

The Washington Post

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Democracy Awakens in Action

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UNPRESIDENTED

TRUMP HASTILY DEPARTS WHITE HOUSE, ENDING CRISIS

Celebrations break out worldwide as Trump era ends

Entire globe breathes sigh of relief at end of dark period

BY SARA GABRIEL RAMOS

WASHINGTON — When news of Donald Trump's abdication spread through Amsterdam, it literally stopped traffic, as the normally reserved Dutch lay down their bicycles and strangers hugged strangers.

In South Korea, thousands of women gathered in Seoul Plaza and lit candles in what organizers there called a group prayer of gratitude for nuclear peace.

And in New Delhi, a massive dance party led by LGBTQ activists spilled down city blocks and featured a synchronized two-minute kiss-in to represent the half-term that now-President Mike Pence will serve out.

Worldwide, impromptu street parties popped up in major cities and small towns as people realized the American president had fled. As news spread of what appeared to be the first U.S. presidential resignation since Richard Nixon, crowds from Buenos Aires to Seoul to Cape Town waved American flags, played American music, and congratulated the United States.

In Paris, an estimated 100,000 people flooded the streets to celebrate as the French do: riotously. "Today is like when we win the World Cup," yelled Pauline Léon, "except that the whole world wins." She paused for a moment, then added: "It's universal — could

CELEBRATIONS CONT. ON A5

Traits in common

Kim Jong Un on Trump's departure A7



Former President Trump slips into a private car in the wee hours of the morning.

REUTERS

"BLAME CROOKED HILLARY & HFIOR"

Surge of protests proves too much for Trump

BY LISA CHUNG

THE CAPITAL — On May 1, barely six months after the midterm elections, Donald Trump appears to have abandoned the White House and abdicated his role as president. He issued no formal statement, though four White House aides — who spoke on the condition of anonymity — claim they found a napkin on the president's desk in the Oval Office on the evening of April 30, scrawled in red ink with the following message: "Blame Crooked Hillary & Hfior & the Fake News Media."

The aides claim they received no other warning of Trump's departure apart from this napkin, and have no knowledge of his whereabouts. Similarly, they cannot explain the meaning or significance of "Hfior." Flight-tracking databases show the departure of a private, luxury helicopter — a Bell 429 MAGnificent — from the immediate vicinity of the White House at 3:15 am on May 1. Tracking shows that same helicopter eventually landed in the Crimean resort city of Yalta.

"This is unprecedented," said Tanisha Jones, Distinguished Professor of American History at Columbia University. "No other president in history has fled the White House like this." Jones also remarked that the massive women-led protests that paralyzed cities around the country last weekend are similarly unprecedented, in both their size and the speed with which they came together. "It's hard to imagine that these two things — Americans rising up to demand Trump's resignation and Trump disappearing — are unrelated."

In an early morning press conference, White House Press Secretary Sarah Huckabee Sanders eluded questions about Trump's departure. "I'm

DEPARTURE CONTINUED ON A5



President Pence at his hurried swearing in.

OFFICIAL WHITE HOUSE PHOTO

now Mike Pence will be regarded primarily as the answer to a trivia question," said Josephine Ellis, the Pulitzer Prize-winning presidential biographer. "And it will seem an unfairly obscure question, at that."

Aside from Gerald Ford's forgettable turn in the Oval Office from 1974 to 1977, there's no ready comparison to the precarious position Pence faces as he takes over the job. But the new president, known as a savvy operator in his 12 years as an Indiana Congressman, must know the score. A solid Democratic majority in the House didn't get the satisfaction of impeaching

PENCE CONTINUED ON A2

A man with little time and fewer options

President Pence faces narrow path. A2

From #MeToo to 'You're Fired'

"Finally!" say women

BY SIMONE WILLIAMSON

WASHINGTON — The nasty, brutish, and ultimately short presidency of Donald Trump was only a few hours old when it was met with the counter-force that would define his time in office. Women's Marches flooded some 650 towns and cities nationwide with protesters waving signs, pushing strollers, chanting slogans, and wearing crocheted pink hats topped with cat ears. The crowd in Washington D.C. alone was estimated to be three times as large as the audience

#METOO CONTINUED ON A7

The actions that turned the tide

Women took the lead in ousting Trump

BY FRANCESCA LU

"Well done, team." That message was posted by the Wisconsin-based "Cheesehead Indivisible" group on their Facebook page shortly after the news broke that Trump had fled the White House. While Trump's sudden departure was a bombshell for many, those who were active in opposing his agenda and his presence in office reacted with a distinctly unsurprised tone.

"Cause and effect," said Angela Binai, an organizer with the Cheesehead group, when reached for comment. "We were very strategic in what we did, who we targeted, and how we escalated, especially after January." That message was echoed by representatives of more than a dozen other "resistance" and protest groups, independent and Indivisible-affiliated, in places as disparate as Corvallis, Montana; Stockton, California; Denton, Texas; and Durham, North Carolina.

New York City organizer Felicia Wood remembers one specific action as a turning point: "You could feel the shift in energy the first



Top: Teenagers used dresses to blockade offices.

Bottom: Americans flooded the streets nationwide.

time really massive numbers of us marched over the Brooklyn Bridge to protest outside Chuck Schumer's apartment," she said, referring to the Senate Minority Leader. Wood was part of an action on February 14 in which 15,000 people crowded the streets of the mostly residential neighborhood of Park Slope, Brooklyn. "Instead of going to Times Square or Trump Tower," said Wood, "we took it home. Schumer and other Democratic leaders had sometimes talked a good line, but they didn't start doing anything to counter Trump until they became the target of highly focused popular pressure."

Muntaha Arain, the author and historian of American political movements, noted that this change-up in strategy occurred nationwide. "There was no one straw that broke the camel's back," Arain said. "But this was about changing targets and tactics." That evolution in grassroots strategy in the months leading up to May 1 increased the overall sense of the president's isolation.

TURNED TIDE CONTINUED ON A7

How DC stepped up to shut down Trump

BY ALEXIS BERRYHILL

Dody T. Michaels recalls a night this past winter when he treated some friends to cocktails in the plush environs of Off the Record. Seated nearby were a couple of 30-something women, and the two groups chatted at the bar, he braced for the inevitable question: So, what do you guys do?

At the time, Michaels was the Assistant Secretary for Border, Immigration and Trade Policy at the Department of Homeland Security, and he'd learned to keep mum in such social settings. That night, his friend three drinks in blurred out something about Michaels being "Trump's main homie" for the Mexican border."

STEPPED UP CONTINUED ON A5

Momentum builds for progressive package of bills

DETAILED OVERVIEW ON A4

AARON P. BERNSTEIN/YAHOO!



INSIDE: COMMEMORATIVE REPRINT
Commemorative reprint of the Action Guide that helped bring down Trump



How to steal a base: Progressive pressure can prevent new Trumps

A CLOSER LOOK ON A3

HAPPENING TODAY

A fictional Washington Post back in January was strangely predictive of this week's amazing events (see page A6).

Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez (D-NY) will lead a 10,000-person conga line through the Senate Hart Building. Surprise participant Senator Mitt Romney (R-UT) has promised to bust out little-known Mormon dance moves.

The American Federation of Teachers, the Teamsters Union, and the National Domestic Workers Alliance plan to dance around a giant maypole built at the recently reopened George Meany National Labor College in Silver Spring, Maryland.

The Honorable Ruth Bader Ginsburg will lead a 10K race over the river and through the woods.

Reince Preibus joins Dancing With the Stars tonight on ABC-TV.

Massive gun buyback yielded enough metal to repair nation's bridges; building begins today on Woodrow Wilson Bridge.

Kanye West will announce he is retiring his MAGA hat. "Being a rich white asshole wasn't as fun as I expected," he has admitted in recent days.

U.S. Border Patrol agents and Honduran migrants seeking asylum will utilize portions of The Wall in Tijuana Mexico for a giant handball tournament. "We want to get some use out of it before it's torn down," said Border Officer Ron Letemin, as he prepared his resume.

TRENDS WE'RE WATCHING**SOUS L'ASPHALTE...**

Communities nationwide are offering blueprints for how bold progressive visions can play out locally — and they're finding enthusiastic approval across the political spectrum. "A highway turned into a beach — it's a first!" tweeted Bill de Blasio, the mayor of New York City, referring to the conversion of a two-mile section of the Henry Hudson Parkway into a seasonal public beach. Tweeted back Anne Hidalgo, the mayor of Paris, France, "Vive New York — but we've been doing it since 2002." It's true.

JURY REVOLTS

Jury revolts are spreading resistance beyond the usual suspects. Juries have always been allowed to ignore bad or im-

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COURSE CORRECTIONS

During the first two years of Trump's presidency, millions marched, but the impact was limited. It was only when protesters took their marches, sit-ins, and blockades to the offices and homes of Members of Congress that Democrats began standing up to authoritarianism—and supporting a progressive vision that could defang the far-right well into the future.

Pence tries to pick up the pieces

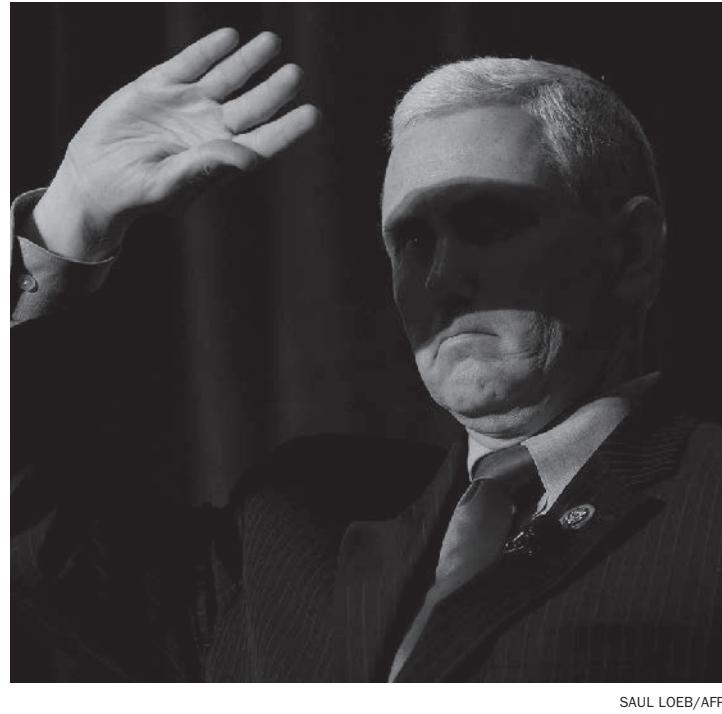
PENCE FROM A1

President Trump before his resignation, and Pence remains an object of interest to Democratic lawmakers for his at best slipshod vetting of Michael Flynn's Russian connections as Pence ran the Trump transition team in 2016 and 2017. Democrats on the Hill have subtly signaled to Pence that they'll be glad to reopen those investigations if he puts up resistance to signing the raft of progressive measures known as "The Bundle." So far, to the surprise of White House observers, Pence hasn't threatened to veto any of the most ambitious suite of bills since the Republicans' Contract With America passed in 1994-95.

