

Peaceways

CENTRAL KENTUCKY COUNCIL FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE

November 2016

Black Lives Matter: A Reflection

by Steve Katz

The Movement for Black Lives Policy Table's United Front, a collective of more than 50 local and national groups that make up the vanguard of the Black Lives Matter movement, has released "A Vision for Black Lives – Policy Demands for Black Power, Freedom and Justice." It's a wide-ranging document that has spawned controversy in several places, including the Jewish community.

At issue is the inclusion of a platform section that criticizes Israel as "an apartheid state" and says that the United States "via its alliance with Israel is complicit in the genocide taking place against the Palestinian people."

Jews know genocide. The platform's stated desire to stand with all oppressed peoples fails to recognize millennia of the oppression of Jews: from Egyptian slavery, to Babylonian captivity, to Roman expulsion, and on to an unbroken 2,000 years of European catastrophes featuring such watersheds as the Spanish inquisition, Russian pogroms, and the Nazi holocaust.

That last horror, just 70 years ago, was the catalyst for the creation of Israel as a Jewish state and safe place. Yet safety has been tenuous at best and, worldwide, anti-Semitism is again on the rise, originating from both left and right.

Beyond the incredibly long list of persecutions, Jewish history and religion also includes about 2,000 years of the concept of Tikkun Olam, or healing the world. Jews have been prominent in the forefront of movements for social justice for centuries, such as the American Civil Rights movement. And Jewish support for just causes like the Black Lives Matter movement will continue, regardless of a poorly written, hyperbolic paragraph in a platform.

Unfortunately, American Jews have made unflinching support for "Israel, right or wrong" the third rail of acceptable discourse within that community. There has been a broader, more honest debate on issues related to peace within Israel than among Jews in the United States, where

Gun Violence In America as of 10-23-16 (excluding suicide)

2015	
Killed	13,293
Wounded	26,826
2016	
Killed	11,936
Wounded	24,772

Source: www.gunviolencearchive.org

advocates for just treatment of Arabs in Israel and the occupied territories resulting from the 1967 war have been marginalized by the wider Jewish community. Even if many Arabs left their homes in Israel in 1948 willingly, intending to return in an army that would push the Jews into the sea, no impartial observer can claim that multiple generations of Palestinians have not been oppressed by Israel since then. Healing the world requires that oppression to end.

The Black Lives Matter movement says that Palestinian lives matter. Of course they do. But Jewish lives matter, too.

Steve Katz is a member of the CKCPJ board.

Engage with CKCPJ

In addition to booking an excellent collection of speakers and events for Voices 2016, the board of directors of CKCPJ is working to increase board membership, the steering committee and working committees. You are invited to join any or all

of these groups.

CKCPJ is also working to update the listing of members of the board of directors on page 3. Please email updated information to peacewayseditor@gmail.com

If you are interested in more information about committee work or the council itself, email peacewayseditor@gmail.com.

Finally, the steering committee would like to activate CKCPJ's member organizations. In the next several months, a board representative will contact each organization listed on page 3 and issue an invitation to a representative of the organization to attend the CKCPJ Annual



Dinner and Networking Fair on Sunday, March 12.

Member organizations will also be invited to participate in the Networking Fair which is held before the dinner every year. Each year 15 to 20 groups bring displays and information about the work of their organizations, meeting old friends and making contact with others.

If you are a member of an organization that would be interested in a display for the 2017 Networking Fair, please email peacewayseditor@gmail.com.

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krogercommunityrewards.com**

BCTC to present All the Way

by Jim Trammel

Is it enough that a good deed is done, or must it also be done with good intentions in the doer's heart?

That philosophical question hangs over the production of "All The Way," the Bluegrass Community and Technical College's latest stage production, opening Nov. 10 for one weekend only at the Downtown Arts Center.

The play depicts President Lyndon B. Johnson, during his first months in office between the 1963 assassination of John F. Kennedy and Johnson's stand for his own election in 1964.

During that time, Johnson, who came up through government ranks as a legislator from Texas, chose to spearhead the difficult task of getting Congress to enact, and civil rights leaders including Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. to support, meaningful civil rights legislation.

The question about good results vs. good intentions comes up because all the while LBJ was engaged in this noble pursuit, he spoke in vernacular that would get most politicians in trouble today.

