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## Biden Turning To Trump-Era Rule To Expel Migrants

WASHINGTON (AP) — Two years ago, candidate Joe Biden loudly denounced President Donald Trump for immigration policies that inflicted “cruelty and exclusion at every turn,” including toward those fleeing the “brutal” government of socialist Nicolas Maduro in Venezuela. Now, with increasing numbers of Venezuelans arriving at the U.S.-Mexico border as the Nov. 8 election nears, Biden has turned to an unlikely source for a solution: his predecessor’s playbook. Biden last week invoked a Trump-era rule known as Title 42 — which Biden’s own Justice Department is fighting in court — to deny Venezuelans fleeing their

crisis-torn country the chance to request asylum at the border. The rule, first invoked by Trump in 2020, uses emergency public health authority to allow the United States to keep migrants from seeking asylum at the border, based on the need to help prevent the spread of COVID-19. Under the new Biden administration policy, Venezuelans who walk or swim across America’s southern border will be expelled and any Venezuelan who illegally enters Mexico or Panama will be ineligible to come to the United States. But as many as 24,000 Venezuelans will be accepted at U.S. airports, similar to how

Ukrainians have been admitted since Russia’s invasion in February. Mexico has insisted that the U.S. admit one Venezuelan on humanitarian parole for each Venezuelan it expels to Mexico, according to a Mexican official who was not authorized to discuss the matter publicly and spoke on condition of anonymity. So if the Biden administration paroles 24,000 Venezuelans to the U.S., Mexico would take no more than 24,000 Venezuelans expelled from the U.S. The Biden policy marks an abrupt turn for the White House, which just weeks ago was lambasting Florida Gov. Ron DeSan-

tis and Texas Gov. Greg Abbott, both Republicans, for putting Venezuelan migrants “fleeing political persecution” on buses and planes to Democratic strongholds. “These were children, they were moms, they were fleeing communism,” White House press secretary Karine Jean-Pierre said at the time. Biden’s new policy has drawn swift criticism from immigrant advocates, many of them quick to point out the Trump parallels. “Rather than restore the right to asylum decimated by the Trump administration ... the

(See **BIDEN TURNING**, P. 2)



POLICE BLOCK OLD MULBURNIE ROAD DURING SHOOTING

## Cops: 15-Year-Old Kills 5 In East Raleigh

By Gary D. Robertson, Hannah Schoenbaum and Allen G. Breed

Associated Press

A 15-year-old boy killed five people and injured two more in a shooting rampage in Raleigh, police said, horrifying a community that is now mourning victims whose lives were cut short as they were going about their daily routines. Raleigh Police Chief Estella Patterson said the teen was captured hours after the victims were gunned down Thursday evening. He was hospitalized and in critical condition following his arrest, but authorities have not said how he was injured. Patterson said Friday that police haven’t determined a motive for the attack. The victims were different races and ranged in age from 16 to their late 50s, Patterson said. Family members and friends said some of the victims were gunned down while doing normal, everyday activities—an off-duty police officer was killed while on his way to work, one of the women who died was on her porch talking to a neighbor, another woman who died was out walking her dog and another was out exercising. Gov. Roy Cooper called the shooting an “infuriating and tragic act of gun violence.” He added: “No neighborhood, no parent, no child, no grandparent, no one should feel this fear in their communities—no one.” The gunfire broke out around 5 p.m. Thursday in a residential area northeast of downtown, Raleigh Mayor Mary-Ann Baldwin said. Police

(See **15-YEAR-OLD**, P. 2)

## Shaw President Outraged Over Search

(AP)—The president of a historically Black university accused South Carolina law enforcement officers of racially profiling a busload of students from her school by stopping the vehicle for a minor traffic violation and using drug-sniffing dogs to search their luggage. Noting that nothing illegal was found in the search, Shaw University President Paulette Dillard said she was outraged by the treatment, which also included questioning that she likened to an interrogation. The traffic stop was done by deputies and law enforcement officers in Spartanburg County on Oct. 5 as 18 students from her



PAULETTE DILLARD

Raleigh school were traveling to a conference in Atlanta, she said. Dillard wrote in a statement Monday that she has asked the school’s general counsel to consider options for legal recourse. “In a word, I am ‘outraged,’” Dillard wrote. “This behavior of targeting Black students is unacceptable and will not be ignored nor tolerated. Had the students been White, I doubt this detention and search would have occurred.” She called the situation “reminiscent of the 1950s and 1960s—armed police, interrogating innocent Black students, conducting searches without probable cause, and blood-thirsty dogs” and the

deputies’ actions “unfair and unjust.” The officers told the people aboard the bus that they stopped it because the vehicle was swerving and issued the driver a warning ticket for improper lane use, according to Dillard’s statement. It was not clear if the bus, which Dillard referred to as a “contract bus,” had university insignia on the outside. The statement referred to deputies and officers conducting the search in Spartanburg County but does not specify which agencies were involved. The university communications office didn’t

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

## Coalition Kicks Off Drive For 10 Million

By Stacy M. Brown  
NNPA Senior National Correspondent

NNPA President, and CEO Dr. Benjamin F. Chavis, Jr., Rainbow Push Coalition Executive Director Bishop Tavis Grant, Black Voters Matter Co-Founder Cliff Albright, African American Policy Forum Executive Director Kimberlé Crenshaw, National Organization of Concerned Black Men CEO Dr. Karen McRae, Virginia K. Solomon of the League of Women Voters, and Hip Hop Caucus Executive Director Attorney Tanya Clay House. “We want people to celebrate when they vote,” Arnwine insisted. “We call it a celebration for every time we do a votecade. We have a Celebration Village.” Arnwine said in one city; the mayor informed the coalition that voter turnout doubled after the votecade visited. “We went to another area in the poorest ZIP Code in Milwaukee—one of the poorest in the nation,” Arnwine continued. “They had such a small polling

site and didn’t expect anyone to turn out. But, when we finished, they had more people vote in that one day after the votecade than typically during the entire early voting season.” Chavis, who has pushed the hashtag #10millionmoreblackvoters, reminded everyone that the midterms were just a few weeks ago. With photos of the late Georgia Democratic Rep. John Lewis blanketing the Press Club for the news conference, Chavis called the coalition’s mission good trouble. “We are going to all the major states, places where we know we can make a difference,” Chavis declared. “This tour is designed to make sure we awaken a lot of the sleeping giants in our community.” He continued: “We believe that we can get 10 million more Black voters. That’s a large number, but we believe

that number could make a difference. Democracy is on the ballot on November 8. Racial justice is on the ballot on November 8. Climate justice is on the ballot, environmental justice is on the ballot, economic justice, and equity is on the ballot, and preventing far right-wing groups from banning votes is on the ballot.” Arnwine added that the 25-city Arc of Voter Justice Tour is designed to ensure everyone understands that citizens’ right to vote is their voice. During the votecade, participants will register to vote and check their voting eligibility while enjoying good food, music, games, and banned books as the coalition seek to transform voting and the voting experience. “A great democracy does not make it harder to vote than it is to get an assault weapon,” Bishop Grant demanded. “What is so dangerous about

