

THE INDYPENDENT

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A FREE PAPER FOR FREE PEOPLE



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THE INDEPENDENT

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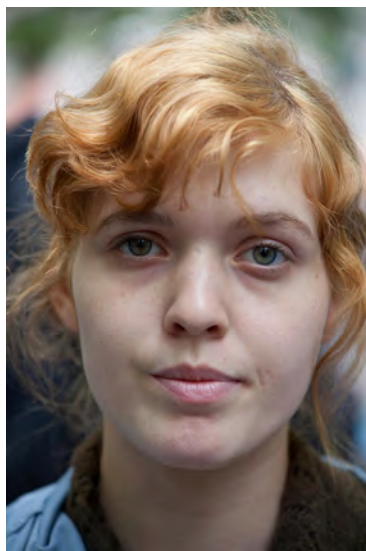
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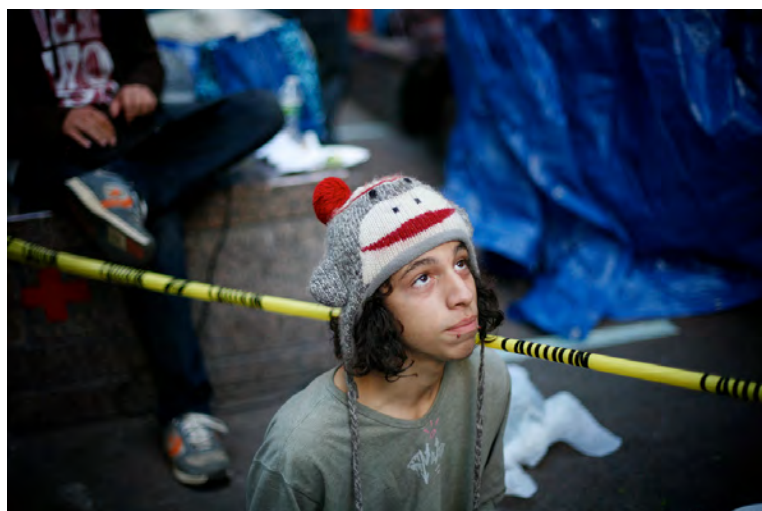
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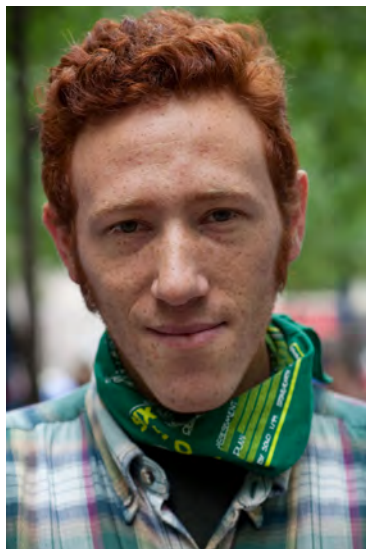
AMELIA HOLOWATY KRALES

ALISON KALNIK, 20, from White Plains, N.Y. is a student at SUNY Purchase. She routinely comes down to the park to support the protesters.



JULIE TURKEWITZ

NOVA RODRIGUEZ, 18, is a junior in high school. He lives in Astoria, Queens with his mother, who has been laid off several times, forcing him to pick up two jobs. He's slept in the park since Sept. 17. "I know my mom is proud of me because I'm fighting for her," he says. What three words would he use to describe this movement? "A great start."



AMELIA HOLOWATY KRALES

ELAN COHEN, 23, of Edgemont, N.Y. is a student at SUNY Purchase. He is an EMT volunteer at Liberty Park.



JULIE TURKEWITZ

PAUL GRANT, 20, of East Orange, N.J. came to Liberty Park because he is frustrated with the cycle of crime and incarceration that is paralyzing his community. A week before this picture was taken, he met **DI SIERRA** (right), 19, of Brooklyn. "I feel happy because I found someone in my life that I can talk to," he says. "In my community I'd like to see a lot of the killing stop, a lot of violence needs to stop. If everybody can get together like this, there's no 'we can't' — it's just 'we can.'"

'WE CO

As far as I can understand it myself, here's why I burst into tears at the Occupy Wall Street camp.



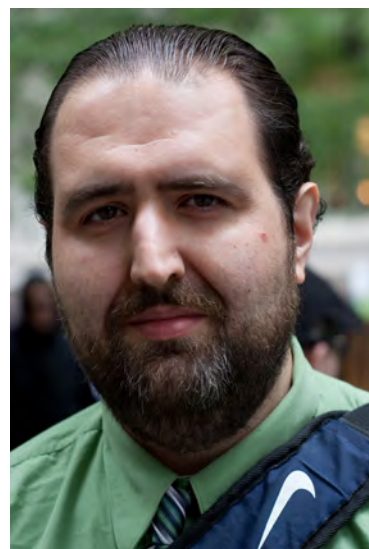
AMELIA HOLOWATY KRALES

PEARL JIMENEZ, 17, of Queens, has slept at Liberty Park since Sept. 17. "I am from Queens, but now I'm from here," Jimenez says.



JULIE TURKEWITZ

KANASKA CARTER, 26, is a musician from Newfoundland, Canada. She has relocated to Liberty Park to be a part of what she sees as the beginning of a global transformation. One thing that has surprised Carter over the past month is the amount of police brutality. However, she says, "We cannot hate the cops. They're part of the 99 percent, too. A lot of them are saying, 'I'd rather just be home with my kids right now.' There's going to be some that try to provoke us, but I think if we want to get anywhere, we have to show them love."



AMELIA HOLOWATY KRALES

DAVID SIROONIAN, 32, of New York City is a teacher at the High School of Economics and Finance, which is located across the street from Liberty Park. Siroonian visits the park whenever he can, including during his free periods from teaching.

CONTAIN MULTITUDES'

Photos & Captions by Liz Borda, Amelia Holowaty Krales, Ashley Marinaccio and Julie Turkewitz

I was moved, first of all, by what everyone notices first: the variety of people involved, the range of ages, races, classes, colors, cultures. In other words, the 99 percent. I saw conversations taking place between people and groups of people whom I've never seen talking with such openness and sympathy in all the years (which is to say, my entire life) I've spent in New York: grannies talking to goths, a biker with piercings and tattoos talking to a woman in a Hermes scarf. I was struck by how well-organized everything was, and, despite the charge of "vagueness" one keeps reading in the mainstream media, by the clarity — clarity of purpose, clarity of intention, clarity of method, clarity of understanding of the most basic social and economic realities. I kept thinking about how, since this movement started, I've been waking up in the morning without the dread (or at least without the total dread) with which I've woken every morning for so long, the vertiginous sense that we're all falling off a cliff and no one (or almost no one) is saying anything about it. In Zuccotti Park I felt a kind of lightening of a weight, a lessening of the awful isolation and powerlessness of knowing we're being lied to and robbed on a daily basis and that everyone knows it and keeps quiet and endures it; the terror of thinking that my own grandchildren will suffer for whatever has been paralyzing us until just now. I kept feeling these intense surges of emotion — until I saw a placard with a quote from Walt Whitman's "Song of Myself": "I am large, I contain multitudes." And that was when I just lost it and stood there and wept.

—Francine Prose

Francine Prose is the author of many bestselling works of fiction. Her latest novel, My American Life, was published in April 2011. This piece originally appeared on occupywriters.org.



ASHLEY MARINACCIO

Alberto, of Coney Island, Brooklyn says, "I'm part of the 99 percent because I guess it just wasn't meant to be."



ASHLEY MARINACCIO

Roz McKeivitt, 67, of Long Beach, New York says, "I have work, kids and grandchildren and I care. I want a future for everyone and what's fair is fair. We want the American dream back."



LIZ BORDA

Chris Ruiz, 19, had been sleeping in Liberty Park for six days when this photo was taken. "I'm here for two reasons. First, global equality, and second, the independence of Puerto Rico — because of America and Spain we lost our native heritage."



