

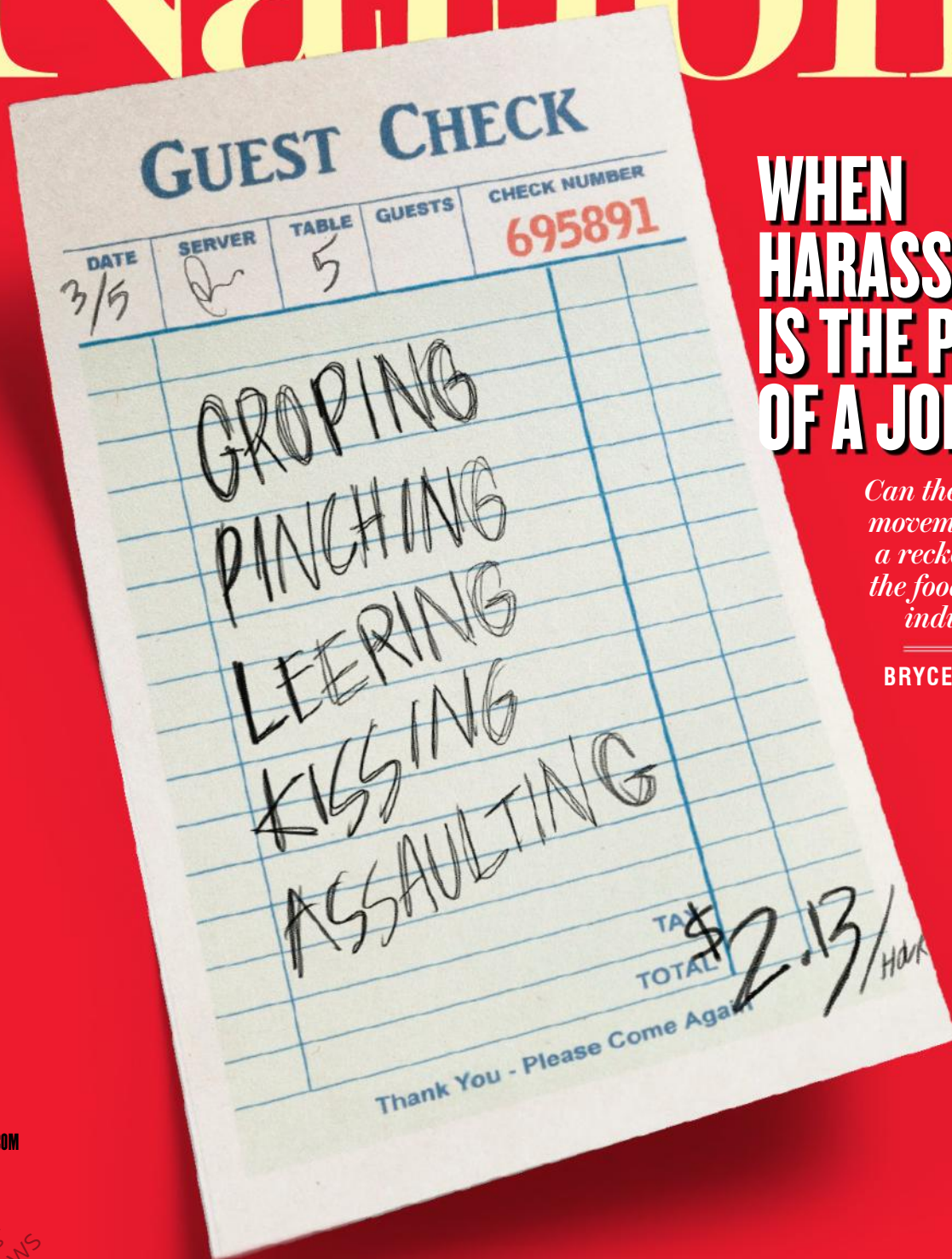
WOMEN AND REALIGNMENT || FOSSIL-FREE USA

JULIE KOHLER

BILL MCKIBBEN

THE Nation.

MARCH 5, 2018



WHEN HARASSMENT IS THE PRICE OF A JOB

Can the #MeToo movement force a reckoning in the food-service industry?

BRYCE COVERT

THENATION.COM

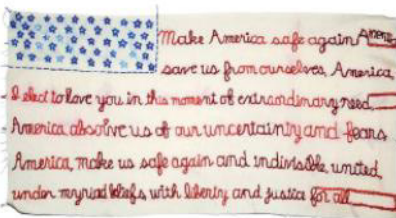
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Artistic Dispatches From the Front Lines of Resistance



^ **Trigger** / Edel Rodriguez



^ **Incantation for America** / Iviva Olenick

BULLY



CULPRIT

^ **Bully Culprit** / Robbie Conal

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Hans and Franz Economics

The sidebar titled “Pumping Up the Economy” on page 8 of the Jan. 29/ Feb. 5 issue touts the economic benefits of employing gas-station attendants. Prohibiting motorists from pumping their own gas, as is done in New Jersey and Oregon, creates jobs, after all. If this is a good thing, perhaps we should have stall attendants in public restrooms. I read online recently that self-checkout lines in supermarkets should be boycotted because they replace cashiers. This kind of thinking is similar to the flawed logic that President Trump uses to ease regulations on burning coal—so we can keep miners employed.

The notion that government should help lower the unemployment rate by mandating that businesses hire people to perform simple tasks—tasks that customers can easily do themselves—is foolish. Technological advancements often replace manual labor; this has been happening at least since Archimedes invented the water screw. Besides, the jobs these policies create are often low-paying.

Yes, automation and globalization have caused major unemployment/ underemployment in the United States over the past few decades. But the answer is not to thumb our collective nose at modern technology and say, “We’re going to keep doing it the old-fashioned way.” A better solution is to shorten the workweek so the US labor force is better matched to the reduced workload caused by technological advancements. A century ago, the labor movement got us from seven days a week to five. Way back in the 1970s, I first heard someone suggest that we go to a four-day workweek to compensate for advancements in productivity—and that was well before the digital age.

GARY KENDALL
NEW BERLIN, PA.

Fear and Self-Loathing

“The Misogynist Within” [Jan. 15/22] was a superb article, but its target should be more universal, should go beyond men, because, sadly, women are also prejudiced against women. I know this because I am a woman and I have felt it, too. It’s subtle and insidious, but it’s there. I find myself preferring to see a male doctor. When I’m comfortably aboard a plane, I think of the pilot as a man. I belong to a writers’ group and find myself subconsciously dismissing the work of female writers, especially older ones—and I am one of them!

This is the ugly elephant in the room. It’s not that women aren’t as strong as men, but many have not yet learned the distinctive nature of their own strength. Achieving equality is going to involve facing lots of obstacles, and the toughest of all are the internal ones.

FREDDIE BRINSTER
SEATTLE

Millennials vs. Boomers

In her review of *Kids These Days* by Malcolm Harris [Jan. 29/Feb. 5], Sarah Jones applauds the author for destroying the myths about millennials, yet seems happy to employ equally specious generalizations about baby boomers and Gen Xers. She brands both older cohorts as “anti-youth” (whatever that means) and blames them for delivering millennials into an economy in which inequality is high and expectations are diminishing. Guess what? We boomers and Gen Xers are no more the striving, self-dealing, materialistic despoilers of the American dream than millennials are basement-dwelling, latte-infused, whining snowflakes. Indeed, if you look around the *Nation* office, I’d wager

letters@thenation.com

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If Democrats Build It...

President Trump's State of the Union address was predictably loaded with falsehoods and malice. Between dissembling on the economy and vilifying immigrants, however, he did leave room for one conspicuous show of bipartisanship: "I am asking both parties to come together to give us

the safe, fast, reliable, and modern infrastructure our economy needs and our people deserve."

Trump has been vowing to rebuild the nation's dangerously outdated infrastructure for nearly three years now. "We're becoming a Third World country," he declared in his campaign announcement, "because of our infrastructure." During his inaugural address, the president bemoaned that "America's infrastructure has fallen into disrepair and decay," pledging to "build new roads, and highways, and bridges, and airports, and tunnels, and railways all across our wonderful nation."

The problem is that Trump has failed to put forward anything that remotely resembles a credible plan. Instead, he's attempting to pass off a privatization scheme as a public-works project. Despite calling for a \$1.5 trillion boost in infrastructure spending, Trump is offering just \$200 billion in federal funds. The remaining \$1.3 trillion is expected to come from a combination of state and local governments and the private sector. Yet in many places with the greatest need for new infrastructure, cash-strapped governments won't be able to pay for it without raising taxes. Meanwhile, the private-equity firms and foreign sovereign-wealth funds that are likely to fill the void will undoubtedly demand guaranteed returns in the form of, say, new tolls. The reliance on private investment also creates, as Paul Krugman writes in *The New York Times*, the potential for "an orgy of crony capitalism."

Now consider where the paltry federal funding is likely to come from. The administration has indicated that the \$200 billion will be offset by unspecified budget cuts—a standard that didn't apply to Trump's massive corporate-tax giveaway—while the White House's proposed budget calls for severe cuts to existing infrastructure and transportation programs. A Center on Budget and Policy Priorities analysis found that the combined effect of Trump's infrastructure

and budget plans would actually be "large and growing annual cuts in infrastructure spending."

Still, with the midterm elections looming, Trump's infrastructure push could put some Democrats in a tricky position, especially swing-state senators on the ballot in November. Infrastructure programs continue to be extremely popular with voters across the political spectrum. Democrats cannot afford to look like obstructionists on an issue that millions of Americans rightly consider a priority. It will not be enough to expose Trump's bait-and-switch without presenting a bold alternative vision of a progressive jobs and infrastructure program.

So what should such a program look like? The Congressional Progressive Caucus has proposed \$2 trillion in new infrastructure spending, with renewable energy, safe water, and 21st-century transportation, including public transit, as top priorities. The party leadership's "Better Deal" agenda includes a \$1 trillion federal investment, to be paid for by closing tax loopholes that benefit corporations and the rich. And the "Millions of Jobs" campaign has endorsed the 10 key principles laid out in a House resolution with 155 co-sponsors. The resolution states that any infrastructure bill should prioritize "public investment over corporate giveaways and selling off public goods" and "the needs of disadvantaged communities—both urban and rural." Unsurprisingly, zero Republicans have signed on.

On the day of Trump's inauguration, Gallup released a poll finding that voters overwhelmingly considered the enactment of an infrastructure program Trump's most important campaign promise. A year later, the president has failed to deliver. His latest proposal does nothing to change that fact. Now Democrats need to convince voters that they're committed to fulfilling his promise themselves.



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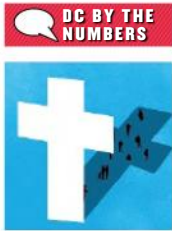
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Cover illustration by Nurul Hana Anwar.



New reports by US Immigration and Customs Enforcement and the Church World Service detail the rise in immigrant arrests as well as the unprecedented response by the New Sanctuary Movement to protect undocumented people.

147%

Increase from 2016 to 2017 in immigration arrests of individuals with no criminal record

37

People who have taken public sanctuary since Donald Trump's inauguration

7,000+

Americans who have signed a pledge to open up their homes, churches, schools, hospitals, college campuses, and community centers to immigrants in need of sanctuary

26

Cities across the United States where people are currently in sanctuary

—Emmalina Glinkis

Realignment Time?

Will more white women join the progressive coalition?

“What’s wrong with white women?” has become a common refrain in progressive political circles. A majority of white women voted for Donald Trump, despite the fact that he faced a highly qualified female opponent who would have shattered the ultimate glass ceiling. A majority of white women in Alabama voted for Republican Senate candidate Roy Moore, who (like Trump) faced multiple allegations of sexual assault and misconduct.

These elections were not aberrations: White women have voted Republican for the better part of the past three decades. Women of color—black women especially—are responsible for the so-called gender gap in electoral politics and form the core of the progressive base. Yet we also hear stories of emerging activism among newly mobilized constituencies, such as the formerly apolitical white suburban soccer moms who spent 2017 donning pink hats, organizing huddles, and flooding congressional switchboards with calls. A multiracial surge of women has started to transform anger into action: declaring #MeToo; holding previously impervious men accountable for their harassment; joining long-standing social-justice movements; and running for office in record numbers.

Does this mean we’re in the early stages of a political realignment, in which white women will follow Planned Parenthood president Cecile Richards’s call to “own the problems of the present”? Or is the recent attention to white women’s political awakening a distraction from the harsh reality that throughout history—including the suffragist and feminist movements—white women have all too often aligned their political interests with those of white men?

To understand the “white-woman story,” we must first acknowledge that white supremacy remains the prevailing force in electoral politics. The race gap between black and white voters in modern elections runs 40- to 50-plus points, whereas the gender gap runs about 10. That said, white women are not a monolithic bloc, and their voting behavior is highly related to the interplay of several factors: heterosexual marriage, education, and religion. In 2016, there was a 20-point gap in support for Hillary Clinton between college-educated women (56 percent) and non-college-educated white women (36 percent). But there was also significant variation within these groups, with support for Clinton 10-plus points higher among unmarried than married women and roughly 30 points higher among non-evangelical than evangelical Christians across all educational levels.

Such associations are significant because they reveal how influences like marriage and evangelical Christianity interact with white supremacy to influence white

women’s political behavior. Some white women face pressure from their more conservative husbands, a dynamic that Clinton acknowledged in her analysis of her 2016 election loss. But there are also structural forces at play that influence what individuals experience as rational choice. The gender gap in pay, for example, has the practical effect of privileging men’s careers—particularly white men’s—over women’s and yoking white women’s economic interests to their husbands’. So for some married white women, a vote for the Republican candidate may appear to be the self-interested choice. Conversely, there are reasons why the most progressive blocs of white women are college-educated and unmarried. College-educated women’s greater earning power makes them less economically dependent on men. Unmarried women, meanwhile, experience gendered barriers to economic prosperity most starkly, with no second income to mitigate the effects.

Given the overall statistics—and the entrenched structural power of marriage and religion—some have appropriately questioned whether white women’s post-Trump political awakening will translate into votes for Democrats in meaningful numbers. And yet an early model from the Virginia gubernatorial election by Catalist, a progressive data company, suggests that there was a swing, as well as a surge, among college-educated women, with Democratic support up eight to nine points and their percentage of the electorate up one to two points from recent national averages. If this suggested pattern is sustained through November and beyond, we may be seeing the early days of a new American majority that includes, if not an outright majority of white women, much healthier majorities of certain subgroups.

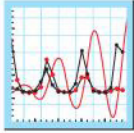
But we must take care not to overstate the magnitude of this potential shift. Even if there are some short-term tactical opportunities to increase white women’s support for Democratic candidates, it is impossible to know how strong or enduring such an expanded coalition might be. Plenty of white women may be disgusted by Trump and his ilk but not “in it to win it” when it comes to a progressive policy agenda. Investments in mobilizing newly activated white women must be the frosting atop a cake of much deeper investment in year-round organizing in communities of color—those best poised to lead and drive real progressive change.

And what of the other white women—those who are married and active in conservative faith traditions? According to Brie Loskota, executive director of the Center for Religion and Civic Culture at the University of Southern California in Los Angeles, the question of whether they are “organizable” for progressive purposes is presumptuous. Given that many of these women may already be politically organized within conservative political and religious networks, it suggests the goal is a society that thinks alike—one in which deep divisions are not tolerated, let alone respected or rec-

(continued on page 8)

White supremacy remains the prevailing force in electoral politics.

COMMENT



THE SCORE/BRYCE COVERT + MIKE KONCZAL

A Failed Experiment

There are plenty of rules that determine whether or not someone qualifies for Medicaid, the public health-insurance program available to low-income Americans, but having a job hasn't been one of them. That's about to change: The Trump administration has announced that it will grant state requests to add work requirements to their Medicaid programs, forcing recipients to look for or obtain employment in order to receive benefits.

Work requirements are a solution to a nonexistent problem. Nearly 80 percent of adults on Medicaid live in a family where someone is employed, and the majority work themselves. The Affordable Care Act's expansion of Medicaid to more people didn't make individuals any less likely to work.

Those without full-time jobs, meanwhile, have good reasons. One in five people who work part-time say they can't find full-time work, while another 28 percent have school

known as Temporary Assistance for Needy Families, adding strict work requirements. Ever since, poor people can be thrown off the rolls if they fail to work or look for a job.

The idea then was similar to the one being peddled now: that this would prod people to enter the paid workforce, which would leave them better off. Instead, it has erected a cruel barrier. Those who stopped receiving assistance because of work requirements initially saw an increase in employment compared with those who weren't subject to them. But five years later, they were employed at the same or even lower rates. In Maryland, for example, over a third had no job at all.

Having a job didn't necessarily mean people's prospects improved, either. Only about 22 to 40 percent of the people who were subject to work requirements had stable employment years later, and many of their incomes remained well below the poverty line.

This trend has continued. In 2011, Kansas began mandating that anyone who needs welfare either work or search for a job *before* receiving benefits, and started kicking entire families off the rolls for three months if anyone failed to meet the work

requirements. A year out, less than half of those who were sanctioned for not meeting the new rules worked in any given quarter. Four years on, nearly all of these families were still living in poverty, with median incomes of just over \$2,000 a year. A third had no earnings at all.

Overall, the share of people who don't have a job and are unable to get cash assistance has grown. In 1996, the year welfare reform was signed into law, about one in eight poor single mothers fit into this category. By 2008, the share rose to one in five. These women subsist on a median family income of just \$535 per year. Alongside this has been a sharp increase in extreme poverty, defined as families who survive on \$2 or less per person a day, which rose 159 percent from 1996 to 2011, particularly among those impacted by welfare reform.

There's scant evidence that work require-

ments have helped people find good, steady work. Instead, they threw people's lives into chaos as they had to contend with low-wage jobs and a threadbare safety net to catch them if they couldn't make ends meet.

Now we'll get to see how work requirements function in Medicaid. If what's past is prologue, millions of people are in danger of losing health insurance without gaining anything in return.

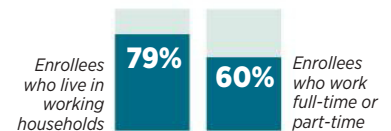
BRYCE COVERT

Why Requiring Work for Medicaid Makes No Sense

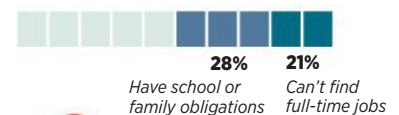
The new rule threatens the health insurance of 6.3 million people in order to fix a problem that doesn't exist.



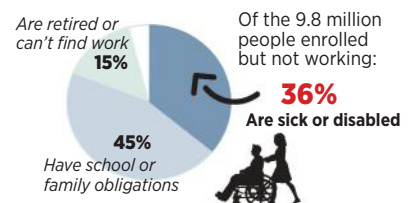
Most people on Medicaid already work.



Nearly half of part-time workers are unable to work more.



Many who don't work need Medicaid the most.