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



### REPUBLICANS GET PARTIAL WIN IN NC COURT OVER POLL OBSERVERS

(AP)—A North Carolina judge gave a partial legal victory on Thursday to state and national Republicans by agreeing to loosen restrictions on activity by some party-appointed poll observers. Wake County Superior Court Judge Vince Rozier granted one of the party’s two requests related to the work of “at-large” observers chosen by political parties and who are allowed to monitor more than one voting site. A second request seeking the use of more than one such observer simultaneously at a location was denied, according to a GOP leader and the State Board of Elections, which is a lawsuit defendant. Rozier also refused another GOP demand that he block the State Board of Elections from extending the fall absentee-ballot receipt deadline based on the Veterans Day holiday on Nov. 11, board spokesperson Pat Gannon said. The GOP won in a portion of the litigation filed last month requesting a preliminary injunction on state board guidance that requires an at-large observer to work for at least four hours before they can be replaced at a voting site. Other observers, which are also picked by the political parties, are assigned to specific precincts. Early in-person voting for the Nov. 8 election begins Oct. 20. The Republicans contend the four-hour requirement for at-large observers doesn’t align with state law and makes it hard for the party to fill volunteer gaps at voting sites and precincts by moving them to other locales. North Carolina GOP Chairman Michael Whatley said in an interview that the party has held more than 300 training sessions this year and recruited and trained more than 7,500 volunteer poll watchers for the November elections. He has declined to allow reporters to attend the training sessions. “As long as the injunction remains in place, we regard this as a win,” Whatley said Thursday. “We did not think that the Board of Elections had the authority to put the rule in place. For the life of me, I cannot understand why the Board of Elections is continuing to take steps to try and limit the transparency in the voting areas.” Election officials across the country, including several in North Carolina, have expressed concerns that a surge of conspiracy believers are signing up for poll watcher positions this year and are being trained by those who have propagated the lie spread by former President Donald Trump and his allies that the 2020 presidential election was riddled with fraud. Gannon said the board hadn’t yet decided whether it would appeal the ruling. The GOP was unsuccessful in getting Rozier to ease a rule that allows no more than one at-large observer to work inside a voting site at any time. The GOP plaintiffs had argued board Executive Director Karen Brinson Bell lacked authority to move the absentee ballot deadline from Nov. 11 to Nov. 14. State law says county election offices must receive civilian absentee ballots by the third day after Election Day—either in person or in the mail if the ballot was post-marked by Election Day, which is Nov. 8 this year. Whatley said the absentee deadline challenge was “no where near as important” as the rulings on election observer limits. Bell’s memo cited another state law that gave her authority to extend the deadline because of Veterans Day. Offices are closed and mail isn’t delivered. A similar absentee-ballot weekend delay

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

## Realtors Apologizing, Urging Change

By Jim Salter  
Associated Press

bedroom house at \$175,000 based on presale evaluations. But once a buyer made an offer, an appraiser valued the home at only \$150,000, and the bank wouldn’t give a loan for the original asking price.

Curious, Abdullah looked at the appraisal report and found the photos weren’t even of his home in the predominantly Black area of north St. Louis. The photos had been pulled off the internet, and were not new photos show-

ing updates he had made. “I immediately knew, well, we have an issue here,” Abdullah said. It’s a struggle Black Americans have lived with for decades. Now, some leaders in the real estate industry are apologizing for past discrimination while promising to address problems that still remain.

Last month, St. Louis Realtors—the St. Louis area’s largest real estate trade group—issued a formal apology for past discriminatory practices. The National Association of Realtors issued an apology in 2020. Realtor groups in cities like Atlanta and Chicago have shown similar remorse. “The discrimination to which the Black community was subjected to was part of a system designed to cause residential racial segregation, led by the federal government, supported by the banking system and the real estate industry, and driven by practices like redlining and the use of restrictive covenants,” the apology from St. Louis Realtors states.

(See **REALTORS APOLOGIZE**, P. 2)



REALTORS SAY THEY’LL MAKE IT UP TO BLACK FAMILIES

# Biden Turning To Trump-Era Rule To —CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

Biden administration has dangerously embraced the failures of the past and expanded upon them by explicitly enabling expulsions of Venezuelan migrants," said Jennifer Nagda, policy director of the Young Center for Immigrant Children's Rights.

The administration says the policy is aimed at ensuring a "lawful and orderly" way for Venezuelans to enter the U.S.

Why the turnaround? For more than a year after taking office in January 2021, Biden deferred to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, which used its authority to keep in place the Trump-era declaration that a public health risk existed that warranted expedited expulsion of asylum-seekers.

Members of Biden's own party and activist groups had expressed skepticism about the public health underpinnings for allowing Title 42 to remain in effect, especially when COVID-19 was spreading more widely within the U.S. than elsewhere.

After months of internal deliberations and preparations, the CDC on April 1 said it would end the public health order and return to normal border processing of migrants, giving them a chance to request asylum in the U.S.

Homeland Security officials braced for a resulting increase in border crossings.

But officials inside and outside the White House were conflicted over ending the authority, believing it effectively kept down the

number of people crossing the border illegally, according to senior administration officials.

A court order in May that kept Title 42 in place due to a challenge from Republican state officials was greeted with quiet relief by some in the administration, according to officials who spoke to The Associated Press on condition of anonymity to discuss internal discussions.

The recent increase in migration from Venezuela, sparked by political, social and economic instability in the country, dashed officials' hopes that they were finally seeing a lull in the chaos that had defined the border region for the past year.

By August, Venezuelans were the second-largest nationality arriving at the U.S. border after Mexicans. Given that U.S. tensions with Venezuela meant migrants from the country could not be sent back easily, the situation became increasingly difficult to manage.



So an administration that had rejected many Trump-era policies aimed at keeping out migrants, that had worked to make the asylum process easier and that had increased the number of refugees allowed into the U.S. now turned to Title 42.

It brokered a deal to send the Venezuelans to Mexico, which already had agreed to accept

migrants expelled under Title 42 if they are from Guatemala, Honduras or El Salvador.

All the while, Justice Department lawyers continue to appeal a court decision that has kept Title 42 in place. They are opposing Republican attorneys general from more than 20 states who have argued that Title 42 is "the only safety valve preventing

this Administration's already disastrous border control policies from descending into an unmitigated catastrophe."

Under Title 42, migrants have been expelled more than 2.3 million times from the U.S. after crossing the country's land borders illegally from Canada or Mexico, though most try to come through Mexico.

The administration had announced it would stop expelling migrants under Title 42 starting May 23 and go back to detaining and deporting migrants who did not qualify to enter and remain in the U.S. — a longer process that allows migrants to request asylum in the U.S.

"We are extremely disturbed by the apparent acceptance, codification, and expansion of the use of Title 42, an irrelevant health order, as a cornerstone of border policy," said Thomas Cartwright of Witness at the Border. "One that expunges the legal right to asylum."

## STATE BRIEFS

Continued from page 1

was ordered in the November 2016 election.

### ERIC CHURCH, TRAILBLAZING POLITICIANS RECEIVING NC TOP AWARD

(AP)—Two history-making Black politicians and country music star Eric Church were among the six latest recipients of North Carolina's highest civilian honor announced Thursday.

On Nov. 15, Gov. Roy Cooper will present the North Carolina Awards, which were created more than 60 years ago to recognize significant contributions to the state and the country in several fields.

