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N.C.'s Twice-Weekly African-American Newspaper

RALEIGH, N.C.

SUNDAY, MAY 22, 2022

## Handling Of Buffalo Suspect Raises Eyebrows

By Deepthi Hajela and  
Claudia Lauer

Associated Press

NEW YORK, N.Y. (AP)—When police confronted the white man suspected of killing 10 Black people at a Buffalo supermarket, he was the very poster boy for armed and dangerous, carrying an AR-15-style rifle and cloaked in body armor and hatred.

Yet officers talked to Payton Gendron, convinced him to put down his weapon and arrested him without firing a single shot. Buffalo Police Commissioner Joseph Gramaglia that day cited their training and called it “a tremendous act of bravery.”

In a country where Black people have been killed in encounters with police over minor traffic infractions, or no infractions at all, though, it's raised the question: Where is that training, that determined following of protocol, when it comes to them?

“It's important to emphasize this is not about why aren't police killing White supremacist terrorists,” said Qasim Rashid, a human rights lawyer and satellite radio host who was among those on social media making posts about the subject. “It's why can't that same restraint and control be applied to a situation involving an unarmed Black person?”

He and others pointed to a litany of examples of White men taken calmly into police custody after shootings, including Dylann Roof, who killed nine Black people at a South Carolina church in 2015; Robert Aaron Long, who killed eight people at Georgia massage businesses last year; Patrick Crusius, who is accused of killing 23 people in a racist attack at an El Paso, Texas, Walmart in 2019; and Kyle Rittenhouse, whose attempt to surrender immediately after

(See **BUFFALO SUSPECT**, P. 2)



**UNEQUAL TREATMENT**—Mourners place flowers at a makeshift memorial for the 10 Black people killed in a supermarket in Buffalo, N.Y. The alleged perpetrator, along with his AR-15 rifle, were taken into custody by police without incident or injury. People are talking.

## Behavior Dooms Cawthorn

By Jill Colvin and  
Nicholas Riccardi

Associated Press

WASHINGTON, D.C. (AP)—Former President Donald Trump's influence was enough to elevate his Senate candidate to victory in North Carolina on Tuesday, while his pick in Pennsylvania remained in a tough fight in that state's Senate primary.

In a key congressional race, a Republican congressman's bad behavior finally caught up with him.

And in the Pennsylvania governor's race, a Trump-backed candidate who has spread lies about the 2020 vote count won the GOP nomination, putting an election denier within striking distance of running a presidential battleground state in 2024.

Takeaways from Tuesday's primaries in Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Kentucky, Idaho and Oregon:

The former president entered the primary season on a high after JD Vance, his endorsed candidate in Ohio's hypercompetitive GOP Senate contest, shot from third to first. Trump added to his tally Tuesday night in several states.

Trump had shocked party faithful in North Carolina when he endorsed U.S. Rep. Ted Budd, a little-known congressman, last June for the Senate seat being vacated by retiring Republican Richard Burr. But after a rocky

start, Budd easily captured his party's nomination, passing a crowded field of GOP rivals that included the state's former governor, Pat McCrory.

And in Pennsylvania's GOP race for governor, Trump's en-

week when Charles Herbster, his endorsed candidate in Nebraska's gubernatorial primary, finished second after being accused late in the campaign of groping young women. Trump is facing down another possible



dorsed candidate, the far-right Doug Mastriano, easily won the nomination—though he was already well ahead in the polls when Trump weighed in just days before the primary.

His nod was widely seen as an effort to hedge his bets and guarantee a victory in the state in case his endorsed candidate for Senate, celebrity heart surgeon Mehmet Oz, loses his race. Oz and former hedge fund CEO David McCormick were virtually tied late Tuesday, with more votes left to be counted.

Trump had suffered a loss last

defeat in next week's high-stakes governor's primary in Georgia, where his candidate is trailing in both polls and fundraising.

Trump has made election denial a key loyalty test in the Republican Party, and that may have kneecapped his party in Pennsylvania with the victory of Mastriano, a vocal election denier.

Mastriano backed baseless reviews of the election results in Pennsylvania, where Democrat Joe Biden won by nearly 100,000

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

## Black Club Pro Hopes To Thrive in PGA

By Doug Ferguson

AP Golf Writer

TULSA, Okla. (AP)—The numbers are not in his favor at Southern Hills, which is nothing Wyatt Worthington II hasn't faced before.

Worthington, who spends his working hours giving lessons at The Golf Depot in central Ohio, is among the 20 club professionals who qualified for the PGA Championship. In five of the last 10 years, no club pro made it to the weekend. Go back to 1994 to find the last club pro to finish in the top 30.

And then there's another set of odds.

Worthington is only the second Black club pro to play in PGA Championship.

When the 35-year-old Worthington first made it to the

PGA Championship at Baltusrol in 2016, he was the first Black club pro to play the major in 25 years. Tom Woodard, now in the Colorado Golf Hall of Fame, was the only other, in 1991 at Crooked Stick.

“Did that surprise me? Let me give you a double-sided answer,” Worthington said. “Yes, it did surprise me. But the more information I had, it didn't.”

The PGA of America counts 28,343 professionals, of whom 194 identify as African-American. From a field of 312 players in the PGA Professional Championship, Worthington was one of three Black club pros, “the most I've ever seen.” He tied for fourth to qualify for the PGA.

“For me to even be at the club pro championship, I'm not supposed to be there from a statistical standpoint,” he said.

And now he's playing against the strongest field of the four majors, which includes Tiger Woods, the player responsible for him falling in love with golf.

Southern Hills is a course Worthington only would have dreamed of playing when he was hitting golf balls in baseball outfields in Ohio as a teenager, simulating bunkers by scraping up the infield dirt and honing his game on ranges and public courses on the east side of Columbus.

Now it's a chance to show he can play, and hopefully to inspire.

“I'm looking forward to playing really good golf, being in the environment, making change and touching spectators,” Worthington said. “It's having the impact on people.”

The PGA of America didn't

even allow Black professionals until 1961 when its Caucasian-only clause finally was rescinded. It has doubled down efforts to change the look of golf, not just at the elite level but in pro shops and other industries the game touches.

Seth Waugh, the association's CEO, said golf is an \$85 billion industry with 2 million jobs. The mission is to attract people of all backgrounds and to show there's room in the industry inside and outside the ropes. And it's a long road ahead.

“We had Caucasians only until 1961, and that's unimaginable,” Waugh said. “But on the other hand, it's been 60 years and we haven't moved the needle enough. This is a very long journey and we're very serious about it. We're not trying to check a box. We're all in.”

The association is coming off the 36th edition of the PGA Works Collegiate Championship—formerly the National Minority College Championship—along with spinoff programs aligned with historically black colleges or universities and designed to provide pathways to careers in golf.

The PGA Tour has invested \$100 million toward racial equity and inclusion, including \$10,000 grants to each of the 50-plus HBCU's men's and women's golf programs for travel and recruiting. The tour and PGA of America are making available top golf courses for the Advocates Professional Golf Association tour, which this year had the final round of a 36-hole event at Torrey Pines televised on Golf Channel.

Worthington tied for fourth in

(See **BLACK CLUB PRO**, P. 2)

## Incumbents Lose In Primary

By Gary D. Robertson

Associated Press

Several state legislators won't be returning to the North Carolina General Assembly next January after primary losses, while former lawmakers had mixed results in trying to get back to the House or Senate.

Seven incumbents—four Republicans and two Democrats—lost in Tuesday's primaries for seats in their current chamber. Four of those sitting Republicans ran against fellow GOP incumbents who lived in the same district due to redistricting changes.