Sources: Kaiser Family Foundation, analysis of 2016 data; Center for American Progress estimates.

2018 Infographic: Tracy Matsue Loeffelholz

There's scant evidence that work requirements have helped people find good, steady work.

or family conflicts. Among those who don't work at all, more than a third say it's because they have a disability or illness that won't let them. Another 30 percent are taking care of their families and homes, while 15 percent are in school and 9 percent are retired.

The supposed justification for forcing poor people to work in return for their health care is that, as Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services administrator Seema Verma explained, it will "help people in achieving greater well-being and self-sufficiency." In other words, it will push them into a job that they were previously too lazy to get.

But we've run this experiment before, and it drove hundreds of thousands into abject poverty.

In the 1990s, Congress overhauled the country's cash-assistance welfare program, now

HIGHER EDUCATION

See No Evil

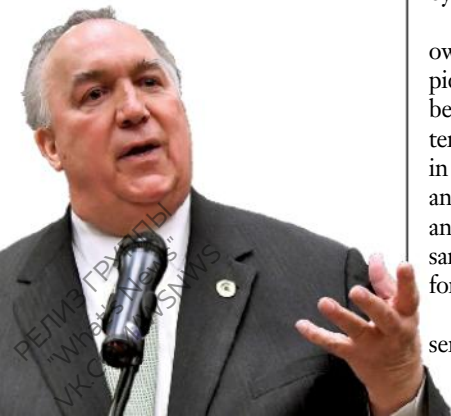
On January 31, Michigan State University named former Republican governor John Engler as its interim president after the conviction of Larry Nassar, a former doctor for USA Gymnastics and MSU, on sexual-abuse charges and the subsequent resignation of university president Lou Anna Simon.

But the selection angered many students and faculty members. As Michigan governor, Engler dismissed reports by hundreds of incarcerated women that they were harassed or raped by male prison guards. In 1998, he refused to cooperate with a United Nations investigation into the claims and shrugged off the federal government's assertion that "the state has violated the civil and constitutional rights of women prison inmates."

More than a decade later, in 2009, the state paid \$100 million to settle a class-action lawsuit brought on behalf of 500 incarcerated women whose claims the governor had ignored.

Rachael Denhollander, the first victim to publicly accuse Nassar, said she was "beyond disappointed" by MSU's decision. Student protesters crashed the board meeting at which Engler was appointed as well as the news conference that followed. Faculty leaders have threatened to hold a no-confidence vote that, if passed, "will call on the entire Board of Trustees to resign immediately." Indeed, why should they have confidence in a board that appointed as interim president the person responsible for what attorney Deborah LaBelle called "the largest-ever sexual-abuse settlement in the history of the state"?

—Joseph Hogan



Katha Pollitt



Working-Class Hero?

Trump hasn't managed to save those Carrier jobs—and he's done much worse, too.

Twitter has been merciless to Renee Elliott, the laid-off Carrier worker whose speech at a labor-group press conference in mid-January made her the face of the Trump-voting white working class. In a voice vibrating with emotion, Elliott said she'd been excited to vote for Trump, who had visited the plant and promised to keep Carrier jobs from going to Mexico: "He's walking through and we're in awe, like, 'Savior!'" But now, as pink slips were being handed out to 215 workers, including herself, Elliott felt "angry and forgotten." You might think there'd be a little bit of empathy out there for this middle-aged, divorced mother who's overcome health problems and other setbacks, only to face a rocky future in a declining community. But no. Typical responses: "stupid," "ignorant," "gullible," "turned on by Trump's bigotry," "selfish," "self-absorbed."

To tell you the truth, my first response too was mockery and blame: Oh, you poor baby, throwing everyone else off the bridge didn't help after all. Sad! (Twitter is catching.) I completely agree that "economic anxiety" is not a full explanation of why white working-class people chose the creepy tweeter. As Brittney Cooper said recently at a panel at the New York Institute for the Humanities, black and brown people are also facing hard times, but they didn't vote for Trump. (On the other hand, Trump didn't promise them anything; he just called their communities ghettos, hells, and war zones and quipped that they should vote for him because what did they have to lose?—ha, ha.) Sure, Elliott was foolish, even in terms of her own immediate self-interest, ignoring the warnings of her then-union leader, Chuck Jones, who, for his troubles, was called out by Trump on Twitter.

But Elliott was hardly alone in focusing on her own personal situation at the expense of the larger picture, in hearing what she wanted to hear, or in being overly impressed by a candidate's personal attention. Nor is she alone in naively placing her trust in someone notorious for being untrustworthy. In any case, what's done is done. 2018 is coming up, and then 2020, and we don't want her to make the same mistake. So let's ask: What does she face going forward, thanks to Trump and the Republicans?

Trump not only broke his promise to preserve Elliott's job; he and his fellow Republicans

are working overtime to make life harder—much harder—for her in her likely future. For instance, let's say Elliott, who will receive a one-time payment, severance pay, and six months of health insurance from Carrier, goes on unemployment, something she is proud to say she's never done. Uh-oh. The Labor Department has indicated it wants to give states greater leeway to drug-test unemployment recipients, which is pretty humiliating.

After her Carrier-paid health insurance runs out, she may find herself applying for Medicaid. Uh-oh. Under new guidance issued by the Trump administration, Indiana has become the second state to implement a work requirement for Medicaid recipients. Under Trump, you see, we no longer believe low-income people are entitled to at least some basic health care. Funding for community health centers, which was previously a bipartisan and noncontroversial issue, is currently up in the air.

Since good jobs are in short supply in Indianapolis—Elliott was making \$18 an hour at Carrier—let's say she gets a job waitressing, like thousands of other working-class women. Uh-oh. Last December, the administration proposed allowing restaurant owners to take workers' tips and distribute them as they see fit (even to management and themselves) as long as they pay those workers the minimum wage—in Indiana, that's \$7.25 an hour. Since Elliott has a hair-dresser license, she might try that instead, but unless she is self-employed, she might run up against the same problem and find herself working for minimum wage. Fortunately, there are food stamps, right? Maybe not: Here, too, the Trump administration is pushing to expand work requirements and also make deep cuts to the program.

Let's hope things won't be quite so dire for Elliott. Perhaps she'll get a salaried white-collar job—working in hospital administration, perhaps. But what if she suspects that she's being paid less than men in the same slot? She'll have a harder time suing, because the Trump administration no longer



Just about everywhere she looks, Renee Elliott will find that Trump has made her life harder.

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Under Trump, we no longer believe that low-income people are entitled to at least some basic health care.

requires the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to collect the relevant data on race and gender from employers. Overtime pay could really help Elliott with the bills, and the Obama administration made millions of salaried employees eligible who were previously paid too much to qualify. But uh-oh. The Trump administration isn't contesting a judge's ruling against that expansion. And if Elliott ends up at a workplace where employees are trying to unionize, she'll find that Trump's National Labor Relations Board has made it harder.

But wait—if she gets a job, won't Elliott benefit from Trump's great triumph, the tax bill? People complain that the Koch brothers and other one-percenters are getting billions in lowered taxes that will explode the deficit and require massive cuts in social spending, but the little people

get something too. In a quickly deleted tweet, House Speaker Paul Ryan wrote: "A secretary at a public high school in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, said she was pleasantly surprised her pay went up \$1.50 a week... she said [that] will more than cover her Costco membership for the year."

At least Elliott won't have to worry about Trump's move to endanger transparent financial advice for retirement, because she isn't likely to accumulate much of a nest egg. But she'll have Social Security, right? Trump promised he would never cut that. By now, let's hope Elliott has learned the hard way what Trump's promises are worth. ■

Katha Pollitt is a Puffin Foundation Writing Fellow at the Nation Institute.

(continued from page 4)
onciled. Rather, Loskota says, progressives and conservatives alike must embrace a vision of the body politic that allows people with different perspec-

tives to coexist respectfully. Change is possible, she insists, as evidenced by the evolution of some evangelical Christians on LGBTQ issues, but it occurs not just through political pres-

sure and policy wins. Building authentic relationships across dimensions of difference can be a transformational part of the equation—one that can work better than simply trying to

"bludgeon people into becoming their higher selves."

The work Loskota describes is based on a belief that a better society is derived not just from progressive governance but by cultivating meaningful relationships with those with whom we virulently disagree yet share some points of commonality. It bears noting that this is the kind of work at which women excel, whether it's the bipartisan cooperation facilitated by the monthly women's supper club in the US Senate or the recently formed bipartisan women's caucus in the Illinois Legislature. In a #MeToo era, it is intriguing to ponder the connections that feminists could forge with evangelical women who, through their ministries, have begun speaking up on sexual harassment and assault.

White women do not, and likely never will, constitute the progressive base. But in this unique political moment, there is evidence that some white women may be reprioritizing their political interests. If so, it would be a welcome, if overdue, development, not only for its near-term electoral implications, but also for the more constructive public discourse and fundamental realignments of power it could help support.

JULIE KOHLER

Julie Kohler is a senior vice president at the Democracy Alliance.

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PROPOSITION 64

“New Hope” in San Fran



San Francisco will toss out thousands of marijuana-related convictions dating as far back as 1975. With recreational pot legal in California as of January 1, District Attorney George Gascón said the city was once again “taking the lead” to undo the damage of a failed War on Drugs and the federal government’s “backwards” marijuana policy.

Prosecutors say they will dismiss and seal 3,038 misdemeanor convictions as well as consider downgrading 4,490 felony convictions to misdemeanor crimes, with no action necessary from those convicted.

While Proposition 64 legalized recreational cannabis use in the state and allowed those convicted of pot-related crimes to appeal for dismissal, the process itself can take months and often requires the petitioner to hire a lawyer—a barrier to those who can’t afford the costs.

The announcement is especially significant to the city’s African-American citizens, who have borne the brunt of these arrests. In 2010 and 2011, African Americans made up only 6 percent of San Francisco’s population but accounted for around 50 percent of all marijuana-related arrests. A criminal conviction can bar someone from obtaining employment or housing and void certain professional licenses.

“This...underscores the true promise of Proposition 64—providing new hope and opportunities to Californians, primarily people of color, whose lives were long ago derailed by a costly, broken and racially discriminatory system of marijuana criminalization,” said Lieutenant Governor Gavin Newsom. —Safiya Charles

Kai Wright

On Shitholes and Chains



Everything about our immigration debate is profane.

I was in grade school when I first discovered how crazy white people can get about race, and how protective they can be of their privilege.

I had a new friend, a white kid I’d met at school. This was in the 1980s, but the Indianapolis district in which I lived was still coming to terms with integration, largely by busing black kids to white schools. Once we were inside the building, however, our classrooms remained starkly divided: white students in the “advanced” classes; black students, not. I had the kind of parents who made sure I was the odd black student in the wrong room, and that’s where I met this friend. I’ll call him Jack.

He was a smart, openhearted, upper-middle-class boy who was used to coming out on top. I suppose that’s why he got so flustered by whatever happened on the basketball court that day. I wasn’t there for the incident, but I gather that he’d lost and that he found it unfair. He was angry and complained to me about it—about those “niggers” who had cheated him of his glory.

Jack was shocked when I took offense. He assured me that I wasn’t a nigger, that of course he wasn’t talking about me. He’d meant those other guys, the bad hombres who he felt had taken something that rightfully belonged to him. They were the niggers. Didn’t I understand the distinction?

That conversation came bubbling up from my childhood memory over the past several weeks, as I watched the absurdist drama of Washington’s immigration debate unfold. I’ve been reminded of the lesson Jack taught me at 11 years old: White privilege requires an intense, collective delusion that the supremacy of white people in America is normal and fair. White people in particular must practice a difficult, daily self-deception, studiously ignoring the plain inequities that have shaped their lives. And when reality forces itself into this delusional fog, a great many simply can’t bear it: They scream “Fake news!” and turn away.

Which is why Donald Trump is making so much progress in his campaign to make America white again.

It’s fashionable among people of color to say

Trump can’t shock us. I’m proud to say I find him shocking. I cannot become inured to either his extreme politics or his boorish, bullying behavior. I feel the daily creep of actual fascism, and it still terrifies me. That said, I couldn’t muster much shock at the recent “shithole” incident. The president routinely hurls around both vulgar and racist remarks; we know that. The truly troubling thing wasn’t the slur, but the reaction to it.

Days of breathless debate followed the White House meeting at which Trump cursed Haiti, El Salvador, and all of Africa. And with each passing day, the discussion became more narrowly focused on the language itself, parsing the president’s gutter vocabulary. Did he really say “shithole”? Senators Jeff Flake and Tim Scott said that they had spoken with people in the room who had clearly heard him use the word. Senators Tom Cotton and David Perdue insisted otherwise.

And anyway, as Homeland Security Secretary Kirstjen Nielsen noted, everybody at the meeting was throwing around “tough language”—kind of like locker-room talk, but for the Oval Office.

Meanwhile, the utter profanity of everything about the meeting itself faded into the fog of white privilege.

Let’s start with the fact that a cabal of white men were sitting around negotiating the lives of millions of black and brown people. Florida Congressman Mario Diaz-Balart, a right-wing scion of the Cuban elite, was the only person in that room who might identify as a person of color. This fact seems like a mundane reality of American government, but that doesn’t make it any less profane.

Every word spoken in that meeting was a slur against racial justice.

But if we are to parse the actual words



Let’s start with the fact that a cabal of white men were sitting around negotiating the lives of millions of black and brown people.



these white men used, let's start with "chain migration" and its evocation of a spreading virus. Xenophobes have long worked to mainstream this slur as a replacement for the legally and ethically appropriate term, "family reunification," for the long-standing system that allows citizens, green-card holders, and refugees to sponsor family members for visa applications. The White House has been using the phrase "chain migration" a lot. It's meant to help white America make the same distinction that my friend Jack tried to impress upon me in grade school. Trump's OK with the Dreamers; they're not niggers. But those others, their parents, grandparents, cousins—they're bad hombres creeping in from their shithole countries to take our stuff.

It's not a new idea to divide humans who migrate into accept-

able and unacceptable people—both Democrats and Republicans have been doing so for decades. As president, Barack Obama claimed to focus his deportation efforts on hardened criminals, while in reality breaking up thousands of families over decade-old marijuana and DUI arrests. Trump has taken this idea to its extreme, as he does with many things, and opened up a once unimaginable debate over aspects of legal immigration like family reunification.

For two decades, Republicans and Democrats have been trying to strike a deal that trades more border security for a path to citizenship for people in the United States without papers. Trump has set that effort back profoundly: Now, we must also debate the rules written specifically to remove white supremacy from immigration policy. ■

Calvin Trillin Deadline Poet

TRUMP INTERPRETS THE NUNES MEMO AS TOTAL VINDICATION

It has proven this whole Russia probe is a hoax.
Yes, it shows that I'm totally innocent, folks.
I'm delighted it clears me, as I have been hoping,
Of the falsehoods that I, in the past, did some groping.
And it proves, without doubt, that I didn't miscall
My inaugural crowd as the largest of all.
Yes, it vindicates me, showing evidence I've
Been correct on the guilt of the Central Park Five.
(Though the DNA showed that they weren't even there,
I have said, nonetheless, they should all get the chair.)
And it proves, as I said long ago to my base,
That Obama was born in some dark shithole place.
So this memo's release caused in me pure elation,
'Cause there's nothing so sweet as complete vindication.

SNAPSHOT / KHALIL ASHAWI

Sitting Target

A fighter with the Turkish-backed Free Syrian Army pauses to check out his smartphone in the suburbs of Al Bab, Syria, on February 4. The FSA captured the city almost a year ago, but tensions are running high after Turkey and the FSA launched an offensive at the end of January against Kurdish troops in the nearby Afrin region.



WHEN HARASSMENT IS THE PRICE OF A JOB



Nearly every woman in food service can tell stories of harassment. But in the #MeToo moment, the industry is poised for sweeping change.

BRYCE COVERT

SPECIAL REPORT

REBEKAH FRANK GOT INTO THE FOOD-SERVICE INDUSTRY BECAUSE OF THE FREEDOM IT ALLOWED HER: TO TRAVEL, to go to school, to figure out what she might want to do later. She hopped among a number of different jobs in New York City—at a pub, a steak house, a celebrity chef's restaurant. About three years ago, she got a job bartending in Brooklyn.

Soon after the job started, her manager told her to be careful about how much water she drank on the job, because male customers were going to grope her on the way to the bathroom. And they did, frequently grabbing her butt or hugging her while making offensive comments. "At least once every single shift, someone would whisper something absolutely foul into my ear," Frank said. One guy told her that he had wet dreams about her every night. Another liked to tell her what he would do with her once he took her home. He was so persistent that she tried to get the six security guards on hand every night to kick him out, to no avail. "He was always there and always harassing me and always staring at me," she said. "I would lie and tell him I was married, because it seemed like the only way to get him to not bother me." The harassment went on for months; the man was only ejected from the bar after he got into a physical altercation with another male customer.

One night, a regular customer, whom Frank had considered to be a friend, offered to drive her home after work. "But he dropped me off at the house and stuck his tongue down my throat," she said. She pushed him off. In the following weeks, he would hang out after the bar closed and whisper "the most crass, disgusting stuff" in her ear: how much he wanted to fuck her, how he couldn't stop thinking about her. He sent her texts about how her Instagram photos made him hard.

The abuse took its toll on her. "It's so disarming, no matter how many times it happens," Frank said. She began breaking out in hives all over her body. Her thick hair started thinning out. Once, as she was walking to work, "all of the things that had happened caught up with me," she recalled, and she had a full-blown panic attack; she became unable to breathe and lost sensation in her legs and hands. "And there's nothing you can do about it," she said. It wasn't as if there was a human-resources department or someone designated to report problems to. These kinds of incidents are "so normalized; we experience them so much, and so much more when you work in this kind of industry," Frank continued. "None of this is about sex, necessarily—it's all about power. They're not necessarily getting off on it; they're showing us how small and insignificant we are and how our bodies aren't ours. Even our ear canals aren't ours."

Frank worried that speaking up would make her even less safe. When she finally told the owners of the bar about the incidents, they said they would say something to the customers. But that could escalate the behavior. "I always found myself in these situations where I'd be like, 'This guy says things and it's disgusting and I don't like it, but is it going to make my life worse if I talk to somebody about it and they talk to him about it? Is that going to make my job harder, is that going to make me less safe, am I going to endure abuse of a different kind?' You're constantly weighing out these things. Not even what battle is worth fighting, but what battle is safe to fight."

Frank felt particularly stuck because of the money she was able to make there—\$400 to \$500 a night, sometimes as much as \$700, thanks to her tips. "I don't want these men controlling my life, but at the same time they kind

"They're not necessarily getting off on it; they're showing us that our bodies aren't ours. Even our ear canals aren't ours."

