's more interested in inflaming the culture wars or striking a pose on Instagram than helping the district.

Dairy farmer Bradley Johnston, 59, an unaffiliated voter from Henderson County, said Cawthorn seemed like a "smart young man" who "we all thought would go to Washington and represent the values that we liked."

"He just, in my opinion, has not conducted himself in the ways that he's going to be able to be much of a representative down the road," Johnston said. Registered independents can vote in the GOP primary, and Johnston is supporting hotel operator Bruce O'Connell.

Early in-person voting ends Saturday. If the top vote-getter after Tuesday doesn't receive more than

30 percent of the votes cast, the two leading candidates will go to a July runoff. In the six-candidate Democratic primary, minister and LGBTQ activist Jasmine Beach-Ferrara has been the top fundraiser.

Even if Cawthorn wins the primary, he's not yet fully avoided a formal challenge of his candidacy by voters who say he should be disqualified over his involvement in the "Stop the Steal" rally that preceded the Jan. 6 Capitol insurrection.

Cawthorn got a federal judge to block the state board of elections from examining the challenge. That ruling is on appeal.

While the 11th District, which stretches 160 miles from east of Asheville to the north Georgia border, is a haven for retirees, it could be new voters who decide the race.

"Madison is a very flashy person and a character himself," said Brian Penland, 22, of Franklin, a Western Carolina University student who declined to give his preference in the race. "Whether people like him or not ... he is here and he has made his stamp in western North Carolina. And the rest of it is up to the voters."

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# Business & Finance

## Biden Plans To Release \$46 Billion For Nationwide Internet

By Josh Boak

Associated Press

WASHINGTON, D.C. (AP)—The Biden administration is taking the first steps to release \$45 billion to ensure that every U.S. resident has access to high-speed internet by roughly 2028, inviting governors and other leaders on Friday to start the application process.

Commerce Secretary Gina Raimondo is overseeing the distribution and said that universal access to broadband internet would be akin to the electrification of rural America during the 1930s, a recognition that the internet is a utility needed for U.S. residents to function in today's economy.

"There's more than 30 million Americans who don't have internet," Raimondo said. "And in this day and age without high-speed internet, you can't go to school, can't go to the doctor, can't do simple things. Think of how many times in a day you Google something or go online."

The funding is part of the \$65 billion for broadband in the \$1 trillion infrastructure package that President Joe Biden signed into law last November. That bipartisan package is one of the policy achievements that the Democratic president is trying to sell to voters ahead of the midterm elections, though it's unclear how much the message will resonate when much of the country is focused on high infla-

tion, cultural differences and political identity.

Former President Donald Trump has dismissed the infrastructure spending as "fake" even though the broadband spending was one of his own priorities. His Agriculture Department said in 2020 that it had invested \$744 million on rural internet connectivity, a sum that was meaningful yet insufficient.

Raimondo is traveling to Durham, N.C. She'll announce that governors can send their letters of intent to receive the broadband money, which comes from three programs totaling \$45 billion. Each state would then get \$5 million to help it consult with residents and write its plan.

The Commerce Department recognizes that internet needs vary by state. The money could be used to lay fiber optic cable, build out Wi-Fi hotspots or even reduce monthly charges in places where price is the main challenge.

After the administration's announcement Monday that it would provide a \$30 monthly subsidy to low-income households, Raimondo noted that states could use the additional money from these programs to make the service free to some users.

The allocations would also be influenced by the Federal Communications Commission this fall releasing new maps that detail where people lack internet service or are underserved.

Governors and other leaders would then have six months to use this data to shape their final applications. States and eligible areas are guaranteed a minimum of \$100 million, though the average payment would be closer to \$800 million, according to rough estimates from the Commerce Department.

The goal is to have states lay out a five-year timeline to provide full internet access, while ensuring affordable internet access and promoting competition among providers. The federal government has not defined what qualifies as affordable, since that could be different around the country based on cost of living.

The commerce secretary said she seen the impact that universal internet availability could have on people in her travels.