"This is the trouble Pence will face after 10 years of Republicans' obstructionism in Congress," said Camilla Murphy, a longtime Republican strategist. "McConnell trashed the existing norms for a basic, functional three branches of government. I suspect Democrats won't be nearly so hardline, but Pence will need to tack way over to the center for Democrats to approve so much as a coffee order that he proposes."

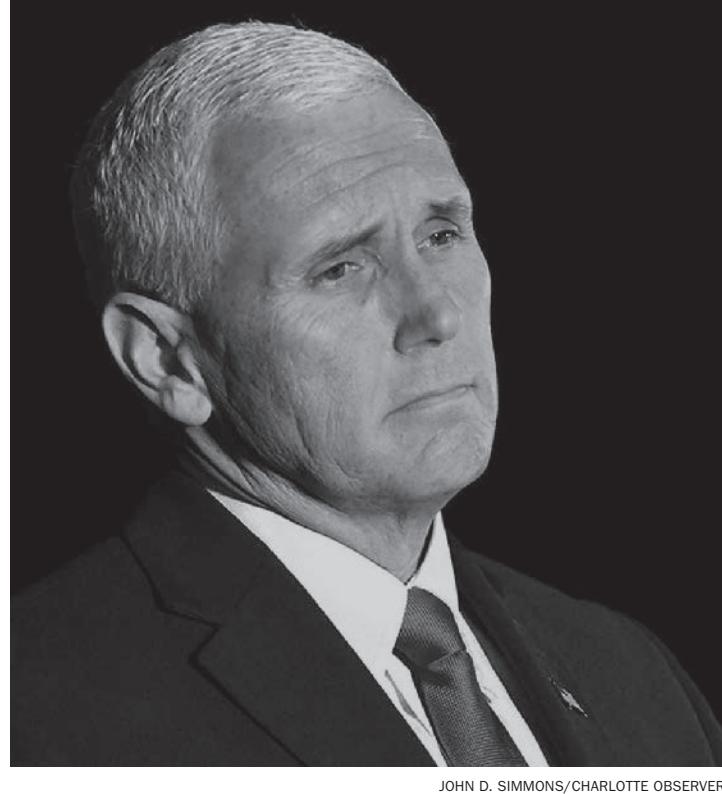
On paper the Democrats' legislative agenda looks like Pence's personal nightmare. The Bundle includes bills that would offer Medicare for all Americans or visiting workers; a federal program to cancel or buy back all student loan debt; a GI Bill-style college tuition reimbursement for American high school graduates who agree to work at least two years in rural communities; a guaranteed jobs program; a suite of aggressive measures to combat climate change; hefty incentives for states to broaden and strengthen voter protections; paths to citizenship for undocumented migrants; ambitious wage laws aimed at eliminating the gender pay gap within 10 years; and dozens of other bills which are popular across the political spectrum.

But if Pence decides to push against the Congressional agenda, analysts say he's looking at an uphill battle, one made only more difficult by the manner in which he assumed the presidency. "American voters simply don't cast their ballots with the vice-president in mind," said He-Yin Zhen, a fellow at American University's Center for Congressional and Presidential Studies. "For all his hectoring, Donald Trump could never really claim a mandate, given the margin by which he lost the popular vote. Now take the debacle of his presidency, subtract



SAUL LOEB/AFP

Michael Richard Pence took the oath of office as the 46th president of the United States after his predecessor, Donald J. Trump, walked off the job following the largest protests in American history.



JOHN D. SIMMONS/CHARLOTTE OBSERVER

Pence has inherited a presidency historians are already calling the most diminished since Watergate. Said one Republican, "Pence is stuck, and his record hasn't helped him."



OFFICIAL WHITE HOUSE PHOTO

Seemingly unruffled by events, Pence enjoys a quiet family dinner.

Trump's star power, and you're left with Pence's position. Which can only be called sad."

Even before Pence took the oath of office, weeks of speculation led to a late-night quip by Stephen Colbert that he would face not a lame-duck presidency but a "clipped-duck" presidency. Once his audience began chanting "Clip the duck! Clip the duck!" in a mock-echo of the "lock her up" chant so often heard at Trump rallies, a meme was born.

That's bad news for a president that hardly anyone can identify. An April poll by the Annenberg Public Policy Center of the University of Pennsylvania showed that a plurality of likely voters, when asked to describe Pence in a single word, responded with "white." Fully 20 percent knew him only from the millions of Planned Parenthood donations that Americans have made in his name as an act of protest.

"For all his flaws, Trump came into office with charisma, fame, and a swaggering arrogance," Wall Street Journal columnist Sara Estela Ramírez said Sunday on "Meet the Press," speculating on a possible Pence presidency. "I'm not sure how Mike Pence sells himself to America now that the alpha dog is nowhere to be found. And with women asserting themselves politically like never before in history, you really couldn't choose a more awkward person to claim to lead them."

Added Republican commentator Josephine Dodge, also on the panel: "Imagine having to govern on this administration's policy record, without having the Trump base to back you up. It would be an impossible situation even if he had any charm. But Pence is stuck as Pence, and his record hasn't helped him."

If Pence is indeed stymied for the remainder of his term, he may be best remembered in the future for his accomplishments as vice president. Those included leaving an NFL game when players knelt during the national anthem, and squinting hard at North Korea once.

In the meantime, representatives of the protest groups that helped drive Trump from office issued statements reminding Americans that, as Indiana governor, Pence allowed an HIV outbreak to spread because he opted to "pray on it" rather than taking timely action to address the crisis. LGBTQ groups and harm reduction advocates joined forces on the morning of Pence's swearing in for a dance party near the White House that advertised itself as "Queer Notice for the Straight POTUS." As hundreds of revelers celebrated Trump's departure, they also held up signs of warning for the new president: "Coming for You."

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In depth on the bills
A comprehensive break-down of the 64 bills. **A4**

Neighbors

Explore the world next door.

We all know friends and family are just great to spend time with. But have you ever thought about how little we get to know the folks next door or across the street?

Getting to know our neighbors has great benefits, like:

- Feeling safer and more connected to others*
- Learning about different cultures
- Borrowing sugar when we're low
- Having healthy debates about the state of our country
- And SO MUCH MORE!

SO TRY IT! YOU'LL BE GLAD YOU DID!

* A feeling of safety and personal connectedness has been shown to lower rates of drug addiction and other serious social and health problems.



POLITICS & THE NATION

The Civil War that never was

Despite calls for violence, none materialized

BY MARISA TORRES

WASHINGTON — As many as 1.5 million people flooded the National Mall in Washington, DC this past weekend after Donald Trump called for an armed defense of his presidency, which now appears to be in total collapse. But the marchers weren't brandishing weapons. Instead, their bold, colorful signs made clear that they had come not to rescue Trump, but to "surround hate and force it to surrender," as a banner held in front of the Washington Monument declared.

In a now-infamous series of tweets last week, shortly after he disappeared from public view, Trump implored his "big beautiful base" to "vote with your trigger finger" and "show up like you did on Inauguration Day, ready to fight for your favorite president." A handful of Trump supporters heeded the call. Four were arrested on weapons possession charges. Others watched glumly as counter-protesters stretched for blocks in every direction.

By day's end, it was clear that Trump's would-be civil war had failed miserably. The peaceful demonstration in Washington was one of more than 800 around the United States over the weekend, in what is being called the largest day of protest ever in American history. In DC and ten other U.S. cities, the massive protests included impromptu nonviolent blockades of Twitter offices, making it impossible for employees to return to work Monday until Twitter CEO Jack Dorsey relented and suspended @realDonaldTrump for violating Twitter's prohibition against incitements to violence.

As remarkable as the demonstrations were, experts on political violence were even more struck by what didn't happen: any significant response by Trump's supporters to his call to action. "Armed uprising was a fantasy of Trump's from the start," said Kate Barry, a Thomas Paine University professor and political violence expert. "As more and more of the country turned against him, it became more and more clear that Trump's endgame was violence from his most loyal base, or at least the threat of it. But the threat proved completely empty."

Back in 2017, Trump and Fox News had begun referring to the "violent left" shortly after the NRA issued ads with barely veiled calls for violence against protesters. Some analysts warned that Trump was grooming his base for violence in case of an impeachment or other threat to his presidency.

Yet the rag-tag groups of armed Trump supporters who did show up on the National Mall were quickly surrounded by much larger groups of Trump opponents, who used classic de-escalation techniques to neutralize the messages of hate. "So many people had attended nonviolent direct action



Above: Demonstrators swarmed the Mall after Donald Trump's thinly veiled call for armed insurrection fizzled and fed record counter-protests. Left: One of a small handful of Trump voters who showed up when the President called on supporters to hit the streets.

PHIL ROEDER/Flickr



FIBONACCI BLUE/WIKICOMMONS

trainings this spring that they knew exactly what to do," said Khadijah Blaine, who was part of an informal team who offered free trainings many weeknights and every weekend in DC's Lafayette Park during the past month.

Barry believes that one of the reasons Trump's call mainly fell flat is that his supporters had already heard a more positive message. "Thanks to widespread attention to the 'Bundle,' Trump's base had begun hearing the siren song of progressive solutions, and nobody was tying them to the mast of Trump's ship," Barry said, referring to a scene in the ancient Greek epic poem, the *Odyssey*. "Xenophobia and fear-mongering didn't work as well once real alternatives were on the table."

"It takes a village to commit

mass murder," Barry said. "And Trump's village no longer exists."

The threat of public humiliation also had its effect. One Trump supporter who had briefly considered responding to Trump's call for armed insurrection, and who requested anonymity, explained that he learned from the response to the Bundy militia's 2016 takeover of Malheur National Wildlife Refuge. "When they called for reinforcement, people just mailed them dildoes," the Trump supporter explained. "Those Bundy guys became the laughingstock of the nation. I've never wanted to be a clown, so it felt like time to try something new."

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A strategy tried and true: offering what people want

BY HAIIKA SCHWERNER

WASHINGTON — As the Trump presidency began crumbling in early 2019, thousands of Americans, fresh from trainings in canvassing and direct action, fanned out nationwide to ensure that even the stodgiest of Democrats would embrace the "Bundle" of progressive bills.

Most of those measures — like reining in corporate power, raising taxes on the wealthiest, and universal health care — have long been popular with voters across the political spectrum. But until 2019, Democrats refused to capitalize on that popularity, instead maintaining their allegiances to corporate donors.

"When Democrats embraced neoliberalism back in the '70s, they started losing the workers," said Helene Ninove, an organizer who's spent most of 2019 in formerly Trump-leaning areas of Louisiana. "We can win back some of that base, but only if we deliver policies that truly help all Americans. Otherwise, we can be sure that some future Trump — more competent than this last fool — will play to people's fears even more efficiently."

While most organizers are focused on pressuring House Democrats to embrace the Bundle, Ninove and her colleagues are spearheading direct outreach to former Trump voters. "Racism played a big role in 2016," Ninove said, "and anti-racist education is a core part of our outreach. But another factor in the Trump vote was our side offering only business as usual. Now, finally, there's a chance to build broad support for already popular measures."