Church, a native of Granite Falls, has received many Grammy nominations. Some of his top singles include "Drink in My Hand" and "Springsteen." He's also won multiple awards from the Academy of Country Music and the County Music Association, including 2020 CMA Entertainer of the Year.

Other new recipients include U.S. Rep. Eva Clayton of Warren County, who was the first African-American woman to represent North Carolina in Congress when she took office in 1992. She was also the state's first Black representative since 1901.

Former lawmaker Mickey Michaux of Durham is also being recognized. He served in the state legislature for more than 45 years, almost all of that time in the House, where he served as the chief budget writer in the late 2000s. He was appointed a U.S. attorney in 1977—becoming the first African-American in such role in the South since Reconstruction, according to the state Department of Natural and Cultural Resources.

Other recipients are Dr. Priya S. Kishnani, a professor and researcher at the Duke University School of Medicine; Stanley Riggs, a longtime East Carolina University marine geologist and expert on the coast and climate change; and journalist David Zucchino, a graduate of UNC-Chapel Hill. Zucchino received a Pulitzer Prize in 2021 for his book on the 1898 overthrow of Wilmington's government by White supremacists.

### JAPAN'S SONY, HONDA JOINTLY MAKING EVS FOR 2026 US DELIVERY

TOKYO (AP)—A new electric car company that brings together two big names in Japanese business, Honda and Sony, officially kicked off Thursday.

The electric vehicle from Sony Honda Mobility Inc. will go on sale in 2025, with deliveries coming first in the U.S. in early 2026, and in Japan later that year, Chief Executive Yasuhide Mizuno told reporters. Pre-orders start 2025.

In March, Sony Group Corp. and Honda agreed to set up the 50-50 joint venture, with the idea of bringing together Honda's expertise in autos, mobility technology and sales with Sony's imaging, network, sensor and entertainment expertise.

Production will take place at one of Honda's 12 plants in the U.S. But details such as pricing, platform and the kind of battery to be used were not disclosed. Production volume was also not given, but officials said this was a special model and not intended for massive sales.

Mizuno, who is from Honda Motor Co., said the collaboration brings together hardware and software to deliver an emotionally satisfying experience on the move.

"It was necessary to take a totally new approach," Mizuno told reporters in Tokyo. "We want to make this completely new."

The U.S. was chosen for the launch because electric vehicles are already popular there. Japan came second as Honda's home market, and other markets, including Europe, will follow, but no dates were set, he said.

Izumi Kawanishi, the Sony executive who became chief operating officer at Sony Mobility, said partners will be added to the project.

Demand for "zero-emissions" vehicles is expected to grow worldwide amid concerns about climate change and sustainability. Sony, which makes the PlayStation video-game console and has movie and music businesses, showed an electric car concept at the CES gadget show in Las Vegas two years ago, and has been eager to find an auto partner.

Honda has electric vehicles in its lineup, although not as plentiful as do some rivals, like Ford Motor Co. or Nissan Motor Co. Tokyo-based Honda has teamed up with General Motors to share platforms for EVs in North America, but the products are not yet on sale.

# Cops: 15-Year-Old Kills 5 —CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

said from there, the teenager fled to a nearby walking trail and continued shooting.

The teen, who was not immediately identified by police, eluded officers for hours—setting off a manhunt across a crime scene that stretched for 2 miles—before he was cornered in a home and arrested, Patterson said.

The Heddingham neighborhood is a residential area of single family and town homes. The Neuse River Greenway, a walking and biking trail, is behind some of the houses. The trail runs about 27 miles along the river and connects to the state's Mountains-to-Sea Trail that's popular with hikers. The stretch of trail behind the neighborhood is paved and lies down a grassy slope from the houses.

Police said Officer Gabriel Torres, 29, was among the five killed. He was off-duty and heading to work when the shooting began. The other victims were Nicole Connors, 52; Mary Marshall, 34; Susan Karnatz, 49; and James Roger Thompson, 16. Connors' husband told The Associated Press she was on the porch talking to a neighbor when she was killed. Marshall's sister told NBC News that she was walking her dog,

Scruff.

Marcille Lynn Gardner, 59, was talking to Connors when she was shot. Gardner remained hospitalized in critical condition Friday. A second police officer, Casey Joseph Clark, 33, was also wounded and released from the hospital.

Karnatz's husband, Tom Karnatz, said she was an avid runner who often ran on the greenway.

"She was a very loving wife and amazing mother to our three sons," he said through tears when he answered his door Friday. "We're absolutely heartbroken and miss her dearly."

In the driveway, a silver minivan and a Toyota Camry had matching 26.2 stickers—symbolizing the miles of a marathon. The minivan's license plate read simply: "RUNNR."

Woodrow Glass, a 74-year-old retiree and neighbor of Connors, said he talked to her nearly every day as she walked her small dog.

"She was friendly with everybody in the neighborhood, spoke with everybody... and was really respected here. And we're going to miss her," he said.

In a statement Friday, President Joe Biden said he and first lady Jill Biden are grieving with victims' families, and his admin-

istration is working with Cooper to help local authorities with their investigation.

"Enough. We've grieved and prayed with too many families who have had to bear the terrible burden of these mass shootings," he said.

Omer Rosas, a sophomore at Knightdale High School, said he was shocked to learn Friday that his classmate was arrested in the shooting.

"I did not expect it to be him," Rosas told the AP. "He was very calm. He wasn't like a mean person. He was open to be nice to everyone."

Rosas said the teen is personable and athletic—a smaller guy who enjoys running and was considering joining the school's track team.

Thompson, the 16-year-old victim, was a junior at the school.

Under North Carolina law, crimes committed by 15-year-olds are usually adjudicated in juvenile court. But a 15-year-old is charged as an adult if accused of first-degree murder and if a judge finds probable cause. Authorities have not commented on what charges the teen could face.

The Raleigh shooting was the latest in a violent week nation-

wide. Five people were killed Sunday in a shooting at a home in Inman, S.C. On Wednesday, two police officers were fatally shot in Connecticut after apparently being drawn into an ambush by an emergency call about possible domestic violence. Police officers have been shot this week in Greenville, Miss.; Decatur, Ill.; Philadelphia, Las Vegas and central Florida. Two of those officers, one in Greenville and one Las Vegas, were killed.

Thursday's violence was the 25th mass killing in 2022 in which the victims were fatally shot, according to The Associated Press/USA TODAY/Northeastern University Mass Killings database. A mass killing is defined as when four or more people are killed excluding the perpetrator.

The walking trail was quieter than usual Friday. Sara Cutter, 31, said she sensed "a lingering sadness over Raleigh" as she walked the greenway, about a mile from the shootings.

"We're all hurting today, the entire city," Cutter said. "I've seen some somber faces while I've been out walking today. But it's also been good to see people out. The community—that's what will get us through."

# Shaw President Outraged —CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

immediately respond to emails seeking further comment.

The stop occurred during the local sheriff's annual weeklong anti-drug campaign known as Operation Rolling Thunder, in which deputies and officers from agencies from around the state patrol the highways in Spartanburg County.

Spartanburg County Sheriff's Lt. Kevin Bobo, an agency spokesperson, said deputies need more information from the school, such as where the stop took place or the tag number of

the bus, to fully investigate the school's complaint.