She said she spoke to a widower in rural South Carolina whose late wife could only see a doctor regularly through telehealth, but they lacked a high-speed connection. Raimondo talked to a college student in Atlanta with a full-time job who had to drive back to campus for the internet to do her homework, leaving the student so exhausted that she fell asleep at the wheel and got into two auto crashes.

"You close the digital divide and close the opportunity divide," Raimondo said, "and we actually fulfill the American promise of giving everybody a shot at a good job, an education and health care."



**GOING TO GET US ALL ON LINE**—The Biden administration is taking the first steps to release \$45 billion to ensure every U.S. resident has access to high-speed internet by roughly 2028.

## Bitcoin Tumbles, Losing 1/2 Value

By Matt Ott and Ken Sweet

AP Business Writers

NEW YORK, N.Y. (AP)—It's been a wild week in crypto, even by crypto standards.

Bitcoin tumbled, stablecoins were anything but stable and one of the crypto industry's highest-profile companies lost a third of its

market value.

Here's a look at some major developments in cryptocurrencies this week:

### BITCOIN

The price of bitcoin dropped to around \$25,420 this week, its lowest level since December 2020, according to *CoinDesk*. It steadied around \$30,000 Friday, but that's still less than half the price bitcoin fetched last November.

Some bitcoin proponents have said the digital currency could protect its holders against inflation and act as a hedge against a decline in the stock market. Lately, it's done neither. Inflation at the consumer level rose 8.3 percent in April compared to a year ago, a level last seen in the early '80s. With the Federal Reserve aggressively raising interest rates to try to tamp down inflation, investors are dumping risky assets, including stocks and crypto. The S&P 500 is down more than 15 percent this year. Bitcoin has dropped about 37 percent year to date.

Other cryptos have fared just as poorly. Ethereum has dropped 44 percent and dogecoin, a cryptocurrency favored by Tesla CEO Elon Musk, has lost about half its value.

### STABLECOIN COLLAPSE

Stablecoins have been viewed as a safe harbor among cryptocurrencies. That's because the value of many stablecoins is pegged to a government-backed currency, such as the U.S. dollar, or precious metals such as gold.

But this week one of the more widely used stablecoins, Terra, experienced the cryptocurrency equivalent of a run on the bank.

Terra is a stablecoin in a cryptocurrency ecosystem known as Terra Luna. Terra is an algorithmic stablecoin, which means its supply is adjusted through complicated buying and selling to keep its peg to \$1. Terra was also fueled by an incentive program that gave its holders high yields on their Terra.

Luna was the coin meant to be used in the ecosystem to buy and sell assets, and at its peak it was worth more than \$100.

Even though the developers of Terra said its algorithms would backstop the stablecoin, they decided to further backstop it with holdings of bitcoin.

Terra's problems started from a combination of withdrawals of hundreds of millions, perhaps billions, of dollars from Anchor, a platform that supported the stablecoin. Combined with worries overall about cryptocurrencies, and the drop in bitcoin's price, Terra started to lose its peg to the dollar. The bitcoin that Terra held was also worth less than they paid for it, and selling those bitcoin into the market caused bitcoin prices to fall even further.

Efforts by Terra's developers to shore up liquidity failed. On Friday, Terra had fallen to 12 cents and Luna was trading at a value of less than one ten thousandth of one cent.

### COINBASE

Coinbase lost about a third of its value last week, during which the cryptocurrency trading platform reported that active monthly users fell by 19 percent in the first quarter amid the decline in crypto values.

Investors had been running for the exits even before Coinbase reported a \$430 million quarterly loss. Shares closed Friday at \$67.87. On the day of its initial public offering just 13 months ago, shares reached \$429 each.

In a letter to shareholders, Coinbase said it believed that current market conditions were not permanent and it remained focused on the long-term while prioritizing product development. While most Wall Street analysts expect Coinbase to weather the storm, they're also warning that increased regulation of cryptocurrencies could hamper the company's growth.

## Stocks Recover But Remain Down For 6 Weeks

By Damian J. Troise and Alex Veiga

AP Business Writers

NEW YORK, N.Y. (AP)—Wall Street closed out another volatile week of trading with a broad rally Friday, though it wasn't nearly enough to keep the market from its sixth straight weekly drop, the longest such streak since 2011.