—Rebekah Frank, bartender in Brooklyn

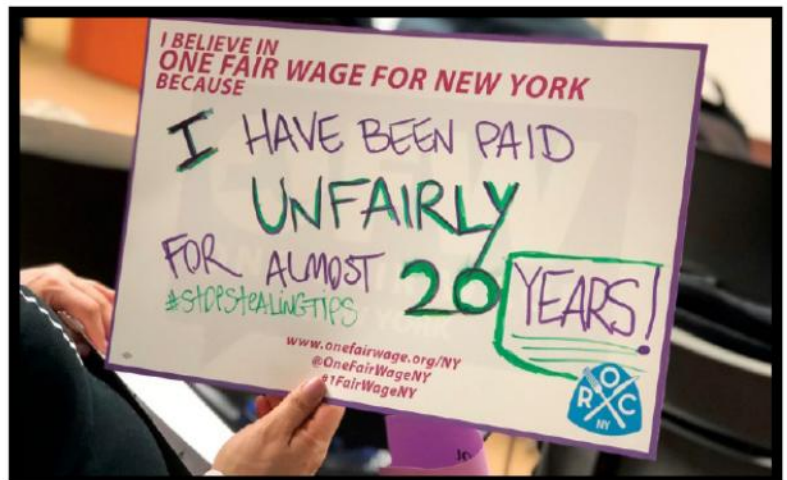
Relying on tips:
The federal tipped minimum wage is just \$2.13 per hour.

of were," she said. At this bar, she added, "If you tell [a harassing customer] off, you don't have any customers."

Eventually, Frank left that job, though since then she has occasionally picked up shifts at that bar. Still, even going back to that neighborhood can trigger an anxiety attack. She now works days at a different bar in Brooklyn. "I am financially totally screwed," she noted; tips are typically much lower during the day. But she faces far less harassment. "I actually feel like myself again."

THIS IS THE BIND THAT SO MANY WOMEN WHO WORK in the country's bars and restaurants find themselves in: The jobs are relatively easy to secure, offer a creative, unconventional work environment, and can even net them a sizable income. But far too often, that culture and that income are tied to putting up with sexual harassment.

Sexual harassment is a fact of life for far too many women across the economy, with about 60 percent saying they've experienced it. But the food-service industry is in a category all its own. In interviews with *The Nation*, many industry veterans struggled with how to describe the harassment or even where to begin, given how pervasive it was. (Several of the women whose stories are recounted below are referred to by first name only, due to privacy concerns.) Asking them to talk about it was like asking a fish to describe water. For the people who serve us dinner and drinks, it's all but a way of life.



Bryce Covert is a contributor at *The Nation* and a contributing op-ed writer at *The New York Times*.

SEXUAL HARASSMENT EEOC COMPLAINTS FILED FROM 1997–2017



9%
24,544 CHARGES
WERE MADE AGAINST FOOD-
INDUSTRY EMPLOYERS

In a 2014 survey of 688 current and former restaurant employees, the Restaurant Opportunities Centers (ROC) United and Forward Together found that about 80 percent said they had been harassed by co-workers or customers. Another two-thirds said they had been harassed by managers. Sixty percent of female and transgender workers said that sexual harassment was an uncomfortable aspect of their daily work lives, while about a third said that being inappropriately touched was a common occurrence. A 2016 survey of women in the fast-food industry found that 40 percent had experienced unwanted sexual behavior on the job. In a recent study, 76 young women in food- and beverage-service jobs, followed over just three months, reported 226 incidents of sexual harassment. The accommodation and food-services industry—including bars, restaurants, and fast-food joints—was responsible for the largest share of private-sector sexual-harassment charges filed with the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission from 2005 to 2015.

The food-service industry is a perfect storm of factors that foster harassment. It employs many young people, so inexperienced employees—sometimes teenagers—are often the supervisors in charge of addressing it; other young employees may not even know their own rights. Food-service jobs are disproportionately staffed by immigrants, who are more vulnerable to abuse. Employees are also easily hired and fired. The work can be repetitive, which is a risk factor for inappropriate behavior. Alcohol

“When you’re working for tips, you can’t just throw a drink in some customer’s face because they say something shitty to you.”

—Anna Donnell,
former waitress

Disruptors: The organization Safe Bars trains food-service workers in harassment-intervention skills.



flows freely, and employees often spend time together late at night and after work. One unique culprit is servers’ heavy reliance on tips, which can incentivize both customers and co-workers to objectify women.

But despite the rampant nature of the abuse, there’s cause for optimism. In a new moment in which public tolerance for workplace harassment has dramatically decreased, food-service veterans and workers’ advocates are poised for action on multiple fronts involving sweeping cultural, legal, and policy changes that could completely reshape the industry.

AT THE GREEK-OWNED RESTAURANT IN VIRGINIA where Vanessa Fleming worked as a college student, her manager told her how to dress and act. “One time I wore a pair of pants, and I got in trouble because I’m supposed to be wearing shorts,” she recalled. “Halloween came along and I dressed up, and my boss really wanted me to be the upfront person because I had on a sexy outfit.” Physical appearance determined who got ahead and who didn’t. “I got a promotion to bartender because I was cuter; I got the better shifts on the cocktail bar because I was cuter,” Fleming said. “It’s this expectation...that we have to appease the men and acquiesce to what they want, and we’re just sexual objects, just there to be cutesy and flirty. The idea was: This is how it is—you deal with it or you leave...because serving jobs are a dime a dozen and servers are a dime a dozen.”

In most of the country, servers and bartenders can be paid a lower wage if their tips make up the difference between their pay and the federal minimum wage. The federal floor is just \$2.13 per hour for tipped workers, versus \$7.25 for everyone else. Tips from customers, therefore, have an enormous impact on what people earn. In a recent report, the National Employment Law Project found that tips account for nearly 60 percent of servers’ earnings and more than half for bartenders. “When you’re working for tips, you have to please people, and you can’t just throw a drink in some customer’s face because they say something shitty to you,” said Anna Donnell, a six-year veteran of waitressing jobs, primarily in high-end restaurants in Mississippi and Illinois. “A 20

percent tip is how you make your life work.” That makes servers highly dependent on the whims of customers to earn a living. ROC United found that female restaurant workers who live in states where employers can pay them a lower minimum wage if they work for tips are twice as likely to experience sexual harassment as those in the seven states where all workers are paid the same wage.

Servers’ reliance on tips doesn’t only make them vulnerable to harassment from customers; it fuels abuse

SPECIAL REPORT

from co-workers, too. Marie's first waitressing job was on the night shift at a diner in Massachusetts. In her first month, a cook repeatedly asked her out. "I refused, but in a way where you try to give the soft no and hope that that's enough." It wasn't. One night, the cook asked her for a kiss and Marie said no. He grabbed her by the wrist and dragged her to a prep area behind the kitchen that had a walk-in cooler. He tried to pull her into the cooler while insisting on a kiss. The incident only ended when Marie was able to tear her arm away.

"That was really, really scary," she recalled. "I told my manager what had happened; she seemed disgusted but not outraged." Marie had to keep working with the cook, who ended up facing no consequences. "There was no disciplinary process in this restaurant."

From then on, Marie was subjected to a daily barrage of catcalls, whistles, comments on her body and her dateability, even the spreading of rumors about her sex life. Co-workers grabbed her; one kissed her on the neck. "The cooks would do this thing where they wouldn't let you take your food to your tables—as you'd reach for the plate, they'd reach for your hand and try to lick [it]," she said. If anyone reported the bad behavior, the cooks would retaliate by purposely messing up their orders. Then "we would lose money from our customers because we're reliant on the tips," she said. "You're not only at the customer's beck and call...but also everyone around [you] has power over [you]."

Marie couldn't afford to do anything that might put her job at risk: "You do what you have to do to pay the bills. Are you going to risk getting your hand licked, or are you going to risk getting evicted?" Marie's dilemma is a common pattern, says Saru Jayaraman, the co-director of ROC United. "Once you're told to make yourself an object for customers, you're then an object to everybody in the restaurant."

WORKING AS A BANQUET SERVER IN A Chicago hotel for 14 years has offered Pavielle steady employment and a way to pay her bills. But she's dealt with constant harassment from customers. "I was getting pinched, or getting invites," she said. "Customers grab me at the table around my waist. And I've been touched on my butt, I've been kissed a lot." The customers feel entitled to do it: "If I'm waiting on someone, they see me as a servant," Pavielle observed. "They pay so much money for their tickets [to the hotel's various events], I guess they just think this is part of the experience."

"It's almost like it's part of the job description," Pavielle continued. "You're going to get harassed by guests." Social events, such as weddings or New Year's Eve parties, are the worst, she added; she'll often try to call out ahead



In Their Own Words

Anna Donnell, 29, worked as a server in restaurants in Mississippi and Illinois for six years.

“I was a theater major. When I got out of school, I didn't have any money, and [restaurant work] was something that I could easily start doing. The energy and excitement of working in a restaurant is like no other job that I've ever had. I would never have imagined growing up that if I got a job in a restaurant, I would get to...learn all of the things I've learned about the world. Learning about wine means learning about places.... When you work with conscientious restaurants, it means you're learning about farms.... So much of our economy is based on the factory-farming system....”

“Whoever your team is for the night, it's kind of like you guys against the world. There's a bond that forms; you pour your whole self into a job like that. Honestly, I think working in a restaurant is one of the best jobs in the world. But that sense of freedom does carry over into harassment, sometimes, or abuse. [At a restaurant in Mississippi], there was this guy.... He was a high-roller type, spent a lot of money in the restaurant. He got really drunk one night.... He became interested in me that evening and was talking to me a lot, and at first... you're like, 'Oh, well, we're just chatting and I'm working'—you always have to please.

“He wanted me to leave with him and I didn't want to, and he waited on the porch of our restaurant for me. I had to hide in the kitchen with other people until he left. In the moment, I didn't feel the ability or agency...to outright refuse him, to be like, 'No, you need to leave right now.'”

“I only really started to identify times when I'd felt harassed later, because you push them away when you

“If you make a fuss about it, you're somehow being disloyal to the work that everybody's doing.”

work in the restaurant industry. When I was a food runner [in Chicago], I was carrying plates of food worth \$50, \$75 a plate, I was explaining dishes that were made every night, I was in menu meetings every day.... It was a fun job, but a hard job. I walk in on this particular day in the middle of busy service, and in front of the entire kitchen, [the head chef] says, 'Yo, Anna, you fucked anybody in here?' I remember being embarrassed, being angry and hurt. [But] you're so busy, you stuff it under and keep moving.... I remember [I took] the kind of attitude that

I feel like a lot of us as women working in the industry had to adopt: 'They're going to do this to us, and we gotta work.' I remember I said something back like, 'Ha, not yet,' because you had to be tough and you had to play back, instead of saying, 'Hey, that's an inappropriate question to ask me as my boss.' He was the golden boy of this restaurant group. I thought he was untouchable.

“[Plus] it was exciting and it was fun work, and you didn't want to have to give it up because you're the person who called out behavior that was bullshit. There's a pressure there that if somebody says something to you...and you make a fuss about it, you're somehow being disloyal to the work that everybody's doing. You're willing to take a lot of shit so that you can do what you enjoy doing. And that can [mean] working a job where you can take home \$100, \$200 a night but don't work in an office.

“[That chef] got fired for sexual harassment [of another employee], and I was shocked. I couldn't believe that the restaurant had done anything about it, because nobody does anything about it. [And I feel] this guilt about not standing up when other people do, or [asking myself] how bad would it have had to have gotten for me to actually go through all the business of filing a complaint with HR against somebody who's an internationally known chef and everybody's favorite?”

of those shifts. As New Year's Eve approaches, Pavielle tries to prepare mentally for the various ways she will likely be harassed.

She also faces another problem that's pervasive in the restaurant industry: a lack of policies and protocols for dealing with that harassment—and, often, no reliable channel for reporting it. The manager who hired her has also harassed her, so she doesn't think she can turn to him for help. The other managers, who are mostly male, “don't see a problem,” Pavielle continued. “They see it as just: The guest is happy—and if the guest is happy, we should be doing whatever we can to keep the guest happy.” As a result, she risks reprisal if she tries to stop

WHEN HARASSMENT IS THE PRICE OF A JOB

the harassment herself. "If I say something to the guest and the guest takes it the wrong way, they could write a bad comment or send an e-mail complaining, and then I could get written up or fired."

The barrage of harassment is so relentless that Pavielle has almost become inured to it. "It's like, what's really *wrong*?" she said. "It's kind of hard to tell, because it seems like it's just so constant, like it's part of the job."

Ellen Bravo, director of Family Values @ Work, says that the real problem here isn't that servers don't know harassment is wrong; rather, it's that "nobody's telling you, 'You don't have to put up with that.' Nobody's telling you what to do about it. My experience has been that people don't know what to do."

Reporting harassment can feel even riskier for immigrant women, those with uncertain citizenship status, and those who don't speak English as a first language. In the restaurant industry, more than 20 percent of employees are immigrants, including about 10 percent who are undocumented. In the leisure and hospitality industry, which encompasses bars and restaurants, nearly a quarter of employees are Latino.

In the many years that Fabiana Santos and Marta Romero worked at McCormick and Schmick's in Boston—nearly 14 for Santos, five for Romero—abuse was everywhere, they said. "The sexual harassment was constant and ubiquitous; it was happening every day, all the time," Santos said in Spanish, speaking through an interpreter. "It was an environment that was tense, dirty, and gross.... There was constant terror and fear."

"I felt like an object; I felt worthless," Romero said, also speaking through an interpreter. "And I feel that the fact that I am a Latina woman had a role in this." At times, men even directed their abuse at Santos's ethnicity, commenting that Brazilian women are hot and horny.

One time, as Romero was organizing wines in a storeroom, a supervisor came in, trapped her in the room, and groped her breasts—only stopping when another co-worker appeared. One evening when Santos was getting ready to leave after her shift, an employee came up behind her as she was reviewing the schedule and touched her breasts. Both women say there were many other instances in which they were touched by co-workers.

Santos reported these incidents to the general manager and was told they would be addressed, but she says nothing ever happened. Instead, the female workers at the restaurant created "almost like a sisterhood," exchanging phone numbers and keeping phones close by so they could reach out to one another when they needed to. In 2015, a group of women brought their complaints to the EEOC. The commission recently determined that there was "reasonable cause" to believe that the women had been discriminated against on the basis of their sex, and this past December, Santos and Romero, along with three



In Their Own Words

Liz, 34, has worked on a food truck, in a butcher shop/wine bar, for a grocery-store bakery, in a coffee shop, and as a server in a full-service restaurant.

“Most of what I have to talk about is somewhere between ‘annoying’ and ‘I need to find a new job.’ It’s cropped up from [either customers or co-workers] at every job I’ve had. I’ve definitely encountered ‘bro’ kitchen culture, wherein using racial slurs and sexual slurs was just considered part of how people talked to one another.”

“Probably the most egregious thing that happened to me from a co-worker point of view: I told [the chef] I would be late to work one day because I had to go to a doctor’s appointment. He said, ‘OK, that’s fine.’ By the time I got to work, he had spread the rumor that I was pregnant and asked me in front of the staff whether

my husband had gotten one past the goalie, which was a phrase that was new to me.

“I’ve had regulars who get too regular, people who are coming back every night and

“As a bartender, sometimes it becomes your job to provide this girlfriend experience.”

every other night—and it’s not for what you’re serving, it’s for you.... As a bartender, sometimes it becomes your job to provide this girlfriend experience. People [are] seeing what they can get away with and trying to find

out what they’re getting for the money they’re paying.

“If you’re spending money and I don’t feel threatened immediately, I’m willing to put up with a certain level of discomfort if you’re going to help me have a better night. [But] it gets to be a really blurry line sometimes.

“[Harassment] from customers is a lot harder [to address].... It’s rare to find a workplace that will do much more for you besides say, ‘Well, that’s just part of the job.’

“I never pursued super-high-end kitchen work, and the locker-room ‘bro’-ey culture and the rampant substance abuse are two of the reasons why. Even though I was passionate about it and it fascinated me...I didn’t want to put myself through that.... I didn’t want to try to keep up with the drinking and harassment.”

“For [many] years, the repercussions for speaking out were that you got fired and never got hired again. [Now] people feel like this is something we can actually talk about.”

—Caroline Richter, founder of Medusa, an anti-harassment organization

other Latina women who worked at the restaurant, filed a lawsuit against McCormick & Schmick's. When asked about the suit, Jeanette McKay, director of legal affairs for McCormick & Schmick's, gave the following statement: "The Company is not immune from bad actors. Upon notification to the Company's HR department in 2015, the HR department conducted an immediate investigation nearly 3 years ago and upon conclusion took prompt remedial action, including termination of a dishwasher found to be the main culprit. To suggest that the Company did anything wrong when 3 years ago it immediately investigated the matter and terminated an employee is feeding into the sexual harassment frenzy of today. The lawsuit filed by the attorneys is nothing more than an attempt to make money and it is a shame the media does not see this for what it is."

EVEN THOSE FOOD-SERVICE ESTABLISHMENTS WHERE interactions with the customers are more limited, such as fast-food joints, are hotbeds of sexual harassment. Maria says her first experience in fast food will almost certainly be her last. She needed work, and a friend recommended that she apply for a job at a fast-food restaurant. Her first brush with harassment came during training, from the very manager who was introducing her to the job. "He was just standing right behind me," she said in Spanish through an interpreter. "I could feel he was very close, and I couldn't concentrate. It was just so distracting."

SPECIAL REPORT

Things didn't change once the job began in earnest. Then another co-worker joined in. "There were many incidents that started right when I started and didn't stop until I left the job," Maria said. The two men would make comments about her body or clothing, frequently in front of customers. They kept trying to touch her, despite her attempts to dodge them. When her shift was over, they would try to stop her from leaving, despite her begging and crying.

The constant abuse was emotionally damaging. "I had a lot of fear when I was leaving the store at night," Maria recalled. "I was afraid that [the manager] might follow me. He has access to information about where I lived."

Maria wanted to report what was happening to her, but given that her manager was the highest-level supervisor in the restaurant, she had no idea where to turn. "I didn't know who I could tell or know where I could report it within the company," she said. Compounding the issue was the fact that she speaks mainly Spanish, which she said meant she had limited knowledge of her rights.

Instead, Maria simply quit her job without another one lined up. "I was tired of the harassment and concerned for my personal safety, and I just couldn't do it anymore," she said. But that meant giving up an income that her family relied on. Maria hasn't worked since; instead, she and her two children have to rely solely on her partner's wages. She's clear about one thing, though: "I don't know what industry I'll work in, but I'm definitely not working in the fast-food industry."