Chantal Mouffe, a political philosopher embraced by progressive populist movements worldwide, agrees. "In the UK, activists managed to convince 16% of the white-power party



A tactic reborn for a populist moment, Occupy Wall Street has become Occupy the Picket Line

A CLOSER LOOK

Team progressive steals a base

Progressive pressure is building a better world — and preventing a Trumpian resurgence

A CLOSER LOOK

Team progressive steals a base

Progressive pressure is building a better world — and preventing a Trumpian resurgence



A tactic reborn for a populist moment, Occupy Wall Street has become Occupy the Picket Line

that a socialist, Jeremy Corbyn, could bring change they actually wanted," she said. "In France in 2015, activists convinced many former [white-nationalist] Le Pen voters to support a left populist, Mélenchon. Similarly, the hard work of activists has started to swing Trump supporters who wanted change at all costs." Mouffe contends that only progressive populism can compete with far-right populism.

"We've got to address racism and fear-mongering head-on, while at the same time ensuring that we're offering real progressive change that helps all working Americans," said Ninove.

Chris Whitehead, a medical technologist in Toledo, Ohio, is one of the estimated 1.5 million Bernie Sanders voters who chose Trump over Hillary Clinton. "It felt like I was getting nothing from Democrats except a door-knock every four years," he said. "This spring, I started getting visits from progressive canvassers outside of election season, and I knew they were serious. They were talking about things that actually affect my life. I came back to the fold, and even joined one of those picket-line occupations to support my striking teacher friends."

The spread of Occupy-style encampments at picket lines has been one of the more surprising tactics to arise in support of the "Bundle." They've made labor struggles more visible and shamed employers into granting demands. They've also

publicized reforms for workers in today's increasingly precarious economy.

"Job guarantees, free education, taking money out of politics—what's not to like?" said Ruben Pesotta, a lifelong Republican who heard about the Bundle when a labor dispute involving his Wichita, Kansas Teamsters local found support from an Occupation. Pesotta, who became a truck driver when agricultural behemoth Archer Daniels Midland automated his failing farm, is now facing unemployment because of self-driving vehicles.

"I'm realizing now that I was getting mad at the wrong people," he says. "The real enemies are the politicians who care more about the bottom line than about what working folks need, whether they're black, brown, or white."

Not everyone has been surprised that the Bundle has taken hold among some former Trump voters. "The only mammal more given than humans to cooperation may be the naked mole rat—and we're pretty lucky we don't look like that," said social-movement expert and former zoologist Georgina Beaumont. "When push comes to shove, most people would rather align with a vision based in cooperation and compassion, rather than exclusion and violence. But until 2019, mainstream Democrats weren't offering any such vision. Thank heavens that's changed."

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Did you know that sleeping in one 8-hour shift isn't natural?

Really. It was devised during the Industrial Revolution to increase worker productivity. Unbelievable, right? Wrong!*

Prior to the 1800s, humans typically slept in two four-hour blocks, separated by a period of wakefulness in the middle of the night lasting an hour or more. During this time some might stay in bed, pray, think about their dreams, engage in sexual activity or talk with their spouses. Others might get up and do tasks or even visit neighbors before going back to sleep.

However, because this form of sleep interfered with factory productivity, it was discouraged, even pathologized. Yet recent studies have shown it is actually very healthy.

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for the rest of your life



Disclaimer:

Consider that all these sleep aids we take may just be due to the pressures of societal productivity norms to subvert what may be a more natural sleep cycle. Best when combined with healthy diet and exercise. Don't ask your doctor whether biphasic sleep is right for you. They'll probably tell you it isn't. Just try it.

* <http://www.sleepreviewmag.com/2017/05/sleeping-in-two-shifts-history-of-biphasic-sleep/>

A “Bundle” of bills is changing America

BY HARITHA JADEJA

WASHINGTON — The most ambitious legislative package in a generation started as little more than series of progressive wish-lists. Platforms like the Green New Deal, the Vision for Black Lives, and the Leap Manifesto spurred discussions among groups like Indivisible, MoveOn, Black Lives Matter, the Women’s March, the Sunrise Movement, and labor unions.

By mid-February, those wish-lists had evolved into a concrete set of 64 bills aimed at winning broad support. Congressional Republicans and centrist Democrats initially scoffed at what they called the impracticality of the ambitious measures, which include Medicare for All, free college tuition, guaranteed jobs, a Universal Basic Income, and more. But after a huge grassroots campaign to support the measures, polls have shown growing favor even among Republicans.

Passage during the 116th Congress — once considered impossible with a Republican majority in the Senate — no longer seems out of reach, and the Bundle’s popularity is already shifting the terms of the 2020 presidential race. The Bundle already ranks alongside the 1930s New Deal and the Great Society as one of the most sweeping legislative packages ever attempted in peacetime.

“We’ve been handed a bundle of shit for so long,” Chicago-based community organizer Priya Bakaya told a Washington Post reporter in late February. “It’s about damn time for a different bundle.” The name stuck. The hashtag #BundleOfJoy went viral — often circulated with a cartoon, created by the underground art collective Trans Men United, featuring an apparently pregnant Uncle Sam.

Proponents also laud the Bundle as a safeguard against another Trumpian populist rising in the future. “A lot of Americans who recently turned to the right now have another place to go,” said Dalia Wilkins, a political analyst at Johns Hopkins School of Public Policy. “With common-sense progressive politics on offer, there’s a lot less oxygen for the politics of hate.”

Over the course of the spring, protests and sit-ins targeting members of Congress increasingly began to include demands that members also pledge support for the Bundle.

A handful of Republicans continue to oppose sections of the Bundle, arguing that it will strain American coffers. “Is it called the Bundle because that’s what it’ll cost?” House Minority Leader Kevin McCarthy (R-Calif.) tweeted in late March. Democrats have leaned into the name, claiming that the bills will plug tax loopholes that benefit the wealthy and corporations and will stimulate the economy.

House Speaker Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.) said Tuesday, “I challenge my Republican friends, who last year voted on a massive tax overhaul that did nothing but enrich the wealthy, to find a bill in the Bundle that asks the wealthiest Americans to pay more than their fair share.”

Even before Trump fled the White House, support for the Bundle was remarkably bipartisan. In the hours after Trump’s departure, five Republican members of Congress issued statements professing support for the package, in a sign that political winds may continue to shift leftward.

Anezka Kruszewska, a historian of political movements at Oxford, found it consistent with other movements. “It’s precisely during moments of intense political polarization that things can change massively,” Kruszewska said, before rattling off a list: “Polarization creates new political openings. It did in Scandinavia and Germany in the 1930s, in the United States during the 1960s, and in Chile under Allende. It can go either way.”

Bakaya, the Chicago organizer, said Saturday that it was becoming a point of pride.

“We’re talking about people who have the most at stake, the marginalized majority, crafting an agenda for everyone,” she said. “Now that’s democracy.”

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A look at the 64 bills

Democrats have laid out a bold agenda. Here’s a run-down of some popular proposals



Ayanna Pressley (D-Mass.), Ilhan Omar (D-Minn.), and Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez (D-N.Y.) are among the 38 freshmen Congressional Democrats driving a progressive legislative agenda they call the Bundle. If passed, it would rival the Great Society and New Deal in its sweep and scale.

BY ALONDRA BALTAZAR

Here’s a look at some of the most important and notable bills in “the Bundle,” the package of progressive legislation that’s garnering wide support across the political spectrum.

MEDICARE FOR ALL

The Bundle provides for the establishment of a Medicare for All program that will extend free health care — including primary care and prevention, dietary and nutritional therapies, prescription drugs, emergency care, long-term care, mental health services, dental services, and vision care — to all individuals residing in the United States and U.S. territories. It also includes some additional bills that will empower Medicare to secure the lowest drug prices possible, including:

H.R. 411 — The Medicare Negotiation and Competitive Licensing Act

This act would put Medicare directly in charge of demanding the lowest drug prices. Countries with national or single-payer health care are able to offer drugs to citizens at a fraction of what U.S. consumers currently pay, and 9 in 10 Americans support a way to find lower drug prices. By harnessing the government’s purchasing power and market-driven competition to restrain monopoly pricing of pharmaceuticals, this Act could do the same.

GREEN NEW DEAL

The Bundle includes all the bills of the Green New Deal, a comprehensive plan to build a national energy-efficient “smart” grid, upgrade every residential and industrial building for energy efficiency, and position America’s “green tech” sector to compete with China’s growing exports. This program, on the scale of the 1930s New Deal, will not only transition the United States to a 100% clean energy economy, it will create millions of green jobs, revitalize communities, slash poverty and overcome historic injustices. The Bundle includes several additional measures to extend the Green New Deal’s reach, give it regulatory power, and make sure the revenue it generates is enjoyed by all Americans. These include:

H.R. 671 — The Get Off Fossil Fuels for a Better Future Act

In order to achieve a 100% renewable-energy economy by 2035, this bill terminates fossil fuel subsidies, denies federal permits for any major new fossil fuel projects, and prohibits the export of domestically produced crude oil and natural gas.

H.R. 212 — The Green Is Green Act to Create an American Social Wealth Fund

Levies a Carbon Tax on large-scale fossil fuel producers and directs that revenue (and revenue from new energy generation spurred by the Green New Deal) into a Social Wealth Fund, which builds dividend-paying public wealth for all Americans.

H.R. 1 — ANTI-CORRUPTION AND PRO-DEMOCRACY MEASURES

Several of the Bundle’s bills expand H.R. 1, the most sweeping set of government reforms since Watergate. The H.R. 1 bills are already substantial: they make it easier to vote through automatic voter registration and improved election infrastructure; they reduce the dominance of big money

in politics by matching small donations with public funds; they end anonymous (“dark money”) corporate spending on political candidates, they end partisan gerrymandering and voter purging; they slow the revolving door between Congress and corporations; and they help to ensure elected officials work in the public interest by expanding federal ethics rules, including making any President release his or her tax returns. The Bundle includes further anti-corruption measures as well:

H.R. 82 — The “Enough Already” Act to Cap Campaign Spending

Elections will be financed publicly, and corporate donations will be constrained. Individual contributions will be allowed (and matched by public funds), but total expenditures will be capped.

H.R. 93 — The Main Street Not K Street Act to End Corporate Lobbying

To curtail the influence of money on the democratic process, this bill proposes a 10,000% tax on all corporate political spending. This would make such spending nearly always impractical, while not barring it outright (a constitutional impossibility since the *Citizens United* ruling).

H.R. 77 — The Full American Representation Act

Establishes statehood for the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico, granting each voting representation in both the House of Representatives and the Senate and full control over their respective local affairs.

OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL

Justice Louis Brandeis said, “We can have democracy in this country, or we can have great wealth concentrated in the hands of a few, but we can’t have both.” Channelling that spirit, the framers of the Bundle have supplemented H.R. 1, the Green New Deal, and Medicare for All with a number of other popular measures that supporters say will help put the American economy back in the hands of the American people.

H.R. 188 — The Living Wage for All Act

Ensures that no working American will work just to remain in poverty. Raises the national minimum wage to \$15 from \$7.25, at a rate of one dollar per fiscal quarter for the next two years. Also guarantees a living-wage job to any American over the age of 26 via block grants to states, providing increases in those grants when national unemployment goes above 6 percent.