The S&P 500 climbed 2.4 percent. More than 90 percent of the companies in the benchmark index closed higher. The Nasdaq rose 3.8 percent as more gains in technology companies helped lift the tech-heavy index. The Dow Jones Industrial Average rose 1.5 percent.

The upbeat finish still left the indexes with weekly losses of more than 2.4 percent each, extending the string of weekly declines to six weeks for the S&P 500 and Nasdaq, while the Dow registered its seventh straight weekly drop.

Markets have been slumping since late March as traders worry that the Federal Reserve may not succeed in its delicate mission of slowing the economy enough to rein in the highest

inflation in four decades without causing a recession.

While there have been sudden rallies along the way, including a 2.5 percent gain for the S&P 500 in late April and a 3 percent gain in early May, the market has continued to lose ground since setting an all-time high at the start of the year.

That's not an unusual pattern on Wall Street when indexes are close to entering a bear market, or a decline of 20 percent or more from their most recent peak. The closest the S&P 500 has gotten to a bear market this year was Thursday, when it ended 18.1 percent below the peak it reached in January.

"If you look back at how bear markets unfold, they don't go down every day, all day, all at once until the finish, they have pretty good rallies," said Tom Martin, senior portfolio manager with Global Investments. "This might be one of those big rallies that takes you back up somewhat before the market turns back down again."

The S&P 500 rose 93.81 points to 4,023.89. The index is now down 15.6 percent for the year.

The Dow gained 466.36 points to 32,196.66, while the Nasdaq rose 434.04 points to 11,805.

Smaller company stocks also staged a solid rally. The Russell 2000 gained 53.28 points, or 3.1 percent, to 1,792.67.

Twitter fell 9.7 percent after Tesla CEO Elon Musk said he was putting his deal to acquire the social media company on hold. Tesla rose 5.7 percent.

Businesses have been struggling to keep up with increased demand for a wide range of products and goods amid supply chain and production problems. They've been raising prices on everything from food to clothing, which has been putting pressure on consumers and raising concerns about a pullback in spending and slower economic growth.

The Fed is attempting to temper the impact from rising inflation by pulling its benchmark short-term interest rate off its record low near zero, where it spent most of the pandemic. It also said it may continue to raise rates by double the usual amount at upcoming meetings. Investors are concerned that the central

bank could cause a recession if it raises rates too high or too quickly.

The Labor Department issued reports last week that confirmed persistently high consumer prices and wholesale prices that affect businesses.

"There's a lot of issues and rising inflation with a tightening Fed is not the greatest of market conditions, but at some point it's priced in," said Jay Hatfield, CEO of Infrastructure Capital Advisors.

Meanwhile, China's decision to lock down major cities amid worries about a COVID-19 resurgence have further strained supply chains and Russia's invasion of Ukraine raised already high energy and food costs globally.

Technology stocks led the gains Friday. Apple rose 3.2 percent and Microsoft rose 2.3 percent. The sector has been behind much of the broader market's volatility throughout the week and has been slipping overall as investors prepare for higher interest rates, which tend to weigh most heavily on the priciest stocks.

Retailers and communications companies also made solid gains. Amazon jumped 5.7 percent and Google's parent rose 2.8 percent.

Bond yields rose significantly. The yield on the 10-year Treasury rose to 2.93 percent from 2.82 percent late Thursday.



## India Bans Exports Of Wheat, Citing Impending Threat To Food Security

NEW DELHI (AP) — India has banned exports of wheat effective immediately, citing a risk to its food security, partly due to the war in Ukraine.

A notice in the government gazette by the Directorate of Foreign Trade, dated Friday, said a spike in global prices for wheat was threatening the food security of India and neighboring and vulnerable countries.

A key aim is to control rising domestic prices. Global wheat prices have risen by more than 40% since the beginning of the year.

Before the war, Ukraine and Russia accounted for a third

of global wheat and barley exports. Since Russia's Feb. 24 invasion, Ukraine's ports have been blocked and civilian infrastructure and grain silos have been destroyed.

At the same time, India's own wheat harvest has suffered from a record-shattering heat wave that is stunting production.