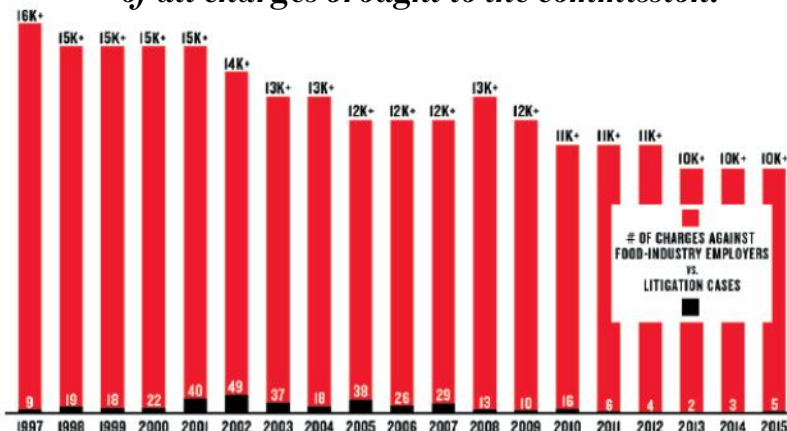
Rampant harassment in fast food is due in large part to a young workforce crammed into tight quarters. "There's a lot of unnecessary and unwanted touching," says Gillian Thomas, senior staff attorney with the ACLU Women's Rights Project and former senior trial attorney at the EEOC. When she worked with the EEOC, "We heard a lot of stories about being cornered in the walk-in closet, being locked in the walk-in closet, men exposing themselves...leering, being handsy, rubbing up against people, and it also went all the way to rape."

The power imbalances in fast food are also stark. For young people, people of color, or immigrants, "fast food might be one of the only places to work, [so] there's a lot of vulnerability," Thomas said. "Managers have control over your schedule, have control over how many hours you work, which is how much food you put on the table in the end." That power imbalance both leads to abuse and makes it difficult for women to speak up about it.

But many of the factors that breed harassment in fast food—tight quarters, fast-paced work, a lack of clear HR protocols, and an anything-goes mentality—are shared by full-service restaurants, as are the experiences of being abused by co-workers who should have your back instead.

When Amy moved out on her own for the first time at age 20, she started working at a family-owned restaurant in small-town Virginia. Serving positions "are really easy to get when

The EEOC litigates only a small fraction of all charges brought to the commission.



"One of the solutions does have to be a reorientation of the hospitality culture of 'The customer is always right.'"

—Gillian Thomas,
ACLU Women's
Rights Project

you're young and don't really have a lot of experience," she said. "I needed to earn money."

Shortly after she was hired, she made out with one of the chefs at a holiday party. But she didn't want it to go any further, and when he asked her out the next day, she turned him down. After she turned him down a few more times, "it morphed into him being really angry about me saying no," Amy recalled. "Pretty much every day he was taunting me, saying things like, 'Oh, you think you're too good for me, you stuck-up bitch' [and] 'You think you're better than me—is that why you don't want my dick?'"

"I just remember going into work every day and knowing that something was going to be said to me," she added. "It made me just hate going to work."

This dynamic continued for about a month. Then one day Amy had to get some sauce from a walk-in refrigerator in the back. "He walks in behind me, he shuts the door behind us," she said, her voice quavering. "I don't remember [his] exact words, but something to the effect of, 'You're going to give me what I want. I'm sick of this—you're going to get on your knees and you're going to give me what I want.'"

Amy remembers responding by telling him that she would throw the sauce on him if he did anything to her, and that everyone would know what he had done. "Then he gives me this look of complete disgust, and he's like, 'I didn't want you anyway—I was just kidding,' and left."

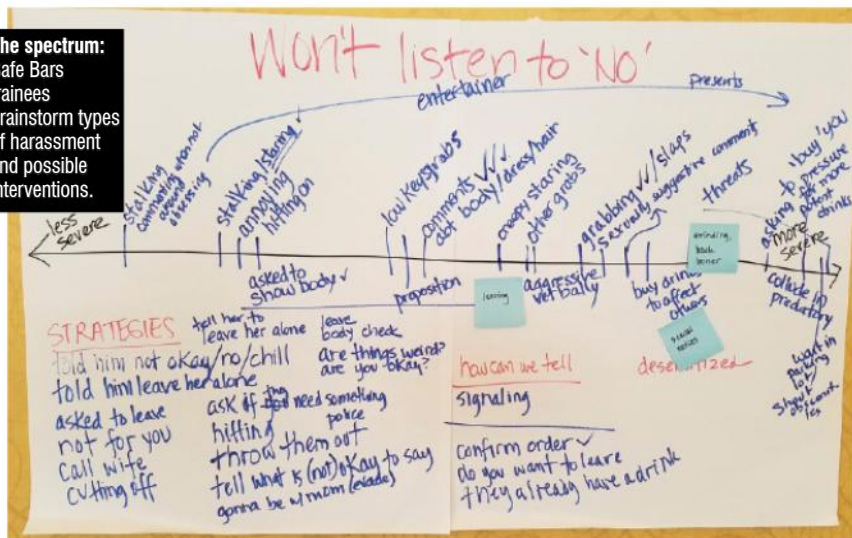
The incident left her completely unraveled. The harm was compounded by the fact that Amy is a sexual-assault survivor. "I broke down in that fridge," she recalled. "All of this trauma, all of this everything that I had already experienced—it felt like I couldn't escape it." She feared that she wouldn't be believed if she reported the chef's behavior, given that people had seen them kissing at the party. "I just remember leaving the fridge and wiping my eyes with my apron...and then going back to work, because what was I going to do?" she said.

Amy worked at the restaurant for a few more

IN
2017
THE EEOC HAD A BACKLOG OF
61,621+
COMPLAINTS
AND AN
AVERAGE
WAIT TIME
OF
295
DAYS

WHEN HARASSMENT IS THE PRICE OF A JOB

The spectrum:
Safe Bars
trainees
brainstorm types
of harassment
and possible
interventions.



weeks, but after the chef kept taunting her, she decided to quit. "I just walked out—I knew I couldn't keep going into that environment," she said. But it also meant that she had no income; for the first time in her life, Amy went into credit-card debt. Eventually, she landed a job at another restaurant.

THE #METOO MOMENT HAS TOPPLED SOME LUMINARIES of the foodie scene: celebrity chefs like Mario Batali and John Besh, powerful restaurateur Ken Friedman, chef-owner Charlie Hallowell, even Jeremy Tooker, the founder of a San Francisco coffee roaster. But it has yet to permeate workplaces without star chefs, where both customers and fellow servers mete out abuse.

The solutions, however, do exist. An important place to start is recognizing that all of it is illegal in the first place, including harassment from customers. "Under Title VII [of the Civil Rights Act, which makes sexual harassment illegal], it's very well settled that harassment from any third party is within the employer's responsibility to remedy," Thomas said. If an employer knows about, or should have reasonably known about, customer harassment and doesn't do something to fix it, that employer can be held liable. The EEOC has sued businesses over customer harassment. In 2016, a Costco employee was awarded \$250,000 by a federal jury after the commission sued the company for failing to protect her from a customer's sexual harassment. Recognition of that liability should change the industry culture. "One of the solutions to all of this does have to be a little bit of a reorientation of the restaurant and hospitality culture of 'The customer is always right,'" Thomas said. Restaurants already have rules about customer behavior when it comes to things like refusing to serve alcohol to someone who's intoxicated or refusing service to people who aren't wearing shirts or shoes. "They draw lots of lines," Thomas pointed out. "One of them

Management realized that it wasn't just me saying, 'Wait a minute'—it was also the fact that I had the union behind me."

—Melody Rauen, Unite Here Local 8

has to be that if a customer is harassing a server or other staff members, [it must] be addressed."

That's particularly true given that the costs of failing to act can be steep. Defending against legal action is expensive. EEOC commissioner Chai Feldblum wants businesses to know that "the EEOC will be out there, both in terms of outreach and education and in terms of enforcement." The EEOC can't independently decide to audit a restaurant or police the industry, but it can act on anonymous reports. If the #MeToo movement spurs more employees to lodge complaints with the commission, "it may be more likely that a restaurant will find the EEOC showing up at their door and potentially suing them," Feldblum said. Dealing proactively with harassment will be "a lot less expensive...versus the amount of money [you could spend] on lawyers. That should not be a hard cost-benefit analysis for an owner to figure out."

Jordan Gleason founded the Black Acre Brewing Company, a brewery and taproom in Indianapolis with a clear stance on harassment: "If anybody were to say anything offensive or make servers uncomfortable, they'd be talked to, and if they continued to harass anybody, they'd be kicked out." His policy was put into practice recently when a customer told a female staffer, "I like staring at your tits." The customer was asked to stop but didn't, so the staffer kicked him out.

Gleason believes this zero-tolerance policy pays off. "If someone were to sue you, that's millions of dollars in liability," he noted.

Another cost for employers to consider is the price incurred by high turnover as staffers flee an abusive environment. The industry too often views employees as dispensable, so owners allow the harassment to continue under the assumption that unhappy employees can be replaced. But turnover is an economic drain: It costs the equivalent of about a fifth of an employee's pay to replace her. When Christophe Hille was a partner in a restaurant years ago, a top manager engaged in aggressive abuse and various kinds of demeaning behavior. His restaurant could barely hire fast enough to keep up with the people leaving. Once the manager was removed, the restaurant experienced an "amazing" reduction in turnover. "From that moment...we did not hire a front-of-house position for 18 months," Hille said. "It proved how directly turnover was correlated with this one person's actions."

Some employees are refusing to let harassment in their industry go unchallenged. New Orleans has one of the highest number of bars per capita in the country, and as Caroline Richter has worked in them, she's also become familiar with the atmosphere of harassment. At one bar and restaurant, a line cook regularly commented on her breasts. But it wasn't just co-workers: Once, when she

SEXUAL HARASSMENT IN THE FOOD INDUSTRY

FROM 1997-2015

THERE WERE 23,570 CHARGES

BUT ONLY 364 CASES

ran into a regular customer outside of work, he told her, "I want to fuck you tonight." Richter tried to laugh it off, but the customer spent the whole night trying to persuade her to go home with him. After she decided to call a cab, the customer followed her outside. "He pushed me against the wall, groped me, and licked me from my collarbone up to my eye," Richter said. Eventually, she was able to push him off and leave.

When she told her manager about what happened and asked not to serve the customer again or, if she had to, not to be alone behind the bar, "I was told I was being unrealistic and, in asking he be banned from the restaurant, I was just being dramatic," Richter said. Instead, the manager suggested that the customer be asked to write her a letter of apology. Eventually, the manager agreed to ban the customer from the bar—but he apparently forgot to do so, because when Richter saw the customer a few months later, he tried to hug her hello. "The fact that this wasn't the first thing on [my manager's] mind was such an upsetting realization—that other people were taking this so casually," Richter said. "To me, it was such a huge, life-altering event."

Richter doesn't want to put up with the abuse, but she also doesn't want to leave the industry she loves. So she started a group she's dubbed Medusa—a reference to the mythical creature with the ability to protect herself by turning men into stone—with two other women from the New Orleans restaurant scene. She found herself thinking, "It's better to do something and have three people show up to a meeting than just sit around all the time angry and upset about the culture that I'm working in."

More than three people showed up to Medusa's first meeting last November: It drew a crowd of about 50, a mix of restaurant owners, front-of-house staff, and back-of-house employees. Richter had to cut the conversation off at 11 PM "because we could have talked for hours."

She began the meeting by reading a list of guiding principles for the restaurant industry that she created with the help of some psychologists and HR professionals, including a clear zero-tolerance policy and reporting structure for harassment, as well as the expectation that it's the responsibility of managers to intervene when customers harass the staff. To Richter's surprise, everyone at the meeting quickly agreed with what she'd drafted. So the discussion shifted to implementation: If they asked restaurants to sign a code of ethics, for example, how could they enforce compliance? How could they make harassment-intervention training standard in the industry?

The organization is now gearing up to create a certification program. Restaurants will pay on a sliding



In Their Own Words

Meredith, 28, has waited tables in various places around the country since she was 19.

At the Philadelphia restaurant where Meredith started working in 2016, one of the chefs "was really gross in a way that's not uncommon... He always used to say shit when I would walk into the kitchen, be like, 'Oh my God, baby!' and stuff like that. You learn to laugh it off as a survival thing, because you can't afford to get upset every time someone does that or else you won't survive working in restaurants." A different chef told Meredith that the chef in question would make comments about her behind her back, including, "She's really hot—I'm going to fuck her."

At the end of one shift, Meredith had to use the bathroom. "The bathrooms that the staff use obviously can't be the same ones the guests use. They were really far away; we used to joke you had to request [time] off to go." Outside the bathrooms, she ran into the chef who'd been harassing her. "He lunged at me—it was weird," she recalled. "It didn't match with the interactions we'd been having. [It was] as though we were lovers who were waiting for a moment alone. He lunged at me and tried to kiss me, and I tried to

move my head away. He put his arms around me as if he was hugging me, but I could feel him touching the sides of my breasts. I started pushing him to get him off of me, and I had to push really hard, uncomfortably—so it's clear it's not a friendly interaction. I was so uncomfortable; you don't know what to do in that moment. I kind of laughed—I made up something and

"You need to do the immediate thing, which is to save face so you don't lose the job."

walked away, tried to pass it off that it was a funny thing that happened.

"You're the one who doesn't have power, and no one is going to believe you. You need to do the immediate thing, which is to save face so you don't lose the job, because you need the job so you have money.

"[But] he just kept getting worse and kept raising complaints about me to the managers. I felt like my back was against the wall. I felt like they sweated me out over the course of the next months...

hoping I would quit and the problem would go away.

"I was a mess the whole time: I was depressed, I didn't want to shower—I felt like I was living in this world where...you look up and see the sky is blue, but everyone around you, they're not even saying the sky is green, but [they're] acting in a way that makes it so obvious the sky is green, it makes you feel like, 'Am I insane?' It's very destabilizing, and it shakes you up." After Meredith threatened to quit in a letter detailing everything that had happened to her, a manager convinced her to stay. A couple of days later, she says, the chef was "just gone" without any explanation provided to her.

"It's gotten to the point where I simply don't talk. I'm almost rude to the men I work with, because...it's preferable for them to think that I'm cold and a bitch if it means that they won't talk to me. The more I became aware of these things over the years, the more I would feel a clenched fist inside myself... Anytime anything happens, I feel a combination of angry, wounded... and exhausted.

"It's like mosquito bites: In and of itself, they may be annoying, but not enough to kill you. But if you get bit by enough mosquitoes enough times...then every time a mosquito bites you, you'll see red."

scale, and in return Medusa will offer training about rights, disclosure, and how to intervene when someone is being harassed. After the training, Medusa will certify the establishment. The organization will conduct regular "wellness checks" to ensure that restaurants are complying with its code of conduct, and those that aren't and fail to make changes will lose their certification. Medusa also wants to serve as a third party where employees can report harassment and be connected with resources. "It's not you against the entire restaurant; it's you and all of Medusa against the restaurant," Richter explained. Their goal is to have a program in place by Mardi Gras.

Other attempts to push a culture change have sprung up across the country. Safe Bars has been training front-

WHEN HARASSMENT IS THE PRICE OF A JOB

of-house staff in the “ways to step up when they see unwanted sexual aggression” directed at both staff and patrons in more than 20 Washington, DC–area bars since 2015, said Lauren Taylor, the group’s founder. She noted that servers are already good at reading whether people are enjoying themselves or not, so “we’re building on their existing skills and expertise.” The trainers offer participants a variety of strategies for intervening with either the abuser or the target. If at least 80 percent of a bar’s staff attends the training, Safe Bars will then certify it, which means the bar can display a window decal and get listed on the organization’s website. The group has trained people in 11 other cities to do similar work in their own locations.

In early January, Futures Without Violence rolled out a training program for the Restaurant Association of Metropolitan Washington that incorporated small-group workshops about identifying and responding to sexual harassment and role-playing ways to intervene in a harassment scenario set in a steak house. Managers left with information on how to conduct their own trainings in their workplaces. The training is far more involved than just “Here’s the complaint procedure, here’s who you report to,” said Linda A. Seabrook, general counsel at the organization. “A lot of our training programs are pretty intensive because we are trying to do culture change. It’s really more about, ‘OK, if something like this happens, then what are you going to do?’” The organization is currently developing a curriculum for servers, broken down into 10- or 15-minute sessions.

BUT SOLUTIONS THAT EMPHASIZE TRAINING AND cultural shifts depend on owners’ willingness to engage. Advocates are also pursuing public-policy solutions and other organizing efforts that could rapidly reshape the industry. Saru Jayaraman, of ROC United, argues that getting rid of the tipped minimum wage throughout the country would cut sexual harassment in half. “No other industry has a policy solution that goes way beyond education and litigation and regulation,” she points out.

“No other industry has a policy solution [for harassment] that goes way beyond education and litigation and regulation.”

—Saru Jayaraman,
ROC United

One fair wage:
ROC United, an organization representing restaurant workers, argues that eliminating the tipped minimum wage could cut sexual harassment in half.

This idea has taken root in a few places. New York Governor Andrew Cuomo announced last year that he would hold hearings on eliminating the tipped minimum wage in his state. In Michigan, a measure to both raise the minimum wage to \$12 an hour and apply it to tipped workers may be on the ballot this November, and activists in Washington, DC, are pushing a ballot measure that would apply the city’s minimum wage to those who earn tips.

Unions can also play a role in enforcing sexual-harassment laws and policies. Historically, harassment hasn’t always been a go-to issue for them. But increasingly, unions representing hotel, restaurant, and casino workers have begun pushing legislative solutions that would mitigate harassment. Unions recently chalked up two major wins in Chicago and Seattle. In Chicago, Unite Here Local 1 helped secure a law that requires hotels to provide a panic button to employees who work alone and also obligates them to draft and comply with an anti-sexual-harassment policy that encourages employees to report harassment and establishes a clear procedure for what happens when they do. Employees must be allowed to stop work and leave the area if they feel unsafe because of a guest, and the law forbids retaliation. With the help of Unite Here Local 8, Seattle passed a similar law via a ballot measure in November 2016.

Ellen Bravo, of Family Values @ Work, says that unionizing is “the most important way for the workers to demand change.” Through the collective-bargaining process, employees can demand that provisions be added to contracts that allow them to stop work and leave a situation if a customer is harassing them. And having somewhere to report harassment other than a manager can be vital. “Knowing that you have a union to back you up—that is enormous, that makes a big difference,” Bravo said. When Melody Rauen started working in hotel bars as a bartender and server, “they put us in skimpy little uniforms,” she said. Guests could easily look down the front of her shirt or up the back of her skirt, and they frequently asked her out or patted her on the butt. But Rauen said that since she became involved with her union, Unite Here Local 8, things have gotten much better. Now she can wear a shirt and slacks, and management “realized that it wasn’t just me saying, ‘Wait a minute’—it was also the fact that I had the union behind me. The union...has really made sure the hotel understands what the repercussions are for mistreating employees.”

Changing “kitchen culture” won’t be easy, says Caroline Richter. “There are people who think the hazing and joking is part of the industry, and if you take it out, [the industry] doesn’t exist anymore.” But if any time is the right time for changing that culture, it is now. “For the past 10, 20, 30 years, the repercussions for speaking out against someone like John Besh was that you got fired and never got hired again.” But the exposé, and Besh’s subsequent departure, “made people feel like this is something we can actually talk about.”