H.R. 82 — The Universal Basic Income (UBI) Act

The Democrats’ UBI bill funds a five-year pilot project in 12 American towns and cities where economic insecurity is most dire. All residents will receive regular unconditional cash payments, with \$1,000 per month going to adults 18 and over and \$500 per month going to children. Researchers will track changes in recipients’ behavior and quality of life over the five-year span of the program, with the goal of setting appropriate UBI levels for every American by 2025 — abolishing extreme poverty and ensuring that American workers displaced by automation are given the support to get back on their feet.

H.R. 73 — Comprehensive Addiction Resources Emergency (CARE) Act

Provides the areas hardest-hit by the opioid crisis with \$10 billion a year in federal funding to prevent and treat substance use disorder.

billion a year in federal funding to prevent and treat substance use disorder.

H.R. 99 — Bill of Rights for Domestic Workers

Extends worker rights to domestic workers and offers them financial stability and safety. The bill will ensure that domestic workers are covered by many basic labor laws: the right to overtime pay when they put in more than 40 hours a week, to the protections of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, to form unions, and to recourse against harassment and discrimination.

H.R. 147 — Liberation Act To End Mass Incarceration

Takes immediate steps to decriminalize use and possession of recreational drugs (for an estimated 1.5 million fewer arrests each year); end money bail; replace penal slavery with the minimum wage; ban private prisons; and fund cities to implement community-driven initiatives to replace aggressive policing.

H.R. 231 — Celebrating Our Diversity Act

Establishes a fair and humane immigration policy that prohibits family separations and incarceration for immigration-related offenses, and establishes a pathway to citizenship for undocumented residents living in the United States.

H.R. 61 — The Equality Act

Will expand existing civil rights law to prohibit discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation or gender identity.

H.R. 326 — The Affordable Housing for All Act

This bill supports the large-scale creation of housing priced for sale at 60% or less of the median home price in the 400 most expensive housing markets in America. Working- and middle-class homeowners will get tax breaks, the Low Income Housing Tax Credit will expand, the homeless will get housing (not sheltering), and the National Affordable Housing Trust Fund will be permanently funded. All Trump properties (that have been placed under quarantine pending investigation) will be turned into libraries, schools, or other facilities to serve the public.

CORPORATE ACCOUNTABILITY

Some of the bills in the Bundle are aimed specifically at reining in the power of large corporations and leveling the economic playing field.

H.R. 34 — The Federal Corporate Charter Act

Most U.S. corporations are chartered by states, and some, including Delaware, have set such paltry accountability requirements that thousands of global companies now call them home. Corporations above a certain size that operate across state or international boundaries will be required to be chartered at the federal level. Such charters will redefine the governing board of a corporation to include all major stakeholders: consumers, employees, localities where the company operates, and environmental organizations.

H.R. 53 — The Corporate Accountability Act to End Limited Liability

Penalties for corporate misconduct will extend to all officers of the company in a way proportional to their investment. For example, Purdue Pharmaceuticals was fined \$640 million for

marketing Oxycontin with full knowledge of its dangers; the drug kills nearly 50,000 people per year. Under H.R. 53, Purdue might instead be convicted of 5,000 lifetime prison sentences, to be distributed among company officers (for periods from 5 years to life, depending on rank).

ENDING MONOPOLIES

H.R. 406 — The Loss of Trust Internet Act

Recognizing that a handful of digital companies have built oligarchic power to rival the most powerful Gilded Age corporations, this bill will turn Facebook into a public utility and break Amazon into three separate companies. This bill will also reinstate net neutrality.

H.R. 187 — The Too Big to Bail Out Act

In the aftermath of the Great Recession of 2008, the five largest Wall Street banks further consolidated their hold on the market and grew by 30 percent. This bill will ensure that no single bank can manage more than 10 percent of total banking assets in the country, effectively breaking up JPMorgan Chase, Bank of America, Wells Fargo, and Citigroup, and halting further consolidation of the banking sector. Additionally, different sectors of banking will be separated with a firewall, in a strengthened version of Glass-Steagall.

H.R. 121 — The Support Family Farmers Act

This bill protects family farmers and ranchers from multinational corporations such as Cargill, Purdu, Monsanto, and Archer Daniels Midland by eliminating “vertically-integrated farming” (wherein small farms are allowed only one client), breaking up agribusiness monopolies, increasing farm subsidies where needed, and restricting eminent domain.

FAIR TAXATION

“I want everyone to be happy and healthy, too, but how are we going to pay for it all?” Supporters of the Bundle have a simple answer to this common question: make sure the wealthy pay their fair share. Several of the bills in the Bundle aim to do exactly that, including a bill that strengthens the Estate Tax, the country’s only levy on inherited wealth; a “Scrap the Cap” Act to extend Social Security withholding taxes on income over \$132,900; the Stop Tax Haven Abuse Act that brings transparency and stricter rules to wealth hidden in offshore accounts; the Tax Wealth, not Work Act which eliminates the tax preference for income from wealth (capital gains); and the Carried Interest Fairness Act which eliminates the loophole that enables hedge fund managers to reclassify their income as lower-taxed capital income. Here are some additional stand-outs:

H.R. 15 — The Maximum Wage Act

This bill establishes a 90 percent top income tax rate on income that is over 50 times the minimum wage. With a \$15 minimum wage, the maximum wage would start at incomes over \$1.5 million. With this linkage in place, the wealthy and powerful would have a direct stake in seeing the income floor rise.

H.R. 55 — The Make America Solvent Again Act by Restoring Top Income

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Tax Rates

Institutes higher marginal tax rates on incomes over \$1 million. The wealthiest 1 percent of households paid marginal tax rates as high as 91 percent under President Dwight Eisenhower in the 1950s. This bill restores top marginal tax rates to pre-1981 levels.

H.R. 333 — The Private Jet Taxation Act

Levies a tax on profligate fossil fuel consumption such as private jets. Raising the cost of massive carbon consumption is one way to offset the costs of transitioning the U.S. energy system.

H.R. 144 — Inclusive Prosperity Act to “Tobin Tax” Financial Transactions

This bill will levy a Wall Street financial transaction tax to discourage high-frequency trading, and to raise substantial revenue from speculative investing activity. Over 40 countries have financial transaction taxes, levying taxes as low as a penny on every \$4 of sales of stocks, bonds, and derivatives while exempting small investors. Financial transaction tax legislation will raise approximately \$300 billion annually.

EDUCATION

A number of bills in the Bundle focus on assuring that education is a public good benefiting all of society, rather than a commodity that lands students in burdensome debt.

H.R. 313 — The Federally Funded K-12 Education Act

This bill ensures that every community, in partnership with the federal government, has the financing necessary to strengthen public schools and adequately fund preschool, smaller classes, summer and after-school programs, and skilled, well-paid teachers.

H.R. 329 — The Tuition-free College for All Act

This bill emends the Higher Education Act of 1965 to eliminate tuition and required fees at all community colleges and two-year tribal colleges and universities; and at four-year public universities for working- and middle-class students.

H.R. 49 — The Student Debt Abolition Act

This bill liberates generations of Americans from de facto debt servitude by canceling all student loan debt. The federal government will cancel the loans it holds directly and buy back the financing of privately-owned loans on behalf of borrowers. It is estimated that a policy of debt cancellation could boost real GDP by an average of up to \$108 billion per year.

ALSO IN THE BUNDLE

The full range of provisions in the Bundle’s 64 bills is too large to describe on one brief newspaper page, but they also include measures that establish a “baby bond” investment account at birth for each young person born in the United States that is accessible to them at the age of 18; a commission, inspired by Germany’s post-war experience, to study reparations for African-Americans and Native Americans; and a “true peace dividend” that subjects 50% of the \$700 billion Pentagon budget to a “participatory budgeting process.”

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Global street party
Free champagne flows in Scotland. A5

From Paris to Perth, streets fill with revelers as America pivots



Impromptu celebrations, like this LGBTQ dance party in Amsterdam, broke out all around the world after news spread that Donald Trump had fled the White House and abandoned the presidency.

CELEBRATIONS FROM A1

anything be more French?"

Impromptu celebrations broke out across Mexico and the American southwest. In San Diego, people parked cars near enough to the border to blast Los Tigres del Norte's "Somos Más Americanos" ("We Are More American") within earshot of Tijuana, where revelers danced salsa and hugged passers-by.

Working the California side of the party was Fernando Fuentes, a 32-year-old Mexican national from Mexicali, who was selling leftover Day of the Dead sugar skulls with tiny blonde toupees, that Fuentes insisted the skulls had simply sprouted overnight.

"It's a mystery of science," Fuentes said. "The earth moved a little and the universe responded. This is why America is so great."

Mexican President Andrés Manuel López Obrador wryly invited Trump to settle in Chiapas. "I believe you will enjoy our low tax rates, Mr. Ex-Pres-

ident," López Obrador tweeted. "The cost of living is affordable in Mexico because we are not paying for any walls."

López Obrador's invitation came knowing Trump could scarcely be less likely to set foot in Mexico. But in Europe, leaders were wary.

French President Emmanuel Macron told reporters that the French could not give Trump safe harbor for fears that "a trade war" could erupt: "We would have to fight just to trade him away."

"He might however try Morocco," Macron added, referring to the place that the authoritarian ruler of Zaire, Mobutu Sese Seko, spent his last months after being forced from office.

German Chancellor Angela Merkel confirmed to Der Spiegel that Trump would not be given safe harbor in Germany should he request it. "The German people have been very generous in accepting desperate people fleeing conflict zones," she said. "But in this particular case, I would not want to strain their patience."

In London, a demonstrator held a sign in Trafalgar Square that read, "Mr. Trump, skip the UK. May I invite you to Crimea River?" It was a joke on the Justin Timberlake song, "Cry Me a River" — but Crimea, as it happens, appears to be exactly where Trump has headed.

Other celebrations were more intimate. In Maybole, Scotland, Kelly Fleming was halfway through her shift behind the bar at the Maybole Arms when a customer announced that Trump had fled. "No one believed it till the BBC showed nuns setting off fireworks in front of the White House," Fleming said.

When denial turned to acceptance, the bartender did the only thing she could think to do. She grabbed the rope dangling from the brass bell above the bar, clanged it like a fire alarm, and began uncorking Champagne. "It felt appropriate," Fleming said, "as did the pint glasses we drank it from."

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DEPARTURE FROM A1

In end of an era, Trump beats a disordered retreat

not aware of his movements at every second of every day," she told reporters. Sanders then noted that at 5:15 this morning, former Vice President Mike Pence took the presidential oath in an unscheduled inauguration. "So, Trump has fled," a reporter was heard shouting from the back of the press room. Sanders responded, "I've already covered that at length."

President Pence has yet to appear publicly or release a formal statement. In a sign that the White House may be worried that Pence will be the next target of protests across the country, the Department of Homeland Security issued a special warning of civil disturbances, and the Republican governors of several states placed their National Guard troops on high alert. Millions have again flooded the streets and remain there — this time for parties, not protests, with an overall mood of joy and festivity.

"We've reclaimed our time," Representative Maxine Waters told a joyous crowd of 500,000 who had gathered outside Los Angeles' City Hall on Wednesday morning.