The play traces several maneuvers and showdowns between Johnson and a series of allies and adversaries, as he pushes all the right buttons to make his contemporaries do his bidding.

The play takes its name from Johnson's 1964 campaign slogan, "All the Way with LBJ." Bryan Cranston debuted the role of LBJ on Broadway, and in the recent film on HBO. Both Cranston and the play won Tony awards for 2014.

Director Tim X. Davis said he chose this script, an unlikely offering for a college

theatre department, because the department is celebrating its tenth year of productions and the cast includes some of all sectors of the department's support. "We have current students, former students, faculty members and community actors all helping," Davis said.

The work is something the community needs to see, Davis said. The production makes no attempt to draw parallels between 1964 and the current political year, but Davis said citizens need to think about the issues raised then and how they affect, and even foreshadow, what is going on now. In 1964 as today, the Republican Presidential nominee was ultra-conservative, and voting rights were an active issue in that year and again today.

The play follows Johnson as he spars with Republicans and southern Democrats opposed to his legislation, African-American leaders discuss the proper way to respond to the proceedings – whether to try to play along with the legislators' political games or take to the streets in dangerous, riotous protest.

Pete Sears portrays President Johnson, Whit Whitaker is Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Chris Wilson is Sen. Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, and 20 other BCTC students and community actors are working under the guidance of Davis who is BCTC theatre program coordinator.

Show times are 7:30 p.m. Nov. 10-12 and 2:00 p.m. Nov. 13 at the Downtown Arts Center, 141 East Main Street, Lexington. Tickets are available through the Downtown Arts Center's website and box office, and will be available at the door.



L-R, Patrick Mitchell, Pete Sears, Abbi Henninger, Tim Davis confer at a rehearsal of All the Way.

The Central Kentucky Council for Peace and Justice

Board of Directors: Rebecca Ballard DiLoreto, David Christiansen (co-chair), Rick Clewett, Bilal El-Amin, Mary Ann Ghosal (secretary), Heather Hadi, Randolph Hollingsworth, Rahul Karanth, Steven Lee Katz (treasurer), Richard Mitchell, Bruce Mundy, Steve Pavey, Nadia Rasheed, Rabbi Uri Smith, Teddi Smith-Robillard, Craig Wilkie.

Peaceways Staff:

Margaret Gabriel (editor); Penny Christian, Gail Koehler, Betsy Neale, Jim Trammel (proofreaders). The views expressed in *Peaceways* are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of CKCPJ.

Member Organizations: ACLU-Central Kentucky Chapter; Ahava Center for Spiritual Living; Amnesty International, UK Chapter; Bahá'ís of Lexington; Berea Friends Meeting; Bluegrass Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO; Bluegrass Domestic Violence Program; Bluegrass United Church of Christ; Catholic Action Center; Central Christian Church; Commission for Peace and Justice, Catholic Diocese of Lexington; Gay and Lesbian Services Organization; Humanist Forum of Central Kentucky; Hunter Presbyterian Church; Islamic Society of Central Kentucky; Jewish Federation of the Bluegrass; Kentuckians for the Commonwealth; Kentucky Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty, Central Kentucky Chapter; Kentucky Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights; Kentucky Resources Council; Lexington Fair Housing Council; Lexington Fairness; Lexington Friends Meeting; Lexington Hispanic Association (Asociación de Hispanos Unidos); Lexington Labor Council, Jobs with Justice Committee; Lexington Living Wage Campaign; Lexington Socialist Student Union; Maxwell Street Presbyterian Church; Newman Center at UK; North East Lexington Initiative; One World Film Festival; Students for Peace and Earth Justice (Bluegrass Community and Technical College); Peacecraft; The Plantory; Progress (student group at Transylvania University); Second Presbyterian Church; Shambhala Center; Sustainable Communities Network; Union Church at Berea; Unitarian Universalist Church of Lexington; United Nations Association, Bluegrass Chapter.



Peaceways is published ten times a year by the Central Kentucky Council for Peace and Justice, 1588 Leestown Rd., Ste. 130-138, Lexington KY 40511. Deadline for calendar items for the December issue is Nov. 10. We do not publish in January. Contact (859) 488-1448 or email peacewayseditor@gmail.com.

Wake me when it's over

Electile Dysfunction: A Guide for Un-aroused Voters. By Alan Dershowitz. Published 2016 by RosettaBooks. 100 pages. Reviewed by Jim Trammel

Most of us rise from our Sunday-morning beds and peruse our primary news sources. The dividing line these days seems to be that over-60s pick up newspapers, and those younger turn on TV or go to online sources.