Two Senate Democrats—Sens. Kirk deViere and Ernestine Baze-more—and Republican Rep. Pat Hurley—also lost primaries for their seats.

In addition, two current House members—Democrat Raymond Smith and Republican Lee Zachary—failed to win Senate primaries. Each attempted to make the jump to the Senate after facing similar “double-bunkings” with House colleagues in their

districts because of remapped boundaries.

Among the four primaries featuring two Republican incumbents, Sen. Ralph Hise of Mitchell County narrowly defeated Sen. Deanna Ballard of Watauga

County in the 47th District. Each hold significant leadership jobs in the Republican majority—Hise is a Senate Finance Committee co-chairman, while Ballard

(See **INCUMBENTS LOSE**, P. 2)



### NC JOBLESS RATE FALLS TO 3.4 PERCENT, DROPPING TOWARD 1990S LEVELS

(AP)—North Carolina's unemployment rate for April fell further below pre-pandemic levels, the state Commerce Department announced Friday, as the number of newly hired workers continued to increase.

The seasonally adjusted rate of 3.4 percent represents a 0.1 percentage point decrease from March.

Barring future alterations—rate revisions are done annually—April's seasonally adjusted rate is the lowest jobless rate since a 3.3 percent rate in June 1999, according to department historical data. The rate was 3.4 percent for several months after.

The monthly rate had fallen below 4 percent in the months just before COVID-19 commerce and movement restrictions in spring 2020 contributed to double-digit jobless rates.

A General Assembly staff economist wrote last week that state employment had returned to pre-pandemic levels last summer and had exceeded them.

The department reported 30,260 more people were employed in April compared to March, or 4.88 million overall. Total employment has increased by 204,000 over the past year. The number of unemployed people fell in April by over 3,900 to 173,350. In April 2021, the number of unemployed was 252,500.

Using another counting format based on monthly worksite surveys, seasonally adjusted total nonfarm employment rose by 11,300 in April to almost 4.73 million.

### NORTH CAROLINA BUS SCHOOL MANUFACTURER TO ADD 280 JOBS

HIGH POINT (AP)—A North Carolina school bus manufacturer says it is adding 280 jobs at one of its plants to answer demand for one of its models.

Thomas Built Buses said it will start an additional shift at its Saf-T-Liner C2 plant in High Point. President and CEO Kevin Bangston said there has been “robust demand” for the company's Type C products, and he added the move will help with the ramp up of its electric school bus production.

The company is looking to fill multiple manufacturing positions, including assembly technicians, materials technicians and machine operators.

All new, additional shift employees will work exclusively on both the Saf-T-Liner C2 school bus and Saf-T-Liner C2 Jouley electric school bus, according to a news release from the company.

Thomas Built Buses is a subsidiary of Daimler Truck North America LLC.

### NORTH CAROLINA POLICE OFFICER SAVES AUTISTIC CHILD IN CREEK

SYLVA (AP)—A North Carolina police officer is being hailed for saving a 4-year-old autistic boy who authorities say was “up to his shoulders” in a fast-moving creek.

The Sylva Police Department says on its Facebook page that the parents of the child called this week to say their son had wandered away from home. Police officers, the Jackson County Sheriff's Office and private citizens joined in a search for the lost child, police said.

Thursday's Facebook post didn't say exactly when the boy disappeared from their home, and police didn't immediately return a phone call seeking additional comment on Friday.

Among those involved in the search was Officer Jacob Waldroup, the department's 2021 officer of the year, police said. Waldroup was off-duty and leaving court when he heard about the missing child, police said.

During the search, a citizen heard crying in an area near a creek and about a mile from the boy's home. Waldroup went to the area and found the boy in the moving water. Police said he jumped into the creek and brought the boy to safety.

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



WYATT WORTHINGTON II

## STATE BRIEFS

Continued from page 1

Police say the boy wasn't hurt, but was taken to a local hospital to be examined.

## MAN FOUND GUILTY IN BUSINESS EMAIL COMPROMISE SCHEME

CHARLOTTE (AP)—A federal jury in North Carolina has convicted a Florida man in connection with a business email compromise scheme that defrauded law firms and other companies of more than \$1 million, a federal prosecutor said.

Pierre Yvelt Almonor, 49, of Miami Gardens, Fla., was convicted of multiple charges, said U.S. Attorney Dena J. King.

According to trial evidence, witness testimony and documents filed with the court, from August 2014 through November 2017, Almonor arranged to have nearly \$395,000 in real estate closing proceeds stolen through a business email compromise scheme deposited in a business account over which he exercised control, utilizing it as a "money mule" bank account.

Money mule bank accounts are accounts used by fraudsters as a means of moving fraudulently obtained funds, the news release said. Almonor then facilitated wires to Spain and South Africa totaling more than \$200,000 and withdrew more than \$50,000 in proceeds as compensation for his part in the conspiracy.

Almonor faces a maximum sentence of 20 years and a fine of \$500,000, or twice the value of the proceeds, the news release said.

## AMERICAN AIRLINES FLIGHT VEERS OFF RUNWAY IN NORTH CAROLINA

CHARLOTTE (AP)—An American Airlines flight halted its takeoff from a North Carolina airport and ran off the runway on Thursday because of an apparent mechanical problem, an airline spokesperson said. No one was hurt.

The spokesperson said American Flight 775, with a crew of six and 172 passengers on board, was departing from Charlotte Douglas International Airport and headed for Miami International Airport when the pilot stopped the takeoff at around 2:40 p.m. The Boeing 737-800 ran off the runway, and aerial photos from news outlets showed ruts left in the grass by the airplane's tires.

The aircraft taxied to the gate, and customers were transferred to another aircraft scheduled to depart to Miami, according to the airline.

The original aircraft was removed from service for evaluation by a maintenance team, the airline said.

## MAN SENTENCED TO 8 YEARS FOR TRAFFICKING CARFENTANIL

CHARLOTTE (AP)—A man convicted last year of trafficking a drug used to tranquilize animals has been sentenced to eight years in prison, a federal prosecutor said.

Miguel Angel Gonzalez-Perez, 54, also was sentenced on Wednesday to three years of supervised release for possession with intent to distribute carfentanil and aiding and abetting, said U.S. Attorney Dena J. King in a news release. He pleaded guilty in November.

According to the Drug Enforcement Administration, carfentanil is a synthetic opioid generally used as a tranquilizing agent for elephants and other large mammals. It's approximately 10,000 times more potent than morphine and 100 times more potent than fentanyl, the news release said.

Officials said the presence of carfentanil in illegal U.S. drug markets causes concern because its strength can lead to increased overdoses and overdose-related deaths, and threatens those who may come in contact with it through accidental exposure.

Court documents and courtroom statements show that on May 1, 2020, law enforcement in Gaston County stopped a car Gonzalez-Perez was driving and found more than two kilograms of carfentanil hidden in a shoebox. Court records show that Gonzalez-Perez had gone to Atlanta to get the carfentanil and was heading to western North Carolina when he was stopped.

## EX-FORT BRAGG WORKER GETS 3 YEARS FOR TAKING BRIBES

WILMINGTON (AP)—A North Carolina man who worked at Fort Bragg was sentenced Wednesday to more than three years in prison for bribery and money laundering related to government contracts, according to a federal prosecutor.

U.S. Attorney Michael Easley said in a news release that Calvin Alfonza Jordan, who pleaded guilty to receiving bribes, was a procurement agent assigned to the Operations and Maintenance Division, Directorate of Public Works at Fort Bragg. The directorate is responsible for design, construction, maintenance and operation of utility systems on post, along with providing centralized management of Army family housing.