About 900 traffic stops were made during the operation in Spartanburg County, he said. Statistics from the sheriff's office show 39 percent of the drivers pulled over were White, while 38 percent were Black. Deputies said 233 of the stops were for improper lane change.

The traffic stop follows a situation this year in which the president of Delaware State University, another historically Black college, accused sheriff's

deputies in Georgia of intimidating and humiliating the school women's lacrosse team when they pulled over the athletes' bus and searched it for drugs.

President Tony Allen said he was "incensed" by the April 20 traffic stop along Interstate 95 south of Savannah as the team returned from a game in Florida. In a letter to students and faculty, Allen said nothing illegal was found.

Liberty County Sheriff William Bowman, who is Black, said in May that his office was

conducting a formal review of the traffic stop. Deputies had stopped other commercial vehicles the same morning along I-95 and found drugs on a different bus, he said. The team's chartered bus was stopped because it was traveling in the left lane, a violation of Georgia law, he said. The sheriff said deputies decided to search the team's bus when a drug-sniffing dog "alerted" alongside it.

No one was arrested or charged. The sheriff said the bus driver was given a warning.

# Realtors Apologizing, Urging —CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

St. Louis was notorious for housing discrimination in the mid-20th century, when Black applicants were frequently denied mortgages, White homeowners were encouraged by real estate agents to move once a neighborhood began to integrate, and certain areas of the region were "redlined," meaning loans to buy homes in those areas were nearly impossible to get.

Will Jordan, executive director of the Metropolitan St. Louis Equal Housing and Opportunity Council, said change is happening far too slowly.

"Redlining and those types of issues are still playing out in the St. Louis metropolitan area," Jordan said. "I've seen notes on appraisals that are written by banks saying, 'nothing north of Delmar can possibly be that much. Let's rewrite this.'" Delmar Boulevard is infamously known as the dividing line between predominantly White and Black areas of St. Louis.

"North of Delmar, it's still very difficult to get any bank to finance something," Jordan said.

It's part of the reason the city's once vibrant north side has struggled in recent decades with rampant crime, high vacancy rates and a dilapidated housing stock.

Katie Berry, president of St. Louis Realtors, said past discrimination was no accident. Federal lending program maps used green lines to indicate places where loans would be approved—predominantly White areas. Red lines indicated high risk, "and those areas were Black communities or integrated communities because the theory was that once you integrated a community, the home values are

going to drop," she said.

Making matters worse, once integration began in a neighborhood, real estate agents would participate in what was known as "blockbusting." An agent would help a Black family move into a White neighborhood, then "start knocking on doors of the neighbors saying, 'Hey, did you know this Black family's moved in? Home values are going to plummet. You should go ahead and list your house with me. Hurry up and get out of here,'" Berry said.

Meanwhile, a provision of the National Association of Realtors' Code of Ethics from 1924 to 1950 instructed realtors to avoid "introducing into a neighborhood a character of property or occupancy, members of any race or nationality, or any individuals whose presence will clearly be detrimental to property values in that neighborhood."

A report released earlier this year by the National Association of Realtors showed that while 72.1 percent of White Americans own their homes, the rate for Black Americans is just 43.4 percent. The report also found that Black and Hispanic applicants for mortgage loans were far more likely to be rejected than White and Asian applicants.

Bryan Greene, vice president of policy advocacy for the NAR, said apologies are important because realtors "need to atone for our failures."

The Atlanta Realtors Association apologized in 2021 for past discriminatory practices.

"We can't change our history but we can choose to learn from our past, make current powerful decisions, and act with intention

to write future chapters that leave a positive legacy," then-President Cynthia Lippert wrote in a letter of apology.

In 2019, Chicago Association of Realtors President Tommy Choi issued an apology on behalf of the organization for being "on the wrong side of history."

Lydia Pope, president of the National Association of Real Estate Brokers, which promotes Black homeownership, said the apologies are good starting points.

"Now show us that you want to do better, that you are willing to do more to help create an environment where everyone is treated equally," Pope said in a statement.

Greene said the NAR has taken several steps, including creation of a Fair Housing Policy Committee. The national group also adopted an action plan in 2020 that emphasizes accountability, culture change and training local realtors in fair housing practices.

As part of the effort to change, realtors in Atlanta have undergone unconscious bias training and are seeking relationships with diverse real estate associations such as the National Association of Hispanic Real Estate Professionals and the LGBTQ+ Real Estate Alliance, the group said.

In St. Louis, the realtors' association hired a director of diversity, equity and inclusion, is working with lawmakers to reduce barriers to homeownership for minorities, is seeking to address housing vacancies, and is pushing to bring in more Black real estate agents.

Berry knows change won't happen quickly.

"People have been harmed for generations," she said.

Abdullah, 44, is executive director of Park Central Development, a company that works to attract investment and keep people in their homes in St. Louis. So he's familiar with fair housing laws. From the outset, he questioned the appraisal of his home by an appraiser from a mostly-White neighboring county.

When Abdullah filed a complaint with Jordan's office, the bank eventually agreed to increase the loan value to \$160,000, and Abdullah sold. Still, he asked the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development to investigate. The case remains unresolved.

"Just because I'm in this line of work, I didn't think I was exempt from these things happening to me," Abdullah said. "People have a right to the American dream."

## COALITION

Continued from page 1

Black and Brown people who vote? What's so dangerous about standing in line with a bottle of water or food or showing up early to vote?"

The Bishop said the danger is that "it shifts the power scale, and the have-nots have an opportunity to have their fair share."

"A right is not something someone gives you. It's something that someone cannot take away from you. That's what this is about. It's about restoring the right and the dignity of the voter. If your vote didn't matter, suppression wouldn't try to suffocate it. We need 10 million more voters."

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# Business & Finance

## Musk Seeks U.S. Funds For His Ukraine Satellite Network

By Tara Copp and Lolita C. Baldor

Associated Press

WASHINGTON, D.C. (AP)—The Defense Department has gotten a request from SpaceX and Tesla founder Elon Musk to take over funding for his satellite network that has provided crucial battlefield communications for Ukrainian military forces since almost the beginning of its war with Russia, U.S. officials said Friday.

The officials, who spoke on condition of anonymity to discuss a sensitive matter not yet made public, said the issue has been discussed in meetings and senior leaders are weighing the matter. There have been no decisions.

In a statement later Friday, Pentagon spokeswoman Sabrina Singh said, “We can confirm the Department received correspondence from SpaceX about the funding of Starlink, their satellite communications product in Ukraine. We remain in communication with SpaceX about this and other topics.”

During a Pentagon briefing, she declined to provide any details about the communication or say to whom the correspondence was sent and when the communications with Musk began.

Musk began sending Starlink satellite dishes to Ukraine just days after Russia invaded in February. On Feb. 28, Ukrainian Vice Prime Minister Mykhailo Fedorov tweeted a photo of the first Starlink kits arriving on the back of a truck.

“You are most welcome,” Musk tweeted back.

Musk’s generosity was hailed by Ukrainians and seen as a game changer in war tactics—the Russians could try to cut Ukrainian ground communications but it could not control space.