Democrat or Republican, the first thing many do is check on the 'Cats. But after that, many of us catch up on national politics, especially with a Presidential election approaching.

Somehow a subset of voters have, until now, pretty much ignored all news developments, and are yet undecided which Presidential candidate to vote for, having put off considering the issues like they'd put off yard work, writing thank-you notes, or getting that filing cabinet in order. Pardon me, but you people have missed a fascinating crapshow so far, and catching up intelligently won't be easy. Attorney and retired Harvard professor Alan Dershowitz is here to help, with a largely fair-minded 100-page summary of issues and positions in the upcoming election.

Dershowitz can be kind of a propagandist. My colleagues on the right dismiss this work as a pro-Hillary Clinton screed straight from her Brooklyn headquarters. But his positions are cogent and logical, no matter what you think of them, and he goes step-by-step through the two major candidates' positions on 10 crucial questions, giving the details of each candidate's thinking. This is sometimes hard to do with the mercurial Donald Trump, who has never articulated some positions at all and has reversed course wildly on others; but Dershowitz tracks what is known with what I think is intellectual fidelity.

So if you want to decide who to vote for, a 10-point comparative checklist at the end of the book will be a good catch-up for the inattentiveness you spent last year displaying.

The key point Dershowitz makes, I feel, transcends party preferences: "Under our two-party system, a vote for a third or fourth party is ... a throwaway vote.... Votes should be cast for or against one of the two major candidates, even if

the voter has a theoretical preference for a third party candidate, unless the voter genuinely believes that neither major candidate is worse than the other. Even if a voter believes that the two major candidates present a choice of evils, that voter has the responsibility to vote for the lesser of the two evils.... A protest vote for a third party in this election makes it more likely that the candidate the voter regards as the greater of the two evils will be elected."

The others are flawed choices. The Gary Johnson candidacy has made some serious missteps; the Jill Stein candidacy is fringe. A vote for either, Dershowitz says and I concur, is a vote to confirm that your more despised of the top two runs your life for the next four years.

If you've been following the issues, this book will summarize and systematize your current knowledge, not expand it. But if you're just now saying, "Oh well, better give this President thing some thought," here's a good summary of what's been happening the past year you've been asleep.

And now, in the interest of equal justice, *In Trump We Trust: E Pluribus Awesome!* By Ann Coulter. Published 2016 by Penguin/Random House.

Ann Coulter, also an attorney, is a shrill, shrewish harpy who makes her living saying outrageous things for press coverage to sell her 11 books to her right-wing echo-chamber allies. These statements are outrageous perversions of reality that she

either cynically disbelieves and says anyway, or she believes them and is insane.

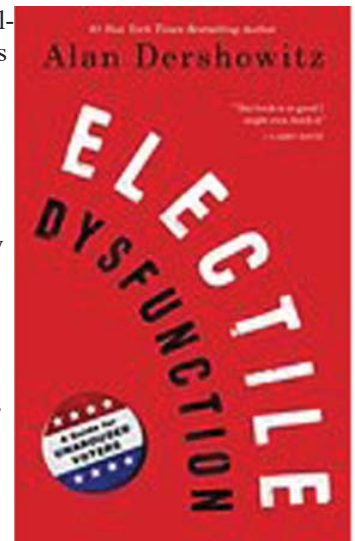
I read only the Google free-sample. In that first chapter, she sees Trump's nomination as a setback for the left's agenda to destroy

America. Turns out a reality-TV star was just the thing America needed to jar the nation off its leftward course. And "the wall" is still his keystone issue which riles up his rallies – nothing else gets so much participation from the crowd.

"E Pluribus Awesome" translates from the pig-Latin as "Out of many, awesome," which just about sets the tone and sense level of her writings. Proceed carefully through this swamp, and let us know if you need us to send help.

Reviewer Jim Trammel is embarrassed for our political process and will be relieved when this Presidential hoopla is all over. Unless it goes the wrong way.

After the election, be sure to see *All The Way, the Tony-award-winning play about Lyndon Johnson and the Civil Rights Act of 1964, presented by Bluegrass Community and Technical College. Details about ticket sales on page two.*



Submissions to Peaceways

Articles submitted for publication in *Peaceways* should show an awareness of and sensitivity to the CKCPJ's mission and concerns.