Court documents showed that from 2011 into 2019, Jordan used his position as a procurement agent to receive bribes of approximately \$200 per order from various vendors contracting with the directorate in return for increasing the number of federal contracts given the vendor.

Prosecutors estimate Jordan received \$773,600 in illegal bribes. Two other men have been indicted in the case.

## POLICE CHARGE NORTH CAROLINA SCHOOL BUS DRIVER WITH DWI

(AP)—A North Carolina school bus driver is charged with driving while impaired after an accident in which a construction worker was hit, authorities said.

News outlets report Raleigh police responded around 10:40 a.m. on Friday to a report of an accident west of downtown. There were no children on the bus, but police said the bus hit a construction worker, who suffered injuries to his legs.

After a follow-up investigation, officers charged the bus driver with operating a school bus after consuming alcohol and impaired driving in a commercial vehicle. The driver has been removed from driving duties for the Wake County Public School System and is suspended pending an investigation by the system, according to a statement.

## Handling Of Buffalo Suspect—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

shooting three White people at a Wisconsin protest was rebuffed. Meanwhile, George Floyd, Atiana Jefferson, Tamir Rice and a host of other Black people have died at police hands when the initial circumstances were far less volatile.

"There's just a stark contrast between how a Kyle Rittenhouse or a Payton Gendron gets treated by the system in these incidents versus how a Black man gets treated in general," said Insha Rahman, vice president of advocacy and partnerships at the Vera Institute—a national non-profit research and advocacy group focused on criminal justice.

Rahman said there are a lot of similarities in the public perception of the two cases. Rittenhouse walked toward police with an AR-15-style rifle slung over his shoulder, his hands raised. He testified at trial that police told him to "go home," and he turned himself in the next day. He was acquitted of all charges after arguing self-defense.

"A few folks said at the time, if Kyle Rittenhouse was a young Black man, he wouldn't have made it out of Kenosha that night. He might not have ever

made it to a trial," she said.

Rahman also cautioned against viewing high-profile incidents in a vacuum. She said people need to consider everyday interactions with the police, which along with arrests happen at a disproportionate and often more dangerous level for Black people.

The difference has been noted in Buffalo, said Jillian Hanesworth, 29, the city's poet laureate and director of leadership development at Open Buffalo, a non-profit focused on social justice and community development.

"We see how Black and brown people get treated by the police," she said, that police don't hesitate to "take deadly action against Black and brown people."

Martin Sabelli, president of the National Association of Criminal Defense Lawyers, said historically there has been a racial divide in the U.S. that affects every aspect of the criminal legal process.

"The perception of racism is perpetuated because it's rooted in a reality," Sabelli said, noting the impact of implicit bias on policing has been studied extensively. "We are unfortunately in the process of trying to re-

verse decades or even longer of explicit racism in many police departments around the country and that is often aggravated by implicit bias that exists at a subconscious level. And unfortunately it taints these encounters by subconsciously making officers believe a person of color is more dangerous than a white person."

Frank Straub, director of the National Policing Institute Center for Targeted Violence Prevention, said he hoped there's a rethinking of how police respond to situations, in the wake of what the public has seen of disparate treatment in recent years.

"Maybe the fact that these videos are out there... hopefully that now is impacting how officers are being trained to respond to arrest situations," he said.

Chuck Wexler, executive director of Police Executive Research Forum, an organization dedicated to improving the professionalism of policing, said Buffalo's Gramaglia asked his group for help with de-escalation training last year as a deputy commissioner.

The specific training is known as ICAT, for integrating communication assessment and tactics.

Wexler's group trained Buffalo's police trainers on the tactics in February 2021, he said, adding that the department had not completed that training with all of its officers yet.

"That gives you a sense of how the department was thinking," Wexler said. "It's communication, slowing things down, using time and distance and cover, rather than rushing into a situation."

"I think you have to look at the facts and training and tactics and realize every situation is different," Wexler said. He noted that a security guard, who was a former police officer, shot at the gunman as he stalked the aisles inside Tops Friendly Market. The guard was killed.

"But the situation changed," he said. "I don't know all the facts, but when the suspect came out, officers might have a different perception of whether he was an immediate threat."

Lauer reported from Philadelphia. Associated Press video-journalist Noreen Nasir contributed from Buffalo.

Hajela is a member of the AP's team covering race and ethnicity, and is on Twitter at twitter.com/dhajela.

## Behavior Dooms Cawthorn—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

votes. He organized buses to ferry Trump supporters to Washington for the "Stop the Steal" rally that preceded the Jan. 6 U.S. Capitol insurrection. And he says that if he's elected, he'll ferret out fraud partly by making every single voter in the state reregister.

Mastriano was the front-runner even before Trump's endorsement late last week helped cement his victory. All the major statewide Republican hopefuls in one way or another cast doubt on the election results, but Mastriano was by far the loudest and that's what won him Trump's nod.

With Trump prioritizing fealty to his election lies over all else, many Pennsylvania Republicans fear the former president has undermined their chances in the crucial state. That led them to try to coalesce around a last-minute alternative to Mastriano, but the effort failed.

Mastriano will face Democrat Josh Shapiro, the state's attorney

general, in the November general election. Shapiro, who was uncontested, has appeared eager to take on Mastriano, running a television ad calling Mastriano "one of Donald Trump's biggest supporters," a move that seemed designed to boost the state senator with GOP voters.

Mastriano has said he wouldn't have certified Biden's victory in Pennsylvania if he'd been governor then. That raises questions about the 2024 presidential election and whether Mastriano, if elected, would follow the will of the voters if a candidate he opposes were to win the state.

In conservative Idaho, Phil McGrane, an establishment-backed Republican, just narrowly defeated an election denialist in their primary for secretary of state. The three-person race included two candidates who endorse Trump's election lies—combined, they won over 55 percent of the vote. That shows the

hold that Trump's election lies have on his party.

Even in Trump's Republican Party, there are limits.

Rep. Madison Cawthorn, the youngest member of Congress, was ousted from office on Tuesday by state Sen. Chuck Edwards after a rocky first term filled with salacious headlines and scandals. The young congressman, who uses a wheelchair after a car accident, became a media sensation when he first won a House seat at age 25, but he may have gotten singed under the spotlight.

Cawthorn last month was cited for carrying a handgun through an airport security checkpoint—his second such citation. In March, he was cited for driving with a revoked license after being stopped for speeding twice. He angered local Republicans by choosing to run in a different district after new congressional maps were drawn this year, then coming back to his original

district when litigation shifted the lines again. And, most notoriously, Cawthorn insinuated that Washington Republicans had invited him to at least one cocaine-fueled orgy.

Trump sought to give Cawthorn a boost on Monday, urging voters to keep him in office. "Recently, he made some foolish mistakes, which I don't believe he'll make again," Trump said in a statement. "Let's give Madison a second chance!"

But voters decided not to. Edwards, who was endorsed by Republican Sen. Thom Tillis, inched past Cawthorn in the primary. Still, the big picture wasn't that close—with eight candidates in the contest, Cawthorn won just 3 in 10 voters in the district. That's a warning for other Republicans who may feel that Trump's ability to hold his base's loyalty through repeated scandals makes them bullet-proof, too.

Riccardi reported from Denver.

## Incumbents Lose In Primary—CONTINUED FROM

lard co-chairs a pair of education committees.

In the northeast, Sen. Norm Sanderson of Pamlico County defeated Sen. Bill Steinburg of Chowan County. They were running for same 1st District seat.

In the House, veteran Rep. Jamie Boles of Moore County lost to first-term Rep. Ben Moss of Richmond County in the Sandhills-area 26th District. And Rep. Jake Johnson of Polk County handily defeated Rep. David Rogers of Rutherford County for the 113th District seat.