ASHLEY MARINACCIO

Gretchen VanDyck, 23, of New York City says, "I oppose the negative effects of neoliberal capitalism on everyday life."



ASHLEY MARINACCIO

Kristen Schall, 27, of New York City says, "I have over \$100,000 in student debt, I'm underemployed and trying to live like a 'grown-up.'"



AMELIA HOLOWATY KRALES

Nan Terrie, 18, of Ft. Lauderdale, Fla., came to Liberty Park on Sept. 17 and helps with the on-site kitchen.



ASHLEY MARINACCIO

Diego Espitia, 18, of South Jamaica, Queens says "I used to have a home, girlfriend and job and lost it all. I'm sick of these wars and people getting laid off."

How Liberty Park's Ragged Utopia Is Changing the World

BY NICHOLAS POWERS

Who is ready to defend our park?" the speaker shouted. It was 6 a.m. and thousands of us filled the Occupy Wall Street camp under a pre-dawn sky. The day before, Mayor Bloomberg threatened to evict us, so we came prepared to lock arms in a human chain. We knew cops could scald our eyes with pepper spray. But we were ready to defend a vision and raised our hands and yelled like a loud crack of thunder.

"We are the 99 percent!"

Bloomberg backed down and utopia, an ideal community or society, an imaginary island, a word that in Greek means "no-place," continued to flourish just up the street from the New York Stock Exchange. Like a dream vanishing in morning, utopia cannot survive reality. And yet at Liberty Park a flawed but working utopia has appeared. In one square block the left has made a site of transformation that frees people from a commodified life to one of wild defiant joy.

No one is paid but we work. Few can buy food but no one goes hungry. We march with signs that shout for change but have created a miniature example of the world we want. In Liberty Park is a glimpse of life beyond capitalism.

Utopian sites like Liberty Park or Tahrir Square or the Paris Commune are geysers shooting desire into daylight. They transform our consciousness through solidarity. Occupy Wall Street provides the euphoria of fighting a common enemy — the 1 percent whose ill-gotten wealth and power we have come to reclaim. But at the core is an experience of democratic values. Until we speak of that vision we will target Wall Street and not see the new world rising from its ruins.

CHAOS AT THE CENTER

"I feel like a weight has been lifted from me," said Danny Valdes a 26-year-old English teacher. Around us tired marchers cuddled in a pile and people lined up for free food. "It wasn't the ideology that brought me here but the openness. The left was separated like drops of wax and now this heat melts it together."

We talk of how ideology divides the left but here empathy overflows ideas. Fighting over abstractions seems silly when sleeping on cold concrete. Out of need, we help each other and find meaning no book or leader can offer us.

In these new values a collective vision takes shape. In the donating of sleeping bags is the value of gifting. In the beautiful art, radical self-expression. In the weary nomads laden with backpacks we see radical inclusiveness, in the feeding and healing of each other, we see interdependence and in the general assemblies, direct democracy.

Weeks ago, I spent my first night at Liberty Park and watched protesters snoring in sleeping bags like large caterpillars. It was 3 a.m. A thin cold rain fell.

I met Tony, a young man from upstate New York. "I've looked for work for



CREATING COMMUNITY: (Above, right) Chris O'Donnell, 24, of Bushwick, Brooklyn, takes a break at the Occupy Wall Street encampment. The kitchen has been serving free meals to as many as 1,000 people a day.

months but there's nothing," he said. "Not in the classifieds. Not through word of mouth." Before coming, he left a note with his parents saying he was joining the occupation. "Mom said, 'You're doing the right thing.' And she's right. I don't feel helpless anymore," he said.

A few hours later, buses and taxis blared their horns in the morning rush. The 99ers rose, shook puddles out of blue tarp. Their faces were strained from the cold and rain, hunger and fear. But whether it was greeting newcomers, sweeping trash into bags or scooping food on plates; I saw a sense of purpose that illuminated each gesture with glory. I felt that elusive utopia where the spirit moves through the dark corridors of history to a light that answers every question.

BURNING MAN

The other utopia I have experienced with the same energy as Occupy Wall Street is Burning Man. Each August, thousands of people gather in the Black Rock Desert of Nevada to haul tons of metal, tools, fabric and generators and build an ephemeral city. Rising from the bright white desert is the Man, a tall figure of wood and steel. For a week we circle him.

At Burning Man nearly everyone is joyful and open. And it heals. After interviewing refugees in Darfur or victims of flooded New Orleans or broken people in Haiti, it is a place where my soul unfolds into a new shape. You can dance or be spanked, fed, liquored up, massaged or loved and laugh hysterically. You can weep for the dead at the Temple. You can pour nightmares into the desert and walk away whole. Burning

Man is a site of transformation with the same values of Occupy Wall Street; in it we experience radical self-expression, gifting, inclusiveness, immediacy, self-reliance, decommodification and civic responsibility. On the last day of the festival, the Man burns in a geyser of flame and crashes, we dance around his ashes to celebrate the sacred euphoria of our self-creation.

BLURRY LINES

Every utopia has extreme behavior that is a symptom of its values. Horizontal groups bring in energy but suffer from "blurry lines." Into Liberty Park have come homeless street youth, drug addicts and alcoholics.

During one sleepover, I saw a jittery circle at the far end of Liberty Plaza. I jogged over and heard an Occupy Wall Street security man yelling at a bleary-eyed vagabond to take his beer away before the cops came in. The next day a spiky-haired youth offered to sell me marijuana and later that night another Occupy Wall Street security man shouted at a thief who "borrowed and lost" an iPhone.

And there are creepers, men who take advantage of the open atmosphere to grope women. Ai Elo, a young activist said, "I was sexually assaulted at Liberty Park. I had to fight this guy's hands off me the whole night. At first I thought I was alone but other women said the same thing."

But when she gathered women together, one said, "Please don't bring this up and divide the movement. I've waited 32 years for this to happen." Elo shook her head, "What kind of movement is this if women have to sacrifice their safety?"

And of course, radical self-expression

brings out the crazies. A tall, bearded man just loves to walk around with anti-Semitic signs. One time a group of us surrounded him and sang "Kum Ba Yah. We love Jews, oh Lord, we love Jews." And then we hugged a gangly Jewish man with a big afro until he was dizzy with touch.

BEYOND WALL STREET

Thomas More was right to use Greek words "not" and "place" because utopia is "no place." It is the repressed part of selves that has no place in society and yet, miraculously, it surfaces again and again.

Utopia is real because society is not. Under civilization is the building pressure of discontent and it steams through the cracks of crime and art and radical politics.

Burning Man and Occupy Wall Street are two utopias. The former, isolated in the desert, is reachable only by those with money. It changes lives but not society. The latter is sprouting in the heart of capitalism like a fountain of youth in a dead city, trying to transform the world with justice. Union supporters picket Sotheby's art auction house on the Upper East Side to protest its attack on workers' rights while others journey uptown to protest "stop-and-frisk" abuses outside a police station in Harlem. And at Liberty Park we camp on the doorstep of Capitalism.

On the surface, Occupy Wall Street is an oppositional utopia based on a common enemy. But at its core it shares with Burning Man the experience of creating a new world — which means as we march, we must see beyond Wall Street and point to the city flashing in the future and say its name before it vanishes.

DEMANDS, WHO NEEDS 'EM?

BY COSTAS PANAYOTAKIS

One of the most common criticisms of the movement sparked by Occupy Wall Street is that it lacks clear demands. This criticism, a staple of the mainstream media's coverage of the movement, does more than simplify reality and demonstrate its detractors' inability to recognize the new conception of politics which the movement is striving for. It also functions ideologically to diffuse the threat this movement poses to the powers-that-be by misrepresenting the latent radicalism of the movement as an incoherent and emotional jumble of discontents.

Consistent with its novel approach to politics, OWS does not approach the question of demands in the same way as social movements that see themselves as pressure groups within existing institutional politics. Although this difference is part of the movement's message, it is simply not true that no demands can be gleaned from the movement's deliberations.