Articles of varying lengths are encouraged. Short essays reflecting an individual's experience of peace- and justice-related events and community action or activism are encouraged, as well.

Feature articles should be no longer than 500 words, unless you are willing to have the piece cut to fit one page of *Peaceways* text. Pieces will be edited for clarity.

Please include references in the text for all quotations, statistics, and unusual facts. End- or footnotes are not used. Please query submissions to peacewayseditor@gmail.com before writing a feature article intended

solely for *Peaceways*.

For all submissions, the author's name, address, and phone number should appear on the body of the submitted text. If you submit material that has been published or which you are also submitting to other publishers, be sure to indicate this. Also include information about your relationship to any organization or issue mentioned in the article for inclusion in a biographical reference at the end of the story. Submissions should be made in Word format *via* email. Book reviews are usually solicited by the editor but we welcome inquiries from potential reviewers.

Submission deadline is the 10th of each month. *Peaceways* is published 10 times a year.

Calendar for Peace & Justice

The council seeks to promote dialogue as a path to peace and justice. Consequently, we announce events that we do not necessarily endorse.

Wed., Nov. 2

Voices 2016, Youth Needs, Safe Summers, Reducing Local Violence, 7 p.m., Quaker Meeting House, 649 Price Ave., Lexington. Kerby Neill will discuss this summer's interfaith effort to reduce youth violence via summer jobs and training in non-violent methods to produce social change.

Tues., Nov. 8

Election Day Polls open from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. You will be allowed to vote if you are on line by 6 p.m. Familiarize yourself with the candidates and the issues and get to the polls.

Tues., Nov. 8

PFLAG, St. Michael's Episcopal Church, 2025 Bellefonte Dr., Lexington, 6:30-8:30 p.m. We want a more equitable society, but how do "labels" and assumptions impact our interactions with others? We will reflect on our experiences and beliefs under the lively leadership of Mark Johnson. Our presentation and Q & A session takes place during the first hour, followed by our confidential support group meeting. More information at www.pflagcentralky.or or 859-338-4393.

Wed., Nov. 9

Kentucky Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty, 6-9:30 p.m. Gateway Edgewood Campus, Florence, Ky. Panel discussion of the use of the death penalty in Kentucky. Panel will include Ed Monahan, public advocate for the Commonwealth of Kentucky.

Wed., Nov. 9

Housing Justice, 7 p.m. Quaker Meeting House, 649 Price Ave., Lexington. Discussion will include action that can be taken following the Supreme Court decision.

*Afflict the comfortable;
give comfort
to the afflicted*

Thurs.-Sun., Nov. 10-13

All the Way, 7 p.m. Downtown Arts Center, 141 E. Main St., Lexington. Tony Award-winning play that chronicles the efforts of President Lyndon Johnson to pass Civil Rights legislation. Produced by Bluegrass Community and Technical College.

Mon.-Wed., Nov. 14-16

Kentucky Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty Randy Steidl faced the death penalty and spent 17 years in Illinois' prisons. His case helped lead the way to the abolition of the death penalty in that state. Randy is coming to speak at Pikeville College and other venues in the region. When exact times and places are confirmed they will be announced at the KCADP website, kcadp.org.

Wed., Nov. 16

CKCPJ Peace Action Council, 7 p.m., Quaker Meeting House, 649 Price Ave., Lexington. Discussion topics will include non-violence training, sale of decorative peace plates, and other peace-related topics.

Thurs., Nov. 17

Kentuckians for the Commonwealth, 7 p.m., Episcopal Diocese of Lexington Mission House, 203 East Fourth Street, Lexington.

Tues., Nov. 15

Lexington Working Families Campaign. 7 p.m., Quaker Meeting House, 649 Price Ave., Lexington. The meeting will focus on the ongoing discussion of the minimum wage in Lexington, including the need for enforcement of the July increase in the minimum wage and monitoring and reporting wage theft.

Mon., Nov. 21

CKCPJ steering committee meeting, 7 p.m. Quaker Meeting House, 649 Price Ave., Lexington. Discussion will include planning for the upcoming committee meetings, recap of the Voices 2016, proposals for new initiatives, and initial planning for the annual meeting in March.