DeViere lost to Fayetteville City Council member Val Applewhite in a three-way race for the 19th Senate District. Applewhite benefitted from an endorsement

by Democratic Gov. Roy Cooper. The governor and other Democrats had been unhappy with DeViere for siding at times with Senate Republicans on key legislation, including the 2021 state budget.

Bazemore, a first-term senator from Bertie County, lost to Valerie Jordan of Warren County in a 3rd Senate District primary. The winner will take on Dare County Republican Bobby Hanig, a current House member, in November.

And Hurley, an eight-term House member, lost to Randolph County school board member Brian Biggs in the 70th District Republican primary.

Sitting legislators who won

contested primaries for seats in the opposite chamber included three Democrats: Reps. Graig Meyer of Orange County and Kandie Smith of Pitt County and Sen. Sarah Crawford of Wake County. Meyer and Smith won Senate primaries, while Crawford won a House primary.

But Zachary, from Yadkin County, finished third in a four-candidate race for a northwestern Senate seat. And Raymond Smith, a House member from Wayne County, lost to sitting Sen. Toby Fitch of Wilson County in a Democratic primary for Fitch's Senate seat.

Former state legislators who advanced in legislative primaries for their old chamber include

ex-Sen. Buck Newton, a Wilson County Republican; former GOP Rep. Stephen Ross of Alamance County; and former Democratic Reps. Elmer Floyd of Cumberland County and Tricia Cotham of Mecklenburg County. Newton will take on Fitch in November. And former Sen. Wesley Meredith of Cumberland County, who won a Republican primary on Tuesday, takes on Applewhite in November.

Ex-lawmakers who lost Tuesday primaries include former Sens. Eddie Gallimore and Tony Moore and Rep. Scott Stone, all of whom are Republicans. Shirley Randleman, a former House and Senate member, failed to win a Senate primary that also featured Zachary.

## Black Club Pro—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

the Billy Horschel PGA Tour Invitational at TPC Sawgrass two weeks ago. Horschel was so inspired by the PGA that he created the largest purse (\$125,000) on the schedule.

And on Monday, he was practicing on the front nine with Worthington ahead of a major championship.

"I think he has a good chance of playing well. He's an impressive kid, an impressive story," Horschel said. "He just needs a break or two with financial support. Corporate sponsors should be looking for people like that."

Worthington still recalls his biggest moment in golf, almost down to the minute. It was July 29, 2001, during a clinic in Columbus hosted by The First Tee and the Tiger Woods Foundation. Woods gave individual instruction to each kid.

"We all had blue hats, a white shirt, black shorts," Worthington said. "When Tiger was coming around, he had that aura. Everyone got silent. You just felt his presence and energy. He spent probably 10 to 20 minutes with me and it felt like over an hour."

Worthington went home that day and told his father he wanted to play on the PGA Tour.

"I said, 'What's your backup plan?'" his father recalled as he stood outside the Southern Hills clubhouse. "He just wanted to be in golf."

Worthington went to Methodist University in North Carolina for the Professional Golf Management program. He has worked at

Muirfield Village as an assistant pro and now teaches at The Golf Depot, which has a range, an academy and a Par 3 course.

His hope is for kids to love golf as much as he does. His passion remains rooted in playing. What he lacks is funding, and Worthington feels this is the biggest obstacle in getting more diversity in golf.

"It's moving in the right direction," he said. "Do we have a long way to go? Of course. And Seth has done an outstanding job. But there's an issue. To have exposure at a young age? Most checked that box through Tiger, so that's not it. We need access, we need opportunity and we need funding."

Golf is expensive at its core with equipment. Throw in the travel and fees, and it adds up.

"I'm a First Tee kid from Columbus who went to a PGM program. I'm checking off a lot of boxes. I've played by rules and done everything in my power, and I'm struggling," Worthington said. "This is not about, 'What more do I have to do?' It's just to show how hard it is."

Woods doesn't recall the lessons he gave Worthington two decades ago. He has touched a lot of lives in golf. They remember. But he can appreciate the plight. When he was inducted into the World Golf Hall of Fame, Woods told of his parents taking out a second mortgage for him to compete in junior golf tournaments.

Yes, access is improved and

golf organizations are doing their part.

"But how do you sustain that?" Woods said. "That's the hard part. How do you keep them in there for years at a time? And then you look at the pyramid effect. The more you go up, the harder the competition and the more kids are going to be dropped."

Worthington keeps plugging along. He's teaching. He caddies

on the side. Whatever money he can save goes to tournaments and travel. It led him to another chance in the PGA Championship, which he sees as an opportunity and a platform—for him and the PGA.

"To have Wyatt here and let kids see somebody who looks like them and have an opportunity to do what he's doing, for him it's huge," Waugh said. "For us, it's massive."

## Groups Urge Supremes

North Carolina advocacy groups and voters who this year persuaded state courts to overturn the legislature's congressional redistricting plan asked the U.S. Supreme Court on Friday to avoid hearing arguments on whether such courts must be curtailed in reviewing U.S. House maps.

Attorneys representing the state also joined with outside lawyers to file four legal briefs with the justices urging them to reject a petition from Republican legislative leaders to take up the issue.

Through their own private lawyers, the GOP lawmakers already asked the court to formally rule on whether a provision in the U.S. Constitution delegating to state legislatures the manner of holding U.S. House elections means that state judges can't void congressional district lines created by the General Assembly.

The authors of Friday's filings

say the Supreme Court already has ruled before that some decision-making on congressional redistricting can be delegated by a state's citizens. The same holds true when the North Carolina legislature passed laws two decades ago setting in place the authority of courts to review redistricting plans that they approved, the lawyers wrote.

State legislative leaders petitioned the justices in March, a week after the U.S. Supreme Court refused to prevent a congressional map adopted by a panel of three trial judges and upheld by the state Supreme Court from being used in this year's elections.

But four of the U.S. Supreme Court justices signaled they were open to revisiting the scope of state courts' ability to alter congressional maps in the future. It's unclear when the court will decide whether to take up the case and hold oral arguments.

## The Carolinian

(ISSN 00455873)

1504 New Bern Avenue, Raleigh, North Carolina 27610

Mailing Address: P.O. Box 25308

Raleigh, North Carolina 27611

Periodical Postage Paid at Raleigh North Carolina 27611

Warrenton Address: P.O. Box 536

Warrenton, NC 27589

Postmaster

Send all address changes to:

The Carolinian

1504 New Bern Avenue

Raleigh, NC 27610

PUBLISHED SIX TIMES MONTHLY

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

One Year .....\$45.00

Payable in advance. Address all communications and make all checks and money orders payable to The Carolinian.

Founded by P.R. Jervay, Sr. in 1940

The Carolinian Newspaper, Inc. of Raleigh

Publisher ..... Adria Jervay

Production Manager ..... Howard Barnett

Sales Consultant ..... Paul R. Jervay, Jr.

Circulation Manager ..... Andrew Alston

Jervay Agency, National Advertising Representative

www.TheJervayAgency.com

Member:

North Carolina Black Publishers Association

National Newspaper Publishers Association

HUB Certified MWBE

The Publisher is not responsible for the return of unsolicited news, pictures or advertising copy unless necessary postage accompanies the copy.

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# Business & Finance

## Broadcast TV's Reduced Role Made Clear In Fall Lineups

By David Bauder and Lynn Elber

Associated Press Writers

They never even made it onto the stage.

There were constant reminders of the diminished influence of broadcast television networks this past week, when entertainment companies Paramount, Disney, Warner Bros. Discovery, NBC Universal and Fox hawked their upcoming wares to advertisers in flashy New York presentations.