The Starlink system of more than 2,200 low-orbiting satellites has provided broadband internet to more than 150,000 Ukrainian ground stations. Early Friday, Musk tweeted that it was costing

SpaceX \$20 million a month to support Ukraine’s communications needs.

In addition to the terminals, he tweeted that the company has to create, launch, maintain and replenish satellites and ground stations.

CNN was the first to report the Musk request.

The Starlink satellite internet’s vital role in Ukraine’s defense cannot be overstated. It has, for example, assisted front-line reconnaissance drone operators in targeting artillery strikes on key Russian assets. A senior military official on Friday made it clear that the U.S. believes the system has proven exceptionally effective on the battlefield. The official spoke on condition of anonymity to provide U.S. assessment of the Ukrainian battlefield.

In a tweet on Friday, Ukrainian presidential adviser Mikhail Podolyak said Ukraine will find a solution to keep Starlink working.

“Let’s be honest. Like it or not, @elonmusk helped us survive the most critical moments of war. Business has the right to its own strategies,” he tweeted. “We expect that the company will provide stable connection till the end of negotiations.”

In response to multiple questions during the briefing, Singh said the Pentagon was working with the Ukrainian Defense Ministry. “We know that there is this demand, and (satellite communications) capability... is needed and we want to be able to ensure that there are stable communications for the Ukrainian forces and for Ukraine.”

The request from the world’s richest man to have the Pentagon take over the hundreds of millions of dollars he says the system is costing comes on the heels of a Twitter war between Musk and Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy. And in tweets overnight Musk referred to the friction, suggesting it may affect his decision to end his company’s largesse in funding the systems.

In a Twitter exchange last

week, Musk argued that to reach peace Russia should be allowed to keep the Crimean Peninsula, which it seized in 2014. He also said Ukraine should adopt a neutral status, dropping a bid to join NATO.

Musk also started a Twitter poll asking whether “the will of the people” should decide if seized regions remain part of Ukraine or become part of Russia.

In a sarcastic response, Zelenskyy posted a Twitter poll of his own asking “which Elon Musk do you like more?”: “One who supports Ukraine” or “One who supports Russia.” Musk replied to Zelenskyy that “I still very much support Ukraine, but am convinced that massive escalation of the war will cause great harm to Ukraine and possibly the world.”

Andriy Melnyk, the outgoing Ukrainian ambassador to Germany, responded to Musk’s original tweet with an obscenity.

It’s not clear how much of the cost of deploying Starlink satellite uplinks in Ukraine has been covered by U.S. funding. In April, the U.S. Agency for International Development said it had delivered 5,000 of the terminals. The Pentagon had no response to that question.

Musk’s commitment to spend \$44 billion to purchase Twitter “has to factor into his decision that he can no longer afford to do this for free,” said retired Army Maj. Gen. John Ferrari, a non-resident senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute.

Musk’s request that the Pentagon begin to pick up the tab comes as the Space Force and Pentagon have been looking at how commercial vendors will play a role in national security. Musk’s threat to withdraw highlights the risk of leaning too much on commercial capabilities, Ferrari said.

“Commercial vendors always get to change their mind,” Ferrari said, adding that the reliance on Starlink to provide communications for Ukraine also serves as a reminder that the Pentagon

has to expand this service beyond SpaceX, he said.



**MUSK WANTS HELP WITH STARLINK**—Elon Musk’s Starlink satellites have been providing Ukrainian forces with crucial battlefield communications since the beginning of the Russian invasion. However, he says it is costing his company \$20 million a month and he wants the U.S. government to help with it.

has to expand this service beyond SpaceX, he said.

“The government needs many vendors for key capabilities, of course that often means more money, but it is an insurance policy and insurance costs money,” Ferrari said.

In March, commander of U.S. Space Command Army Gen. James Dickinson said that hav-

ing vendors provide needed capabilities, such as Maxar’s satellite imagery of stalled Russian convoys, has become essential, because it frees up limited military satellite assets to focus on other things.

In his tweets, Musk also raised a question that various vendors and the Pentagon are considering as space becomes a more critical

part of wartime operations: If a commercial vendor is assisting the U.S. and is targeted, does the U.S. owe it protection?

“We’ve also had to defend against cyberattacks & jamming, which are getting harder,” Musk tweeted.

Associated Press writer Frank Bajak in Lima, Peru, contributed to this report.

## NYC Inches Out From Under COVID

By Deepthi Hajela

Associated Press

NEW YORK, N.Y. (AP)—As kids returned to school last month, people watching New York City pull itself out of COVID-19’s shadow wondered whether workers who fled Manhattan’s office towers during the pandemic would finally return in a rush, too.

More workers did return to their offices, at least part time, as the summer ended, limited data suggests. But the onset of autumn has also made it clearer than ever that the recovery will be drawn out, and that some aspects of the city’s economic ecosystem could be changed for good.

“We’re certainly entered a changed relationship between office workers and their offices,” said James Parrott, director of Economic and Fiscal Policies at the Center for New York City Affairs at The New School.

That’s meant hardship for New Yorkers who are part of the economy built around the commuting class.

They are the workers whose livelihoods can’t happen over an internet connection, who have depended on that serendipity of a customer being in the right place at the right time—the sudden impulse to buy a snack, pop into a store, throw some dollars into a street performer’s tip bucket.

They’re people like Emad Ahmed, 58, who for more than

two decades has worked in lower Manhattan, running his food cart on a plaza near Wall Street and the World Trade Center.

The pandemic forced a pause, but as soon as he was able, Ahmed came back—and really wishes he could say the same for all the workers he relied on as customers, many of them still working at home and coming into Manhattan only a few days a week, at most.

“The pandemic (is) almost done, nobody uses a mask now, and you can go to the subway and the bus without masks, and people still don’t come,” he said. It’s “absolutely not like before.”

Some had looked to the Labor Day as a possible catalyst, a transition back to the way things were, and indeed, some data has shown momentum since then, including office occupancy in the metro area getting closer to the halfway mark.

Subway ridership is on an upswing, as well, with one day last week reaching almost 3.9 million riders. While that’s only about 64 percent of a comparable day pre-pandemic, the weekday totals have been inching up overall since the holiday.

A survey of Manhattan companies put out by the Partnership for New York City last month found that on an average day, just under half of Manhattan office workers were in their offices as of the beginning of September.

But when it comes to being

back in the office full time, only 9 percent of workers were, with the largest group, 37 percent, in for three days a week. Sixteen percent of workers were still completely remote.

Looking ahead through the rest of the year to the beginning of 2023, the survey didn’t show those numbers changing drastically, despite city government and corporate leaders urging workers to come back.

“People have gotten used to the flexibility and the benefits of not having to commute to the office every day,” said Kathryn Wilde, president and CEO of the partnership. “They’re going to have to have good reasons to go back.”

Remote work has brought an upswing in jobs and liveliness to some neighborhoods in the outer boroughs, as people staying close to home have brought their coffee and other daily needs to their local outlets.

But that hasn’t made up for what’s been lost, said Jonathan Bowles, executive director of the Center for an Urban Future, a public policy think tank.

“In some ways, it’s almost miraculous how much the city’s economy has recovered since the depths of March 2020,” Bowles said.