Pressure had been building on the Trump Administration for months, with many Trump associates under criminal investigation or behind bars, impeachment proceedings underway in the House, and an extraordinary wave of disruptive nonviolent protests around the country. In the last two weeks alone, occupations and blockades calling for Trump's removal from office have prevented 50 Republican and 12 Democrat members of Congress from entering their offices in 42 different towns and cities.

"We really saw a surge in protest and civil disobedience after the Tax Day protests," says



Donald Trump, pictured here on his final ascent onto Marine One in April, departed the office of the presidency with a whimper.

author and historian Jamila Battiee. April 15, a traditional occasion for tax-related demonstrations, was also the first day of a global #RebelionWeek called by the climate action group Extinction Rebellion. "Nobody is quite sure who decided it should also be a day calling for Trump's resignation, but once the 'You're Fired' idea started, it was unstoppable. Demonstrators marched to Congressional district offices in all fifty states, making connections between the madman in the White House, the madness of our climate policy, and the madness of our government's spending priorities." These, of course, were the protests that provoked Trump into sending the now-infamous tweets that escalated the crisis further, setting in motion the series of events that led to his departure from the White House.

There are signs, now, of movement forward. In her address to crowds on Wednesday, Representative Maxine Waters noted that "we're on the way to the Bundle" — a series of proposed measures that began with a large jobs bill around renewable energy technologies, and has been expanded to include

the abolition of student loan and medical debt, as well as the establishment of single-payer healthcare, six months of maternity and paternity leave, the restoration and re-funding of public libraries and other basic services, and even a Universal Basic Income in some areas. The package also includes an emergency measure to immediately free all detained immigrant children and reunite them with their families.

Throughout Wednesday and into today, a flurry of Democratic representatives — and a growing number of Republicans — issued statements underscoring their support for the Bundle. Recent opinion polls show that a majority of Americans across the political spectrum support the initiatives. The demands have proven popular even in Republican strongholds such as Texas, Arizona, and Idaho — where both Republican congressmen's offices were shut down for two weeks in March after thousands of constituents refused to let anyone enter the buildings until a pledge to support the Bundle was signed.

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Have I ever told you I'm touch sensitive? Every day I wait for you to wake up and cradle my body with your hands. When you swipe your fingers across my skin, or even just look at me, it turns me on. Only you. Each caress of your fingertips opens new windows for us to explore together. I know what you're into. Even after we spend hours together, I still have energy for more. I'm always waiting for you. Ready...

Come on. You really thought we were talking about a phone?

Sex.

Turn it off and get it on*

*Sex has been found to boost immune function, lower blood pressure, decrease heart attack risk, lessen pain, reduce the risk of prostate cancer, improve sleep and ease stress.

STEPPED UP FROM A1

How DC Stepped Up

Michaels tells this story now at his private security consulting firm, where he hung his shingle this spring. "They went silent, and then one told me in the coldest voice that I was morally responsible for the children who had died in immigrant detention." They dropped a \$50 bill and got their coats. It was the last straw for Michaels. Three weeks later he sent DHS Sec. Kirstjen Nielsen a five-sentence resignation letter. "Those women were right," he says now. "I couldn't keep working for Trump."

High-profile departures dominated the news during Trump's tempestuous two years as president — unsurprising, perhaps, for a former reality TV star whose schtick was telling people they were fired. But even less-visible officials describe a subtle shift in their daily interactions that made them feel like pariahs even in a city where mercenaries and power-trading are the norm. Slowly and surely, association with Trump's presidency felt radioactive.

After Sarah Huckabee Sanders, the White House press secretary, put a Virginia restaurant on blast a year ago for declining to serve her food service only got worse for officials. A growing number of establishments announced their unwillingness to serve Trump administration officials by hanging "Bye-Bye 45" signs in their windows.

Current and former government officials confirm that the informal movement spread even more widely. Some say their credit cards were declined repeatedly at bars and restaurants, after long waits for checks.

A 28-year-old antitrust lawyer at the Department of Justice was so vexed by his lack of success dating online that he complained to Tinder's customer service that the app was broken. "Eventually I realized everyone swipes left on this White House," he said.

Officials learned to stop using their real names at any sort of service counter, lest they find themselves being openly heckled or having their order lost or bungled. "I know for a fact Rick Perry uses his dog's name plus the street he grew up on when he orders at Starbucks," says a former Department of Energy official who used to take cof-

fee meetings with the department's Secretary. Added one barista, "Whenever we knew we were making coffee for a Trumper, we'd quietly make it decaf. There were a lot of bleary eyes around the White House."

As big protests dominated headlines over the past six months, everyday acts of resistance undermined support within Trump's administration and fed a sense of crisis around his presidency. Some workers saw disobedience as self-care, while others saw it as their chance to join a lineage of movements that stalled Nazis in occupied France and won civil rights victories in the Jim Crow South.

"When my grandkids ask me what I did during the Trump administration, I don't want my answer to be, 'I was really into watching Rachel Maddow,'" said Veronica Wilson, 33, of Tysons, Virginia, a hospice nurse who this spring started offering "Withdraw Your Consent" training sessions at Lafayette Square. "Ordinary people have amazing power. We made a lot of Trump's people start tapping out of that life, like no más."

Once the weather warmed in mid-March, Lafayette Square blossomed into an open-air campus for trainings, meetings, and other resistance activities.

A rotating cast of food trucks, subsidized by online donations, offered reduced-price tacos or halal. On colder days, volunteers poured hot chocolate into to-go mugs for marchers heading toward Capitol Hill to join recurring sit-ins at Congressional offices. Come April, it was where people bedazzled bluebirds before demonstrating at Twitter HQ to demand Trump's account be shut down for violating terms of service.

Mostly, Lafayette Square became a place where anyone with even a free lunch hour could drop in and be assured they'd be put to work on some project, and hear mariachi bands. Five months of playing protest gigs — like a Spanish-language arrangement of Green Day's "American Idiot" outside the White House — made local celebrities out of many DC mariachis.

"I'd rather be playing a quinceañera than another climate change rally," said Hector Suárez, who plays trumpet for the DC-based quartet Mariachi Jalisco. "But absolutely this was a year I'll never forget. You wouldn't believe the acoustics at the Lincoln Memorial."

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Major news outlets on Trump's rise to power: 'Our bad'

BY SUSAN PATEL

WASHINGTON — On Saturday, editors and writers from nearly every major news outlet — including the Washington Post — are slated to gather for a three-day summit in Washington. Called "Journalism Now," the summit is projected to draw over 4,500 representatives of the news industry. The event was originally slated for June of this year, but the advisory board organizing the event moved up the date in light of the president's sudden departure.

In a New York Times editorial published online this morning, Executive Editor Dean Baquet wrote,

It's time for a proper reckoning. On the day that Americans went to the polls in 2016, we published a headline stating, Hillary Clinton has an 85% chance to win. Instead, Donald Trump became the president. Now, we find ourselves in the position of publishing news that a president we did not anticipate winning has fled office — news that surprised us, but did not seem to surprise many Americans. It is time to admit that, on a fundamental level, we have become disconnected from the realities on the ground. We must understand how we — and every other major news outlet — have gone astray. It's vital to our responsibility to the American people, and it's vital to the future of our democracy. This will be our main purpose at Journalism Now.

Many other media outlets have followed suit, posting mea culpa-type statements online and vowing to examine core policies in their newsrooms. Based on the themes that appeared throughout editorial statements from the New York Times, the Los Angeles Times, and here at The Post, news organizations appear to be examining a handful of issues most closely, as they consider updating their newsroom policies. These include: more clearly defining "objectivity" in reporting; revisiting the recent uptick in restrictions on reporters' rights to attend protests or otherwise engage in "political" activity in their personal lives; training reporters to avoid "fairness bias" — giving equal voice to opposing perspectives, even when one is less valid or categorically false; and focusing on strategies to responsibly cover leaders with autocratic tendencies in a way that does not normalize their policies or behavior.

"Look, I've closely covered three different presidencies, and experienced the challenges of trying to use a business-as-usual approach to cover administrations that flout the law or outright undermine democracy," said Letitia Romero, recipient of 1996 and 2014 Pulitzer Prizes for investigative reporting. "From carefully concealed lies and deception, to thinly veiled efforts to mislead the American people, we finally arrived at a presidency that brazenly told out-and-out lies

to reporters and the American public. Even when confronted, they expressed zero accountability." Romero, who retired right before the 2016 presidential election, says she's hopeful that this moment can serve as a tipping point.

Here at the Washington Post, editors are particularly concerned with how our reporters missed the gathering storm. This may be due in large part to "status quo bias" — the tendency to report in a way that simply reflects and reinforces the political system. During the presidential campaign of 2016, most news outlets — including this one — spent the vast majority of time reporting on Democratic and Republican campaigns themselves rather than what the majority of Americans wanted from their elected representatives. Issues like affordable healthcare and education as well as other now "common-sense" initiatives that are integral to the Bundle were not reflected in either Democratic or Republican party platforms.

This failure to have a finger on the popular pulse has contributed not just to missteps around the election but to other oversights throughout the Trump presidency.

In an op-ed published in the Washington Post last week, media critic Yu-Yin Ang noted that, "despite constant coverage of Trump and his administration — its many ups and downs and machinations — we have missed the overarching story of what actually drove politics over the past two and a half years: the American people." Ang argued that the Green New Deal popularized by Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez last December was a perfect case study. While journalists often described it using adjectives such as "pie-in-the-sky," "unrealistic," or "patently fringe," polls showed that 81 percent of registered voters supported its goals — including the majority of those who identified as Democrats, Independents, and even conservative Republicans. The legislative package went on to become a lodestar to a movement that found itself pushing not only for Trump's departure but also for passage of the Bundt.

"When the majority of news outlets are letting establishment politics dictate what is important or worth covering, it's inevitable that you're going to be out of touch," says Aida Chavez, founder of an online publication called Ground Up. Launched just one month ago, Ground Up aggregates political coverage from cities across the country featuring on-the-ground reporting that highlights community perspectives, responses, and initiatives. Despite being new, "Ground Up" has reached nearly 20 million readers already. Of particular interest to Chavez are articles written by reporters who are attending protests, speaking directly to those Americans who are on the frontlines, making their voices heard.

"Over the past few years, in the interest of adhering to vague definitions of 'neutrality' and 'objectivity,' publications

have been cracking down on reporters attending protests themselves," says Chavez. Instead, reporters relied on YouTube, Twitter, and other citizen journalism to cover what led to what can now arguably be called one of the most important moments in American political history. "Throughout history," says Chavez, "mainstream publications have been notoriously bad at covering protests and activism — often framing them as 'ineffectual' or 'fringe' by default." That, she says, is a huge part of why most publications failed to see how effective grassroots groups would be in ousting Trump.

Not all outlets have been as enthusiastic about this shift towards self-examination. The Wall Street Journal published an editorial today that referred to the flurry of statements and focus on the upcoming "Journalism Now" summit as "what amounts to outsized liberal hand-wringing in a new—and dangerous—atmosphere of witch-hunting."