None was more glaring than the fact that Craig Erwich and Kelly Kahl, chiefs of the ABC and CBS entertainment divisions, watched from the sidelines. Erwich was replaced by a boss with broader responsibilities, and NBC doesn't even have an entertainment president; instead, there's an executive who oversees several networks and streaming.

Broadcasters once owned the week, revealing their fall schedules to much fanfare. They're now almost afterthoughts in bloated presentations where the action is now in streaming, and in the coming shakeout over how advertising will invade that format.

Yet with their plans, ABC, CBS and NBC—Fox didn't even bother to release a fall schedule—show they clearly know their new place in the entertainment world.

"How do you not recognize reality?" said Garth Ancier, former entertainment president at NBC and Fox. "All of the networks are basically recognizing reality with their schedules. They're not saying, 'we're going to build the audience back.'"

Twenty years ago, the networks were coming off a season

where three scripted programs—"Friends," "CSI: Crime Scene Investigation" and "ER"—all averaged more than 22 million viewers per episode. This season, "NCIS" and "FBI" are, barely, the only such shows to exceed 10 million, the Nielsen company said.

In April, a broadcast television network was being watched less than 25 percent of the time that an American household had a TV on, Nielsen said. The rest of the time was spent on cable networks, streaming, gaming, DVR use or videos.

With premium cable in its salad days and streaming still a dream, the network programmers in 2002 spent freely and took chances. ABC, CBS and NBC introduced 19 new scripted programs, eight of them comedies, on their fall schedules that year.

This year, they plan just seven new scripted shows for the fall. NBC's star vehicle for George Lopez and his daughter, "Lopez vs. Lopez," is the only comedy.

"We have officially turned the page now. Everyone sees that we are not going back to the network era," said Aaron Barnhart, a veteran critic and author of the book *Primitiver Guide to Streaming TV*. "In some ways, it's just the culmination of a culture shift that happened when everybody first start hooking up to cable TV."

Even Ancier, a creature of network TV who also worked for the Walt Disney Studios and the WB, is now advising developers of an app to help people keep track of their favorite shows on streaming services.

Network TV is primarily becoming the home of franchises and reboots, unscripted and live events and sports.

NBC has its three Dick Wolf-produced "Chicago" dramas filling its Wednesday nights and CBS does the same for its "FBI" shows on Tuesday, also produced by Wolf. NBC's trio of "Law & Order" shows (yes, Wolf again) will fill Thursday nights, CBS has its "NCIS" franchise, Fox has two "911" shows and ABC is trying to create its own franchise with a spinoff of "The Rookie" in the fall.

"They have built-in audience bases, and require much less time and money to promote, and tend to get strong viewer sampling," said veteran TV analyst Steve Sternberg.

Even CBS' funnyman Stephen Colbert couldn't resist poking fun at his network's formula at the Paramount program, saying it specializes in "sexy people solving the murders of sexy corpses."

NBC succumbed to the tried-and-true idea of resurrecting old shows with the drama "Quantum Leap" and, in midseason, the comedy "Night Court."

"That isn't a fall schedule," said ABC's Jimmy Kimmel, whose mocking monologues are a ritual at the yearly schedule presentations. "Those are the tapes you find in your dead uncle's VCR."

At ABC, "we've really leaned into live events" like "American Idol," Erwich said in an interview. The network is also introducing a celebrity version of "Jeopardy!," recognizing the syndicated game show routinely draws more viewers than any prime-time show. For the first time this fall, CBS is scheduling an all-unscheduled evening of programs.

Both ABC and NBC will have more unscripted than scripted hours on its prime-time schedule



**NOT HOW THINGS USED TO BE**—At the annual fall lineup reveal, there was little information on traditional broadcast networks was available. FOX didn't even announce a fall lineup.

this fall. In total, 34 of 66 prime-time hours on the three top networks will be scripted. That compares to 42 and a half 20 years ago, not including nine hours of scheduled movies.

The broadcasters are looking to save money; CBS' cancellation of two comedies from go-to producer Chuck Lorre this spring is another illustration of belt-tightening, Barnhart said.

CBS' Kahl noted that 17 of the top 30 shows on its corporate sib-

ling, the Paramount+ streaming service, are CBS shows.

"When it works right, it's kind of a virtuous circle," he said. "We can get younger people exposed to our shows who might not watch it on the network, who might see it on Paramount+ and then come back to us."

The viewership numbers, the lack of attention and sapping of creativity may not bode well for the broadcast networks. But

they're in better shape, and have a clearer pathway to the future, than many cable networks, Barnhart said.

"Before, they served the mass audience," he said. "The 25 percent who still watch broadcast TV, it's hard for us to think of the network audience as a niche, but it sort of is."

Media Writer David Bauder reported from New York, AP Television Writer Lynn Elber reported from Los Angeles.

## New Pipe Company Coming To Nash Co.

COSMOIND Co., Ltd., a polyethylene infrastructure piping manufacturer, will create 168 new jobs in Nash County, Governor Roy Cooper announced today. The company will invest more than \$12.8 million to build its first North American manufacturing campus for industrial, natural gas, and drinking water pipes in Middlesex.

"It is positive news that North Carolina continues to be the top choice for international companies that want to expand in the United States," said Governor Cooper. "Companies like COSMOIND could go anywhere in the world, but they choose our state for its convenient location, transportation infrastructure, and skilled workforce."

COSMOIND Co., Ltd. has designed, produced, and distributed infrastructure piping around the globe for more than 30 years. The Korea-based company is a comprehensive manufacturer of high-quality piping products to include PE pipe, fittings, ball valves and installation tools. COSMOIND's new location in North Carolina will be a 128,000 square-foot facility for manufacturing, warehousing, and office space in the Middlesex Corporate Centre.

"North Carolina will continue to grow its foreign direct

investment if we can deliver well-trained talent," said N.C. Commerce Secretary Machelle Baker Sanders. "Our stable manufacturing economy combined with a keen focus on creative education and training programs, are critical for the future success of global manufacturers such as COSMOIND."

The North Carolina Department of Commerce led the state's efforts to support COSMOIND's location to North Carolina. Although salaries for the new positions will vary, the average annual salary for the new positions is \$44,425, which is more than the Nash County average wage of \$44,377. The project could create a potential annual payroll impact of more than \$7.4 million per year for the region.

COSMOIND's project will be facilitated, in part, by a Job Development Investment Grant (JDIG) approved by the state's Economic Investment Committee earlier today. Over the course of the 12-year term of this grant, the project is estimated to grow the state's economy by \$402 million. Using a formula that takes into account the new tax revenues generated by the new jobs, the JDIG agreement authorizes the potential reimbursement to the company of up to \$1,080,000 spread over 12 years. State payments only occur following

performance verification by the departments of Commerce and Revenue that the company has met its incremental job creation and investment targets. JDIG projects result in positive net tax revenue to the state treasury, even after taking into consideration the grant's reimbursement payments to a given company.

"This is an outstanding win for our corporate community," said N.C. Senator Lisa Barnes. "We welcome COSMOIND and these 168 new jobs to our region where a great quality of life, affordability, and quality workforce await them."

"We are excited to welcome COSMOIND and its investment to Nash County," said N.C. Representative Matthew Winslow. "I commend all the local, regional, and state partners for their diligent work to support this economic development project."

In addition to the North Carolina Department of Commerce and the Economic Development Partnership of North Carolina, other key partners in the project include the North Carolina General Assembly, the North Carolina Community College System, Nash Community College, Nash County, the Nash County Department of Economic Development, Duke Energy, and the Town of Middlesex.