“At the very least,” Richter added, “people who are being affected by the issue aren’t going to forget. And that’s a lot of people.” ■



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HOW TO GET TO A FOSSIL-FREE USA

Local activists, as well as cities and states, will lead the way.

by BILL McKIBBEN



WE WERE IN WASHINGTON, BUT WE WEREN'T ABOUT WASHINGTON. The next phase of the US climate movement launched with a packed rally from the nation's capital that was streamed to gatherings around the country. It was a jubilant evening in many ways, and its message was: The time for licking wounds is past.

Those wounds are real. The Trump administration has officially overturned any hope of a smooth and orderly transition to a new energy world. It has pulled us out of the Paris climate accord and opened up the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to drilling. Trump's EPA administrator, Scott Pruitt, and Energy Secretary Rick Perry have even made a mockery of hurricane, flood, and fire victims, from San Juan to Houston to Montecito, California.

But the fossil-fuel industry doesn't hold all the cards. Some of the climate movement's own aces were on display at the DC rally. Bernie Sanders led off the event with a firm declaration that the "debate" about climate change is over. Ten speakers followed, from NAACP environmental-justice organizer Jacquie Patterson to star youth climate organizer Varshini Prakash. The group couldn't have been any more diverse, but its message couldn't have been any more unified.

The basic outline is pretty simple. None of our new strategies rely on Washington doing anything useful. In fact, because DC has emerged as the fossil-fuel industry's impregnable fortress, our strategies look everywhere else for progress. And in every case, real momentum has emerged, even in the past few weeks.

§ Job 1: Push for a fast and just transition to renewable energy in cities and states. The Trump administration has done what it can to slow down solar and wind power, even raising the tariffs on imported solar panels, but it hasn't been able to change the basic underlying math. With each passing month, the technology that powers renewable energy gets cheaper and cheaper. It's already generating massive quantities of electrons at prices lower than any other technology has managed—ever. A recent report by the International Renewable Energy Agency states that renewables will be consistently cheaper than fossil fuels by as soon as 2020. That's why so many mayors and governors have felt free to make ambitious pledges about the future. So far, 51 cities have joined a campaign, led by the Sierra Club, to convert to 100 percent renewable energy; five are already there.

Of course, that leaves tens of thousands of cities and towns that can make a similar pledge, and local activists will be fanning out to put pressure on their mayors and city councils or town boards in the months ahead. They'll do it knowing that this is a movement with real breadth: It's not just the San Franciscos and the Madisons that are on board, but the San Diegos, the Atlantas, the Fayettevilles. I mean, Salt Lake City has signed up. You know those blue dots on the election-night maps, the ones that represent the cities with most of the country's innovation? They're making the commitment, and that will push the engineers to keep innovating.

During the George W. Bush administration, when Vice President Dick Cheney effectively ran energy policy, Washington was similarly closed to real progress. So state governments adopted so-called "renewable portfolio standards," which, in turn, spurred much of the spread of wind and solar power. The same thing is happening now, except at an even faster pace.

It's not just the San Franciscos that are on board, but the Atlantas and the Fayettevilles.

The residents of an industry-heavy Los Angeles neighborhood protest the expansion of a local refinery.

§ Job 2: Stop new fossil-fuel projects. The welter of pipelines and fracking wells and coal terminals that the industry is attempting to build will, if completed, lock us into even more decades of spewing carbon and methane. But many of these projects are vulnerable to citizen action. Take the Keystone XL Pipeline, where the infrastructure fights really began more than half a decade ago. In a treacly paean titled "This Thanksgiving, Thank Donald J. Trump," the right-wing *National Review* announced that "after languishing under Obama," the pipeline was finally "under construction." In fact, resourceful organizers in Nebraska and Dakota have the thing tied up in endless knots (they've even installed fields of solar panels in the proposed path). The Cornhusker State approved a route for the pipeline in November, but it's not the one that the developer, TransCanada Corporation, prefers. Now the surveyors—and the lawyers—have seasons of work ahead of them before a shovel will pierce the ground. Even if TransCanada decides to forge ahead, some 20,000 people have pledged to travel to the Upper Midwest to protest. The lessons of Standing Rock have not been forgotten.

Meanwhile, in the Pacific Northwest, the thin green line against new fossil-fuel projects has continued to hold. Five years ago, it seemed almost certain that a massive terminal for trains carrying shale oil from North Dakota's Bakken Formation would be built along the Columbia River in Vancouver, Washington. Six giant ports had also been proposed along the coast for shipping coal from the Powder River Basin of Montana and Wyoming to China. There was no way to stop the drilling or mining in the interior, since the fossil-fuel industry holds sway in those states. But the coal would have to pass through Washington and Oregon, and savvy organizers there—led in several cases by environmental-justice and indigenous groups, like the Lummi Indians near Bellingham—have managed to defeat every single plan. In Portland, these activists even passed a law banning *any* new fossil-fuel infrastructure—period, end of story.

Many of these heroes also took to the water a couple of years ago—the "kayaktivists" who did such harm to Shell's brand that the company backed away from drilling in the





Arctic. A variant of that same strategy may help blunt Trump's ugly plan to allow drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, or off the Atlantic and Pacific coastlines. Yes, this land is now open for leasing—but any oil company that tries it will become the target of an endless activist onslaught. Do you really want to be known as the company that digs up wildlife refuges? OK, go for it.

§ Job 3: Cut off the flow of money to the fossil-fuel industry. Sometimes that means one bank customer at a time. One remarkable spin-off of the Standing Rock movement has been the “Mazaska Talks” campaign, led by indigenous organizers who have persuaded cities, towns, and individuals to pull their cash from banks that won't stop lending to climate destroyers. On a memorable morning last October, activists protested outside dozens of Bank of America branches in Seattle, shutting down several. The city government had already sworn off doing business with Wells Fargo because the bank couldn't break its pipeline habit.

Pressure keeps building on investors as well. The fossil-fuel divestment movement has become the biggest corporate campaign of its kind in history, with endowments and portfolios worth a combined \$6 trillion having sworn off coal, gas, and oil investment in whole or in part. This past fall, a pair of studies summed up the divestment campaign's success. One study showed that it had galvanized the rest of the climate movement, driving the debate toward grappling with the harsh reality that we have far more carbon than we can ever burn. The other study highlighted the drop in share value that the divestment campaign has caused, thereby drying up the capital needed for more exploration and drilling.

But the divestment campaign's greatest successes actually came a bit later, around the holidays. First, the managers of Norway's \$1 trillion sovereign-wealth fund—the largest single pool of investment capital on the planet—recommended divesting from oil and gas. Since Norway made its money in North Sea crude, that pledge was especially profound. Clearly, the country's economic leaders have decided that the future lies in renewable energy, and so they're getting out of fossil fuels while the getting is good. Shortly thereafter, the World Bank announced that it would no longer fund oil and gas exploration—another striking signal for the world's financial industry.

But the biggest win came just after New Year's Day, when New York Mayor Bill de Blasio announced two things: first, that the city would be divesting its massive pension fund—nearly \$200 billion, one of the 20 largest

Indigenous leaders march to protest the creation of pipelines that would devastate their communities.

fossil fuels.” In other words, the legal theory is simple: Exxon-Mobil = Philip Morris. Everyone remembers how *that* one ended.

But perhaps the most important part of de Blasio's announcement was its flat rejection of the idea that “engaging” with fossil-fuel companies was a viable strategy. Many timid politicians have taken that approach over the years, arguing that it was fine to keep investing in them as long as a “dialogue” was under way. ExxonMobil, for instance, responded to pressure last year by promising “climate risk disclosure” about new projects. That's not nothing, but it's pretty close—especially since, at the same time, the industry was busy in Washington making sure that the federal government opened up the US coastline to new drilling. New Yorkers aren't chumps, de Blasio pointed out. “Today, we are saying, ‘No more.’”

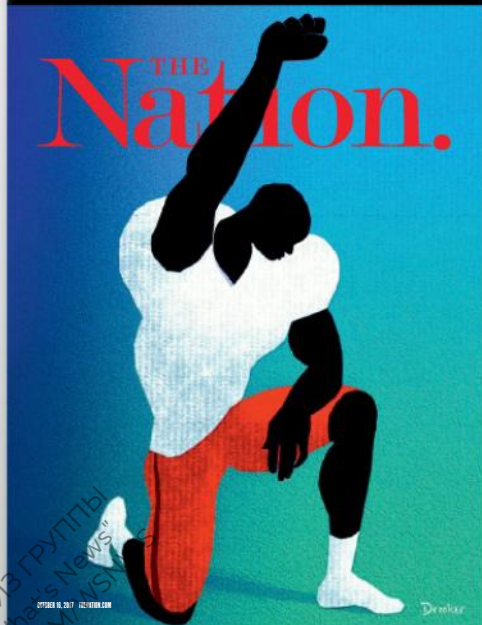
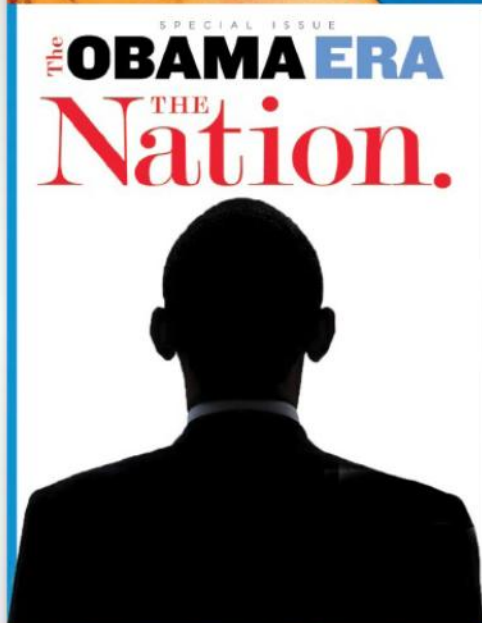
All this financial pressure is made easier by the fact that the fossil-fuel industry is no longer minting money. In fact, it's been underperforming the rest of the economy—and no wonder. Sun and wind are ultimately free, and that puts remarkable price pressure on the stuff you have to dig up and burn. Every single day, the electric car moves further along the path from novelty to normality. This means that every single day, Chevron's position erodes a little more. The question now is not whether Big Oil is going down; the question is how fast—and how we can make sure the transition is a just one. The answer will determine exactly how far down the road to climate ruin we actually travel.

The political salience of the issue has been increasing too, especially as it becomes clear that climate change is not some niche concern of affluent suburbanites with a weekend home in the country. Polls have found that African Americans and Latinos are the two groups most concerned about climate change—which makes sense, since they've borne the brunt of its effects so far. (All it takes is a record rainstorm to find out who lives at the bottom of the hill.) They are also the groups taking the lead in climate organizing, giving it a new and vital energy. *Vice*, the CNN of the youngs, reported in January that the next big trend of the new millennium could be cities and states “suing Big Oil for destructive climate change,” in the same vein as the 1990s lawsuits against the tobacco industry, or the current lawsuits against the makers of OxyContin.

Bill McKibben is the co-founder of 350.org, the largest global grassroots-organizing campaign on climate change.

None of this means that the fight is won: Big Oil has had a big year, and it holds most of the levers in Washington. But it's beginning to lose in a lot of other places—including in people's hearts and minds. Destruction and human tragedy on the scale wreaked by hurricanes, fires, and mudslides—it all takes a toll. No lie lives forever, and 2018 may be the year that the most dangerous deceit in the planet's history finally unravels for good. ■

The question now is not whether Big Oil is going down; the question is how fast.



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Letters



(continued from page 2)

that you'll see colleagues of a certain age who have worked for decades to promote economic and social justice and who continue to expose the shady doings of the corporate state.

The unfortunate reality is that American politics and economic policy have largely been in the hands of other types of boomers and Gen Xers—people who are happy to reduce the role of government (thank you, boomer Bill Clinton), shred the social safety net, remove worker protections, and stop funding the future by starving public education and public works. The Trump administration is an extreme manifestation of this trend; it is run by a multigenerational band of know-nothings, ranging from the superannuated Wilbur Ross to the vile millennial Stephen Miller (born in 1985). As Jones finally—and correctly—observes, this is not an intergenerational struggle.

GEOFF LEWIS
NEW ROCHELLE, N.Y.

Agree to Disagree

The overblown hyperbole and moral and ethical blindness of some liberals can be a bit much. Greg Grandin's article is a case in point ["The Death Cult of Trumpism," Jan. 29/Feb. 5]. If liberals and moderate feminists had remained as such back in the 1970s, the white-working-class Democratic base would have remained loyal and Trump would never have gotten elected. But no—with our defeat in Vietnam, the American left went extremist: Liberals became yuppie snobs, feminists became feminazis, and both remain so to this day. Our jobs were shipped off to Mexico and Asia, our wives were talked into divorcing us for the

"crime" of being poor, homosexuality was demanded, and cruel feminist ostracism remains in place. Forty years of cruelty, of stabbing your own base in the back, led directly to the election of one Donald J. Trump. You have no one to blame for his election except yourselves.

BILL BOKAMPER
PORT ANGELES, WASH.

Taxation and Miseducation

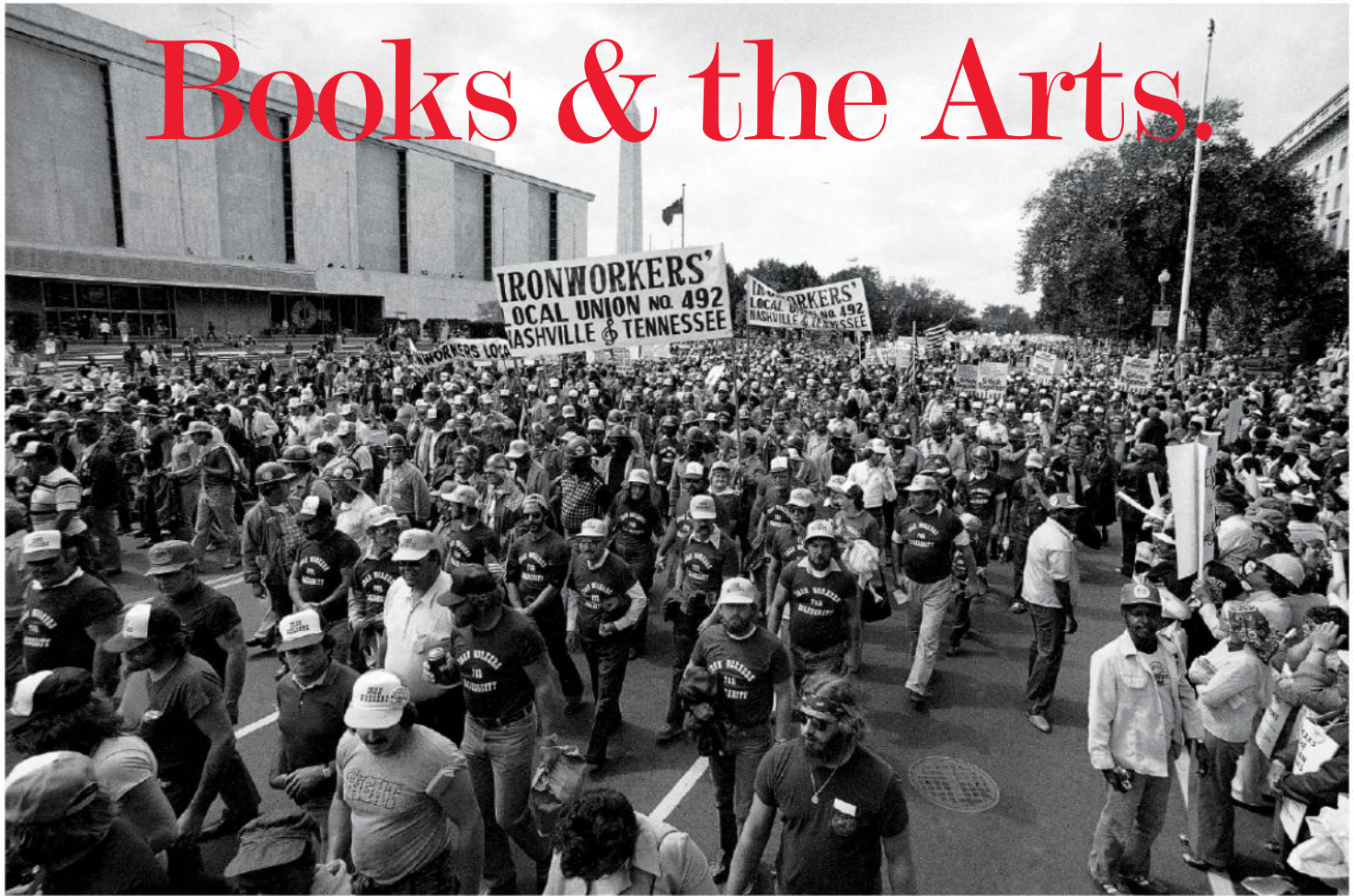
I am finally getting around to some of the back issues of *The Nation*, including the Sept. 25/Oct. 2, 2017, issue and the article "The Secession Movement in Education" by Emmanuel Felton.

Mentioned in the article but not elaborated on was one of the most important causes of school segregation: the reliance on tax revenues to fund schools. Areas of poverty (which almost always coincide with neighborhoods of color) guarantee unequal funding. Also, using tax revenues to fund schools implies that some children are more worthy of well-funded schools (and hence a more robust curriculum, better ability to pay good salaries to teachers, etc.) than other children. All schools should get basic funding for overhead and then equal amounts of funding per child.

Many parents—mostly white, I assume—will scream at this proposal, since "their" schools will necessarily lose some of their funding. But change the tax-based funding mechanism for schools, and perhaps some of those same parents will be screaming for a return to more robust and equitable taxes levied on corporations and the wealthy, resulting in two social-justice issues met in one fell swoop: the equitable funding of school districts and a fairer distribution of wealth.

MARK TOMES
SANTA MARGARITA, CALIF.

Books & the Arts.



WHERE DID IT ALL GO WRONG?