For example, consider the "Declaration of the Occupation," which, as reported in the first issue of *The Occupied Wall Street Journal*, was "approved by consensus on Sept. 29, 2011, at the New York City General Assembly in occupied Liberty Square." This declaration may not offer the kind of laundry list of demands that might qualify OWS as a serious political actor in the eyes of the mainstream media, but it does offer a diagnosis of the serious and multifaceted crisis facing both this country and humanity as a whole.

This diagnosis is much more trenchant than anything to be found in the mainstream media, since it doesn't mince words when it comes to identifying the root cause of much that ails humanity and the planet. This root cause is nothing but the subordination of humanity and the planet to the insatiable pursuit of corporate profit. It is a socio-economic system designed to promote the profit of the few at the expense of the many and the ecological integrity of the planet alike, which accounts for growing economic inequality, the eruption of the current economic crisis, the suffering this crisis inflicts on ordinary people around the world (via unemployment, foreclosures, cutbacks of social services), the corruption of our (not so) democratic political system and the obstacles this corruption places on the adoption of policies that could halt the deepening social, economic and ecological crises all around us. While this diagnosis may seem purely negative, a positive demand follows from it, namely the abolition of a world in which profits rule over people and the ecological integrity of the planet on which their survival depends.

It also follows, however, that this demand cannot be addressed to the economic and political elites whose survival and continued misrule it threatens. This is why the declaration ends not by pleading with the 1 percent to look kindly on the needs and suffering of the 99 percent but by inviting those from the 99 percent who have not joined the struggle to do so. In other words, the new politics that OWS represents does not seek to make our rulers more responsive to our needs, but rather to abolish the division of the population into a small directive elite empowered to make decisions on behalf of society as a whole and a majority of the population consigned to the secondary role of following orders and providing legitimacy for the system by periodically participating in elec-



ROB LA QUINTA

tions that usually do more to preserve the democratic façade of our political system than to defend the will and needs of the vast majority against the narrow self-interest of the ruling minorities.

Alluding, moreover, to the inherently undemocratic nature of capitalist societies, the declaration makes it clear that "no true democracy is attainable when the process is determined by economic power." This is a recognition of the need to fight for what I would call "economic democracy," namely the right of all people to have an equal voice over the operation and priorities of the economic system under which they live. In OWS this is not just an abstract demand for the future but a principle guiding the day-to-day life of the movement. As has been the case in other occupied squares around the world, it is this principle that regulates the operation of the various committees (for food, media, medical services, etc.) that ensure the continued reproduction of the movement's material and ideological conditions of existence.

At the same time, it is also true that the declaration's call for a different, truly democratic, world will require much more than a proliferation of liberated islands like the one in Liberty Park. In addition to creating new alternative democratic spaces, which in-

creasingly become an integral part of our society's economic organization, we will also need to build broader movements and win demands that reduce inequality and democratize the state. There are examples we can follow, like the democratically run factories in Argentina or the practice of participatory budgeting around the world. The key is to initiate a virtuous circle whereby the successful pursuit of demands that reduce inequality and force the state to more accurately reflect the needs and priorities of the 99 percent will also facilitate the proliferation and even subsidization of democratic economic spaces, while the skills and self-confidence that ordinary people gain in economically democratic spaces will also empower them to articulate and win demands that keep reducing inequalities and democratizing the state. The spread of Occupy movements around the world is a promising development in this direction and it is for this reason that the mainstream media are so anxious to diminish and obscure their importance.

Costas Panayotakis teaches sociology at the New York City College of Technology. For more insight on the issues discussed in this article, refer to Panayotakis' new book, Remaking Scarcity: From Capitalist Inefficiency to Economic Democracy.

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SAT, NOV 6, 7PM • \$5 Sugg

PRESENTATION: LINKING U.S. MILITARY AND ECONOMIC VIOLENCE IN NICARAGUA AND MIGRATION. Uriel, who has worked closely with families as a conflict mediator, lawyer and disability rights activist, will talk about migration and the large systematic dynamics behind it, especially in terms of Nicaragua's often contentious relationship with the United States.

THU, NOV 17, 7PM • Free

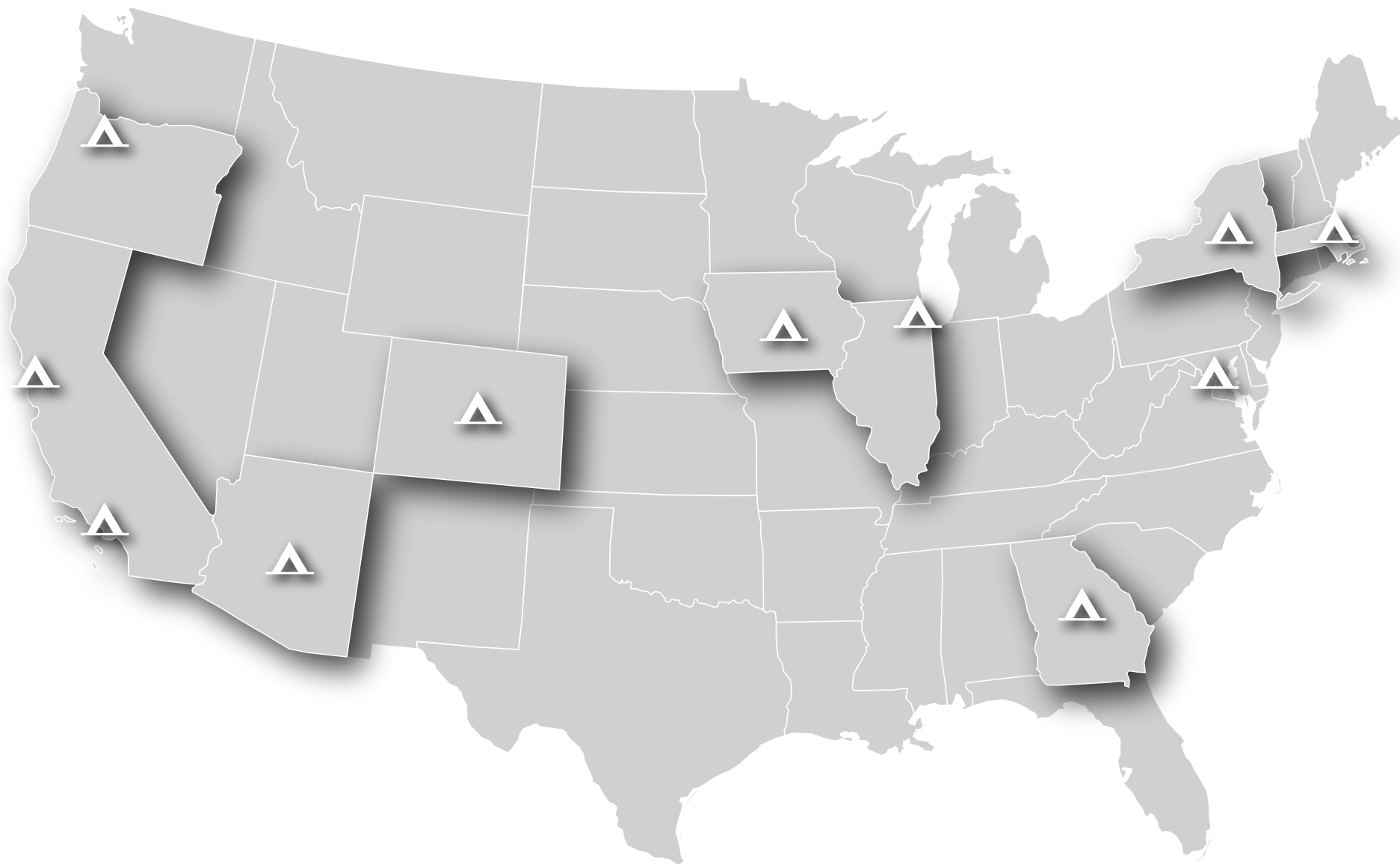
READING: CITIES UNDER SIEGE — THE NEW MILITARY URBANISM. A discussion with author Stephen Graham on how political violence operates through the spaces of urban life.