## Hyundai To Build Electrocars In GA

By Russ Bynum

Associated Press

ELLABELL, Ga. (AP)—Hyundai Motor Group confirmed Friday the company will spend \$5.5 billion on a huge electric vehicle plant near Savannah that will employ thousands—a deal Georgia's governor called the largest economic development project in the state's history.

Hyundai Motor Group CEO Jaehoon Chang made the announcement with Gov. Brian Kemp at the site of the future factory in Bryan County, where state and local officials purchased a flat, sprawling tract for \$61 million last year in hopes of luring a major manufacturer.

"Hard-working Georgians are going to have the opportunity to have a really high-paying, advanced manufacturing job with a great company," Kemp said in an interview.

Hyundai said it will employ at least 8,100 workers at the plant near the unincorporated town of Ellabell. It will be Hyundai's first U.S. plant dedicated to assembling electric vehicles and will also pro-

duce vehicle batteries.

"This new, high tech EV plant represents the future of our business," Chang told more than 100 people sipping champagne under a tent pitched at the site on a dusty field of cleared dirt.

Hyundai Motors said it plans to start construction early next year and in 2025 begin producing up to 300,000 vehicles per year. The company didn't say which vehicle models the Georgia plant will make. In a video shown at the Georgia announcement, Hyundai Motors Chairman Euisun Chung said it will produce "a wide range of exciting, innovative EVs for our American customers."

The company and state officials said they expect suppliers to invest an additional \$1 billion in the area.

"It's going to continue to bring wealth and opportunity to the region," said Kemp, who predicted a ripple effect that will boost businesses from Savannah's already booming seaport to restaurants and convenience stores.

The announcement came as President Joe Biden is visiting South Korea. He was scheduled to meet with Hyundai's CEO in Seoul

on Sunday. Jake Sullivan, the president's national security adviser, told reporters Biden "will have the opportunity to say thank you for this significant investment that will occur in the United States."

The timing was fortunate for Kemp, who is being challenged by former U.S. Sen. David Perdue in a Republican primary election that will be decided Tuesday.

It's the second huge electric vehicle plant announced in Georgia in less than a year. Rivian Automotive announced in December plans for a \$5 billion electric truck plant east of Atlanta that's expected to employ about 7,500 workers.

Kemp declined to discuss details of what incentives and tax breaks the company was offered for locating in Georgia. Rivian received and package worth \$1.5 billion.

The state of Georgia and partner local governments bought 2,200 acres in Bryan County a year ago to lure a large manufacturer. It wasn't large enough for Hyundai. The state and its partners purchased two additional neighboring tracts to expand the site to more than 2,900 acres

## Boeing's Starliner Finally Makes It To The International Space Station

By Marcia Dunn

AP Aerospace Writer

CAPE CANAVERAL, Fla. (AP)—With only a test dummy aboard, Boeing's astronaut capsule pulled up and parked at the International Space Station

for the first time Friday, a huge achievement for the company after years of false starts.

With Starliner's arrival, NASA finally realizes its longtime effort to have crew capsules from competing U.S. companies flying to the space station.

SpaceX already has a running start. Elon Musk's company pulled off the same test three years ago and has since launched 18 astronauts to the space station, as well as tourists.

"Today marks a great milestone," NASA astronaut Bob

Hines radioed from the orbiting complex. "Starliner is looking beautiful on the front of the station," he added.

The only other time Boeing's Starliner flew in space, it never got anywhere near the station, ending up in the wrong orbit.

This time, the overhauled spacecraft made it to the right spot following Thursday's launch and docked at the station 25 hours later. The automated rendezvous went off without a major hitch, despite the failure of a handful of thrusters.

If the rest of Starliner's mission goes well, Boeing could be ready to launch its first crew by the end of this year. The astronauts likely to serve on the first Starliner crew joined Boeing and NASA flight controllers in Houston as the action unfolded nearly 270 miles up.

NASA wants redundancy when it comes to the Florida-based astronaut taxi service. Administrator Bill Nelson said Boeing's long road with Starliner underscores the importance of having two types of crew capsules. U.S. astronauts were stuck riding Russian rockets once the shuttle program ended, until SpaceX's first crew flight in 2020.

Boeing's first Starliner test flight in 2019 was plagued by

software errors that cut the mission short and could have doomed the spacecraft. Those were corrected, but when the new capsule awaited liftoff last summer, corroded valves halted the countdown. More repairs followed, as Boeing chalked up nearly \$600 million in do-over costs.

Before letting Starliner get close to the space station Friday, Boeing ground controllers practiced maneuvering the capsule and tested its robotic vision system. Everything checked out well, Boeing said, except for a cooling loop and four failed thrusters. The capsule held a steady temperature, however, and had plenty of other thrusters for steering.

Once Starliner was within 10 miles of the space station, Boeing flight controllers in Houston could see the space station through the capsule's cameras. "We're waving. Can you see us?" joked Hines.

There was only silence from Starliner. The commander's seat was occupied once again by the mannequin dubbed Rosie the Rocketeer, a space-age version of World War II's Rosie the Riveter.

The gleaming white-with-blue-trim capsule hovered 33 feet (10 meters) from the station for

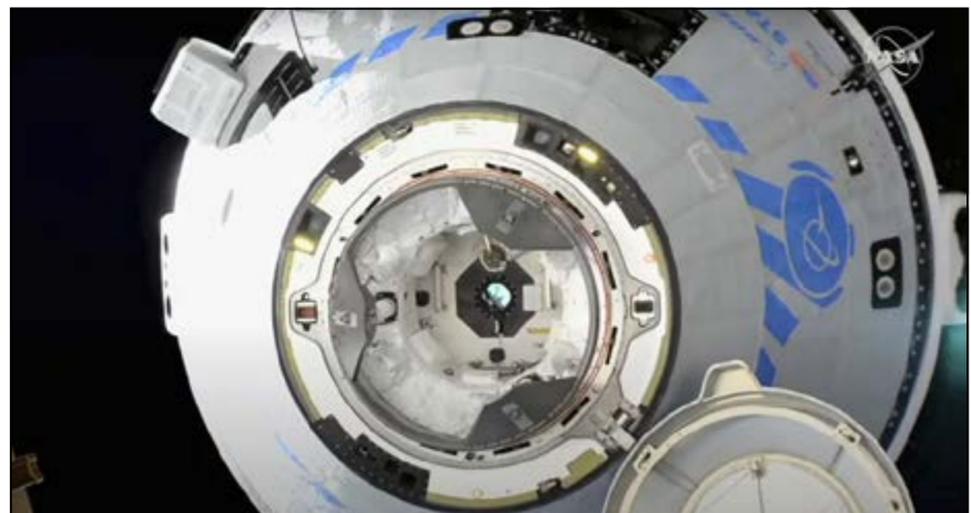
close to two hours—considerably longer than planned—as flight controllers adjusted its docking ring and ensured everything else was in order. When the green light finally came, Starliner closed the gap in four minutes, eliciting cheers in Boeing's control center. Applause erupted once the latches were tightly secured.

"These last 48 hours have just been a barnstorm, so it's going to be very good to sleep tonight," said Mark Nappi, vice president and director of Boeing's commercial crew program.

It was a double celebration for NASA's commercial crew program director Steve Stich, who turned 57 Friday. "What an incredible birthday it was," he told reporters.

The space station's seven astronauts will unload groceries and gear from Starliner and pack it up with experiments. Unlike SpaceX's Dragon capsule that splashes down off the Florida coast, Starliner will aim for a landing in New Mexico this Wednesday.

The Associated Press Health and Science Department receives support from the Howard Hughes Medical Institute's Department of Science Education. The AP is solely responsible for all content.