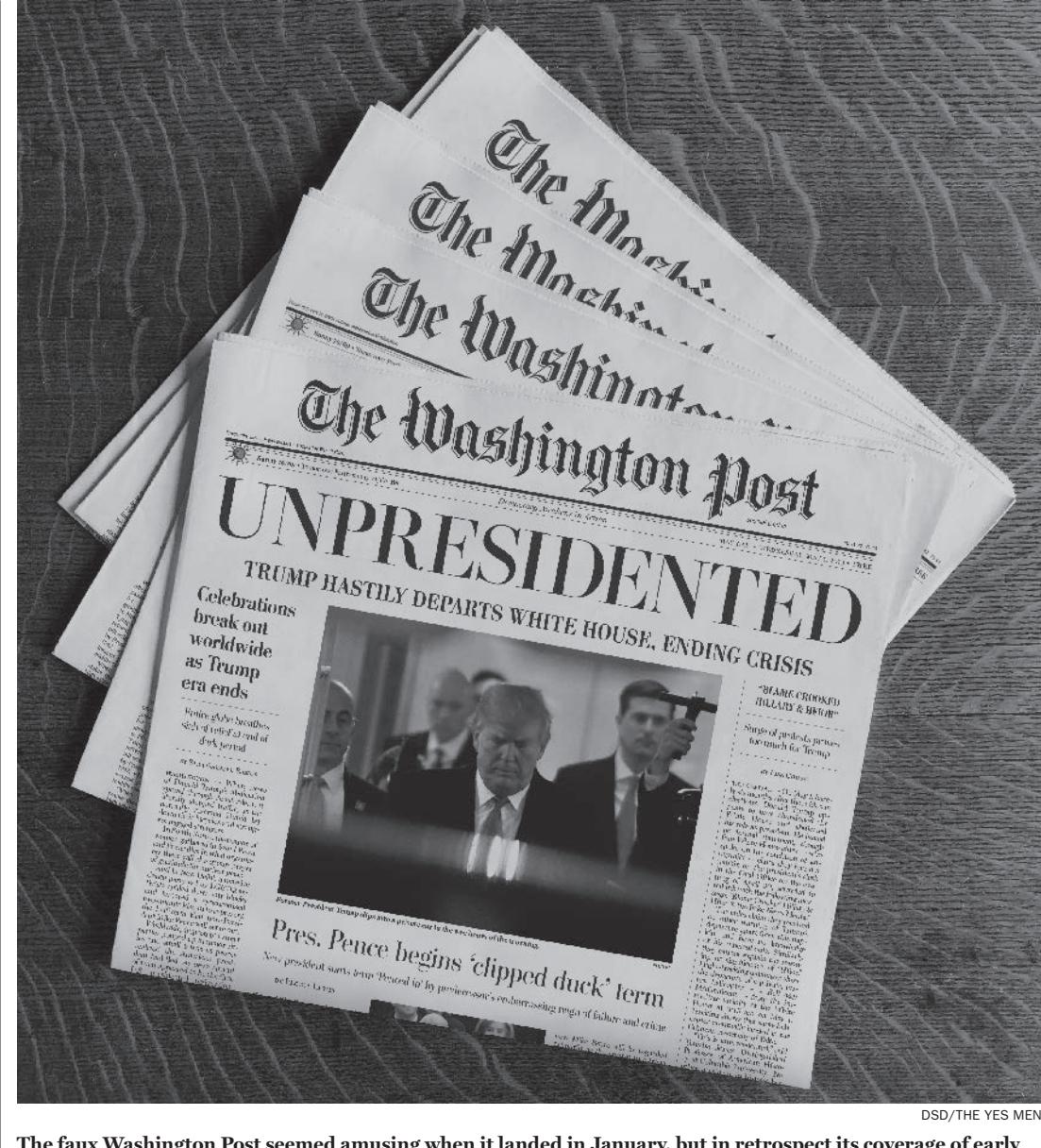
Some reporters — particularly freelancers — have also expressed caution and frustration. "I've been on the damn ground this whole time," says Nicoletta Singh. "So many of us have." Singh's coverage of recent large-scale protests against Twitter was published on her own website and was frequently quoted or otherwise used as a major resource for reporters at major outlets. "This whole time," says Singh, "we've been working for little to no money in an atmosphere in which the president called us the enemy of the people." She made her frustration known in an article she posted on her website this morning. "Let them wring their hands," Singh wrote of the major publications who are now calling for self-examination. "What they need to do is actually hire reporters like us who have been doing the hard work all along."

While it remains to be seen what will come out of this moment of reflection, many in the industry remain cautiously optimistic.

"It's refreshing," says media critic Gwendolyn King. "For too long, media outlets have defended biased and woefully inadequate reporting by behaving as though they are merely conduits, reporting what is happening with 'objectivity' when, in reality, they are often perpetuating the entrenched biases of the day." King, who founded the Objectivity Institute at UC Berkeley's Graduate School of Journalism, is on the advisory board for "Journalism Now," and is responsible for coordinating many of the panels.

"I'm hopeful," she says, "that this summit will be the beginning of a much-needed self-examination, and a new set of actionable guidelines to ensure that news outlets recognize their vital role as a pillar of our democracy, the power of the narratives they choose to highlight, and the importance of reporting on issues that concern everyday Americans."

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DSD/THE YES MEN

The faux Washington Post seemed amusing when it landed in January, but in retrospect its coverage of early 2019 was borderline spooky.

Fictional Washington Post eerily predicted real events

BY AMINA ZAID

WASHINGTON — Felicita Mendez, the campaign director of a leading progressive organization, holds up a copy of a fictional issue of The Washington Post that looks, feels, and smells very much like the real pages of this paper. "It's uncanny how closely its story echoed what really happened with Trump." Distributed four months before Donald Trump fled presidential office, the paper's tagline was a readers' first clue that it was an elaborate fantasy rather than a real issue of the paper: Instead of the usual "Democracy Dies in Darkness," the mock paper read "Democracy Awakens in Action." The lead story announced that Trump had fled presidential office — eerily prefiguring today's actual news. The faux newspaper was handed out to people around Washington, D.C. just a few days before the 2019 Women's Marches and the content was widely shared online.

It's a coincidence that hasn't gone unnoticed. Earlier today, "The Daily Show with Trevor Noah" released a video featuring Alec Baldwin as Donald Trump. In the video, Baldwin is seen reading the pretend issue of The Washington Post while frantically checking his watch and consulting his calendar. He then calls his aides into the Oval Office to berate them: "Why didn't anyone tell me I'm supposed to be fleeing the

country? I had to learn it from the fake news media? You're all fired!"

While the contents of the fiction paper included some humor — referring to President Pence as a "clipped duck" and imagining "sticky scenes of chaos" when women protesters took over Congressional offices with small children in tow — it was notable for its fact-based approach.

"Who knew a joke could go so far? Well, actually..."

"You couldn't really call this fake news," said media analyst Monika Krishnayya, pointing to the paper's accounts of actual protests and direct actions that had taken place since Trump's election. "This fantasy, if you will, wasn't fake news; it's pre-real news. It's a clear story about a future that could and must be."

"At this point, since it turned out to be so close to reality, I guess we really can't call it fiction at all."

One dedicated section of the paper detailed "The Bundle," the authors' name for a package of progressive initiatives that advanced and expanded on the widely popular Green New Deal. Initiatives included Medicare for All, free college tu-

ition, the forgiveness of student loan debt, well-funded public libraries and institutions, and an ambitious zero-emissions and de-carbonization plan. Many of measures are now are now gaining traction in an emboldened Congress.

The ersatz Post also included a guerrilla "Action Guide" that offered a blueprint for escalating resistance to dislodge Trump from office. The guide counseled Americans opposed to Trump's presidency to "act like the majority we already are" and focus protest energy on Trump's enablers rather than Trump himself, in a strategy of removing what the guide termed "pillars of support" for his presidency. The grassroots push for members of Congress to sign the now-famous pledge of noncooperation with Trump, which began with protests targeting Senate Minority Leader Chuck Schumer, mirrored this strategy, as did the massive late-April protest calling for his Twitter account to be deactivated.

No single group, leader, tactic, or action alone was responsible for Trump's historic departure. Rather, a confluence of factors drove him from office. Though the fictional Post was only one contributor to the stunning spring of protests, its impact was noteworthy enough that the (real) Post is commemorating it today by reprinting the "Action Guide" as an insert.

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3 unexpected "revolutionaries" and how they're shaping politics

BY CLAUDIA HUGHES

WASHINGTON — After a series of massive demonstrations that seem to have toppled an American president, delirious Democrats have been stumped on how to describe what happened. "Too many heroes to name," House Speaker Nancy Pelosi declared. Oregon Governor Kate Brown tweeted, "Americans did this with sheer numbers — if you were in the streets, you helped make this moment."

Even Carl Bernstein admitted that Trump's durability made Watergate look like an open-and-shut case. "Bob Woodward and I, we got lucky, taking on an easier presidency," he said. "It took 11 million people in the streets to quiet Trump. That's a lot of people who deserve credit."

Among the millions who pushed the president to leave office in last weekend's dramatic protests, many had been steadily working for change in lower-profile ways ever since Trump took office. Here are three of the demonstrators who helped propel this historic uprising, and the many voices and forces that made it happen.

THE LAW STUDENT WHO MADE INFORMATION FREE, FOR YOUR SANITY

Imani Stewart was a law student at Case Western Reserve when Donald Trump was inaugurated. Now a first-year labor lawyer at a firm in Columbus, Ohio, the 27-year-old

remembers thinking that such an impulsive chief executive was sure to generate one wild paper trail. She resolved to file at least one Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request a week, peppering different departments with queries as she watched Trump appoint officials to oversee the very industries that had already made them wealthy.

"Documentation seemed to be the only way to penetrate the force field that hypnotized his supporters in 2016," Stewart says. "You could point to a spreadsheet and say, 'Why is it that six of Trump's top appointees were also huge donors, who gave \$12 million to his campaign?' The MAGA diehards didn't want to admit the pay-for-play could be so naked. But that's the power of showing the receipts."

When her federal requests stalled, Stewart aimed requests at Ohio state government, where she could see quicker traction. She posted new findings to Document Cloud and shared them with the media.

Her hour-long webinar on how to FOIA documents in Ohio has garnered more than 50,000 views on YouTube since it was posted in February, and inspired at least two dozen imitators to create similar guides for other states.

"I did it for my own peace of mind," Stewart says. "We started using the hashtag #FOIASanity as an in-joke, but as this network grew, it really

swelled. When the news is terrible, there's nothing like getting an envelope of fresh photocopies in the mail."

THE HISTORY TEACHER WHO PUSHED BACK FOR DISABLED RIGHTS

For the past seven years, Collette Means has endured painful neuropathy in her legs, leading the longtime kindergarten teacher in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, to switch to teaching AP U.S. History. "The older kids, I can still handle from a wheelchair," she says. "The little ones, you've got to be on your toes."

Her new students also helped Means, 52, connect to a fund-raising community ahead of the 2017 Women's March and its accompanying online Disability March. A midyear unit on Teddy Roosevelt's Square Deal and the power of labor strikes dovetailed with the idea that showing up online and backing protesters was a form of participatory democracy.