Even though it is the world's second-largest producer of wheat, India consumes most of the wheat it produces. It had set a goal of exporting 10 million tons of the grain in 2022-23, looking to capitalize on the global disruptions to wheat supplies from the war and find new markets for its

wheat in Europe, Africa and Asia.

Much of that would have gone to other developing countries such as Indonesia, the Philippines and Thailand.

Apart from problems with weather hurting harvests, India's own vast stocks of wheat — a buffer against famine — have been strained by distribution of free grain during the pandemic to some 800 million people.

To balance supply and demand, the government needs about 25 million tons (27.5 million U.S. tons) of wheat each year for an extensive food welfare program that usually feeds more than 80 million people.

## Famous Painting Sells For \$15.2M

"The Sugar Shack," the dancehall painting made famous for appearing in the credits of the 1970s sitcom "Good Times," sold at auction Thursday for a record-breaking \$15.2 million.

Ernie Barnes' 1976 acrylic-on-canvas piece showing jubilant Black dancers in a club was also featured in the Evans' family apartment during the TV comedy's fifth and sixth seasons and was used as the cover of Marvin Gaye's hit single "I Want You." Other works from the NFL star-turned-artist, who guest starred on the show, were occasionally used in the series and sometimes credited to J.J. Evans, the character famously played by Jimmie Walker.

The iconic painting sold in New York for 76 times its estimate of \$150,000 to \$200,000, according to international auction house Christie's. "The Sugar Shack" marked the first appearance of Barnes' work in an evening sale and had 22 bidders interested. It was sold promptly to energy trader and poker player Bill Perkins only 10 and a half minutes into bidding.

"My life has so far been a happy absurdity...." the Houston-based Perkins tweeted Friday when he was revealed to be the highest bidder.

The collector, who owns several works by Barnes and other prominent Black artists such as Charles White and John T. Big-

gers, flew to New York for the auction and seemed to be pleased with his new piece's affordability too, according to Artnet.

"I'm walking away with the treasure while everybody is fighting over a Warhol or a Monet," the producer told the site.

Indeed, the same evening auction that saw the sale of "The Sugar Shack" also made headlines for the 12-lot sale of the Collection of Anne H. Bass, which included Edgar Degas' famous 1800s ballerina sculpture "Petite Danseuse de Quatorze Ans" ("Little Dancer, Aged Fourteen"), which sold for \$41.6

million and broke the record for the artist for the first time in almost 15 years, Christie's said. Claude Monet's "Parlement," the top lot of the sale, sold for \$75.9 million that night.

In 2019, the California African American Museum dedicated a retrospective to the late American artist Barnes, who died in 2009. He painted "The Sugar Shack" from a childhood memory — sneaking into the Durham Armory, a North Carolina venue that hosted segregated dances and that still exists. Barnes once said it was the "first time my innocence met with the sins of dance."



# Opinion



## Black Politicians & The Black Press

By Karl Cameron

Guest Commentary

In our sojourn as African-Americans from segregation to integration, we have continued to be victimized as a race by White America. Here in 2022 it is incomprehensible that Black politicians would become part of that marching order.

Too often, in the Black Community, it has been said that the only time politicians come around is when they want our vote. Fast forward to present day, and we find that more and more Black politicians are influenced by their White handlers to not use the Black Press.

You would think these so-called educated Black politicians would know from history the impact of the Black Press. In the abolition of slavery, the success of the civil rights movement, and the creation of countless opportunities, as well as the voice of reason in times of police brutality, these are just a few of thousands of issues the Black Press has advanced locally, regionally, and nationally over its 195 year existence.

Now, in 2022, the North Carolina Black Press, organized as the North Carolina Black Publishers Association, finds itself in a circumstance where a major Black candidate's handlers have seen fit to not patronize the promotion of black candidates' candidacy in NC's Black Press, saying we'll use you after the primary.

Well, what's to say with the uncertain climate of NC politics, if a Black candidate's campaign with this kind of mindset would even survive the primary? And beyond that it begs the question of just how representative that candidate would be regarding issues impacting Blacks, if they allowed themselves to be steered away from Black America's first media outlet, the Black Press!