**FINALLY, MUSK HAS COMPETITION**—After years of missteps, Boeing's Starliner capsule launched to the International Space Station on Friday. There was still nobody on board for the event, but then again, there were no major foulups, either.

# Opinion



## Mass Shootings: It's The Masculinity, People

By Rob Okun

Voice Male Magazine

I'm beyond fed up that the gender of the murderers are still largely absent from conversations about America's mass shootings crisis. In Buffalo, of course, racism and White supremacy cannot be overstated, but we ignore gender at our peril.

Let's tighten restrictions on poisonous hate speech on social media. It's imperative we conduct threat assessments. Absolutely, more gun control regulations. We must deconstruct racist, anti-Semitic, homophobic, misogynist, white supremacist manifestos. But if we do all that and continue to minimize or ignore how these murderous men were socialized as boys and men, mass shootings will continue to plague us.

We have to start in preschool, carefully attending to how boys are socialized. We must cultivate their emotional intelligence. Who would deny the value of educating boys to examine their inner lives; to talk about their feelings?

Who in Congress is going to introduce legislation calling on the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) to conduct a nationwide study on how we socialize boys? Who is going to push for a comprehensive, multiyear pilot program with preschool boys in Head Start? The data amassed will help not just reshape our understanding of boys and men, but could ultimately transform masculinity.

The shooters' gender remains central in my writing. Here's a sampling of columns that, sadly, demonstrate how far we have to go:

- August 9, 2019: [In] the killing spree in El Paso, Texas, and Dayton, Ohio... the media, politicians and pundits rarely cite the most significant common denominator of virtually every mass murder in the U.S.—the shooter's gender... a message I've been repeating since Columbine and before Tree of Life, Thousand Oaks, Parkland, Sutherland Springs and Las Vegas; even before Virginia Tech, Sandy Hook and Aurora. "Gender Belongs at Center of the Gun Debate," *Ms. magazine*.

- May 23, 2018: Heart contracts; numbness and tears collide. Ten dead, 13 wounded; this time Santa Fe, Texas... If we're ever to end the blood baths... highlighting the shooters' gender is essential to gain insights to prevent future tragedies... Virtually every murderer is male, usually White. "Let's Talk About the Obvious: Most Mass Shooter are Male" *Dallas Morning News*.

- August 5, 2017: Again. Worse than ever. A horrifying mass murder by a lone killer. This time in Las Vegas... [A] clue stares us right in the face to prevent this madness and mayhem: The race and gender of the shooter. White and male. Again... Let's organize... challenge men to chart a new course in the gun violence debate... [A]ccelerate the transformation of our ideas about masculinity and manhood—including, especially, how we raise boys. "Needed: A 'Men Against Gun Violence' Campaign", *Women's eNews*.

- June 16, 2016: The massacre at the Pulse nightclub was carried out as an act of rage. By a man... [U]ntil or unless we make the murderer's gender central... [to] not just this story, but of the larger effort to prevent mass shootings... we won't succeed in preventing such horrors in the future. "Why is the Orlando Murderer's Gender Not Central to the Story?" *CounterPunch*.

- October 9, 2015: Again. This time a community college in Roseburg, Oregon... This time, nine people murdered... How many more lonely, alienated, disconnected, (usually) White males perpetrating murder and then committing suicide need we see before admitting the irrefutable fact that the shooters are all male? "After the Oregon Shootings: A Campaign to Raise Healthy Sons," *Ms. magazine*.

- December 16, 2013: As we arrive at the gut-wrenching first anniversary of Newtown, I teeter back and forth between sadness and anger... [W]as it a man or a woman who killed innocent people at the Washington Navy Shipyard, the Boston Marathon, Santa Monica College, homes in Hialeah, Fla., Manchester, Ill., and Fernley, Nev.; a barbershop in New York's Mohawk Valley; and Los Angeles International Airport? Get it? "Masculinity Question Still Missing Post Newtown", *Truthout*.

The day after Adam Lanza murdered his mother, six staff and 20 six- and seven-year-olds at Sandy Hook in 2012... women launched "Moms Demand Action for Gun Sense." The day after! How many more "days after" another mass shooting must we wait to launch "Dads Demand Action to Raise Healthy Boys?"

The violent rampage in Buffalo was not only a racist attack against African-Americans; it was also an affirmation of male supremacy. Without healthy male antibodies in a vaccine to prevent mass shootings, we'll never reach herd immunity.

Men, men, men. It's the toxic masculinity, people.

**Rob Okun** ([rob@voicemalemagazine.org](mailto:rob@voicemalemagazine.org)), syndicated by *PeaceVoice*, writes about politics and culture. He is editor-publisher of *Voice Male magazine*.



## I Did Something Nice For A Stranger. Twenty Minutes Later, I Regretted It.

By Kern Beare

Difficult Conversations Project

I was flying home after facilitating my Difficult Conversations workshop at Idaho State University. It was the first leg of my return journey, a puddle-jump on a small turbo-prop from Pocatello to Se-

attle. It was a short flight, but long enough to teach me something.

During the boarding process, I had switched seats with a fellow traveler. I'd reserved an aisle seat, 14A, but the person who reserved 14B, the window seat, asked if we could switch places. I didn't want to, but I could see she'd find the aisle more comfortable, so I agreed.

Twenty minutes into the flight, I started to regret my act of kindness. I was feeling cramped, and frustrated that I couldn't stretch my legs. Regret soon morphed into resentment, and I began to stew. Why had she asked to switch? If I'd wanted the window seat, I'd have reserved the window seat! And she's not even that much bigger than me, she would have been fine sitting in the window seat!

I let this fruitless internal dialogue rage on for a minute or two, and then finally interrupted myself long enough to point out that I was undoing any personal benefit I might have received from being a nice person. Rather than the positive vibes that come with being considerate of others, I was encasing myself in the emotional equivalent of barbed wire—every resentful thought a painful poke at my insides.

So, taking a lesson from my workshop, I decided to refocus my attention and looked out the window to the vista below. At that point we were flying over the snow-capped Sawtooth mountain range, and I impulsively tapped my seatmate on the shoulder and pointed to the beautiful view outside. She removed the earphones she'd been using and gazed out the window.

Looking out the window together gave us a chance to chat a bit, which opened another window, one that gave me a small glimpse into her life. She'd been in Pocatello over the Mother's Day weekend to watch her grandchild so that her daughter, a single mother, could get some rest. Now she was headed back to Seattle where a full week of work awaited her. I could tell she was tired. A busy mother helping another busy mother over Mother's Day. It was a little sad—where were the men who should be celebrating them?—but also moving. By the end of this short conversation my resentment was gone. I felt good about my decision to switch seats, glad that after a tiring few days she at least had a more comfortable ride home.

This little episode reaffirmed for me the value of two related principles I talk about in my workshop: the importance of prioritizing the relationship over being right, and being able to see beyond our own story. Focusing just on my grievances—my 'story'—only amplified my discomfort and resentment. Focusing on the relationship forced me to widen my lens, to see beyond my story to take in the humanity of the other person—and to let that have a bearing, an influence, not only on how I saw the situation, but also on how I felt about it, and on how I responded.

A Hindu parable, recently sent to me by a friend, makes a similar point in perhaps a more memorable way:

An aging master grew tired of his apprentice complaining, and so, one morning, sent him for some salt. When the apprentice returned, the master instructed the unhappy young man to put a handful of salt in a glass of water and drink it.

"How does it taste?" the master asked.

"Bitter" said the apprentice, spitting it out.

The master then asked the young man to take the same handful of salt and put it in the lake. After the apprentice swirled his handful of salt in the water, the old man told him to drink from the lake.