American labor has struggled to make substantial gains since the '70s, but not for the reasons historians think

by **GABRIEL WINANT**

Who can remember a time when labor wasn't losing? Every seeming strategic opportunity turns out to be largely a mirage; the legal and economic environment only gets ever worse. In each of the past four decades, observers and organizers have heralded some new turning point—only for membership to keep falling and campaigns to keep failing. Take, for example, the past few years: Organized labor has made a run at a series of high-profile workplaces, the kinds it hasn't been able to

Gabriel Winant is completing a PhD in history at Yale University. His writing has appeared in Dissent, n+1, New Labor Forum, and The New York Times.

break into before. The United Automobile Workers set out to organize foreign-owned assembly plants in the right-to-work South—Volkswagen in Tennessee, Nissan in Mississippi. The International Association of Machinists did much the same, pursuing Boeing from Washington to South Carolina. And in the Northeast, unions have sought to expand their foothold in higher education by organizing thousands of graduate employees across a couple dozen private universities. But all of these efforts, and many others beyond them, have come—or appear to be in the process of coming—to grief. The auto-workers lost at the plants in Tennessee and Mississippi, the machinists in South Carolina. Graduate employees lost elections

Knocking on Labor's Door

Union Organizing in the 1970s and the Roots of a New Economic Divide

By Lane Windham

UNC Press. 312 pp. \$32.95

at Harvard, Cornell, and Duke universities—and while they won at Columbia, Yale, and the University of Chicago, the administrations have made it clear that they intend not to negotiate contracts, because under the Trump administration the National Labor Relations Board will likely overturn its earlier rulings. So even when workers win, they don't win. As a result, a consensus has emerged among many activists and scholars of organized labor: No matter what American workers

do, no matter the scope or ingenuity of their union campaigns, they are trapped in the rusty legal armor of the NLRB. The National Labor Relations Board is suffocating us, but we'd be naked and exposed without it. When did it all go wrong?

Increasingly, many have looked to the 1970s as the period when labor's slide started. The idea of the '70s as labor's lost decade is old, emerging out of the fissures—real and imagined—between the New Left and the working class. The scenes are familiar, even to the point of cliché: the 1970 hard-hat riot, when construction workers beat up antiwar protesters in Lower Manhattan; the enthusiasm of the AFL-CIO for the Cold War in general and the Vietnam War in particular; the violent resistance to racial integration among blue-collar white ethnics; and the union bosses like George Meany, who could be found backslapping Richard Nixon on the golf course. But conspicuously absent from such accounts is a later generation of labor activists who fell outside the Meany mold: young, black, and women workers, whose activism was informed by their participation in the protest movements of the 1960s. They were labor's last hope—a militant new generation of activists, drawn from the professional and working classes, who might have saved organized labor from itself—and by recalling their history, we can get a much better sense of the suppressed alternatives to our current situation.

This task is central to Lane Windham's new book, *Knocking on Labor's Door*, which attempts to show how the 1970s working class engaged in behavior very different from the quiescence and conservatism for which it is generally impugned. While some have argued that the working class lost its will to fight, even its will to live, in these years—a decade-long diminuendo as performed by Bruce Springsteen—Windham sharply points the other way. Even as worker actions convulsed Chile and Brazil, even as South Africa saw massive industrial upheaval, Italy had its *autunno caldo*, and Britain shivered through its “winter of discontent,” American workers were waging their own fierce workplace battles. Far from being bypassed by a global wave of resistance, they joined “this worldwide uprising in the 1970s,” Windham writes, “and NLRB elections were one of their chosen platforms.”

Active but constricted within this regulatory regime, American workers did not leave an altered political scene, as the Brazilian labor movement did with the new Partido

dos Trabalhadores. Neither did they leave a transformed intellectual scene, as did the Italian workers, from whose action emerged the now-widespread current on the global left called “autonomism.” But American labor was transformed nonetheless—not only by the willingness of workers to stand up for themselves, but by the demographics of the workers willing to do so. “Who were these workers who tried so hard to organize unions in the 1970s, and what did they want?” Windham asks. “Many were part of a transformed and newly diversified working class. Men of color and women of all backgrounds gained new access to positions in the U.S. workforce by the 1970s, benefiting from the new laws and workplace expectations won by the civil and women's rights movements.”

By recovering the forgotten militancy of the 1970s, Windham's work helps to revive an old discussion on the left. Beginning in the late 1960s, as radicals lamented the exhaustion of the old proletariat's transformative political capacities, a number of them began to invest hope in the promise of an emergent “new working class” drawn from the ranks of alienated white-collar workers. This discussion was most explicit among French intellectuals like Serge Mallet and André Gorz, but it had a marked presence in the United States as well, and indeed captivated some of the leading socialist thinkers of the time. Harry Braverman, Barbara and John Ehrenreich, and Michael Harrington all tried their hand at some formulation of the idea, arguing that as America became a postindustrial society, a new stratum of professional and service workers, moved by the politics of the 1960s, would help revive labor and left-wing activism.

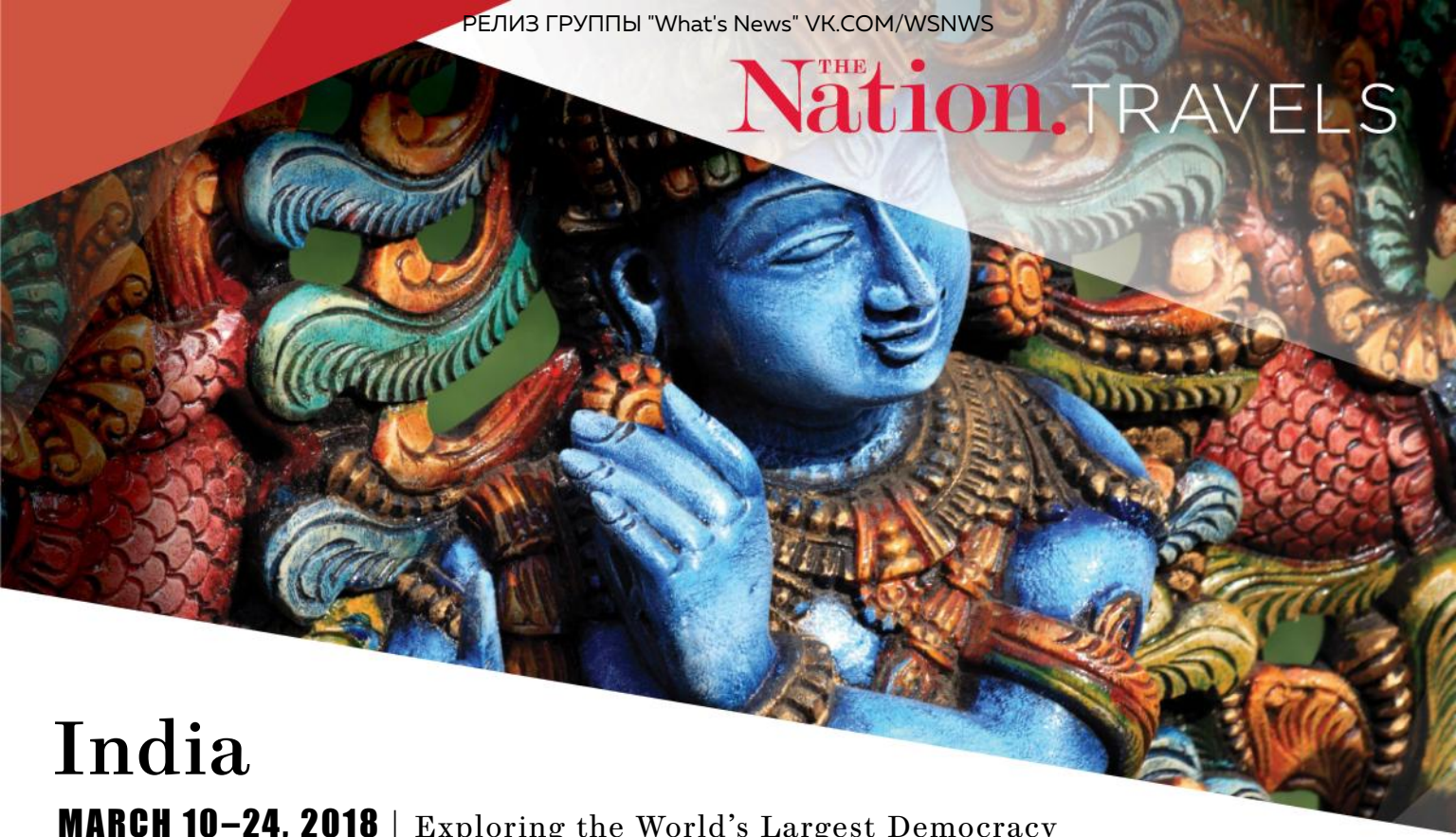
Much of this was remarkably prescient, but the timing was wrong. Several decades later, the energy of Occupy Wall Street and the Bernie Sanders campaign—as well as other mobilizations of frustrated professionals, such as adjunct- and graduate-employee unionism—has flowed from these sources. But in the 1970s, there was a missed connection: As the old part of the working class disintegrated and another was newly formed, they passed each other like ships in the night, without recognizing their common plight. How and why this happened is central to *Knocking on Labor's Door*, and one of Windham's great strengths lies in how she gives us answers, providing concrete examples through chapter-length case studies of the organizing campaigns that developed in this historical context. By doing so, she maps the connections that were made—some along lines anticipated by radical intellectu-

als, others in unexpected formations—and tracks how employers, jolted awake by labor militancy, got much more sophisticated at snuffing out these sparks of working-class resistance before they could catch and spread.

Windham is one of those rare academics who has worked professionally as an organizer, and the intellectual advantage that this experience has provided is hard to overstate. At times, historians who write about social movements but have never been a part of them romanticize agency and resistance, eliding the slow, effortful process by which a movement is built and grown. The insight that the organizer gains, on the other hand, is the ability to grasp the hidden connection between how power is organized and how workers perceive the world. Until you've tried to get workers together for a fight, it's quite hard to understand how much of what they say and do day-to-day is a surface representation of the much deeper strategic calculations that they are compelled to make in relation to those who wield power above them—calculations so constant that they are not so much rational or conscious as phenomenological. (I can't tell you how many times I've seen a worker behave erratically, then heard someone explain, “He's got a terrible boss.”) Windham's book is an effort to show this relationship between power at the juridical and economic levels and the calculated choices that lead individuals to carry forward struggles on the shop floor.

Windham's first case study is the strongest and would be excellent required reading for every beginning organizer. She tracks a years-long campaign at the massive Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company in Virginia, a workplace the size of a small town. Since the 1940s, workers at the shipyard had been represented by an independent union, the Peninsula Shipbuilders Association (PSA), whose origins lay in an illegal company union—the kind of management-controlled representation scheme banned by the 1935 National Labor Relations Act. After a 1939 Supreme Court ruling against it on these grounds, the company union was refounded and given the minimum of autonomy needed to pass the legal test.

Yet the inadequacy of this representation scheme became clear in the 1960s, as African Americans and women were gaining entry into such industrial workplaces with the aid of equal-employment law. In the South, a reverse flow of African-American migration, with workers moving back southward after



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civil-rights legislation passed, brought militancy along with it. At Newport News, black workers began using civil-rights law against the discriminatory job structure, which—as in many manufacturing industries—trapped them in the dirtiest, lowest-paying, and most dangerous jobs. Although the PSA opposed their efforts, black workers succeeded in winning an affirmative-action order from the new Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Aggravated by the PSA's inaction, black workers decided to replace it; four of them reached out to the United Steelworkers of America. But the USWA saw the campaign as impossible and offered only two staff organizers—both white—while refusing to commit anything further until the rank-and-file organizing committee reached 500.

The shipbuilders hit the goal less than a year in and launched the campaign. The organizing committee tracked workers down in restrooms, at home, and in church; its members sneaked around behind machinery at work. During shift changes, USWA and PSA supporters would gather outside the yard's 19 gates to buttonhole the shipbuilders. The card drive took around five months, propelled in large part by the militancy of the women newly present in the workplace, whose needs the PSA had refused to meet. "A lot of [the men] moved because of the women standing up in the union," recalled one such woman worker.

The conglomerate that owned the shipyard, Tenneco, sought to tilt the scales toward the PSA, giving its representatives free rein to campaign while trying to silence the USWA's

advocates. Management also hired Seyfarth Shaw, the country's leading anti-union law firm, and conducted an anti-union campaign of closed-door meetings with workers. The supervisors, one worker recalled, "would be letting you know that if you go that way [with the USWA] instead of keeping the PSA, things are going to be different here. Not to your best interest." Tenneco was also able to count on the leaders of Newport News's black middle class to support the PSA. The publisher of the local black newspaper, Milton Reid, ran a full-page editorial backing the older, more conservative union, proposing that affirmative action might one day, on its own, obviate the need for a union entirely. Reid even prevailed on the Rev. Martin Luther King Sr. to cancel his planned appearance at a USWA rally before the election.

Despite these efforts, the USWA triumphed in a massive 1978 election. Five days later, Tenneco and the PSA filed "nearly identical objections" to how the election had been conducted. After a year of the case languishing in appeals, the USWA's new members walked out on strike. The conflict quickly escalated: Strikers scattered nails in the parking lot to puncture the tires of strikebreakers and picketed the facility on water as well as on land, forming a "steelworker navy" to interrupt seaborne deliveries, while Tenneco hired a thousand "permanent replacements." A strike so large proved too financially burdensome for the union to sustain, and after 82 days, the USWA began to wind it down. But despite this defeat on the picket line, the appeals court eventually upheld the NLRB's ruling, ordering Tenneco to the negotiating table. "It had taken twenty-one months and four legal rulings," Windham writes, but the workers at Newport News "finally squeezed through labor's door and won their USWA collective bargaining rights."

The Newport News story is an uplifting one, but for Windham it offers the exception that proves the rule. Tenneco made ships for the Navy. By law, this production had to happen in the United States, depriving the employer of the leverage used by so many manufacturers beginning around this time—the threat that they would leave. Windham's second case study, of the North Carolina textile maker Cannon Mills, illustrates the more common pattern. A company deeply steeped in Southern anti-unionism but recently opened to black employment by civil-rights law, Cannon Mills beat back one union drive after another, threatening and firing rank-and-file organizers and violating labor

When We Were Shepherds

Well, we weren't the best.
We merely needed
fleece. Were the sheep bred?
Yes. Fed? Frequently.
Yet they grew depressed.

Wherever they went,
bellwethers, rebels,
they preferred elsewhere.
(They'd never even
left west Tennessee.)

They deserved better.

Hence we levelled trees,
extended fences,
pledged fresh scenery:
when the creek melted
there'd be plenty weeds.

We sweetened them, see.
Were they restless? Yes—
they knew they weren't free—
yet the center held.
We were very blessed.

CAKI WILKINSON

law again and again. Finally, after decades of organizing, a workforce diminished by years of downsizing eventually voted to join the Union of Needletrades, Industrial, and Textile Employees (UNITE) in 1999, just in time for the mill to close down entirely.

A case study of a campaign at Woodward & Lothrop, a Washington, DC-based department-store chain, captures a similar pattern, but this time in the new economy emerging in the 1970s. Deregulated and under increasing competitive pressure in the 1970s, retailers like "Woodies" began to assault the working conditions of their employees. The workforce, more than one-quarter African-American and three-quarters women, was feeling the worsening squeeze of part-time work and falling wages—the shape of things to come. As at Newport News, there was an independent union descended from an illegal company union, but the boss only fought the drive halfheartedly, and the workers managed to triumph—only to lose their jobs entirely when Woodward & Lothrop was swept away by corporate consolidation. Today, Windham notes, retail work represents about one-tenth of the labor market. "Yet retail wages are among the nation's lowest, and employers often refuse to hire workers full time, give them benefits, or even give them a week's notice on their schedules."

The question of what might have been echoes throughout Windham's last chapter, a study of 9to5, the movement for women clerical workers. Started by Karen Nussbaum and Ellen Cassedy, middle-class feminists radicalized in the late 1960s who found themselves working degrading office jobs at Harvard, it began as a collective and discussion group for young women "who despised 'wifely' duties like getting professors tea." Powered by the growing stream of women into the white-collar workplace, 9to5 evolved quickly from a group handing out newsletters at Boston subway stations to an independent organization for female office workers.

9to5 wasn't a union exactly, but something new. The organization engaged in advocacy and lobbying and eventually began to campaign against employers—particularly banks and insurance companies—from outside the workplace. It held demonstrations at shareholder meetings, circulated newsletters, and published reports. As Windham notes, 9to5 was the forerunner of a now-familiar phenomenon: the organizations, often called "alt-labor," that have sought to advance workers' causes without pursuing the often-impossible goal of collective bargaining.

While 9to5 did eventually spin off an actual union, Local 925 of the SEIU, the organi-

zation enjoyed its greatest success in advocacy and consciousness-raising. The clearest sign of this came after Nussbaum brought Jane Fonda to meet with clerical workers in Cleveland, leading to one of Hollywood's most class-conscious mass products, the 1980 boss-kidnapping comedy masterpiece *9 to 5*. All told, though, Windham views this moment as another lost opportunity—a chance to break out of the tightening fetters of labor law, to treat workers as whole people rather than narrow legal beings. "Their approach," she writes, "could have been a revolutionary one for all of America's labor movement."

What emerged in the 1970s was in this way inchoate—all possibility, far less realization. "The 1970s union organizing push never reached its full promise," Windham writes. "Organizing efforts collided with panicked employers' reactions to the new globally and financially centered economy." While some workers, like those at Newport News, managed to win their unions and negotiate contracts, the overall pattern, particularly in growing sectors of the labor market like clerical and retail work, was defeat.

The defeat was partly structural. The new wave of unionism in the 1970s emerged out of an economic restructuring of the United States that reconstituted the working class and brought a new generation of men and women—and a new politics of feminism and anti-racism—into the workplace. But it also applied new pressures to daily life—for example, the time bind of the two-earner household—and enabled employers to pack up and leave when they felt the local labor market was no longer favorable to them. Sinking profitability put pressure on employers to resist their workers with new resolve, a hostility to unionization and labor organizing that, Windham writes, "set the employment terms that would govern the nation's slow transition out of industrial capitalism."

Windham measures employer anti-union activities by charting the number of ULPs, or charges of unfair labor practices, made by unions. ULPs are the procedural redress that workers or their organizations may pursue when management interferes with legally protected organizing rights—such as by interrogating workers about their intentions

or activities, or by threatening or punishing them for organizing—and are therefore the best index of intimidation and anti-union activity. From 1950 to 1980, ULPs rose by a factor of seven, with the fastest period of acceleration coming after the 1973 recession.

Employers' increasing willingness to dabble in the dark arts was motivated by economic pressure, but it was enabled by the burgeoning new industry of professional union busters. For example, Seyfarth Shaw, the firm that represented the Newport News shipyard against the USWA and

Yale University against its clerical

workers, quadrupled in size in the second half of the 1970s. This emergent union-avoidance industry helped managers push the bounds of labor law, but it also did more ideological work. Martin Jay Levitt, the repentant author of *Confessions of a Union Buster*, recounted how employers hired him to "awaken within the mostly white supervisor corps a hatred of blacks...contempt for women, mistrust of the poor." Since the goal was to produce a reasonable fear in workers of managerial retribution, frontline managers had to be taught vindictiveness. Remembering his work against the hospital-organizing campaign by Local 1199, Levitt wrote of a movie he would play for managers: "We particularly like a scene in which a very fat, very dark female face fills the screen, and the woman says in a thick, southern drawl, 'Jes' gimme eleven nahhhnty-nahhn.'... We didn't say much when we showed the film. We didn't have to." At Jackson Lewis, another premier anti-union law firm, a partner warned of new organizing efforts coinciding "with awakening recognition by women of their rights."