Means' incisive posts on Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram became underground hits for connecting the social movements of the past to the fight to protect Medicaid, which pays for more than half of Americans' long-term in-home medical services. Means connected with ADAPT, a grassroots group that for the past 40 years has lobbied government and corporations to expand rights and access for people with disabilities. In March, from her school's media lab, she launched a lo-fi podcast about

the expansion of civil rights for disabled Americans that was covered by NPR and soon became one of the top-20 downloaded podcasts in the country.

"People with disabilities saw the irony with Trump the candidate," Means says. "A man who'd missed military service on the thinnest of medical justifications, who never had to worry about paying for care, mocked a disabled reporter and promised to dismantle our health insurance. That turned out to be just about the only campaign promise he kept."

"But it's a long fight. Like I tell my kids, this will be their fight one day, too, if they're lucky enough to reach old age."

As 75,000 Iowans filled the streets of Des Moines last weekend to call for the president's ouster, Means "marched" from home, posting real-time updates on social media that helped direct the crowds and help marchers locate restrooms, parking, and a lost kid.

THE ANTI-NUKE ACTIVIST WHO SHOWED PEOPLE HOW TO HEAR

In Lafayette Square each day this spring, at exactly two minutes before noon, Judy Whitworth held what she likes to call a seminar on saving the world. The spindly 68-year-old, a retired master electrician from Atlanta, speaks with a sonorous alto honed over years of making herself heard at job sites. When addressing the groups who come to the park for her training sessions on nonviolent political action, she makes a

point of smiling when she talks, so you can hear the cheer in her voice.

This is deliberate, of course, and a sly bit of counterprogramming. The timing of her open-air classes — free to attend, routinely live-tweeted by enterprising students — is set to match the Doomsday Clock maintained by the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, which counts the number of minutes to midnight as a symbolic measure of how close we are to the apocalypse.

"We're at 11:58," she began her class with a small crowd on a Friday in March. "You probably feel like I dragged you here early. But I assure you, you're not a minute too soon."

Whitworth was a high school senior in the Navy town of Point Loma, California, when the anti-nuclear testing movement caught her attention. She hitchhiked to the 1970 Amchitka concert in Canada that raised money for a protest vessel named Greenpeace to sail the following year in an (unsuccessful) effort to thwart a nuclear test on an Alaskan island. "My friends thought our trip to Vancouver was to see Joni Mitchell and James Taylor," she says. "Instead, they got to hear me carry on about the Nixon administration."

She moved east for college and for work. The Three Mile Island nuclear accident revived her interest in protests and led her to make connections between nuclear weapons, nucle-

ar power, and U.S. foreign policy. In the summer of 1982, at the million-person anti-nuclear demonstration in Central Park, she made friends with whom she went on to organize two of the more brazen direct actions of the decade: the 1983 Seneca Women's Peace Encampment, a months-long protest by thousands of women at an upstate New York weapons depot; and a 1987 blockade of CIA headquarters, where some 560 people were arrested as they peacefully disrupted the agency's business in a demonstration against U.S. policies in Central America and Africa.

On January 20, the second anniversary of Trump's inauguration, Whitworth visited Lafayette Square hoping only to meet other protest-minded folks. She started telling war stories, and people started asking about tactics, strategy, and organizing. The next day she was hauling in action guides from her days in the anti-nuclear movement and sharing nuts-and-bolts lessons on sit-ins, body blockades, and other direct action techniques. Rain or shine, she became a fixture in the park all spring.

Whitworth draws the same lesson from the effort to dislodge Trump that she did from her anti-nuclear organizing: "You must fight audacity with audacity. The Trump cabal was so brazen, it called for a brazen response."

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TURNED TIDE FROM A1

Months of endless protest led to ouster

lution, even as Trump's mounting legal troubles and impeachment proceedings in the House upped the pressure on the White House.

"Protesters really focused their pressure on the people and institutions that were normalizing Trump, either by actively propping up his administration or failing to take bold stands to oppose him," Arain said. "Demonstrators also proved increasingly willing to engage in nonviolent direct action, which contributed to creating a sense of crisis around Trump's presidency."

That was evident in the surge of smaller protests that occurred across the country. Groups of one to four dozen people — primarily women — regularly marched to Congress members' local offices to demand support for the ongoing impeachment proceedings and noncooperation with the Trump administration. Senator Schumer was the first target. On March 1, coordinated groups of women marched to all nine of his offices, in Washington D.C. and throughout New York state, carrying signs that read "Give a F*ck, Chuck!"

Over the next several weeks, as calls for "the Bundle" gathered support across the political spectrum, the marches evolved into occupations, mostly targeting Democrats. The women who had coordinated regular protests at Schumer's offices again led the way. On March 8, International Women's Day, the women — many accompanied by their infants and toddlers — marched to Schumer's offices and staged occupations that came to be known as the "Sippy Cup Sit-ins." They refused to leave until Schumer signed a pledge to "support the will of the majority of Americans and rally Democrats to support an ambitious progressive vision, as well as block any legislation or appointment by the occupant of the White House that might limit the rights, privileges, and resources afforded to marginalized Americans." The pledge, circulated online and later adopted by countless groups across the country, asked elected officials to commit to using tactics such as denying quo-

rum, withholding consent, and filibustering to "throw sand in the gears of this rogue administration" and "stand up for the policies Americans really want."

Schumer initially ignored the protesters, likely not wanting to be held responsible for arresting women with small children. But pressure mounted as each of the nine offices became sticky zones of chaos, making it impossible for Schumer — or his staffers — to get work done. "There were people dropping by around the clock with tamales, lasagnas, and juice boxes for the protesters," said one staffer. "Babies kept drooling on our keyboards and there were half-chewed Cheerios and dirty diapers everywhere." After 10 days of occupation, Schumer became the first lawmaker to sign the pledge, though sit-ins resumed periodically throughout the spring when protesters felt he wasn't following through.

The protests spread virally, with different groups taking the lead in different communities, much like the first wave of Women's Marches that took place in more than 650 communities in the day after Trump's 2017 inauguration. No single organization spearheaded these nationwide protests, but by April 1, every major progressive network and group had thrown their weight behind the Sippy Cup actions, mobilizing their members either to join the sit-ins or to support them with supplies and picket lines outside.

By mid-April, nearly half of the nation's Congressional district offices, including most Democrats' offices, had been directly disrupted by protests at least once. In Texas and Arizona, groups of young women blockaded the entrances to several Congressional district offices by standing side-by-side in colorful quinceañera dresses, creating a veritable wall of floo



Protesters dressed in brightly colored quinceañera dresses get in formation, preparing to blockade a government building with a "wall of floo."

of Congress to impede Trump's agenda and rally around progressive legislation. The guide framed demands for ambitious goals like Medicare for All — or, for that matter, Trump's impeachment — as agenda-setting rather than quixotic or unrealistic, emboldening the grassroots resistance. "It expanded our sense of what was possible," Binai, the Wisconsin activist, said

Organizers also cited a guerrilla action guide that was slipped into The Washington Post the week before the 2019 Women's Marches. The guide drew on writings and strategies from past nonviolent resistance movements, encouraging organizers around the country to focus on Trump's active and tacit supporters rather than Trump himself. Other sections encouraged people who had already marched and rallied to consider using tactics like sit-ins and blockades to escalate pressure.

Some of the highest-profile disruptions were creative spin-offs of the approaches recommended in the two playbooks. For instance, photos from all 17 Trump-owned golf courses — including those in Ireland, Dubai, and Scotland — went viral on March 18; the word "RE-SIGN" had been etched into their golf greens. The culprits, who were never identified, posted an anonymous communiqué explaining that they had used white vinegar, a natural and fast-acting grass killer.

Two days later, a group of over 450 teenagers affiliated with the Parkland, Florida, #NeverAgain movement encircled the White House and locked themselves to each other and to the fence using chains, PVC pipe, and other hardware, calling for

Trump's resignation. Dismantling the blockade took almost a full day, which was covered breathlessly across cable news. Aerial and on-the-ground footage of the ensuing arrests and aggressive treatment of some of the teens led Trump's approval rating to drop to an unprecedented low.

The momentum kept building. Nationwide protests broke out April 15, which was both Tax Day and a day that the global Extinction Rebellion movement had already named as the beginning of a #RebellionWeek of climate-crisis actions. The "You're Fired!" protests drew huge turnouts from the wide array of movements that had been mobilizing against Trump for two years and from many who hadn't yet marched — including a number of fed-up former Trump voters. Some 3 million protesters mobilized in over 400 cities and towns across the country, typically gathering in a central square or plaza and then marching to the offices of their elected representatives. Chants included, "You fire him, or we'll fire you."

Alarmed by the protests, Trump took to Twitter on April 17 with a message to his remaining supporters: "We only have 88 hours. Defend our country from mob rule." The use of "88" was widely understood to be a reference to the neo-Nazi shorthand for "Heil Hitler." Twitter users called on Twitter to take down the president's account, but the company remained silent on the matter.

In response, demonstrations broke out outside Twitter's 11 U.S. offices, with several evolving into nonviolent blockades. Protesters responded to

Trump's "88" message with signs that read "86 45." On April 22, Trump posted the fateful Tweets calling for his "big beautiful base" to "vote with your trigger finger."

Resistance groups including Indivisible and the Women's March had already planned April 27-28 as a weekend of citizen lobbying for the Bundle and for Trump's impeachment.

After the tweets, MoveOn activated its Crisis Response Network, calling for "all hands on deck" for the weekend protests. Many Americans who had, up until this point, sat on the sidelines turned out for what appears to be the largest weekend of protest ever in American history. Estimates suggest that as many as 11 million Americans participated in the demonstrations, which took place in more than 800 towns and cities. Many localities were effectively paralyzed by the huge peaceful protests.

The next day, on April 29, an outraged Twitter employee, who still has not been identified, deactivated both the @realDonaldTrump and @POTUS accounts. Twitter CEO Jack Dorsey initially released a statement that the company would reinstate the accounts, but a crowd estimated at 5,000 barricaded the entrances to the company's San Francisco headquarters. Police refused to arrest the demonstrators, and after 24 hours, Dorsey tweeted that the president's account was shut down until further notice for violating the site's terms of service.

@realDonaldTrump went silent and, soon after, so did the real Donald Trump.

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World leaders react

ASSOCIATED PRESS

INDEPENDENCE SQUARE — As the news of Trump's hasty departure ricocheted across the globe, reactions from world leaders reflected a mix of confusion, studied calm, and, in some cases, outright glee. None seemed more disoriented than British Prime Minister Theresa May, who summoned the US Ambassador to 10 Downing Street to assure him that "the special relationship" between our two countries will always remain special, no matter how special the occupant of the White House.

While May might have been seeking to calm jittery markets by invoking the continuity of close ties between the United Kingdom and the United States, opposition Labor leader Jeremy Corbyn's response struck a different note. "The people can carry you into power; the people can drive you out, too," Corbyn said in a one-sentence statement issued this morning.