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Policing the 99%



MIKAEL TARKELA

By ELIZABETH HENDERSON & MANNY JALONSKI

In New York City, participants in the burgeoning Occupy Wall Street movement have been confronted with a wide array of police reactions — from mass arrests currently numbering over 800 to Mayor Michael Bloomberg’s reluctant tolerance of the occupation. As *The Independent* goes to press, there are more than 400 occupations across the United States — from big urban centers to smaller cities and towns. Below is a sampling of police responses to these encampments.

PORTLAND, ORE. — Since the occupation began Oct. 6, protesters have set up two camps near City Hall, with only one major standoff so far, when eight demonstrators were arrested Oct. 13 for blocking traffic. While the City Council has yet to take an official position on the occupations, City Commissioner Amanda Fritz told protesters Oct. 18 that “the City Council and I believe... that the U.S. Constitution’s rights of assembly and free speech trump the anti-camping ordinance.” Mayor Sam Adams, who is in charge of the Portland Police Bureau, has allowed the camp to remain despite city policies against camping on public property.

OAKLAND, CALIF. — On Oct. 25 police raided Frank Ogawa Plaza, leading to 85 arrests. Several hundred officers in riot gear swept through the park just before 5 a.m. Police dispersed the crowd with projectile tear gas canisters, including one that crashed into the skull of 24-year-old Iraq War veteran Scott Olsen, who was hospitalized with critical injuries that night and placed in a medically-induced coma. City officials cited health and sanitation concerns. Within 12 hours of the raid, 500 occupiers and supporters surrounded the park, challenging

what they deemed the illegal eviction of a free speech protest. “In the end, I think we allowed people to exercise their rights to free speech and free assembly,” interim Police Chief Howard Jordan told reporters at a recent press conference.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF. — With approximately 700 people camping out each night outside of City Hall, Occupy Los Angeles set up an additional encampment in nearby Fletcher Bowron Square on Oct. 19. Los Angeles Police Commander Blake Chow told the *Los Angeles Times* that protesters have been “cooperative” and “respectful.” So far there have been no arrests directly related to the occupations. The Los Angeles City Council even passed a resolution in support of the occupation on Oct. 12, which included a call for a “responsible banking” ordinance.

PHOENIX, ARIZ. — Forty-six protesters were arrested by Phoenix riot police after the first day of the occupation on Oct. 15. The incident occurred when demonstrators marched from Cesar Chavez Plaza to Margaret T. Hance Park and refused to leave after the park closed. As of Oct. 19, the city announced protesters would be permitted to spend the night at the plaza, and approximately 50 to 100 protesters gather daily at the encampment, with a contingent of around 20 staying overnight.

DENVER, COLO. — Police clashed multiple times with protesters, and things came to a head the weekend of Oct. 14 when Denver police arrested a total of 50 people and dismantled the three-week-old encampment located at Lincoln Park. On Oct. 15 police used force and pepper spray in response to one protester’s attempt to re-establish the kitchen (known as the “Thunderdome”). The protesters have since relocated to Civic

Center Park, with a core group of 80 protesters sleeping outside each night.

DES MOINES, IOWA — After almost a week of camping outside of the State Capitol, protesters agreed to move to a nearby city park Oct. 14. The relocation followed an Oct. 9 incident in which Iowa State Patrol officers arrested 29 demonstrators on charges of trespassing. Sally Frank, a lawyer who is assisting those who were arrested, told *The Iowa Independent* that officers showed a “level of brutality ... I hadn’t seen in the over 20 years I’d been here.” According to Frank, police used pepper spray, cuffed the demonstrators too tightly and dragged them away. As a result, two dozen protesters are seeking a jury trial. A date has yet to be set.

CHICAGO — Protesters attempting to relocate their encampment near the Federal Reserve to Grant Park faced arrests on the evening of Oct. 23 for remaining in the park past 11 p.m., in violation of a city ordinance. The Chicago Police Department arrested 130 people. “Everybody was very peaceful and smiling and there was no violence, though a lot of chanting,” Occupy Chicago spokesperson Joshua Kaunert told National Public Radio.

ATLANTA, GA — On Oct. 10, police told protesters to leave the park or face arrest. Many of the occupiers decided to stay, locking arms around the perimeter of Woodruff Park, a six-acre downtown greenspace that occupiers renamed “Troy Davis Park.” Later in the day, dozens of police in riot gear surrounded the park. Police and protesters were in a tense standoff for several hours until the police retreated, allowing the encampment to continue. On Oct. 25, Atlanta Police Department officers returned, arresting 53 protesters for violating city curfew laws.

ALBANY, N.Y. — On Oct. 21 Gov. Andrew Cuomo pressured city officials including Mayor Gerald Jennings into using law enforcement to disperse the crowd of more than 700 people that rallied around the 30 tents that formed the center of this upstate occupation. That night dozens of local police officers prepared to move in to arrest those who were camped past curfew on city property. With the approach of curfew, the occupation moved across an invisible line from state-owned land to city-owned land in the park. With protesters now outside of the state’s jurisdiction local police canceled the raid of the park, defying both Governor Cuomo and Mayor Jennings.

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The nation’s capital boasts two occupations, one at McPherson Square, which began Oct. 1, and another that started at Freedom Plaza Oct. 6. As of late October, the National Park Service Police, which administers the two parks, was allowing the two encampments to continue, although they both violate regulations against camping and cooking. There have been no arrests at the occupations themselves, although a few dozen people have been arrested during protests at the Hart Senate Building, the Supreme Court, a House Armed Services Committee hearing and other sites of direct civil resistance actions.

BOSTON — This occupation, which began Sept. 27, faced mass arrests early on the morning of Oct. 11 after police issued an ultimatum demanding protesters vacate the newly renovated Rose Fitzgerald Kennedy Greenway and retreat to their original encampment in Dewey Square. More than 200 Boston and Transit Police officers arrested approximately 100 occupiers, including a group of veterans.

A Left-Wing Tea Party?

BY ARUN GUPTA

One month into the Occupy Wall Street protest, many are asking if this new movement is just a “left-wing Tea Party.”

Definitely not. This is not a party, like the Tea Party, that seeks to directly affect policy and the electoral process. Because it is explicitly leaderless, it is difficult to imagine a Michelle Bachmann or Eric Cantor emerging as a standard-bearer of the OWS movement. Given their reliance on Wall Street money, as well as radical demands from many protesters, the Democrats will find it almost impossible to channel “the 99 percent” into an electoral tidal wave next year the way the Republicans rode the Tea Party to victory in 2010.

But that does not mean comparisons to the Tea Party should be dismissed. There are striking parallels between the two movements when viewed through political, social and historical lenses.

Some similarities are obvious. The Tea Party and OWS alike oppose the bailouts of the banks orchestrated by both parties in Washington. The two movements are thick with people who feel they have little say in the political process. And supporters on each side think the middle-class “American Dream” is nearly extinct.

When the two movements are viewed as a social force, the resemblance deepens. I have interviewed Tea Party members and protesters at Liberty Park who discuss their involvement in comparable terms. They speak of a personal “awakening,” of finding inspiration in a gathering of kindred spirits, and of not having been political before.

In fact, both thrive on bringing new people into politics. As such, they can be considered populist movements and share another commonality – each creates a new notion of “the people.”

The Tea Party’s rallying cries include “we the people” and “take America back.” Its vision of the people is one of self-reliant, industrious and frugal Americans who through moral example and political force would return this country to the greatness pioneered by the Founding Fathers. The Occupy movement is inchoate, but already “the 99 percent” is its version of the people: those whose dreams and aspirations have been squashed by the greedy and power hungry, but who can revive fairness and



GB MARTIN

justice as national ideals.