Today's political landscape calls for African-Americans to closely examine ALL candidates, but most assuredly any Black candidate that minimizes an institution of the magnitude of the Black Press.

Having a fresh viewpoint for change in the national political arena is one thing, but failing to see the viability of 11 African-American newspapers in one's home state shows a failure to "see the forest for the trees." You aspire to represent the state of North Carolina on Capitol Hill, but can you do that, and be that, when you apparently don't know the pain and hardship Blacks have endured in this state?

You, as a Black candidate, should know the battles the Black Press has fought for to achieve a better North Carolina for all people. Any Black candidate preferring to close their eyes to that would be susceptible to be led down almost any path not in the interest of African-Americans, and moreover, not in the best interest of ALL North Carolinians.



## Loose Lips Can Sink Peace

By Mel Gurtov

Portland State University

During World War II, U.S. sailors were warned: Loose lips sink ships. A similar warning should have gone out to all U.S. officials in recent days—and the President should have been the first to acknowledge that the warning included him. Because thanks to loose lips in Washington, the U.S. is contributing to Vladimir Putin's propaganda, and possibly still worse, to a direct confrontation with Moscow.

Biden initiated this round of loose lips by seeming to suggest regime change in Moscow—Putin "cannot remain in power," he proposed—was part of U.S. policy.

His secretary of defense, Lloyd Austin, said while in Kyiv that weakening Russia's ability to invade its neighbors was a U.S. objective.

Then came comments that implied direct U.S. responsibility for the intelligence that led to the sinking of the Russian Black Sea flagship Moskva and the battlefield deaths of several Russian generals.

All these comments were, of course, walked back, but loose lips had done the damage. For example, Vyacheslav Volodin, speaker of the Russian parliament and a Putin confidante, charged that U.S. intelligence sharing with Kyiv amounts to "taking part in hostilities in Ukraine."

"Washington is essentially coordinating and developing military operations, thereby directly participating in military actions against our country," Volodin wrote.

We have no way of knowing, of course, how Putin and his inner circle actually treat off-the-cuff remarks by U.S. officials—whether as ridiculous bragging or as deeply offensive—but at the least they are needlessly provocative and give the Russians talking points. At worst, they suggest that the U.S. is more directly involved in the war than it says it is or wants to be, providing Putin with a pretext for widening his war.

Thomas Friedman writes, "we could be creating an opening for Putin to respond in ways that could dangerously widen this conflict—and drag the U.S. in deeper than it wants to be."

Of course, Putin and top Russian officials are also guilty of loose lips. They have talked openly about Russia's nuclear weapon capabilities, they have turned an aggressive war into an anti-Nazi struggle, and they have suggested that Russian territorial ambitions go beyond Ukraine.

We have seen how some of these remarks, in particular about nuclear weapons, have caused alarm in and around Washington. So we should not be surprised if Putin feels provoked by stray American remarks, in the same way that Biden has been provoked by the scope of the Russian invasion to call Putin a war criminal.

The enormity of the U.S. military commitment to Ukraine's resis-

—tance—aid that will amount to about \$47 billion if Congress approves Biden's latest request—and Russia's huge deployment of troops and weapons in Ukraine—obscures the restraint that both sides are exercising to prevent a direct confrontation and a far wider war.

US/NATO forces have not created no-fly zones or safe corridors for refugees. They have not approved the transfer of fighter jets that Ukraine pilots could immediately operate against Russian forces. Washington quite possibly exercises a veto over any Ukrainian ambition to carry the war into Russian territory.

The Russians also seem to have a line they must avoid crossing. They have not, for instance, taken action against Poland, Moldova, and other conduits for military aid to Ukraine. Nor have the Russians used a weapon of mass destruction—nuclear, biological, or chemical. Though massive Russian cyber attacks on U.S. or European targets were anticipated by some analysts, none have been carried out.

Careless and reckless language can lead to unrestrained warfare. Once restraints are cast off, they are hard to restore. War, whether by miscalculation or design, is still war. Better for lips to be sealed, unless it's to talk about a cease-fire and peace.

Mel Gurtov is Professor Emeritus of Political Science at Portland State University and blogs at *In the Human Interest*.