Sun., March 12

CKCPJ Annual Dinner and Networking Fair, Location TBA. In addition to the annual networking fair, the program will include recognition of the people and groups in Central Kentucky who wage peace and justice.

Your Event Here

Send information about your event to peacewayseditor@gmail.com. Send notification about November events by Oct. 10. We do not publish in January.

**Are you interested in becoming more involved with
Central Kentucky Council for Peace and Justice?**

**Find out how that interest can be fulfilled
by attending a CKCPJ**

committee meeting in October.

**Any and all meetings are open
to all. If you're not sure about which committee,
or aren't sure about the time you can commit,
feel free to come and listen.**

**Quaker Meeting House,
649 Price Avenue, Lexington.**

Peace is Possible

CKCPJ continues the sale of its artistic specialty Kentucky license plate that proclaims "Peace is Possible."

The lovely artwork for the license plate was created by local artist Jaqui Linder and features a flock of sandhill cranes. The crane is a centuries-old, cross-cultural symbol for wisdom, peace and longevity.

Locally, the ancient sandhill crane is recognized as a multi-cultural ambassador of peace. The sandhill migration is a wonderful sign, familiar to many Kentuckians.

In Japan, the crane is especially revered and thought to bring good fortune. It is believed that crafting 1,000 origami cranes grants the creator a single wish.

After World War II, author Eleanor Coerr published a moving children's book, *Sadako and the Thousand Paper Cranes*, a tale of a young girl's failed attempt to fold 1,000 origami cranes before her premature death due to radiation exposure from the atomic bomb blast over Hiroshima. Folded origami cranes took on a powerful meaning after the book's publication in 1977 and came to symbolize peace through the title character's unforgettable perseverance.

"I envisioned several cranes in flight to communicate movement upward and outward toward hope," Jacqui said.

The lavender-purple on the plate represents transformation while the dramatic oranges, which blend to soft yellows, symbolize strength and light.

CKCPJ did not receive enough reservations to have the license plate approved by the Kentucky Department of Transportation, but it is being produced as a front plate. If you reserved a license plate, please contact Rebecca Glasscock, rebecca.glasscock@kctcs.edu to learn your choices for the use of your investment.

If you did not reserve a plate but would like to purchase a front plate, please email Rebecca, give her your mailing address and send a check or money order for \$25 to CKCPJ, 1588 Leestown Road, Ste 130-138, Lexington, KY 40511



MONTHLY MEETINGS

CKCPJ Steering Committee Meetings, third Monday, 7 p.m. More info: (859) 488-1448 or peaceandjusticeky@gmail.com. All are welcome.

Interfaith Prayer Vigil for Peace, every Thursday, 5:30 - 6 p.m. at Triangle Park (corner of Broadway and Main Street) in downtown Lexington. Contact Richard Mitchell, (859) 327-6277.

Migrant Network Coalition, first Monday, noon - 1:15 p.m., GLOBAL LEX, 1306 Versailles Road, Lexington. Contact Lindsay Mattingly, lmatingly@lexpublib.org, (859) 231-5514.

PFLAG Central Kentucky, second Tuesday, 6:30 - 8:30 p.m. LGBTQ individuals of all ages, family members, friends and allies are welcome. St. Michael's Episcopal Church, 2025 Bellefonte Dr., Lexington. Visit info@pflagcentralky.org or (859) 338-4393. Speakers followed by confidential support group meeting.

Bluegrass Fairness of Central Kentucky, second Tuesday, 7:30 p.m., Lexington Public Central Library, 140 E. Main St., Lexington. Contact Craig Cammack, chair, (859) 951-8565 or info@lexfair.org.

Wednesday Night GLSO "Heart to Heart" discussion group, 7 p.m., Pride Center, 389 Waller Ave., Lexington. GLSO operates Kentucky's only Pride Center, where they have quietly provided services to the GLBTQQIA community for decades. More info, Pride Center hours. and other links at www.glsso.org.

Humanist Forum of Central Kentucky, first Thursday, 7 p.m., Great Hall of the Unitarian Universalist Church, 3564 Clays Mill Rd., Lexington. The Forum is a Chapter of the American Humanist Association. Meetings are open to people of all beliefs willing to express their opinions in a civil manner. Child care is provided. Contact President Staci Maney, staci@olliegee.com or (859) 797-2662.