For both movements, the legitimate people is complemented by the illegitimate other. For the Tea Party, this takes the form of liberals, unions, immigrants, Muslims, welfare recipients and Obama. It is anyone portrayed as unscrupulously profiting, in power or money, off the American system. For the Occupy movement, it is the 1 percent, the catch-all for bankers, corporate executives, the super-rich and their political allies who have an iron grip on the economy and politics.

Another similarity is that the success of the Tea Party and OWS is owed to their vagueness, at least initially. Each has united disparate coalitions under its banner.

For example, the Tea Party’s historic references appeal to people who feel that social and political changes in the last few decades have made their country unrecognizable. It unites those who oppose unions and immigration, favor small

government (apart from the sprawling military-security apparatus) and want a return to the gold standard, cuts in social spending, unlimited gun rights and less regulation of business and markets. The common theme is that parasitical and selfish groups have sapped America’s power.

Likewise, the Occupy movement has been criticized for a lack of demands, but when you speak to individuals there is no lack of ideas: better-paying jobs, government-funded jobs, single-payer healthcare, student-debt forgiveness, a moratorium on home foreclosures, cutting military spending, saving Social Security and Medicare, ending the attacks on unions. One secret of its success, analogous to the Tea Party’s obsession with the undeserving, is that it allows many groups and individuals to see their demands as equivalent to everyone else’s because the opponent is the same: Wall Street.

Most Tea Party and Occupy partisans feel

something has gone fundamentally wrong in America, and they are united in envisioning a different type of society. It’s a mistake to reduce either movement to politics or policy; each is motivated by values and idealized ways of relating to one another. But this is where the differences become stark.

The Tea Party embraces heroic, rugged individualism where freedom and liberty are best secured through the free market. In reality, the Tea Party ideology is really about a suburban-based nostalgia for white supremacy. Its disdain for government subsidies does not extend to the interest deduction for homeowners and other supports for a suburban lifestyle.

On the other hand, OWS believes in a collective economy and decision-making, as seen in the General Assembly decision-making and free exchange of goods in Liberty Park. Activists think increasing access to public goods, starting with the public squares themselves, is the way to achieve social harmony.

These radically divergent worldviews are matched by distinct demographics. The average member of the Tea Party is in his or her 50s, whereas the typical Wall Street occupier looks to be a recent college graduate. This probably explains why the two also have different relations to history. The Tea Party romanticizes the American Revolution, while OWS is inspired by uprisings and occupations from the Arab Spring to Europe in which youth say they are trying to reclaim the future.

It would be tempting to define the divide as one between those who support an unfettered free market because government has too much power and those who want a robust social welfare state, or even socialism, because corporations have too much power. That is just part of it. The fact that genuinely popular movements could blossom so quickly at both political poles indicates how hollow the center has become.

The OWS and the Tea Party movements may have diametrically opposed visions of society and power relations, but they both appeal to growing ranks of people who believe the system no longer works for them. Whatever their differences, they both present challenges that will not disappear because of some policy reforms or reshuffling of the cast in Washington.

WHERE DO I GET MY COPY OF THE INDYPENDENT?

BELOW 14TH ST.

WBAI - 99.5 FM
120 Wall St., 10th fl.
DC 37 Headquarters
125 Barclay St.
Bluestockings
172 Allen St.
Kate’s Joint
58 Avenue B
Housing Works
126 Crosby St.
Hudson Park Library
66 Leroy St.
Seward Park Library
192 East Broadway at Jefferson St.
Whole Earth Bakery
130 St. Mark’s Pl.
Mamoun’s Falafel Restaurant
22 St. Mark’s Pl.

Brecht Forum
451 West St.
Shakespeare Books
716 Broadway at Washington Pl.
Theater for the New City
155 First Ave.

14TH TO 96TH ST.

Epiphany Library
228 E. 23rd St.
Chelsea Square Restaurant
W. 23rd St. & 9th Ave.
Manhattan Neighborhood Network
537 W. 59th St.
Muhlenberg Library
209 W. 23rd St.
St. Agnes Library
444 Amsterdam Ave. (btwn W. 81st and 82nd Sts.)

ABOVE 96TH ST.

George Bruce Library
518 W. 125th St.
Book Culture
526 W. 112th St.
Morningside Heights Library
2900 Broadway
Harlem Library
9 W. 124th St.
Hamilton Grange Library
503 W. 145th St.
Uptown Sister’s Books
W. 156th St. & Amsterdam
Bloomingdale Library
150 W. 100th St.
BROOKLYN
Brooklyn Museum
200 Eastern Pkwy.

BAM
30 Lafayette Ave.
Tillie’s of Brooklyn
248 DeKalb Ave.
Tea Lounge
Union St. & Seventh Ave.
Video Gallery
310 Seventh Ave.
Ozzie’s Coffee Shop
249 Fifth Ave.
57 Seventh Ave.
Verb Café
Bedford Ave. & N. 5th St.
Pillow Café
505 Myrtle Ave.
Sisters Community Hardware
900 Fulton St.
Pacific Street Library
25 Fourth Ave.
Outpost Café
1014 Fulton St.

Blackbird Café
197 Bedford Ave.
’sNice Café
315 Fifth Ave.
High Bridge Library
78 168th St. & Woodcrest Ave.
Bedford Library
496 Franklin Ave.
Parkside Deli
203 Parkside Ave.

BRONX
Brook Park
141st St. & Brook Ave.
Mott Haven Library
321 E. 140th St.
High Bridge Library
78 W. 168th St.
Mi Casa Bakery
18 E. Bedford Park Blvd.

STATEN ISLAND
St. George Library Center
5 Central Ave.

Port Richmond Library
75 Bennett St.
Dot Com Cafe
36 Bay St.
Everything Goes Book Café
208 Bay St.

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Out of the Union Halls and into the Streets: LABOR FINDS A YOUNG SOULMATE

BY ARI PAUL

In unions all across the United States — with a few exceptions — radical members and staffers have been waiting for Godot, dreaming of a moment when their leadership takes the membership away from the next contract or organizing battle and to a broader agenda of economic justice. They wondered, for instance, when their presidents would start mobilizing to push Congress for universal health care rather than bargaining with employers for an attractive insurance package for their members, a strategy that might boost a union re-election campaign but won't alter the lack of access to healthcare and the underlying structure of inequality.

The radicals from the Sixties, former college anti-sweatshop activists and self-educated rank-and-filers are a minority in a small club, as just less than 12 percent of the nation's workforce is unionized. And as the U.S. labor movement's influence has been waning since the 1970s, these radicals have gone to work each day, putting aside their hopes of mobilizing the working class in an anti-capitalist revolution, and focused on electing Democrats, easing laws concerning union elections and defending pensions.

But something has happened. With the Occupy Wall Street protests well into their second month and growing in numbers, unions, including the nation's main labor federation, the AFL-CIO, have come out strongly in support. "It's important to recognize that there's a long stretch of the history of the mainstream labor movement where it would be hard to imagine them coming out in favor of an anti-capitalist direct action," said Janice Fine, a professor at the School of Management and Labor Relations at Rutgers University at New Brunswick.

BROAD ALLIANCES

In a sense, the broadening of labor's agenda has been going on for years as unions have fought to stay relevant in a post-industrial economy. The nation's largest union, the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) has formed alliances with community groups to win organizing campaigns and attack the Republican economic agenda. Unions today often campaign by urging the public to support them during workplace conflicts because labor cutbacks would hurt the consumers, not because siding with labor over corporate greed is the moral thing to do.

The Occupy Wall Street movement represents something on a whole new level. Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100, a 37,000-member union with a radical history, has been at the forefront of labor support, going so far as to seek an injunction to stop the NYPD from forcing its members to transport arrested OWS protesters. Labor support is growing on the institutional level. 1199/SEIU sent members to provide medical assistance. Several big unions including the United Federation of Teachers and District Council 37 have lent nearby office space to OWS working groups. And email blasts from the AFL-CIO and unions urged members to join with the protesters in Liberty Park Oct. 14 to defend the OWS encampment from a



THE PEOPLE, UNITED: A member of Transit Workers Union Local 100 marches in an Oct. 5 demonstration in Lower Manhattan that drew as many as 20,000 people. The march was organized by local labor unions in support of Occupy Wall Street.

possible eviction.