Windham catalogs the steps of the new-model anti-union campaigns that ran parallel to the new labor organizing. First, prevent workers from signing cards at all. Then, delay: "Always go to hearing," instructed one anti-union consultant. "Suffice it to say, you have at least 500 issues. So you litigate those issues.... You could come up with them for almost a year, as we did in one case." Next, threaten the possibility of "bad feelings" and workplace conflicts in the future. Finally, hold the jobs themselves hostage. In the formulation offered by another anti-union consultant,



"If excessive wage demands add a lot to our already existing losses it could force us to close." The trick, of course, is the non-threat threat—the suggestion that it'd be a shame if anything were to happen to your nice arrangement here. "You're free to vote as you please. But vote smart," as the same consultant put it. This repertoire of tactics is still with us today.

To those who have never been in the midst of a union campaign, it remains a bit of a mystery how this sort of thing works. After all, workers get to vote in a secret-ballot election. How can management actually coerce them? Windham doesn't quite come out and explain this. Most likely, she understandably wants to portray the workers in her narrative in a positive light: They were struggling heroically against increasingly long odds. So you don't hear much from those workers swayed by anti-union campaigns. But they existed then, they still exist now, and it is therefore worth thinking about why such efforts affect them.

To succeed, an anti-union campaign needs to get into workers' heads. It must rattle them. This is possible because of the mystifying operation of American labor law itself. The NLRB election process is designed to resemble more familiar kinds of elections: It's a contest between candidates, and people will go to the polling place and vote for their choice. The process taps into familiar ideas about the impropriety of influencing or even asking about how someone else is voting. But a union doesn't actually resemble political representation like the kind you choose in November. Unlike with voting for your senator, in an NLRB election, the electorate itself transforms into the thing it votes for. A group of workers voting for a union are not really voting for someone or something; they are voting to become something together. It is as if everyone who wanted a candidate to be elected had to volunteer for the campaign.

This mystification is where most American anti-union campaigns live. Organizing will only work if other people do it with you, and keep doing it with you. If your comrades fall away, you will be exposed. For this reason, management doesn't need to make a coherent case. Bosses can, and reliably do, make contradictory arguments: The union won't accomplish anything; the union will put us out of business. The campaign need only sow confusion and erode the bonds of trust among workers by creating an atmosphere of tension and anxiety. A "no" vote in a union election isn't necessarily a negative verdict on the general question of unionization. Rather, the elec-

tion is an acid test of how much workers trust each other to stick together—how much they can envision themselves as a part of the future collective they are voting into being. This is the meaning of the refrain heard in the course of every campaign: "I'm not against unions in general, just this one." What the speaker of such a statement is saying is that he or she is not part of the group. In other words, the abstract idea of a union is worthless on its own; it's always a question of how far the network of relationships extends and how much pressure it can bear.

Surely, one reason for the growing distance of middle-class liberalism from the labor movement is how alien such collective responsibility is from the individualist and competitive logic of professional life. But lots of workers still understand it. Some years back, I spent a few days helping out on a unionization drive at a Connecticut hotel. The campaign had reached the critical point where enough people had joined for management to get wise to what was going on, and this meant that the union had a weekend to assemble an indomitably large majority or else the bosses would start firing everyone. I had a car and a little bit of organizing experience, so I was happy to spend the weekend paired up with rank-and-file members of the organizing committee, going to the homes of undecided workers.

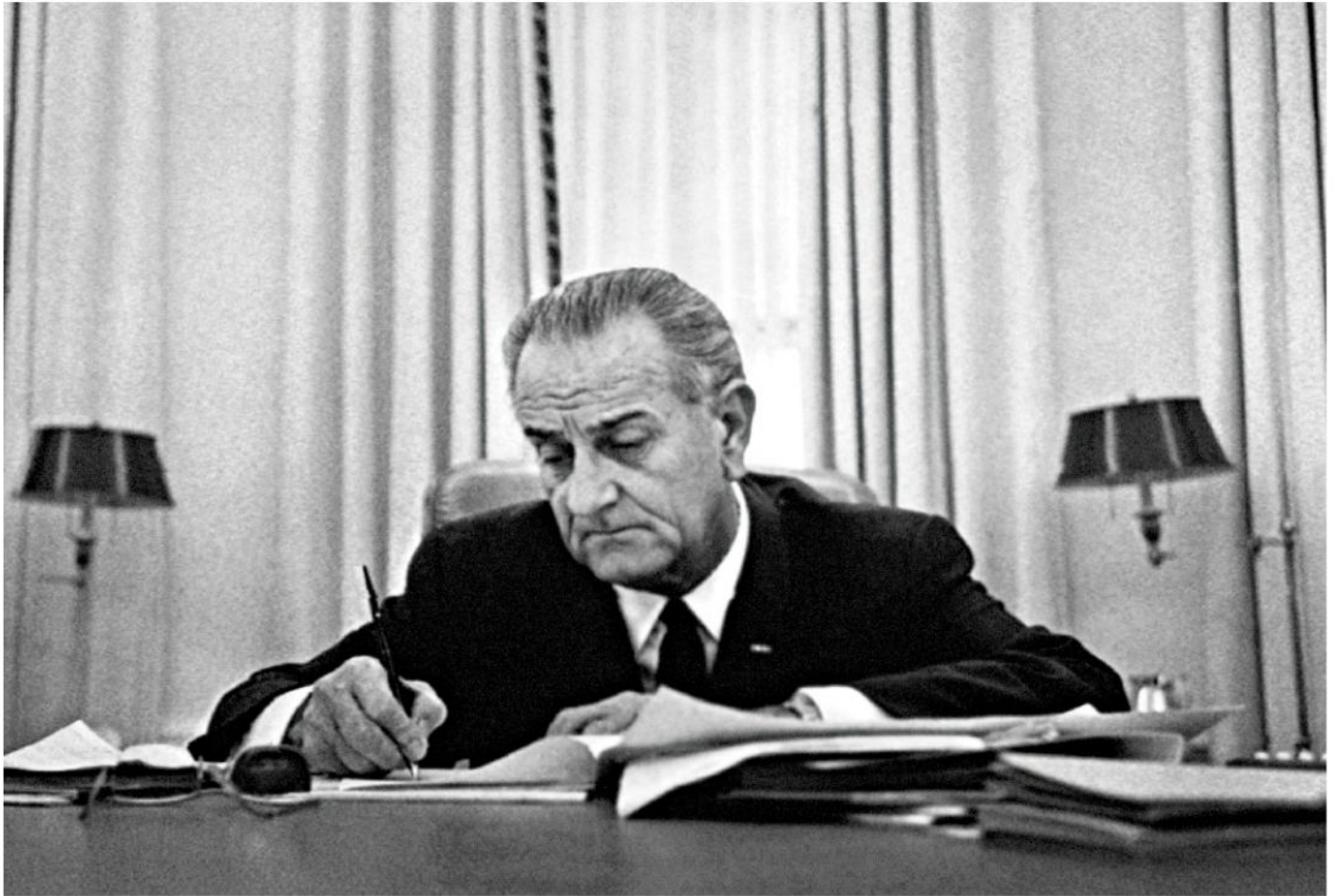
Two days in a row, I went with a worker to look for his friend who hadn't joined. When we found him outside his building, I was mainly useless in the two-hour sidewalk discussion that followed—and not just because it moved in and out of patois. The friend kept insisting that he worked hard to foster a good relationship with management. Plus, he'd been a member of a union at his last job, at a New York City hotel, and it hadn't made things any better. In the mode of an election canvasser sharing useful information, I noted that as far as I knew, the unionized hotel workers of New York had much better working conditions than their counterparts just about anywhere else in the country. But my comrade understood what was really being said: something about where this person stood in the web of social relationships that made up this hotel, and his fear of disturbing that delicate web. And so he framed his reply in answer to this more subtle set of anxieties. "Look, here's the situation," he said. "We field slaves are going to run away. You're like a house slave. If you don't come with us, it's more likely that we'll get caught. So you need to come." His friend agreed with the comparison, but he remained unmoved.

The mass escape—what a metaphor for working-class organization in the 21st century. If the group acts in sync, they all make it. But as stragglers are picked off one by one, everyone remaining becomes more vulnerable and likelier to peel off. The NLRB system, in other words, suggests to workers that they are making individual choices that will simply be aggregated into a majority. But no union results from aggregation. Workers must decide, purposefully, to be together.

The 1930s framers of US labor law designed it with this mystification at its heart, in part to slip it more smoothly into American liberal political culture. Then, in the 1970s, just as long-excluded kinds of workers began to assert themselves within the institutional framework of midcentury liberalism, employers flipped the system on its head: The fiction of individual choice, once an ideological advantage for workers, ultimately proved a better weapon for their employers. And it remains so to this day.

The first major wave of organizing attempts in the postindustrial economy coincided with employers' discovery that they could turn the liberal labor-law regime against their insurgent workers. Windham's book helps track this discovery. For this reason, the organization of low-wage service industries—the growth sectors of the labor market—has long been written off as impossible, and working conditions within them have continued to deteriorate.

The false appearance of a fair and representative system has worked to the benefit of increasingly rapacious employers for 40 years. In this way, the failure of American labor law stands as both the cause of and a metonym for the overall institutional breakdown of American liberalism. Perhaps there was a moment when the scraps of the liberal regime might still have been sewn back together into something usable. In many ways, that prospect is what we've been witnessing since 2008 with a new groundswell of labor organizing, much of it pressing hard against the limits of the law. But the Trump administration has foreclosed whatever remained of that possibility. Now we're in the world described by those two hotel workers on the sidewalk: a more raw contest between fear and solidarity, with no reasonable mediator to step in, hear both sides, and secure justice. On the one hand, it's frightening to let go of the illusion of liberal procedural fairness. On the other hand, it's the truth, and that's probably where we should start if we're going to begin again. ■



POLICY OVERLOAD

Has the American presidency become overwhelmed by its ever-expanding powers?

by **KAREN J. GREENBERG**

Since the presidential election of 2016, one can almost hear the sound of fingers rifling through the file cabinets of the past, desperate to find clues to guide us through an ever-darkening present. Some latch on to the worst periods of earlier eras, everything from Nazi Germany to Watergate to the Iraq War. Others look to moments of transformation and reform, all in the hopes of countering the curtailment of democracy and its agenda of rights for everyone.

In an effort to weigh in on the election of Donald Trump, biographers of past presi-

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dents have searched their own note cards for comparisons and explanations—only to come up short. Michael Beschloss, Joseph Ellis, William Leuchtenburg, and Doris Kearns Goodwin have all recently insisted that Trump is “unique” among presidents. For Garry Wills, Trump’s sins have surpassed even those of Nixon, making him “that rarest of things, a true nonpareil.” Ron Chernow has identified the singularity in, among other things, Trump’s lack of kindness and compassion. Even those who have written about past eras of demagoguery, from Reconstruction to the McCarthy years, differentiate Trump’s excesses from those of his violent, rabble-rousing predecessors. And many worry about how the imperial nature of the presidency since Franklin Roosevelt has set the stage today

The Impossible Presidency

The Rise and Fall of America’s Highest Office

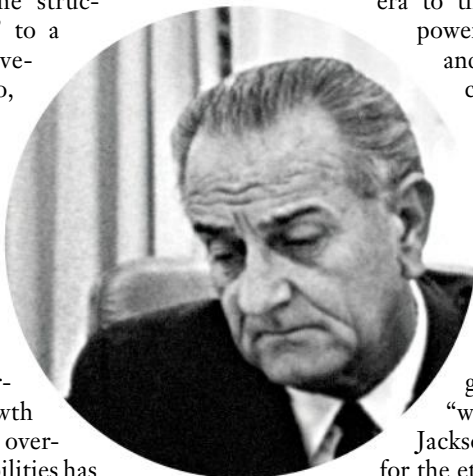
By Jeremi Suri

Basic Books. 368 pp. \$32

for expansive privilege as well as power.

Written before Trump’s election, Jeremi Suri’s thought-provoking examination of presidential power and its pitfalls, *The Impossible Presidency*, arrives at a strange moment. Setting out to examine the growing accumulation of power inside the Oval Office, Suri praises those presidents, like Andrew Jackson and Abraham Lincoln, who expanded those powers, and criticizes those, like Barack Obama, who failed to do so. Suri’s goal is to review the long history of the White House and its occupants in order to correct “our poor understanding

of the presidency” and its evolution to the present day. This flawed understanding, he believes, “has prevented us from addressing the structural impediments” to a president’s “effectiveness in office.” So, too, it may have blinded us to what now appears the inevitable rise to power of an individual who lacked the experience and the expertise that the office now demands. Suri argues that the growth of the presidency’s overwhelming responsibilities has rendered the office untenable. In contrast to the late Arthur Schlesinger Jr., the dean of historians of the American presidency, Suri does not see self-correction as inevitable. Instead, he sees the presidency as having irrevocably outgrown its mandate. “The impossible presidency,” Suri writes, “produced truly an impossible president.”



Selecting 10 presidencies out of the 45 to date, Suri zooms in on the so-called threshold decisions that, to his mind, incrementally transformed the office from the days of George Washington and his personal modesty to the era of “ambitious climbers” like Bill Clinton and Barack Obama. For Suri, Washington was “always dignified in demeanor” and “understood the power that came from restraint, remoteness, and an ‘elegant simplicity in style’” in his dealings with friends and foes alike. Yet even the first president encountered escalating encroachments on his time and talents, a reality that has continued to expand until the present day, when presidents are plagued by the reality of “too many people to please and too many issues to address.” By the time Clinton and Obama were in office, these ever-expanding encroachments had rendered Washington’s simplicity of style and management of power impossible. Distracting, frustrating, and at times debilitating demands upon the president have replaced restraint, simplicity, and the artfully managed balance of powers.

For Suri, the presidency was in trouble well before Trump. Its demise began at the height of its power, with the presidency of Franklin Roosevelt, and in the first half of

the book, titled “Rise,” Suri follows the expansion of the office from those deliberately restrained powers of the founders’ era to the expansive executive powers, in both the domestic and international spheres, claimed by Roosevelt.

The buildup of power was incremental but irreversible, Suri notes. The first notable change took place when the powerful image of the “revered grandfather,” Washington, gave way to that of the “warrior father,” Andrew Jackson. Jackson’s support for the ethnic cleansing of Indians and his defense of slavery took the shackles off presidential power. “He defined the United States as a presidential democracy, not a democracy with a presidency,” Suri writes. Moreover, Jackson’s persistent anti-elitism “greatly increased the power of the American executive.”

Still, Suri maintains, “Jackson’s populist presidency” had an upside: It “made Lincoln’s war presidency possible. Rooting presidential power in the people, rather than the Constitution alone,” Jackson “freed the executive from many institutional restraints.” But there is also a darker side to the image of Lincoln as a liberator and lawful leader. Describing Lincoln as a “poet at war,” Suri portrays him as the ultimate manipulator of the public mind-set, deftly using language to create a narrative in which death and destruction paraded as virtue and liberty. Lincoln, Suri writes, “was the first president to define an extended military conflict as a ‘new birth of freedom.’” He “turned a terrible civil war into a narrative of national redemption.”

In this manner, like many war presidents who followed him, Lincoln fused “freedom and war” and transformed “pervasive death into national rebirth.” And all the while, he did so by expanding presidential power. “Congress did not announce the freedom of the slaves, nor did the judiciary,” Suri observes. “The president did.”

As with Lincoln, Suri would like us to temper any vestigial regard for Theodore Roosevelt’s accomplishments (even after the critical revisionism of late) with caveats about the negative imprint that his successes left on the office itself. Turning the image of the president into one of a “pushy, self-confident, and impatient re-

former,” Roosevelt “greatly expanded the democratic reach” of the office “as he also set near impossible expectations for his successors.”

In Suri’s view, Roosevelt—well-meaning in his “civilizing ambition” despite his “undemocratic qualities,” his elitism and his militarism—made great and commendable strides forward. Roosevelt turned the “executive into the reformer-in-chief” and “increased the speed, range, and impact of the nation’s executive as a catalyst for domestic and international change.” From his first day as president, Suri argues, Roosevelt sought “to make the national executive the dominant actor in all parts of American life.” In the domestic sphere, he created public-welfare programs through the exercise of presidential initiative, not in collaboration with Congress. In foreign affairs, he was “the first commander-in-chief to think globally.” In short, Theodore Roosevelt created “a vision for the office” that persists to this day.

But it wasn’t until Franklin Roosevelt came on the scene, Suri argues, that the contradictions embedded in the methods that Jackson, Lincoln, and Teddy Roosevelt innovated came to the surface. On the one hand, there are the transformative accomplishments of FDR’s responses to the Depression and a crumbling world order. He was, as Suri puts it, “problem-solver-in-chief,” and he took the presidency to new levels of influence. On the other hand, Franklin Roosevelt’s transformation of the office—despite the great accomplishments, both foreign and domestic, those efforts yielded—left the presidency itself in dire straits. “Such a president,” Suri writes, acknowledging the historian Charles Beard’s fierce criticism of FDR, “looked more and more like a dictator than the dispassionate and distant figure embodied by Washington.” In the end, Roosevelt helped to institutionalize the impossible features of a presidency that must be simultaneously visionary while managing a crushing set of bureaucratic demands.

The problem of “too much responsibility” becomes the lens through which Suri judges the administrations of John F. Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson, Ronald Reagan, Bill Clinton, and Barack Obama in the second half of his book, which he has titled “Fall.” Skipping over Harry Truman and Dwight Eisenhower with barely a nod, Suri describes Kennedy as “the first of many presi-

dents to feel lost in his own power," since by the time he took office, there were "too many demands on the executive." Similarly with Johnson, we witness a president who "was trying to run the world from the Oval Office, as presidential responsibilities seemed to demand, but the world was running him. He was going in too many directions at once."

In each case, Suri sees the president's strengths turned into weaknesses due to the excessive demands that Roosevelt created for the office. Kennedy's "ambition to solve all problems" eventually "entrapped him in hyper-action, and ultimately, policy overload." For Johnson, the expansive nature of presidential power "brought all of his ambitions crashing down, fast and hard." For both men, "their talent, energy, and idealism" became "debilitating" in the face of the constant crises posed by the Cold War, the war in Vietnam, and the era's social upheaval.

The same is true of Reagan, the president for whom Suri seems to reserve his greatest respect. Suri sees "two Reagan presidencies." Initially, Reagan simplified the many demands of the office, and in so doing "returned the presidency to mission over management." But over time, he succumbed to other priorities of the day. Suri applauds Reagan's "flexibility," most notably in his shift in attitude toward Soviet leaders and his efforts to help end the Cold War. And when Reagan failed—as he did with the economy, the AIDS crisis, the Iran-contra scandal, and much else—Suri chalks it up to his failure to extend this flexibility even further.