New York City lost more than 970,000 jobs when the pandemic hit; as of August, just about 810,000 had come back, about 84 percent.

## Meta Hits Back In Fight With FTC

By Marcy Gordon

AP Business Writer

WASHINGTON, D.C. (AP)—Federal regulators and Facebook parent Meta are battling over Meta’s proposed acquisition of virtual-reality company Within Unlimited and its fitness app Supernatural.

In a landmark legal challenge to a Big Tech merger, the Federal Trade Commission is suing to block the deal, asserting it would hurt competition and violate anti-trust laws.

Meta struck back Thursday, asking a federal court in San Jose, California, to dismiss the FTC’s July request for an injunction against the acquisition.

The tech giant said in its court filing that the government failed to establish that the virtual-reality market is concentrated with high

barriers to entry. The claims in the agency’s lawsuit “are nothing more than the FTC’s speculation about what Meta might have done,” the company says. It asserts that the FTC failed to meet two key legal standards set in previous cases.

In a statement Thursday, the FTC noted that it revised its complaint last week in a way that narrowed the focus of its allegations. In its new form, the statement said, “We are confident that the District Court complaint will not be dismissed and this case will be heard.”

Meta, in its own statement, said “the FTC’s attempt to fix its ill-conceived complaint still ignores the facts and the law, and relies on pure speculation of a hypothetical future state.”

It added that it believes the complaint should be dismissed

because there is “vibrant competition in the fitness space and across (virtual reality), and our acquisition of Within will be good for people, developers and the VR space.”

The FTC’s vote last summer to seek to block the Within acquisition was 3-2, with Chair Lina Khan and the other two Democratic commissioners approving it and the two Republicans opposed.

The FTC’s original suit named CEO Mark Zuckerberg as a defendant as well as Meta, but he was dropped in August.

Under Zuckerberg’s leadership, Meta began a campaign to conquer virtual reality in 2014 with its acquisition of headset maker Oculus VR. Since then, Meta’s VR headsets have become the cornerstone of its growth in the virtual reality space, the FTC noted in its suit.

## Edmunds Website Compares Genesis GV60 With Tesla’s Model Y SUV

By Michael Cantu

Edmunds

The Tesla Model Y SUV is the best-selling electric vehicle in the U.S. and is quickly finding success overseas as well. But with a current starting price of \$67,190, the Model Y leaves room for competitors to undercut it. Not surprisingly, that’s exactly what Genesis hopes to do with its all-new GV60.

Just like the Model Y, Genesis’

GV60 is a small SUV and boasts dual electric motors for strong performance and a tech-laden interior. Starting at \$60,385, the GV60 has a solid price advantage over the Tesla. Does this upstart EV have what it takes to outperform the well-established Model Y? Edmunds car experts compared them to find out which is the better buy.

Tesla sells two versions of the 2022 Model Y. The Long Range provides an EPA-estimated 330

miles on a full charge, which is one of the longest distances for an electric SUV. The higher-horsepower Performance model gets a respectable 303-mile estimate. However, in Edmunds’ real-world standardized range testing, the Model Y came up a little short of its EPA range estimates.

Genesis has a two-version lineup for the GV60 as well: Advanced and Performance. The GV60’s EPA estimates are lower

than the Model Y’s: 248 miles for the Advanced trim and 235 miles for the Performance. Although when Edmunds tested the Performance model, it outperformed its estimate and went 274 miles.

Essentially, real-world driving is closer than it looks. But Tesla’s vast Supercharger fast-charging network gives it the win because it provides more public charging stations for both out-of-town and in-town charging needs. The GV60 has the ability to charge quicker, but few charging stations can support that speed and are from various third-party companies.

Winner: Tesla Model Y

The Model Y’s centerpiece is its large 15-inch touchscreen that serves as the control interface for nearly everything. It looks great, but we’ve found it can be distracting to use while driving. Autopilot, a drive system consisting of several advanced driver aids, is generally helpful. However, Edmunds has found the operation of its adaptive cruise control and vehicle detection systems to be a bit hit-or-miss. Also, there’s no way to fully integrate your smartphone into the touchscreen.

The GV60 does have Apple CarPlay and Android Auto smartphone integration. Also, its two 12.3-inch displays and head-up display make it easier to use the infotainment system and see

important information while driving. The GV60 also offers two features that Tesla doesn’t: a facial recognition system for unlocking the vehicle and the ability to power small appliances and electronic devices from the battery pack.

Winner: Genesis GV60

Mash the accelerator pedal and the Model Y Performance will effortlessly accelerate from 0 to 60 mph in just 3.5 seconds. The GV60 Performance is a little slower—3.9 seconds—but it’s a difference that won’t likely be noticed while driving around town.

Both EVs should impress if you enjoy athletic handling. The Tesla and Genesis have quick and accurate steering and stay composed around turns despite their hefty weight. They both offer solid braking performance.

One-pedal driving, which lets you use the accelerator pedal for both acceleration and braking, cannot be turned off or adjusted in the Model Y. But it’s completely adjustable in the GV60, allowing drivers to choose how they want to drive.

Winner: tie

Most SUVs have ample levels of comfort, but there’s a difference between these two rivals.

The GV60 provides a more comfortable ride, especially if you opt for the Performance

model that comes with an adaptive suspension. Its plush seats are highly adjustable and are heated and ventilated. Overall comfort is one of the best in class. The Model Y’s ride is firmer, but its seats are well padded and supportive. On hot days, though, the enormous glass roof can heat up the cabin, making you wish that ventilated seats were offered.

Winner: Genesis GV60

The GV60 provides adequate cargo and passenger room. But the bigger Model Y simply offers more. There’s more available cargo space behind the rear seats, and up front is a roomy front trunk. The GV60’s tiny front trunk isn’t really usable. As for passenger room, the front seat space is pretty even, but the Model Y has more rear seat head- and legroom. You also have the option of adding a two-seat third row in the Model Y, albeit one that’s very small and reduces cargo space.

Winner: Tesla Model Y

The reasons for the Tesla Model Y’s popularity are easily understood: It offers lots of utility, provides a generous driving range and has super-easy DC fast-charging capability. But in this comparison, we give the narrow win to the GV60. Its superior comfort, technology and value make it a more compelling EV to own long term.



THE GENESIS GV60 CAME OUT JUST BARELY AHEAD OF THE TESLA MODEL Y

# Opinion



## Emmett Till Lives

By David Johnson

Contributing Writer, Los Angeles Sentinel

Classism, racism, war, and corporate greed are malicious outliers, which in their ways, plague the United States and global civilization abroad. Recollect back to 1955, Post World War, Two United States and these same outliers were a virus dividing and corrupting the United States and most of the world. In that year 1955, a 14-year-old Black male teenager from Chicago was sent by his mother to visit his family in Money, Miss. This innocent teenager was named Emmett Louis Till. Actually, Emmett was having a great time visiting his southern family, receiving all the love and attention and having care-free fun for three days into his visit before the horrid curse of violent, racist injustice struck Emmett Till, his family and the United States of America!