Jackie DiSalvo, a retired member of the Professional Staff Congress (CUNY professors union) and active member of the OWS labor outreach committee, noted that OWS participants have been constantly meeting with new union representatives to assist with other labor conflicts around the city, including organizing against Walmart. OWS protesters marched Oct. 21 with the Communications Workers of America, which is in a tough bargaining after a brief strike in August. "We've grown a lot," DiSalvo said. "Even the more conservative unions are supporting Occupy Wall Street."

The most high profile alliance has been the sustained OWS presence at Sotheby's, protesting the auction house's continued lockout of 43 Teamster art handlers despite posting the biggest profits in the company's history. "This is a sophisticated group," said Jason Ide, Teamster Local 814 president. "Nobody needed to tell them that this was the kind of fight they're having. This is where the 1 percent shops. The people who own this place are part of the Wall Street economy."

Occupy Wall Street protesters have an itch; they want this taken to the next level.

"We should have 100,000 people out here," TWU Local 100 organizer J.P. Patafio said while joining the columns of protesters Oct. 14 to resist the eviction in Liberty Park. He noted that nearly 25 percent of New York City workers are unionized, "so we got work to do."

There are opportunities. SEIU Local 32BJ represents 25,000 commercial building cleaners in the city, many of whom serve the FIRE sector (Finance, Insurance and Real Estate), and their contract expires at

the end of December. While bargaining hasn't started, the union is bracing itself for draconian giveback demands. "We are working, visiting buildings, talking to our members, and workers are preparing for a possible strike," said SEIU Local 32BJ organizer Saul Nieves in Liberty Park.

No one should expect the union to prolong a strike just for the sake of OWS, but if this strike occurred, it would paint a perfect picture, and create a new local campaign, for the movement: Wall Street greed against "the help." And next year, TWU Local 100 will probably have a bitter contract fight with the Metropolitan Transportation Authority, which is expected to demand both worker concessions and service cuts to fill its yawning budget gap.

EMBRACING THE LEFT

This is where the natural link between this union and OWS becomes evident. TWU Local 100 President John Samuelsen didn't run as a radical. In fact, he ran on a platform of fighting for a decent contract for transit workers. But what the left-wing faction of that union has said, and what Samuelsen has become more vocal about, is that finance and real estate interests have ruined the MTA (which operates as much as a private corporation as it does an arm of the state government), not worker pay or the costs of providing service. This has allowed the union to build new alliances with rider advocates and environmental groups, while using the contract battle to show how Wall Street bankrupts essential services will provide an opportunity for OWS to expand.

As Fine points out, beginning these relationships is the hard part. Unions have rigid leadership structures and bylaws and

must comply with strict federal and local regulations, and the bigger ones work with high-priced lobbyists and media consultants. It is hard to fuse that with something as leaderless and nebulous as OWS, but there's been marked progress, she said. And there is also a faction in any union that believes the business of the union is settling and administering contracts, and that any other endeavor is a just a waste of dues money.

In that regard, a better way to think about the role of unions in the Occupy Wall Street movement is to ask what OWS can offer the labor movement. Occupy Wall Street could inspire what remains of organized labor in this country to move away from just pushing specific employers for modest wage gains and start organizing working-class people in order to shape not just industry standards, but a new economic order, as its frustrated radical factions have dreamt about.

"The labor movement has conditioned itself to only think of itself in legal terms. 'What does the NLRB [National Labor Relations Board] say about this or that?'" Fine said. "It has to get beyond that."

To borrow a phrase from free market fans, OWS is about "creative destruction." Old models for resisting corporate power have failed, and OWS is forming a new one. Maybe it is time for labor to shed its old skin and remake itself. Some of that is happening at Liberty Park when union members join the emerging movement., said OWS activist Harrison Magee. "They sort of drop that identity," he said. "They become Occupy Wall Street and they become something new."

Ari Paul has reported for The Nation, The American Prospect, Al Jazeera English and Free Speech Radio News.

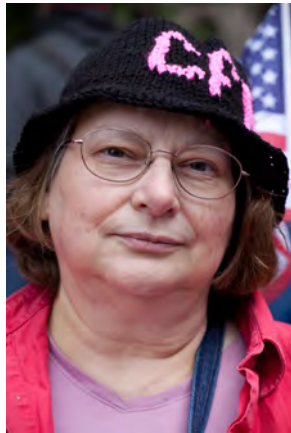
Warming Up to Winter

BY MANNY JALONSKI

As the Occupy Wall Street live-in protest enters November, temperatures are dipping closer to the freezing point — presenting a more immediate threat than co-optation or mass arrest.

Protesters have already erected tents throughout Liberty Park, and it remains to be seen how Mayor Michael Bloomberg will respond. As of late September, Brookfield Properties released new rules that prohibit camping, tents and “lying down on the ground” in Liberty Park, and previous attempts to pitch tents or even tarps have been met with police opposition and arrests.

At an Oct. 17 news conference, Bloomberg told reporters, “The Constitution



AMELIA HOLLOWAY KRALES

KNITTED WARMTH: Marsha Spencer, 55, joined the Wall Street occupation on the fourth day. Since then she has been knitting hats and scarves for the Comfort Team, a working group that makes sure occupiers are comfortable by providing clothing, bedding and other items.

doesn't protect tents, it protects speech and assembly.”

Plans to apply for a tent or camping permit had yet to be considered by the New York General Assembly as of press time. By way of comparison, Occupy Los Angeles has enjoyed both better weather and more leeway from local officials. Besides temperatures that often stay in the 60s at night, they also have permission from a mostly supportive City Council to pitch their tents.

On the other hand, Occupy Denver serves as a lesson on the importance of preparing for winter. At the end of October, nighttime temperatures fell from the mid-60s to below 32 degrees in less than 48 hours, causing numbers at the camp to drop from 80 to 20.

OWS AND THE OUTER BOROUGHS

Bronx

Occupy the Bronx kicked off Oct. 15 at Fordham Plaza and included more than a hundred people, most of them people of color. At the General Assembly meeting, participants discussed how local businesses are almost entirely owned by people who do not live there, as well as the lack of access to fresh food throughout the borough, despite its being home to one of the world's largest food distribution centers.

After the General Assembly, attendees made their way to the subway to join demonstrators at Liberty Park, with Bronx police officers holding gate open for Bronxites to travel for free. On Oct. 22, hundreds of attendees filled Fordham Plaza for the second Bronx General Assembly.

Participants in Occupy the Bronx will continue to hold a General Assembly each Saturday at 11:00 a.m. at Fordham Plaza, then proceed to join protesters in Liberty Park.

Brooklyn

Approximately 70 people attended Occupy Brooklyn's initial meeting Oct. 13 at The Commons. As the meeting started, one facilitator announced, “I'm a facilitator but I'm not a leader. Everyone here are the leaders of the group,” reflecting the distinctive non-hierarchical nature that has characterized OWS. Participants discussed creating working groups and organizing a rally at Grand Army Plaza, which took place Oct. 15, and attracted around 100 people. No further plans were made for an ongoing occupation.

Occupy Brooklyn organizers have made a point of holding meetings in various neighborhoods, including the first in Boerum Hill and the second (Oct. 20) in Crown Heights. The third meeting (Oct. 27) was held in Clinton Hill. The Brooklyn neighborhood of Sunset Park kicked off its own Occupy meeting Oct. 22 at Trinity Lutheran Church. About 15 people attended, which drew around eight police officers, much to the chagrin of the church's Rev. Samuel Cruz. In a letter to the 72nd Precinct, Cruz complained of the antagonistic environment created by the NYPD's presence.

Queens

An OWS solidarity rally was held in Woodside, Queens, on Oct. 23 when several protesters marched along Roosevelt Avenue in support of immigration reform while calling attention to victims of wage theft and deportation.