## No More Earth Days!

By Kent D. Shifferd

Former Director, Wisconsin Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies

We don't need, indeed can't tolerate, any more Earth Days during which we salve our consciences and then go back to a world that is grossly and unsustainably over-populated, fantastically littered with thousand-year plastic, poisoned with tens of thousands of chemicals unknown to the evolution of life on the planet, polluted with climate disaster carbon, and disfigured by warfare and threatened with nuclear holocaust.

So how can we even have hope? How can we not despair? What's the use? We don't just need an Earth Week, or an Earth Year, or for the UN to declare a "decade of the Earth." It won't even be sufficient for us to think in terms of a generation.

If we are to be the ones who begin the process of saving ourselves by saving the Earth, we must face the hard fact that it will take many generations. After all, it took 300 years to change from a sustainable civilization to this disaster we now mistakenly call by that name.

Let's face it, we are losing and will lose many battles in this struggle, just as the British lost at the beginning of World War II. They could not see the road ahead, the road to victory, but they fought on anyway because defeat was not an alternative.

Nor is it for us. Gradually they began winning some battles at great cost while still losing some, and then winning more than they lost, and then after great sacrifice, the war was won. That scenario is what we can look forward to unless we just decide to give up and call in the giant asteroid like the one that extincted 99 percent of life when it hit 60 million years ago.

What do we do? Where do we start? We take to heart the instruction: "Don't just do something, stand there."

Why? Because before we act, we need to rethink ourselves. This great trashing of the Earth is the result of our holding the wrong ideas. We need a conceptual revolution.

More is not better, nor is faster. We are not Lords of the planet, not the most important species. (Actually, the insects are.) The good life is not defined by acquiring more goods or bigger houses.

We are not fit in the least to be the directors of the further evolution of the planet, as the Apostles of the Anthropocene think. We are foolish if we think the great corporations know best.

We should not have thought we were smart enough to tamper with the insides of the atom and the gene, we who sprayed the world with DDT, CFCs, PFAS, etc. We need to realize the utter folly of thinking we can have unlimited economic growth on a finite planet. Any third grader can see that, but not our economists and politicians.

We cannot make it on our own. We humans are not even possible without the bee and the dung beetle, the lowly earthworm, and the oxygen-generating, life-making plants.

So, we need to turn these old and dysfunctional ideas on their heads and find new ways of living, each of us starting with ourselves and each of us, banded together, fighting the ideas and the social organizations that are driving us along the road toward ruin. The fight will be long and costly, but the victory will be worth it and, in the end, all the children will be safe.

Dr. Kent Shifferd is the author of several books and former Executive Director of the Wisconsin Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies.



## Pay Attention Roe v. Wade & the Far Right's Extreme Plans

By Ben Jealous

President of People For the American Way

Things are about to get worse for millions of vulnerable people in our country.

It looks like the far right-wing majority on the U.S. Supreme Court is getting ready to reverse Roe v. Wade, the 50-year-old ruling that recognized a pregnant person's right to have an abortion. Abortion is legal today, but pretty soon that will no longer be the case in most of the country.

A leaked draft of a Supreme Court ruling expected to be released in June indicates that the Court will rule that there is no constitu-

tional protection for abortion. Bans will go into effect in many states immediately, and others will follow soon. That will leave millions of women and LGBTQ people—and their spouses and partners—less free and less in control of their own health, lives, and families.

Like many laws and policy decisions handed down from on high, the harm will fall hardest on those with the fewest resources and political power—people of color and low-income people. It is hard to take.

How did this happen?

In the long term, it happened because opponents of the right to choose spent decades building a movement to make it happen. They invested time and money to elect like-minded politicians. They pushed Republican presidents to fill federal courts with judges who were willing, if not eager, to restrict or ban legal access to abortion. They made it a top priority when deciding whether and how to vote.

In the short term, it happened because Donald Trump won the 2016 presidential election. To energize the Republican Party's ideological base, Trump promised them judges who would overturn Roe v. Wade. They took the deal Trump offered. They turned out to vote. And with help from Senate Republican leader Mitch McConnell, Trump gave them kind of judges they wanted.