Emmett Till was born on July 25, 1941, and was murdered August 28, 1955. Emmett, as most Americans know, was violently tortured and murdered in Money, Miss. for allegedly whistling at a married, White woman named Carolyn Bryant. This rule was a long held racial taboo in the Southern States. Black males were not allowed to even look at White women in their eyes in public let alone whistle at them or around them. Such racist, classist unjust social rules were a result of the terrible slavery system and were passed down as the Jim Crow racist injustice system of the South. Being born and raised in Chicago, Till wasn't accustomed to such public social rules. Although racist outliers existed against Blacks in Chicago, they were not as rigid and as violently enforced as in the Southern States.

This case was indicative of the racial hatred perpetuated against Blacks or African-Americans throughout all of the United States almost 100 years after slavery supposedly ended. This case was terrible and exposed how the entire society of Mississippi and the South was a prison and or torture chamber for Blacks. Contradicting these facts, the Whites of the South claimed to be the most civilized humans on Earth at the time. This clear permanence of racial hatred and systematic genocidal programming against one group, the Black Americans also contradicted the United States Declaration of Independence and the Constitution ratified Articles 13 and 14, developed after the end of the Civil War.

Young Emmett was tracked down the day after the so-called whistling incident. The White husband of the woman and his White male friends along with a Black man, came to the home where Till was staying. They barged in the home and grabbed Emmett, along with Emmett's cousin, Simeon Wright. Simeon was with Emmett at the time of the whistling incident. After figuring out which of the boys was the one who supposedly whistled, the abductors bust the teeth out of Simeon's mouth by throwing him off their truck then taking off with Emmett. Witnesses said in trial, they saw them drive up with Emmett and took him into a barn and tormented Emmett for hours. The witness said they heard Emmett screaming for hours and they could hear the whipping and beating blows they were hitting him so hard.

Roy Bryant, the husband of the woman who claimed she was whistled at and brother-in-law, J.W. Milam kidnapped and brutally murdered Emmett Till. They dumped his body in the Tallahatchie River. This murder shocked the nation by gaining global media coverage. In turn, this case infused a generation of Black Americans to create and join the Civil Rights movement. With nationwide media coverage, the funeral of Emmett Till was held in Chicago with an open casket where anyone could see the terrible swelling and mutilation from the beating put on Emmett by the murderers.

Outrage ensued throughout the nation and even world-wide for such racist brutality being allowed in the United States. Black media outlets and organizations went in with all resources exposing the tragedy by even putting Emmett Till's funeral casket picture on their front pages. *Jet* Magazine even put the picture on the front of their magazine. Black politicians, the NAACP and Black celebrities expressed their heartbreak and outrage at this ongoing continuing murder and rape of Blacks throughout the United States.

Then came the trial and attempt to get justice for Emmett's family and for the Black community held in Sumner, Miss. in September 1955. Emmett's great-uncle testifying against the murderers marked the first time a Black human testified against a White human in the state of Mississippi. The problem was the defense was up against long held practices of allowing White people to murder, rape and torture Blacks in Mississippi. It was clear what the outcome would be when the judge threw out all the testimonies given by all witnesses to the kidnapping and murder of Emmett Till, even after they testified in court. The murderers were acquitted of all charges including the murder charges. With all the media coverage, it was clear to the entire world the U.S. government was continuing the oppression of Black Americans although the U.S. was proclaiming itself to be the beacon of justice and freedom.

This case galvanized generations of Blacks and some non-Blacks to take up the cause of human rights and justice throughout the United States. With the likes of Paul Robeson and those generations of devotees who worked and lived for justice and freedom, African-Americans as myself could get our education and I am free to write this article and you are free to read it. In 2007, a Federal Bill named "The Emmett Till Unsolved Civil Right Crime Act" was created due to continual effort of noble citizenry. All of the Civil Rights work and successes make it clear that we have the ability and right to challenge laws and practices no matter how old and how cherished by the rich and or the government. With all this revealed, Ms. Carolyn Bryant in her later age of 82, recanted her claim about Emmett Till whistling at her in an interview stating it wasn't true and it did not happen.

Justice cannot only become a thing of the past, a memory of the noble generations who sacrificed for current generations liberties and rights. Justice has to be openly taught as a pillar of the African-American Legacy! Does nobility matter any longer and to who? What are the current injustices being ignored and which type and class are perpetuating the injustices and which groups are the victims? The United States and world should be careful that the mirror of the past does not continue to reflect ugly faces.

Over the past decade, Blacks were being murdered on camera continually by police officers of the law even though White males continue to be the super majority of people who murder cops. Also, the all-White male police officers did this while there was an African-American President of the United States. Clearly, this is an agenda. This is evidence that the agenda to torment and murder Blacks has and will continue in the United States if African-Americans and im-

migrants and other underrepresented ethnic groups do not organize together and concentrate resources and effort on stopping the killings... not to mention the world's biggest privately-owned prison system, holding the highest number of humans on Earth. This clearly is systematic strategy and not random.

Many, such as Dr. Cornell West, say that we live in a more Authoritarian state in the U.S. than ever before. Thus, I ponder, was slavery transformed? Was Jim Crow and Apartheid implemented throughout the United States in covert methods to this day? Ku Klux Klan leader, Neo Nazi representative David Duke once said, and I paraphrase, "We, the Ku Klux Klan took off our hoods and put on suits and ties and filled the politician seats and board rooms and senator's seats." How about that?



## This November, Unite to Defend the Black Vote

By Ben Jealous

People for the American Way

(TriceEdneyWire.com)—Right before our last national elections in 2020, thousands of Black voters in Detroit got a call from someone posing as a woman named "Tamika Taylor." She warned them that if they voted, the government would collect their personal information and come after them for credit card debt, outstanding warrants, even forced vaccinations. The calls were a voter suppression scam, and the two White guys behind it were prosecuted. But we'll never know how many people were nervous enough to avoid voting that year.

Dirty tricks like this make me sick. And as we get closer to this year's midterms, civil rights leaders are warning that we're likely to see more of them. The Far Right is waging a war on Black voters, and disinformation is among its favorite weapons. Another one is passing laws to make it harder for Black citizens to vote. The Brennan Center at NYU keeps track of these efforts. The legal scholars there report that since 2020, lawmakers in 49 states have introduced more than 400 bills that would make it harder to vote. This midterm election is the first nationwide election since that massive voter suppression campaign started, and we have one way to fight it: massive voter mobilization.

Getting our friends and neighbors to vote so we can have a say in issues that affect our daily lives is a calling for all of us. I am fortunate to lead an organization that will make Black male voters the focus of our Get Out the Vote efforts this year. Our initiative, Defend the Black Vote, will reach out to Black men in 15 states who are registered but skipped two out of three of the last elections. Our focus will be men because they still don't vote in the high percentages Black women do. Our message will be simple: Vote this November. Vote because your vote is your voice and your power. Vote because of everything that is on the line in these elections: jobs, reproductive rights, mass incarceration, who sits on our courts, education for our kids, health care, pollution in the environment where our families live.

Vote because we need to Ban the Box. Vote because Black Lives Matter. Vote because you have a dream of entrepreneurship. Vote because your mental health, and your family's mental health, matters. Vote because the White supremacists don't want you to, and are doing everything they can to stop you, and that tells you how important it is.