Staten Island

Although no over-night encampment is currently underway, a handful of activists converged on Gateway Park Oct. 22. No further plans are currently in the works.

—Zachary Smith



Upload your photo at iam.bradleymanning.org to support accused WikiLeaks source Bradley Manning



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WALL STREET'S WEB OF DECEIT

By NICHOLAS POWERS

Predatory home lending and the subsequent foreclosure crisis led to **millions of families losing their homes**



Student loan debt has topped **\$1 trillion**

Exorbitant **credit card fees**



Food prices soar around in the world, causing hunger to spread to hundreds of millions of additional people

Manipulation of commodities markets leads to **soaring gas prices**



Predatory Home Finance

During the past decade, Ameriquest, American Freedom Mortgage and other lenders targeted minorities with sub-prime loans with adjustable rates. After a fixed time, those "adjustable" rates skyrocketed, leaving families unable to pay and they lost their homes. Before the whole thing blew up, Wall Street financial firms bought these mortgages and repackaged them as mortgage-backed securities and ratings agencies like Moody's and Standard & Poor's rubber-stamped them triple "A." These securities were sold like a stack of cards built higher and higher until the homeowners, overburdened by debt, failed to make payments and everything crashed.

Crushing Student Loan Debts

Student loan debt surpassed credit card debt this year, topping over \$1 trillion. American students live with a crushing burden and the rate of default is rising. In 2007 it was 6.7 percent and rose to 8.8 percent in 2009. The bulk of these defaults are from private for-profit universities that serve low-income students. At Occupy Wall Street, one protester wrote, "I have about \$75 in student loans. I will default soon. My co-signer, my father, will be forced to take my loans. He will default as well. I've ruined my family because I tried to rise above my class."

Credit Card Interest Rates of Nearly 30%

Like to use your credit card? Pay up quick or lose your firstborn child. Since June 25, Bank of America has resumed charging a 29.99 percent penalty fee on accounts that are late on monthly payments. Other big lenders like Citigroup, Chase, Capital One, American Express also have high penalty rates. The financial industry is also teaming up with airlines to take consumers for a ride. For example, American Express Delta SkyMiles has a penalty rate of 27.24 percent. It makes perfect sense. If you don't have enough money to pay your bills, another credit card is exactly what you need.

Manipulation of Food Prices

Following the dot-com bust of 2000, Wall Street speculators, led by Goldman Sachs, moved into the then-recently deregulated commodity futures market. The ensuing food bubble caused food prices to steadily increase around the world, along with the profits of speculators. When panicky investors fled to commodity index funds in 2007 to 2008, world food prices soared, pushing 250 million people into the ranks of the hungry. Haiti and Indonesia, Bangladesh and Mozambique were some of the nations racked by food riots. Other factors at play were reserving soil for bio-fuel crops and the more grain-intensive meat diet favored by the rising middle classes in India and China. But alone they were not enough to cause the crisis.

Fluctuating Gas Prices Put Public Over a Barrel

If Wall Street were a vampire, oil would be blood. In 2007 a barrel of crude oil cost \$50 and in 2008 it soared to \$150 before plummeting to \$35. In 2011 the price of a barrel of oil has slow-climbed back to \$102. In a letter to the U.S. Commodity Futures Trading Commission, Senator Carl Levin (D-Mich.) cited how oil production is more than enough to meet demand, but the spike and drop and spike again is due to market manipulation. In May 2011, federal commodities regulators filed suit against two traders in Australia and three American and international firms. They bought up oil, hoarded it to inflate prices then dumped it on the market and walked away with a pile of money.

Occupy Wall Street protesters insist that the financial industry's power over our lives must end. Here are a few reasons why.

Tearing Up Appalachia

For years Bank of America, Citigroup, Morgan Stanley, Credit Suisse, JPMorgan Chase and Wells Fargo financed mountaintop removal. It's an ugly process of scraping off the summit or summit ridge of mountains to clear the way for extracting the black coal in the rock seams. It poisons the local water, scatters toxins into the air and kills whole forests. The Environmental Protection Agency estimates that more than 1,200 miles of Appalachian mountain streams have already been severely damaged by the practice. Years of environmental justice campaigns finally forced four major banks to cut financing of Massey Energy, one of the main culprits in mountaintop removal.

Morgan Stanley Financing of destructive resource extraction projects like **mountaintop removal for coal mining**

Wrecking Municipal Finances

Remember the old saying, "I'm up Shit's Creek without a paddle." Well meet the real life example. Wall Street financial firms like Bear Stearns, Lehman Brothers, Goldman Sachs and JPMorgan Chase trapped the people of Birmingham, Ala. in a \$5 billion debt hole. As reported by *Rolling Stone's* Matt Taibbi, the Jefferson County sewage system was found leaking into the local river and concerned citizens sued for the county to fix it. And fix it they did. What began as a \$250 million project swelled to \$3 billion as corrupt local officials and their business allies pocketed the money and JPMorgan Chase spread around bribes that helped coax the president of the county commission to accept the banks' tricky math debt deal. Now the people of Birmingham are watching their city die. Similar stories abound in towns and cities across the country leading Taibbi to conclude of Wall Street's behavior, "This isn't capitalism. It's nomadic thievery."

Bribing and swindling local officials in cities and towns all across the land



Leveraged Buy-Out of the Political System

After President Barack Obama said Occupy Wall Street reflected "broad-based frustration" and former Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi supported the occupation, Wall Street executives called the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, livid with rage. So now they are pouring their cash into Mitt Romney's campaign. Even as the tide of donations reverses, the fact remains that both parties rely on Wall Street money. In 2008, Obama got more Wall Street money than McCain. In the second quarter of 2011, Obama raised \$86 million — a third of which came from the financial industry. What does it buy? No systemic criminal investigations.

American Crossroads Billions of dollars in **campaign contributions** from the financial industry