Again, for Suri, it is not so much Reagan who is to blame, but the impossible presidential system put in place by Roosevelt. "By Reagan's time, it was no longer possible for the president to closely follow all the domestic and international programs under his purview," and "even if he had tried, Reagan could not have maintained the same direct control over the larger, more complex, and more international government bureaucracy that he led." Reagan's failures in both the domestic and international spheres are proof, in Suri's view,

that the "post-Roosevelt presidents found it difficult to match their power with their purposes. The federal government was too massive and too fragmented.... American power appeared transformative, [but] its efficacy was marginal, at best."

Exceptionally telling are Suri's omissions, which allow him to skip over the presidents whom most people would include in a list of those who affected the institutional power of the presidency, almost always in a negative way—namely Richard Nixon and George W. Bush. Nixon's abuses sent the country into a tailspin for a generation and led to a lingering distrust regarding the president's exercise of power for his own gain, while Bush helped to permanently rearrange the country's separation-of-powers doctrine. Bush, in particular, belongs among those who succeeded in transforming the presidency and the range of its powers—but for the worse. As commander in chief, he waged war at home and abroad in ways that put the president and his national-security platform ahead of the courts and Congress.

Suri's all-too-brief discussion of Obama also reveals his biases: He views Obama's presidency as largely a failure, particularly in relation to foreign policy, because in the face of innumerable challenges calling for the use of presidential power, Obama refused to exercise it, let alone to expand those powers, proving himself "ineffectual, weak, and largely reactive." Like Kennedy and Johnson, Obama found that despite his ambitions, he struggled to master the challenges, especially those that emerged in the field of foreign policy.

With his focus on the overwhelming demands of the modern presidency, Suri is building upon the seminal work of Richard Neustadt in his 1960 book *Presidential Power and the Modern Presidents*. Neustadt's notion was that, for the modern president, the line between leader and clerk was blurred: "Everybody now expects the man inside the White House to do something about everything." But while Suri focuses on what the proliferating demands of the White House have meant for the presi-

dent's agenda, Neustadt is interested in how effectively presidents exert their influence—over Congress, public opinion, and other countries. For Neustadt, the main criterion for assessing American presidents is overall leadership, not particular policy goals. Suri, by contrast, is more concerned with the efficiencies and effectiveness of presidential power than with the lawful, moral, and artful exercise of it while in office. Suri is, therefore, interested neither in Nixon's abuses of power nor in Bush's abuses of the law, but rather in how the imperial presidency has debilitated presidential rule.

Suri barely mentions Donald Trump, a candidate at the time of his writing, whom he labels an "anti-leader"; but, reading between the lines, Trump was an accident waiting to happen. His predecessors had collectively created and sustained a monster of an institution with overwhelming power and too many responsibilities for any one individual. As a result, the public has come to believe, as Suri puts it, that the "government had failed, and they wanted to bring the president down. They no longer believed the office could produce a Washington, a Lincoln, a Roosevelt, or even a Reagan. And they were probably correct." Trump's election was the culmination of this frustration over the paralysis created by executive overload.

For Suri, this means the presidency has reached its end as we know it. Having exceeded its original mandate, it cannot be sustained: "A single executive," he counsels, "is just no longer practical." What we need, Suri believes, is a "division of responsibilities between a president and perhaps a prime minister." By accepting the presidency's defeat, however, Suri misses out on the moral of his own story—namely, that in many ways Obama displayed the combination of restraint and simplicity of style that Suri applauds in George Washington, and that the criticisms of Obama were less about his abusive exercise of power than his intentional determination to keep things in balance.

Titling his epilogue "New Beginning," Suri wonders whether the American government has outlived its founding framework and whether the time has come to rethink executive power. In the context of the Trump presidency, these larger existential questions may indeed ring true, but one hopes they are also a far-too-early shot across the bow. ■





A STRANGE TRICK OF PERSPECTIVE

Capturing life's fragments, from Kiarostami's *24 Frames* to Doueiri's *The Insult*

by **STUART KLAWANS**

Quiet, non-narrative films like Abbas Kiarostami's posthumous *24 Frames* are often tagged as "poetic," the default term for anything that has neglected to squeeze itself into a commercially viable genre. Good enough. Let's start with a few lines from a poem, Wallace Stevens's "The Snow Man":

One must have a mind of winter
To regard the frost and the boughs
Of the pine-trees crusted with snow

And have been a cold long time
To behold the junipers shagged with
ice...

...and not to think
Of any misery in the sound of the
wind....

And here is the first of the 24 framed images that compose Kiarostami's film: a full-screen reproduction of Pieter Bruegel the Elder's painting *The Hunters in the Snow*. Three men returning from their labors, their backs turned to you, trudge toward a vast, frigid valley, dogs following their sunken tracks, ravens perched in the bare branches above, the peaked, snow-thatched roofs of little houses dropping away below. You contemplate the utter stillness. You feel time has stopped.

Then a plume of smoke begins to rise from a chimney in the painting. A fresh flurry of

snow drifts down, accompanied by the whistle of wind. Crackling and cawing break onto the soundtrack—from the fire being tended near the inn at the picture's left, from a bird swooping across the center of a mottled, overcast sky—and a real dog (I mean, the filmed image of one) wanders in, just to nose around. Then the dog trots out of the painting, the snow lets up, the wind dies down. Having given you a few moments of "life," Kiarostami returns you to the painting and to silence—to a time that's frozen. Like the "listener" in "The Snow Man," who has learned to become "nothing himself," you now behold "Nothing that is not there and the nothing that is." Fade to black.

It's not hard to imagine Kiarostami himself fading to black, very slowly, during his time making *24 Frames*. He pattered over the film in his basement in Tehran for three years, assisted by the digital animator Ali Kamali, who used a video program to layer movement and sound onto *The Hunters in the Snow* and dozens of scans of Kiarostami's nature photographs. It must have been an absorbing process, which continued even after Kiarostami was hospitalized with cancer. By the time of his death, he had created more than enough computer-animated photographs to make up the 24 he wanted for a film—24 being the number of frames that ordinarily translate into one second of movie time. Each of his "frames," though, lasts four and a half minutes. Kiar-

ostami had figured out a new way to stretch time, but he couldn't defeat it. After he died in July 2016, his son Ahmad completed the work.

Given this history, skeptics might wonder if *24 Frames* conforms to Kiarostami's final intentions, or if he'd even had time to formulate them. Some naysayers might also think the primary materials for *24 Frames*—Kiarostami's still photographs—are too slight to support 114 minutes of cinematic meditation. For the moment, let's just say there's an overwhelming consistency of imagery, process, and mood in *24 Frames*, which makes the film feel very much like the considered work of a single artist—and not just any work, but the last testament.

Bruegel's painting makes all the difference, establishing motifs that run through the next 23 animations of Kiarostami's photographs. It's winter in these images more often than not, with snow deep on the ground and trees shaking under gray skies. Dogs and birds show up frequently. (Crows might be the stars of the movie, given how often they hop and croak through the scenes.) Hunters make themselves felt in Kiarostami's frames, too, though only off-screen, through the sound of their guns. The difference from Bruegel's painting is that, with a few notable exceptions, a human presence is implied but unseen. Fences run across the unpopulated landscapes in some of the frames; in others, the landscape is glimpsed, or obscured, through the windows of uninhabited rooms.

There's also transient, invisible evidence of humanity in the music that's matched to some of the frames: an old tango by Francisco Canaro, Maria Callas performing "Un Bel di Vedremo," Janet Baker singing the Schubert "Ave Maria," or an instrumental number by the Naqsh Duo, two young Iranian women whose compositions sound like traditional Persian music crossed with *Quartet for the End of Time*.

Do these occasional patches of music violate the principle of Stevens's "The Snow Man," introducing the something of human desire into the fundamental nothing of the natural world? I'd rather say they set up a push-and-pull. Sometimes you feel dissolved into the scenes that Kiarostami has created, as if snow and wind were one with the birds and animals—as much inside them as outside—and one with you, too. (The land, Stevens writes, is full of the "same wind" that blows "in the same bare place / For the listener.") At other times, you sit back and wonder at how much emotion you're pouring into a scene with which you have only the most tenuous connection. This generally happens in the episodes in which you're separated from the landscape, seeing it from inside a house (or, in one case, a car) while hearing the recorded music that someone

has chosen to play. But who? Nobody's in the room. The listener, too, has dissolved.

Whether the episodes are underscored by music or only by "natural" sound effects, they can be pitiless in their simplicity, as when two horses spar in a blizzard, or a prowling cat snatches a bird out of a burrow in the snow, which is immediately filled by another bird. The frames can be quizzical as well, or droll. A herd of cattle strolls in threes and fours across a deserted beach, with the cows looking for all the world as if they belong there. (Later, the same computer-animated herd walks through a clearing in a forest, just as improbably, and just as convincingly.) Or: A puppy on the beach runs up yapping to a seagull and scares it away. A moment later, the puppy re-enters to yap at the empty space where the seagull used to stand.

Whether you chuckle or brood, you think all the while of how the apparent motion in these photographs is an illusion—like the fictitious evidence that Kiarostami invented of an ongoing world outside the frame; like the impression of time unspooling naturally in scenes whose duration was arbitrarily decided and artificially fixed. In other words, you keep thinking about the essence of filmmaking. In his great fictions—and, even more, in the quasi-documentary fictions—Kiarostami pulled off the magical trick of keeping you aware of the movieness of the movie without ever distancing you from his characters. He was, in that sense, an anti-Brecht, who refused to alienate anybody. *24 Frames*, though, has almost no characters except for the birds and animals—and they don't do the two things that most interested Kiarostami about human beings, which are that we care for one another and we lie. So I wouldn't argue with a moviegoer who finds *24 Frames* too contemplative an experience. And yet there's the departure of the final frame, inhabited by Kiarostami himself—or rather, this being a grand lie, by someone who implicitly represents him.

The setting is a room at night. A figure, seen from behind, lies face-down on a desk, dozing. Next to the figure, a computer monitor displays a freeze-frame of an old English-language movie. Maybe we're looking at the film this person had been watching before falling asleep. Or maybe we're seeing the person's dream, projected onto the little screen nearby. Either way, the picture gradually jerks into motion. The movie's scene continues; the actress and actor slowly kiss.

As a filmmaker subject to the laws of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Kiarostami was never permitted to show people kissing. But at the close of his life, using *24 Frames*, he finally got to do just that. The music he chose to accompany this great moment is lushly sentimental.

The image on the monitor is grainy and pixelated, and the person who would presumably be most interested in watching it is left fast asleep. No matter. As a warm filmmaker with a mind of winter, Kiarostami had learned that absurdities and impediments are as much a part of the world, and himself, as snow and wind. Everything was frozen, and the body was dying of cancer—and yet the kiss could happen.

The figure sleeps. The screen on the desk says: "The End."

Through a strange trick of perspective, images of Palestinians and Israelis are coming closer to us in the movies just as the vision of a *modus vivendi* between the two peoples fades into the distance. We've recently seen the US debut of a documentary by Amos Gitai, *West of the Jordan River*, which in some ways continues his invaluable 1982 *Field Diary*, and the festival premiere of Julia Bacha's documentary *Naila and the Uprising*, produced by the nonprofit Just Vision. (Disclosure: I have a personal connection to that organization.) Witness also two films longlisted for this year's foreign-language Oscar: Samuel Maoz's *Foxtrot* and Ziad Doueiri's *The Insult*. Of the four, only Doueiri's film holds out anything I could describe as hope, and it's a strangely confected one at that.

To date, Doueiri is best known for the excellent debut feature *West Beirut* (1998), about teenagers in the midst of civil war, and the psychological thriller *The Attack* (2012), which was subject to a ban because its scenes of Tel Aviv were actually filmed there. (Lebanese citizens are proscribed from visiting Israel.) *The Insult* is a fable about an angry exchange of words in present-day Beirut. On one side is a Christian garage owner (Adel Karam) who is mostly concerned with his business and his pregnant wife, but who also happens to be a Phalangist nursing old grievances. On the other side is a Palestinian construction foreman (Kamel El Basha) who is mostly concerned with doing his job and supporting his family, but who also happens to be a former militant who fled Jordan after Black September. All it takes between these two is the wrong tone of voice: Words eventually escalate into clumsy physical violence, and then into a widely publicized lawsuit that threatens to set off a new civil war.

The dialogue in *The Insult* is punchy, the editing brisk, and the performances kept just a notch below swaggering exaggeration, as you might expect from a writer-director who has worked with Tarantino. But the real question isn't whether the movie pops (which it does); it's whether Doueiri achieves any justice by

turning *The Insult* into a courtroom drama. What does he ultimately put on trial? Nothing less than the status of Palestinians as a particularly victimized people deserving of particular consideration.

In raising this issue for cinematic litigation, Doueiri shows himself to be an exemplary moderate, trying to have things both ways. He uses the courtroom setting to document the PLO's massacre of Christian civilians in the village of Damour in 1976, weighting the film's visual evidence and its screen time toward the position that Palestinians, too, have the blood of innocents on their hands. But the Phalangist lawyer who makes this case is played by Camille Salameh (think of Ian Holm as old Bilbo Baggins), while the pro-Palestinian attorney is Diamand Bou Abboud (think Jennifer Lawrence). That's Doueiri's formula for "turning the page," as his characters say: Acknowledge the wrongs suffered by one side, but maintain the perceived glamour of the other.

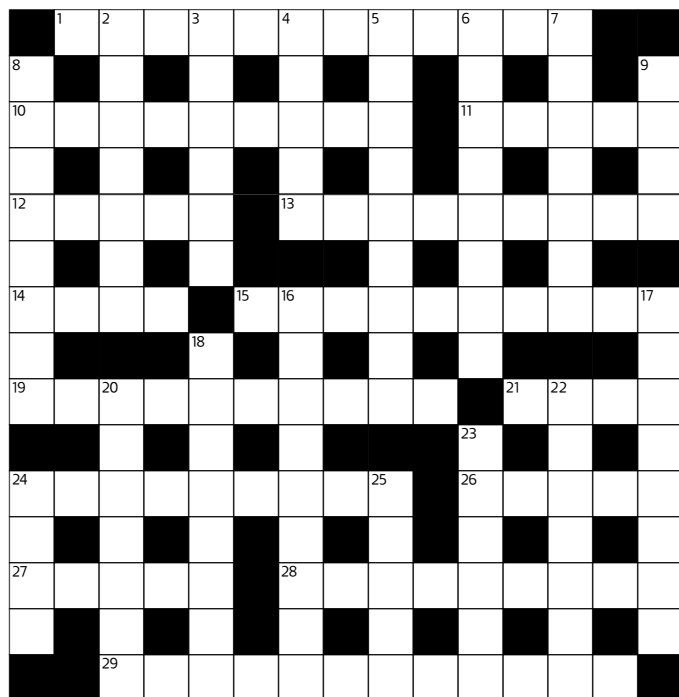
Move south with the documentaries by Bacha and Gitai, though, and the facts on the ground don't look very glamorous. In the somewhat slapdash *West of the Jordan River*, Gitai grabs on-the-scene interviews with Palestinians in Gaza and Hebron and learns that the only thing they want the Israelis to do is disappear. Meanwhile, in the studio-shot interviews with Israeli political leaders and journalists—who mostly run the gamut from *Haaretz* to *Haaretz*—he learns that Israel's remaining leftists believe that the only thing likely to disappear is the last tatter of their democracy.

Bacha seems to come to a similarly bleak assessment in *Naila and the Uprising*. An admiring portrait of Naila Ayesh, a longtime activist in the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the 75-minute film is also an act of historical recovery, bringing to light the leadership of women in the first intifada, as well as the argument that the PLO undercut the best hopes of a grassroots movement by signing the Oslo Accords. *Uprising* is a vigorous film, but it sees hopes for change only when it looks back to when they were foreclosed.

It's left to Samuel Maoz to put this sense of dreadful stasis into strong dramatic form in *Foxtrot*. A film about the terrible cost of the occupation for both peoples, and about the corrosive, self-defeating norms of Israeli manhood, *Foxtrot* is as impressive a movie as I've seen in months. Before it enters general release in March, I must inform the cultural boycotters that if they pass it up, they'll miss an ingeniously structured, impeccably directed film that knows how to toy with you—and even raise a bitter smile—while it goes about breaking your heart. ■

Puzzle No. 3456

JOSHUA KOSMAN AND HENRI PICCIOTTO



ACROSS

- 1 Mad non-scientist lacking method (12)
 10 Getting up to follow news service at start of press briefing (9)
 11 A pair of climatologists acknowledge someone with big shoes to fill (5)
 12 Nobleman to read characters in front of this clue and above this puzzle, one after the other (5)
 13 Gang member, at wit's end, captivated by certain books of the Bible (9)
 14 Class for one learning macramé? (4)
 15 Bond fanatics, having run with it (10)
 19 California diatribes involving Republicans: "They have deep pockets" (5,5)
 21 Agitate in prison (4)
 24 Warsaw native heads west, amid seven tangled wrappers (9)
 26 Metropolitan headdress is timeless (5)
 27 Flip conclusion of terrific woman (5)

- 28 Proclaims, "Coulter's a lightweight on the inside" (9)
 29 A challenge for juniors is clique's fulfillment (12)

DOWN

- 2 Compose rising melody for sea power (7)
 3 Clothed in taffeta, I posed opposite 8 (6)
 4 European southwest is slow, at first (5)
 5 Dress a piece of eggplant in animal fat and sweet vegetable (5,4)
 6 Commercial in gym supports poor case for stunt (8)
 7 Excessive sensitivity about mantra (3,4)
 8 Sleep-inducing acorn cooked to overcome spasm (8)
 9 Finishes off homework in little bookie joint (4)
 16 Comes back to harvest fruit (9)
 17 Slithering serpents' sass (8)
 18 Frequently last talent—so sad (3,5)
 20 On reflection, we invested originally in guns and pans sometimes (7)
 22 Early explorer of America raised company's killer crop (7)
 23 Late summer breeze after a reversal of direction (6)
 24 Engages oddly with roe (4)
 25 Leaders of Saudi Arabia's neighbor are around ____! (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 3456

ACROSS 1 B + APT + IS + M 5 JU[n]G + BA(N)D 9 L[o]UNGE 10 P(A)KIS + TAN + I (skip anag.) 11 HAN + DOVER
 12 phonetic hidden 14 PLUM[e]
 15 HY(DROP)PLANE (&lit.) 18 anag. (&lit.) 19 hidden 22 LO + VEIN
 24 ORD(N)ANCE (crone anag.)
 26 [c]REW + R(T)ING 27 rev. hidden
 28 M + AL(CO)L + M 29 SC(AL)ENE

DOWN 1 "hell bop" spoonerism 2 PEN + INS(U)LA (slain anag.) 3 ICE + BOX
 4 anag. 5 JO(K)E 6 GAS + PUMPS
 7 A + TALL 8 D(WIND)LE (led anag.)
 13 ARB(I)T + RAGES (brat anag.)
 16 AD + VAN + T + AGE 17 anag.
 18 PIL[l] + GRIM 20 STEP ON + E (rev.)
 21 anag. 23 VOW + EL 25 2 def.



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