I know that some folks don't vote because they believe their vote doesn't matter. History shows that it does. The best example I can think of is what happened in Georgia in 2020, the first year we ran our Defend the Black Vote campaign. We motivated over 200,000 additional Black men in Georgia to vote that year—a year when the presidential election in the state was decided by 12,000 votes. The Black men who voted in Georgia made a historic difference, and the numbers prove it.

We know there's one more way today's Far Right and their predecessors—the Klan, the White League, and all the other terrorists like them—have tried to suppress Black votes, and it's the ugliest: intimidation and threats of violence. Our ancestors faced a real risk of being attacked or murdered for registering to vote or voting. Today the intimidation might be more high-tech: is your name in the system, will you be accused of an illegal vote? Florida's arrests of returning citizens who voted—after being issued new voter registration cards by the state itself—are especially cruel. They were meant to scare people, and they probably did.

So, vote because we refuse to be intimidated. Because those who went before us put their lives on the line to cast a ballot. And if you are a man who doesn't have a plan to vote, or you have a father, brother, uncle or son who doesn't have a plan, it's not too late to make one now. We need you.

*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 January 2023.*



## Modeling the Spirit of Democracy

By Ben Jealous

People for the American Way

Some things are unthinkable—until they happen. For Jamie Raskin, a congressman and father, the first unthink-

able thing was the loss of his beloved son Tommy to suicide on New Year's Eve 2020. As a father myself, my heart breaks when I imagine the grief experienced by Raskin and his family.

The second unthinkable thing happened less than a week later. Enraged supporters of the defeated President Donald Trump attacked the U.S. Capitol and hunted for members of Congress to prevent them from affirming the results of the presidential election.

Raskin was at the Capitol that day—the day after his son was buried—to do his duty. And that meant he and the family members who were there to support him had to live through the terror of the attack and evacuation.

After all that, House Speaker Nancy Pelosi asked Raskin to lead an effort to impeach Trump for his role in the insurrection. Raskin said yes. He did a brilliant job. It was a remarkable show of strength and resilience. The House did vote to impeach Trump for a second time, though most Senate Republicans refused to convict him.

Raskin wrote a book about that 45-day period between the loss of his son and the impeachment of Trump. *Unthinkable: Trauma, Truth, and the Trials of American Democracy*, is powerful and surprisingly hopeful.

I recently had a chance to talk with Raskin when he spoke with People For the American Way's new online book club. I asked him about the grounds for his hope. How, given the rising threats to freedom and democracy, does he continue to consider himself a "constitutional optimist?"

What makes the U.S. exceptional is not that we are somehow immune to the erosion of democracy, he said. What makes us exceptional is the progress we have made together. We can take hope and strength from our own history, and the example of courageous people around the world.

"We are not the first generation to face authoritarianism." He reminded all of us that the spirit of freedom and democracy lives in people's hearts even in the face of repression and attempts to snuff it out—and efforts by far-right strategists to smother it.

Raskin has modeled that spirit of democracy as a member of the House Select Committee investigating the Jan. 6 insurrection and all that led up to it. In the face of every effort by Trump and his allies to stall, stonewall, and shut down the investigation, Raskin and his colleagues refused to back down. They have dug out evidence and presented it to the American people.

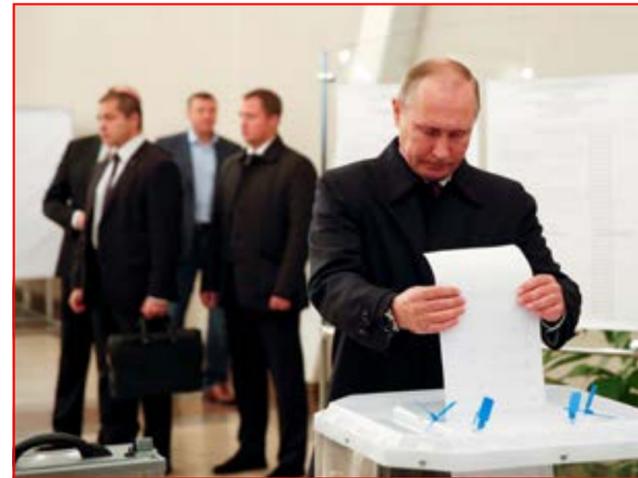
Without the committee's investigations, we would know far less about the effort by Trump and his henchmen to overturn the election. Without the committee's truth-telling, there would be no hope for holding them accountable.

The threat to democracy is real. Conspiracy theories are helping drive a right-wing turn away from democratic values and toward repressive authoritarian rule.

At this moment, Americans face a choice: do we go back to the worst of the past, to voter suppression and political violence fueled by racism? Or do we move forward, building on the progress we have made in becoming a multiracial, multiethnic, multireligious democratic society?

It's up to us. As Jamie Raskin reminded us, "Democracy is always unfinished."

*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 January 2023.*



## Putin's On The Ballot

By Tom H. Hastings

Portland State University

Really, everything's on the ballot.

We hear that reproductive rights are on the ballot, in a bid to elect lawmakers who will codify reproductive rights into black letter law. Anything else on the ballot?

Maybe climate chaos or its mitigation. Most Democrats say climate emergency action is crucial while just 11 percent of Trump supporters think so.

Maybe nuclear annihilation or disarmament. Republicans in the House have been clamoring for more nuclear weapons and all the components of the arsenal, whereas Democrats have been stressing the need for better diplomacy and negotiation.

Maybe your access to health care. And, my fellow seniors, Republicans are dedicated to raising the prices of prescription drugs. Really? Yup, your heart medicine, your cancer meds, your diabetes meds—Republicans are actually organizing on behalf of Big Pharma to take the lid off prices. They have no conscience but they also wager on you not noticing much. As my oldest son used to say, "I'm so broke I can't pay attention" (He had a couple rough years).

Maybe democracy itself. If Republicans gain control, another Trump nightmare regime is a far stronger likelihood. The Brookings Institute (emphatically not a left wing think tank) is stating, flat out, that democracy in the U.S. may only have one more legitimate election in its future, since so many clear opponents to fair elections—more than 300 of them—are running for office. And tight election outcomes are really not a friend of democracy this time, since close counts can seem to validate the false claims of fraud. If you want to see democracy right itself and flourish, vote and vote in overwhelming numbers.

The shady connections between Trump and Putin were obvious from the earliest days, during the 2016 campaign and ever since. While correlation is not causation, it is a consequential "coincidence," for instance, that once Trump got his mitts on the most sensitive national security information, that security eroded, with a strong whiff of Putin and his methods hanging in the air.

Why did more CIA agents and assets get killed or compromised once Trump had those files?

While the CIA has quite arguably done far more harm than good over its 75 years of operations, no decent American would give the identities of its employees to a barbarian like Putin, known for his ham-handed poisonings, machine-gunning, and disappearing of those who displease him. But Trump is simply not decent.

Indeed, all the cascading problems from the Trump years not only haunt us still, but are ramping back up to become far worse if enough of his allies are elected next month.

It's all on the ballot. If you can vote, bear that in mind. You are part of the upcoming decisions that will affect our lives right now and the lives of coming generations. History reminds us: Hitler was elected and then ended elections.

*Dr. Tom H. Hastings is Coördinator of Conflict Resolution BA/BS degree programs and certificates at Portland State University, PeaceVoice Senior Editor, and on occasion an expert witness for the defense of civil resisters in court.*