"How does it taste?" the master asked.

"Fresh" said the apprentice.

"Do you taste the salt?" asked the master.

"No," said the young man.

At this, the master sat beside the young man, and said, "The pain of life is pure salt. But the amount of bitterness we taste depends on the container that holds it. So when you are in pain, the only thing you can do is to enlarge your sense of things. Stop being a glass. Become a lake."

In a difficult conversation, seeing beyond our story and strengthening the relationship is how we turn a glass into a lake. It reduces our bitter (salty) feelings toward the "other" by "enlarging our sense of things," making us more compassionate, more responsive and, yes, even more happy.

**Kern Beare** is the founder of the *Difficult Conversations Project* and the author of *Difficult Conversations: The Art and Science of Working Together*.



## Rethinking "The Common Defense"

By Kevin Martin

Peace Action Education Fund

It is good at times to conduct a reality check on what this country supposedly stands for, and what it actually does. The preamble to the U.S. Constitution, in 1787, reads as follows:

*We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.*

One could pick apart many of those clauses and analyze how we are failing on domestic tranquility (astounding political, social and racial divisions, alongside out-of-control gun violence), general welfare (worst wealth gap since the Great Depression, dismal economic outlook for young people), liberty (the Supreme Court about to take away women's basic reproductive rights) and more.

But let's focus on the clause that reads "provide for the common defense."

The preamble does not say invade other countries at will, ignoring U.S. and international law, nor spend more on "defense" than the next 10 countries combined, nor shovel never-ending heaps of our tax dollars to feckless weapons contractors interested only in their bottom lines as they profit from war, conflict and suffering here at home and abroad, nor perpetuate a nuclear arms race that threatens all life on Earth.

Were the authors of the Constitution alive, they might well be aghast at how our understanding and practice of "provid(ing) for the common defense" has grotesquely metastasized.

Many politicians including the president now speak of how our nation's security is not measured merely in weaponry and Pentagon largesse, but includes defense against pandemics, climate chaos, and decaying physical and social infrastructure. Yet, the Pentagon budget and related national security spending continue to skyrocket—to over \$1 trillion annually—in one of the few issues where there is broad bipartisan support in Washington, nudged along by the tens of millions of dollars in annual spending on lobbying and campaign contributions by the weapons industry.

How about we take those real threats to our security seriously, and redirect a mere 10 percent of current "defense" spending to repairing our tattered physical and social infrastructure? That \$100 billion of our taxes could mostly go to states to spend on their needs, and would be a shot in the arm for job creation and stimulating moribund local economies. Some federal programs would need aug-

menting, and it would be a boon to democracy to debate that, rather than handing over, Zombie-like, tens of billions to Lockheed Martin, Raytheon, Northrop Grumman and Boeing for new nuclear weapons, bombers, submarines and tanks.

And what of military or cyber threats from abroad? Even with 10 percent of "national security" spending redirected to other, more urgent and pressing needs like rebuilding our crumbling physical infrastructure, addressing climate chaos, and shoring up our public health system to deal with the current and future pandemics, the US would still be the world's military behemoth. While we're at it, let's redirect another three percent to diplomacy, global economic development and humanitarian aid to address threats to global peace and security before they start.

There are various proposals to re-order the country's spending priorities going by various names, and we certainly need to redirect more than 10 percent of the war budget to achieve the other objectives in the Constitution's preamble. But "common defense" is a perfectly fine, old school term to consider, as long as its interpretation is one that reflects the public good for all of society. If we continue to live by the bastardized meaning and practice of endless wars and escalating Pentagon budgets, we will get what we pay for, militarized domestic and foreign policies and a society in deepening decay.

As to people who want change and taking impactful action, hundreds of peace and social justice organizations are supporting the Poor People's Moral March on Washington on June 18. Modeled on the last campaign of The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King's life, the Poor People's Campaign brings together demands around social, economic and racial justice, peace and climate change.

The events around June 18, and going forward to elections this fall and in 2024, offer a ray of hope in a dark national landscape, powered by people offering solutions, not politics as usual. The authors of the Constitution might see this movement as upholding not just the "common defense," but all the worthy goals in the preamble that have seemingly gotten lost over 235 years.

**Kevin Martin** is President of *Peace Action Education Fund*, the country's largest grassroots peace and disarmament organization with more than 200,000 supporters nationwide.



## Using Early Warning Data To Create Communities Of Peace

By Trust Network Convenors

Hate crimes and violence are rising across the U.S. and can no longer be ignored. Daily we are inundated with news feeds full of everything from angry outbursts to vicious criminalities. Many of our cities are facing significant income inequalities, institutionalized racism, and deep distrust of policing bodies. This is manifesting, in part, in the spike in violence.

The great puzzle pieces are how do we address the divisions that are spurring the tensions, and can we create communities where people feel safe and respected?

What if we could see concerning developments related to organized hate crimes and violence and predict where they might occur? Going a step further, would an early warning system allow us to address the issues before they bubble and rise to ugliness, dividing communities?

At the TRUST Network, our mission is to prevent violent conflict and build community cohesion. This is a tall order, but we have seen evidence of success.

Our early work has been correlating hate-centered activity from multiple, respected sources to identify cities at risk: the Anti-Defamation League Center on Extremism, the Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project, the Southern Poverty Law Center Hate Groups monitoring, and the Uniform Crime Reporting Program's Hate Crime Statistics Data Collection.

Because the different datasets measure a variety of events ranging from hate crimes, to protests, to extremist activity, with a multitude of time sets, there is no true way to predict the next location of an uprising or rank cities in order of prominence. However, we can see patterns that tell a story and use that information to bolster communities in need with the right resources.

From the data, the TRUST Network has narrowed in on 10 U.S. cities that are likely to experience political and election violence: Chicago, Ill.; New York, N.Y.; Columbus Ohio; Houston, Texas; Los Angeles, Calif.; Las Vegas, Nev.; Phoenix, Ariz.; Seattle, Wash.; Pittsburgh, Pa.; and Portland, Ore. Washington, D.C. also has one of the highest potentials for political violence, particularly given the concentration of protests and the January 2021 attack on the U.S. Capitol.

Using this information, we work with a network of local and national partners to develop innovative early-warning and intervention strategies. Specifically, we are pro-actively connecting community mediation centers around the country with other community organizations and law enforcement to share information about potential threats locally, evading acts of violence nationally whenever feasible.

We know this early warning approach makes a positive difference. In the past year and a half, the TRUST network local convening centers have collaborated with the Detroit Police to de-escalate violence during a protest and helped restore trust between the Charlotte Mecklenburg Police Department and community. Most recently, the TRUST network monitored the People's Convoy, keeping our local convening centers and national stakeholders aware of reports of potential unrest and encouraging them to respond by listening and supporting the truckers' right to protest. We are currently monitoring the impact of the Supreme Court draft opinion on *Roe V. Wade* and urging a similar constructive response. The TRUST Network is a facilitator that ensures accurate information and the opportunity to facilitate community peace.

In today's tense climate, any type of violence is possible in all of our cities—from politically motivated hate crimes, to violent protests, to terror plots, particularly in the runup to the midterm elections. But we cannot expect law enforcement, state or federal government entities to do all the work. The community must step up.

We have seen this can happen when we put early warning data to good use in organizing communities to engage in dialogue and do the foundational work needed to build social cohesion. We see an opportunity to train and activate local civil society actors to pro-actively address the violence and hate in their communities. Whether it's through a local church, community group, or civic association, communities armed with information and resources can thrive and interrupt the cycle of violence, creating communities of peace where people feel safe and respected. Join us!