Kentuckians for the Commonwealth, third Thursday, 7 p.m., Episcopal Diocese Mission House at Fourth St. and MLK Blvd, Lexington. Contact Ondine Quinn, (859) 276-0563.

NAMI Lexington Support Groups, every Sunday, 2:30 - 4 p.m. Participation Station, 869 Sparta Court, Lexington. Call (859) 272-7891 or visit www.namilex.org.

Christian-Muslim Dialogue Program, fourth Saturday, 10 a.m. - noon. All are welcome. Locations vary, call (859) 277-5126. The Christian-Muslim dialogue promotes understanding and mutual respect between Christians and Muslims. By exploring moral, cultural and political factors shaping the current context, the program promotes personal and collective responsibility to build a more just and peaceful world.

Dance Jam, every Tuesday, 5:30 - 7 p.m., Quaker Meeting House, 649 Price Ave. Move to the extent you are able. Sponsored by Motion Matters, \$7 per session to cover space rental. Contact Pamela, info@motionmatters.org, (859) 351-3142.

Movies with Spirit, second Friday of every month. Unitarian Universalist Church, 3564 Clays Mill Road, Lexington. Potluck at 6 p.m., film at 7.

National Action Network, third Thursday each month, 7 - 8:30 p.m. at the Central Library, Lexington.

To include a regular meeting of your organization in this space, contact Margaret Gabriel, peacewayseditor@gmail.com.



The Central Kentucky Council
for Peace and Justice
1588 Leestown Rd Ste 130-138,
Lexington KY 40511

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*“Peace cannot be kept by force;
it can only be achieved
by understanding.”*

~ Albert Einstein

Supreme Court Minimum Wage Decision

by David Christiansen

On October 20, the Kentucky Supreme Court issued a decision overturning Louisville’s ordinance creating a higher minimum wage than state law. This decision also effectively overturns Lexington’s minimum wage ordinance.

In a 6-1 ruling the majority determined that cities in Kentucky do not have the right to supplant state law when state statutes provide a “comprehensive scheme of legislation on the same general subject” which they

determined was the case with the minimum wage.

Justice Hughes, who concurred with the result only, noted that it is “no accident that the two largest cities in Kentucky, Louisville and Lexington, have adopted local ordinances that provide for a higher minimum wage. Conditions are indeed different in urban areas, including the cost of living, which is indisputably higher than in the more rural areas of our Com-

monwealth.” He further noted that the Kentucky General Assembly could specifically grant authority to cities to pass minimum wage ordinances higher than that state statute allows.

The lone dissenter, Justice Samuel T. Wright III, noted that federal law “specifically allows for a higher minimum wage set by states or municipalities. Knowing that federal laws allowed a higher municipal wage, the Kentucky legislature refrained from placing any restrictions regarding minimum wages in its broad grant of powers to Louisville Metro. The Kentucky legislature passed a statute (KRS 337.395) specifically providing for the possibility of a higher minimum wage when it passed the state minimum wage. This statute proves that the legislature intended that a municipality’s higher minimum wage could exist within the Kentucky statutory scheme.”

Louisville has until November 9, 2016 to request reconsideration but that is not likely after a 6-1 decision. Ordinances in both Louisville and Lexington will be officially invalidated soon after that date when the final ruling is filed in Jefferson County Circuit Court, assuming that the decision is not granted reconsideration.

It remains to be seen whether employers will rollback wage increases already granted under the local ordinances. Many suspect that businesses will find this difficult to do.

David Christiansen is the co-chair of CKCPJ.

Real value of the federal minimum wage, 1968–2013 and 2013–2016 under proposed increase to \$10.10 by 2016, compared with its value had it grown at the rate of productivity or average worker wages (2013 dollars)



* Productivity and average wage projections from 2013 to 2016 do not include the Harkin-Miller proposal.

Note: Dollars are deflated using CPI-U-RS and CBO inflation projections. Projected wage values are based on CBO inflation projections, average wage and productivity growth from 2002 to 2006 (the last full regular business cycle), and, in the case of the “real minimum wage” line, the proposal to raise the federal minimum wage to \$10.10 by 2016.

Source: Author’s analysis of Total Economy Productivity data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) Labor Productivity and Costs program, BLS Current Employment Statistics, Current Population Survey Outgoing Rotation Group microdata, CBO (2013), U.S. Department of Labor Wage and Hour Division (2013), and the Harkin-Miller proposal

Economic Policy Institute