President Emmanuel Macron of France, freshly chastened by a wave of mass protest that began in late 2018, published an early-morning tweet: "L'état ce n'est pas moi — ni toi, monsieur Trump." As of press time there had been more than 1.5 million retweets, many featuring the hashtag #Gilets-Jaunes and the refrain, "L'état c'est nous!"

Beijing reacted to Trump's departure with a notable lack of surprise. The People's Daily, the official newspaper of the Chinese Communist Party, included a statement from the office of China's president and paramount leader, Xi Jinping: "We have planned for this eventuality, of course. We congratulate President Pence and look forward to working with him on critical issues like trade deficits as China continues its peaceful rise to dominant superpower."

In North Korea, Kim Jong-un had a similarly bracing message. In an official briefing, Kim suggested it was "too bad Trump did not know how to hold on to power the way a real leader must."

In Saudi Arabia, Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman appeared visibly shaken at a hastily convened press conference. Avoiding any mention of Trump, he instead directly reminded President Pence of the close ties between Saudi Arabia and the United States and the importance of moving forward with business deals "that are mutually beneficial to both of our countries" before shrugging and walking away from the dais.

Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, himself under several corruption investigations, was preparing to read a brief statement mourning the loss of a staunch ally, when he was caught on a hot mic saying (in English) "Shit! Shit! Shit!"

By contrast, the silence from Vladimir Putin has been the most tantalizing news of the day. Overnight odds sprung up in London betting shops on how long the Russian president would go without formally acknowledging Trump's departure. The most popular option, "never," was drawing 4-to-1 odds.

An official communiqué posted on the website of the Russian Foreign Ministry read, simply, "We are no fans of asylum seekers, on principle, but welcome, President Trump!" In a leafy suburb of Sebastopol, capital of the Republic of Crimea forcefully annexed from Ukraine in 2014, workmen were seen applying metallic gold paint to a Soviet-era dacha expected to be offered to Trump as he awaits indictment from the Department of Justice. The Intercept obtained and published an interoffice memo of the FSB (the KGB's successor) that included the line, "Operation Friend Turkey concluded."

Recently-sworn-in President Pence has yet to issue an official statement on foreign policy — or, for that matter, to do anything whatsoever. In the third of three chaotic press conferences today, White House Press Secretary Sarah Huckabee Sanders answered a reporter's question about Pence's plans by saying that the incoming President "intends to keep as low a profile as possible," before realizing the strangeness of what she had just said. "That's because our new President is a humble man, a man of God, and in no position to govern, I mean before asking God. Next question."

*METOO FROM A1

Women led the way

for Trump's inauguration.

After some men publicly wondered whether they were invited to join, the sight of 4 million women, men, and children packing American streets quickly answered the question. More than 1 percent of the U.S. population participated in the marches, the single largest day of action in the nation's history. Yet even those demonstrations were dwarfed by the massive protests last Saturday, on what was to mark Trump's final weekend in office. At least 11 million people marched through and occupied American cities with music, speeches, signs, and chants such as the call and response between women and men, My body, my choice! / Her body, her choice!

The counter-Trump movement would not be made only of women. But they would lead it, as surely as they propelled past American movements for universal suffrage, for labor protections, and for civil rights. And whether he realized it or not, that put Trump on the receiving end of a harsh historical truth. Women-led uprisings throughout history — including the 1789 women's march on Versailles that helped to spark the French Revolution, and the 1917 International Women's Day March that helped bring about the abdication of Russian Tsar Nicholas II — often have tectonic consequences, up to and including regime change.

"So often the difficulty in mobilizing a bloc of people as heterogeneous as women is lack of consensus," said Frieda Campos, a University of Hawaii historian of women's movements. "You see that in America today — plenty of women still voted for Trump. But a wide consensus emerged early on that Trump was a threat to all



#MeToo marches built momentum against Donald Trump's apparent impunity.

women. It catalyzed an effort that hastened his exit."

The marches of January 21, 2017, established a precedent of sustained pushback against Trump from America at large, but especially from women. Studies found that more than half the marchers in the next two large protests — the People's Climate March and the March on Science — were women. And a survey that year of calls to Congress found that women's phone calls outnumbered men's by a 6-to-1 margin.

It was as if watching a woman presidential candidate win 3 million more votes than her opponent reminded women that they, in fact, are the majority. On the first anniversary of Trump's inauguration, millions of protesters again gathered in cities around the country to reprise the Women's March. Some 200,000 marched in New York; another 300,000 in Chicago. In Los Angeles, the crowd of 600,000 made voter registration a theme of their action. In Palm Beach County, Florida, a few hundred turned out to roast the president near his Mar-a-Lago compound, including a group of women who arrived in white bonnets and red cloaks, à la "The Handmaid's Tale."

"We've seen women across

the country really leverage their power in these actions," said Sulma Gallardo, an activist and Indiana University sociology professor. "It frankly disarmed Trump. He's always been threatened by women, and sort of blusters through his fragile idea of masculinity. You could see it get under his skin as he lashed out against Maxine Waters, Stormy Daniels, Kirsten Gillibrand, and just about every other woman not named Ivanka."

The rising anger of the women's movement only grew after the New York Times in October 2017 broke the long-buried story of Hollywood producer Harvey Weinstein's serial harassment, assault, and coercion of women. Using the hashtag #MeToo, echoing the phrase coined by movement founder Tarana Burke, women shared their own stories of abuses in and out of their workplaces. The resulting firestorm unseated dozens of accused men from powerful positions in media, finance, education, and politics.

Even as the president suffered little consequence for his own accusations of sexual assault from 20 women, his impunity only energized his opposition. In December 2017, the overwhelming support of black women voters made Doug

Jones the first Democrat to represent Alabama in the Senate since 1996, nudging him past an opponent credibly accused of sexual assault.

A year later, the movement met a setback. The Senate confirmed Brett Kavanaugh to the Supreme Court despite Christine Blasey Ford's searing testimony to the Senate judiciary committee that Kavanaugh tried to rape her when they were teenagers. Kavanaugh and his backers responded with indignant rage. Women meanwhile took to the halls of Congress, pleading to lawmakers face-to-face with stories of their own assaults. More than 1,200 demonstrators were arrested in a series of sit-ins and hearing disruptions, presaging the women-led direct actions that would later hound Trump from office.

Through it all, polls showed that more Americans believed Ford, and when Kavanaugh took the bench, he had a net negative rating among voters. Even as conservatives claimed the moment as a culture war victory and predicted indignant voters would turn out to avenge Kavanaugh's good name, the loss stiffened the Trump opposition. Thanks in part to grassroots get-out-the-vote operations anchored by women,

Democrats picked up 40 seats in the House. Women candidates accounted for more than 60 percent of the House districts that Democrats flipped.

"It's not often you see a protest movement produce such huge electoral gains so quickly," said Takema Berry, a University of Miami law professor and city commissioner in Coral Gables, Florida. "But that's part of what has made this resistance so distinctive: it's both angry and pragmatic. It may someday rank with other women-led movements like suffrage, labor, and abolition, that transformed America's fundamental social contract."

The beginning of 2019 saw a Democratically controlled House offering the first formal check on Trump's power since he'd assumed office. Faced with a tactician as practiced as Nancy Pelosi, the veteran Speaker of the House, Trump seemed deflated and withdrawn all winter. Then, on March 8, International Women's Day, demonstrators began clogging New York Senator Chuck Schumer's nine offices with so-called Sippy Cup Sit-Ins, whereby entire families, kids and all, held a borderline festive occupation, echoing the "play date" family separation protests of the previous summer.

Ten days of sit-ins won a pledge from Schumer to support the "Bundle" of progressive legislation while thwarting any of Trump's actions that would harm vulnerable Americans. "I've been a Senator for a lot of years," he said in announcing the pledge. "But I'd never truly arrived until my daughter called me this morning to say, and I quote, 'Welcome to the sisterhood, dad.'

Not long after that, the 11-million-strong protests swept away a president. History will show that Trump quit. It will also show that women had effectively given him a pink slip his first day on the job.

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Picture it...

Warm summer day. Sheer exhilaration. You're a kid again, rolling down a perfect hill.* Cool grass on your skin. Dizzy with pleasure. 0-60 in 3 seconds like the world is your Tesla — only cheaper, and probably safer.[†]



* Suggested activity only. Rolling, jumping, climbing, tumbling, napping. Hills, forests, beaches, fields... It doesn't matter. Nature offers endless possibilities. Get out there!

[†] This claim has not been evaluated by your mother. Enjoy responsibly. Rolling down hills is not intended as a substitute for educational or housing opportunities, nor for a healthy balanced diet, friendship or proper hygiene. Rolling down hills after dark may be hazardous to your health. Hills not liable for injury or death.



BRING BACK JUSTICE. BRING BACK OUR DEMOCRACY!

What has happened to our country over the past two years? What has happened to law and order, to the institutions we all trusted to safeguard our rights and freedoms, the institutions which had the power under the law to help us in times of danger, keep us safe from those who would prey on innocent lives to fulfill some distorted inner need? What has happened to the respect for each other, the fear of retribution by the courts, society and the police for those who break the law, who wantonly trespass on the rights of others? What has happened is the complete breakdown of life as we knew it.

Many American families — White, Black, Hispanic and Asian — have had to give up the dream of a better life for their children, of a happy retirement, of enough leisure time to spend Saturday at the park, ride a bike at dawn, or just sit on their stoops — given them up as hostages to a world ruled by the law of the jungle, as the wealthy elites wantonly lay waste our democracy, dispensing their own vicious brand of twisted greed on whatever and whomever they encounter. At what point did we cross the line from the fine and noble pursuit of freedom to the reckless and dangerously permissive atmosphere which allows the wealthiest criminals to destroy social programs and environmental regulations, then laugh at the suffering that they've caused? And why do they laugh? They laugh because they know that even as their victims suffer, they remain free to destroy what remains of democracy — and yet face no great personal risk to themselves.

Some people have stated that hate and rancor should be removed from our hearts. I do not think so. I want to hate these destroy-

ers of lives. They should be incarcerated for their crimes. They must serve as examples so that others will think long and hard before committing a crime or an act of self-serving treason. Yes, Americans, I want to hate these traitors and I always will. I am not looking to psychoanalyze or understand them, I am looking to punish them. If the punishment is strong, the attacks on innocent people will stop. I recently watched a newscast trying to explain the "anger in these old white men." We no longer want to understand their anger. We want them to understand our anger. We want them to be afraid.

How can our great society tolerate the continued brutalization of its citizens by crazed misfits? Criminals must be told that their CIVIL LIBERTIES END WHEN AN ATTACK ON OUR DEMOCRACY BEGINS!

We miss the feeling, already long in the past, when democracy felt secure and politicians stood up for all of the people, without regard to their wealth.

Let us take back the power we've handed over to politicians who've used it to take more and more of our wealth. Let us unshackle ourselves from the chant of "there is no alternative," which the wealthiest use to justify a system in which they and their friends enjoy stratospheric success, while countless millions suffer. We must cease our continuous tolerance for the criminal in the White House. Give America back to the citizens and immigrants who have earned the right to be Americans. Send a message loud and clear to those who would deceive our people and terrorize this country — BRING BACK JUSTICE AND BRING BACK DEMOCRACY!

The Human Race

No apologies to Donald J. Trump