And now that they have the power to impose their will, Americans' freedom will shrink and American families will suffer.

In fact, many are already suffering. Anti-choice activists have harassed and sometimes killed abortion providers. Judges have been letting state legislators pile on more and more restrictions on abortion care. As a result, in some states, the right to abortion care may exist in theory, but in reality, it is virtually nonexistent, because clinics and providers have disappeared.

There are hard times and hard decisions ahead.

There are also lessons to be learned and acted on.

One important lesson is that the Supreme Court has a big impact on our lives, even though most of us don't think about it in the day to day. We should all pay more attention.

We should pay attention when the far right tells us what they plan to do with their political power. They have been loud and clear about their intent to overturn Roe v. Wade. But many Americans refused to believe that the threat to Roe v. Wade was real. They just could not imagine a 21st Century America in which women and doctors are treated like criminals for seeking or providing abortion care.

We no longer need to imagine that kind of scenario. We're about to live it.

And that's why we also have to pay attention to the consequences of our voting behavior.

For the most part, the judges who are letting states eliminate access to abortion are the same judges letting states limit voters' access to the ballot box. They're the same judges who restrict the government's ability to regulate harmful corporate behavior. Many of them are the same judges who tried to deny millions of Americans access to health care provided by the Affordable Care Act.

The Supreme Court justices and other federal judges who are put in place by the president and U.S. Senate have jobs for life. That means we are stuck with Trump's judges for many years to come. And that means we all need to think long and hard about who we vote for—and about ever passing up the opportunity to vote.

*Ben Jealous serves as president of People For the American Way and Professor of the Practice at the University of Pennsylvania. A New York Times best-selling author, his next book Never Forget Our People Were Always Free will be published by Harper Collins in December 2022.*



## Abortion: Out Of The Political Trap

By Joel Schlosberg

William Lloyd Garrison Center

Whether or not Roe v. Wade is overturned, it will be headed the way of the Kansas-Nebraska Act.

The Supreme Court decision establishing a broad decriminalization of abortion throughout the United States has been unusually resilient for such a contentious subject. For nearly half a century, the verdict seemed as settled as any could be in American politics, with those favoring greater restrictions content to limit access de facto, rather than risk pushback against drastic changes to what is allowed de jure.

Yet the legal status of such a controversial topic remaining stable for such a period of time was the exception, not the rule. Beneath the long detente lay decades "of compromising, and dicker, and trying to keep what was as it was, and to hand sops to both sides when new conditions demanded that something be done, or be pretended to be done"—words written more than half a century before Roe, about the issue of slavery.

Essayist Voltairine de Cleyre noted that political compromise set the stage for clashes between opposing camps, regardless of what the laws were on paper. Abolitionists pressed not only against slave owners, but those who thought that slavery "was probably a mistake" but "were in no great ferment of anxiety to have it abolished."

It's particularly ironic that advocates of family planning have forgotten de Cleyre's reminder of how things can get done by individuals or groups in voluntary association "without going to external authorities to please do the thing for them."

Planned Parenthood founder Margaret Sanger got the idea from de Cleyre's anarchist comrade Emma Goldman. Yet as Goldman biographer Richard Drinnon observed, Sanger "guided the movement into respectably conservative channels by emphasizing the need for legislation which would give doctors, and doctors only, the right to impart contraceptive information."

Sanger had joined with de Cleyre and Goldman not only in promoting personal autonomy for women, but for children between birth and adulthood in Modern Schools. Yet Sanger ceded to the state the very power over reproductive health she had wrested from private patriarchs, viewing "the personal liberty of the individual" in that realm as "unrestricted and irresponsible." Her successors have insisted that organizations like Planned Parenthood can only function with government subsidies—while minimizing the fraction of funds going directly to abortion!

Once again, as de Cleyre put it, "the direct actionists on both sides" will "fight it out" in contested territory, which this time spans the entire country. The collapse of consensus will unleash plenty of acrimony, but "pro-choice" and "pro-life" partisans may as well drop the pretense that the government is either.

*New Yorker Joel Schlosberg is a senior news analyst at The William Lloyd Garrison Center for Libertarian Advocacy Journalism.*