Actual bailout totals \$14.4 trillion — not just the \$700 billion in TARP money



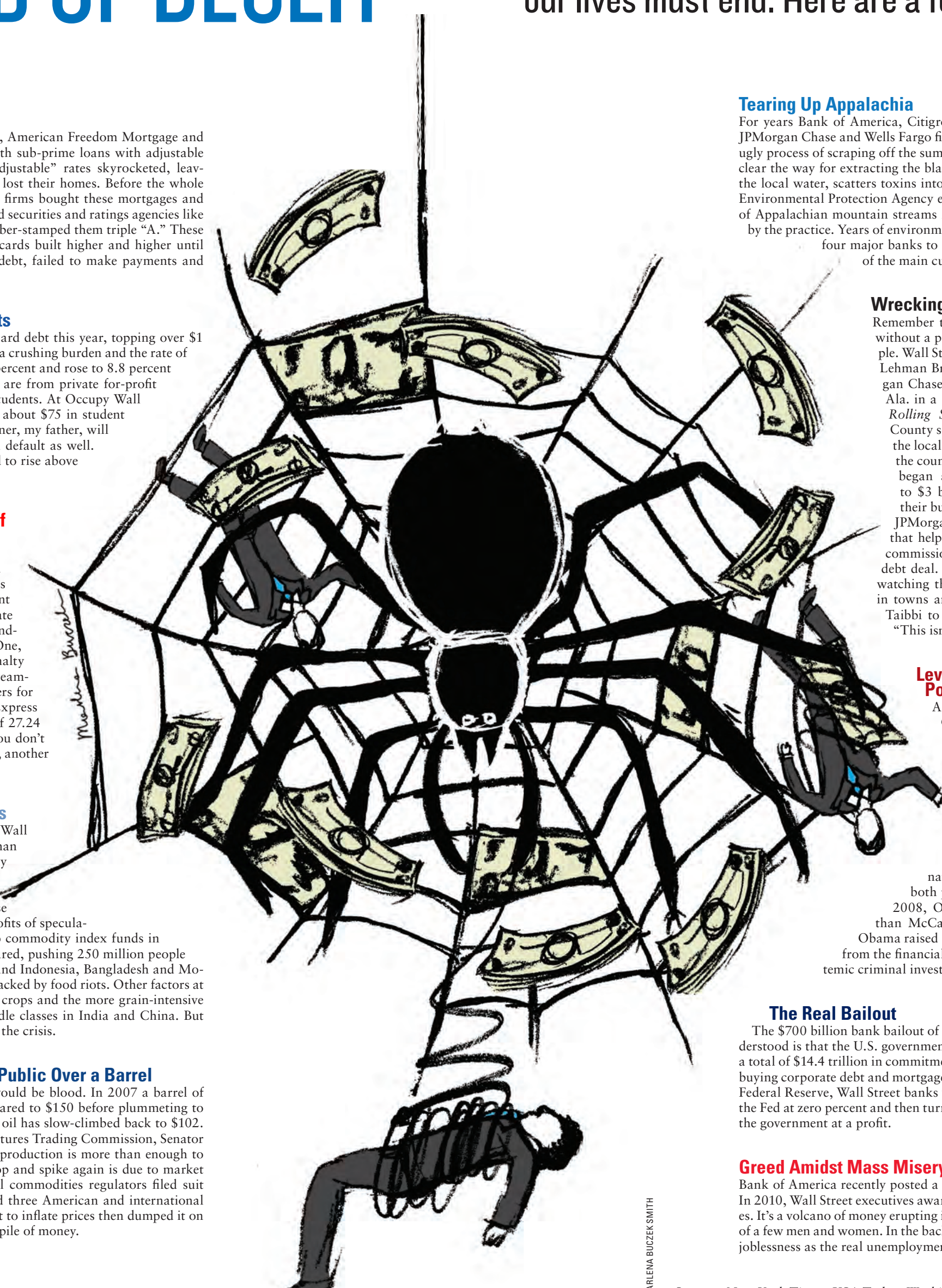
The Real Bailout

The \$700 billion bank bailout of 2008 still angers the public. Less understood is that the U.S. government rescued the financial industry with a total of \$14.4 trillion in commitments that included direct investments, buying corporate debt and mortgage-backed securities. In a gift from the Federal Reserve, Wall Street banks were allowed to borrow money from the Fed at zero percent and then turn around and loan the money back to the government at a profit.

Greed Amidst Mass Misery

Bank of America recently posted a third-quarter profit of \$6.23 billion. In 2010, Wall Street executives awarded themselves \$20 billion in bonuses. It's a volcano of money erupting in New York flowing into the pockets of a few men and women. In the background is a nation enduring massive joblessness as the real unemployment rate hovers around 16 percent.

Bank of America **Record corporate profits and bonuses amid 16% unemployment**



MARLENA BUCZEK SMITH

ALL OCCUPATIONS ARE LOCAL



MAKE THEM PAY: Occupiers in Youngstown, Ohio rallied in Central Square, reminding locals that the country's richest people are still not paying their fair share in taxes.



STRIKE THIS WAY: An Occupy Allentown protester reminds passersby that the idea of a general strike is not that un-American after all.



FORECLOSURE IN REVERSE: Participants in Occupy Philadelphia gather in Dilworth Plaza outside of City Hall to challenge corporatism and demand fairer economic alternatives.

BY ARUN GUPTA

Additional reporting by Michelle Fawcett

The sure-fire method to find occupations in small cities is to head for the center of town. After leaving Philadelphia on our Occupy America tour, we drive an hour north to Allentown. Pennsylvania's third-largest city at 118,000 residents, Allentown has been weathered by years of deindustrialization in the steel, cement and textile industries that once made it an economic powerhouse.

In the outlying neighborhoods, tidy but weary row houses line MacArthur Boulevard, one of Allentown's main drags. Close to Center Square, site of the requisite Civil War monument, the neighborhoods are heavily Latino, and buildings exhibit signs of disrepair.

Occupy Allentown has taken up residence in Center Square, inhabiting one of the red-brick plazas on each corner. There are a handful of tents, a well-supplied kitchen pavilion and an information desk. A large blue and gray nylon tent, into which 12 people crammed the first night of the occupation, has laundry hanging on a clothesline in back and a cardboard sign on the front that reads "Zuccotti Arms," a reference to the original Wall Street occupation.

We've come in search of Adam Santo, said to be the local leader of a leaderless movement. But that was not his intention. A handsome youth a few years out of college, Santo says he knew about the planning for Occupy Wall Street prior to Sept. 17.

"I wanted to go to New York, but I've been unemployed and finances were tight, so I thought wouldn't it be cool to have an occupation in the Lehigh Valley" where Allentown is nestled. Eight months earlier he and three co-workers were laid off from their jobs at a local bank because of a "lack of work."

Santo says when Occupy Wall Street "really took off I thought, I'm going to make this take off in the Lehigh Valley, gather support, get people into the streets." Santo set up a Facebook page on Sept. 30, the day before the 700 arrests on the Brooklyn Bridge and "harassed my friends to join." Next, he designed, photocopied and handed out thousands of flyers to spread the word.

I mention Asmaa Mahfouz, the woman who helped ignite Egypt's uprising with powerful video blogs and by handing out thousands of flyers in the Cairene slums. He wasn't familiar with her story but he does take Egypt's revolution as inspiration.

Occupy Allentown is very much defined by the local. According to Davina DeLor, a 39-year-old freelance artist who is painting slogans on her tent when we encounter her, residents initially assumed the occupation was in protest of a planned hockey arena, which she says "they are using our tax money for."

It's one of those familiar enterprises of our time: socialism for the well-to-do. Allentown is using eminent domain to buy up businesses next to the encampment — including a Wells Fargo branch — that will be demolished to build an 8,500-seat arena for the Phantoms, a minor-league hockey team. The city has authorized borrowing up to \$175 million to pay for the multi-use facility, while the Phantoms' team owners are willing to throw in perhaps 10 percent of the cost.

While anger is widespread over what is seen as shady political dealings for a taxpayer-funded stadium that will displace dozens of local businesses, many residents are more consumed with just trying to survive the grinding economic crisis. Allentown's official poverty level in 2009 was 24 percent, twice the state average.

In a departure from big-city occupations like New York City, beat cops are openly supportive, says Santo. "They drive by, they wave, they honk. They give us handshakes and hugs ... because they realize they are part of the 99 percent." Local clergy are encouraging their congregations to donate goods and "[supply] us with warm bodies, which we definitely need," says Santo.

At the same time, local conditions have limited the growth of the occupation. DeLor says many supporters have to juggle multiple part-time jobs, which limits the time they can spend protesting. During the week the number of campers and occupiers dwindles. This also may be why the day we were there, Oct. 18, the occupiers were mostly unemployed or retired.

Although the Latino community makes up 41 percent of Allentown residents, few appear to be involved in the occupation. Santo speculates that newer Latino communities

aren't as active possibly due to fears about immigration status and cultural divides, while younger Latinos are not involved simply because "it's just not the cool thing to do."

OCCUPATION WITH AN EXPIRATION DATE

Youngstown, Ohio, is an elegiac city a few hundred miles to the west of Allentown. What was once the manufacturing district is a mausoleum of industry. A brick smokestack stands sentinel over acres of cavernous shells that once poured out streams of goods. Crumbling brick buildings sprout trees two stories up, while inside, pancakes of concrete dip toward the ground, suspended precariously on a bramble of rusted rebar.

Demolition is one of the few signs of economic life. Starting in 2006, the city tripled its budget for razing abandoned buildings. In an open-air yard in the industrial quarter, heavy machines whine and billow exhaust as they pound large concrete slabs, surrounded by small mountains of rubble sorted according to size.

With more than 43 percent of the land vacant, Youngstown is slowly being erased. In some neighborhoods, boarded-up houses and empty lots island the remaining inhabited homes, which shrink behind spreading foliage lest they be next.

Since 1950, the population has declined from a high of 218,000 to less than 67,000 today. The poverty rate is a stratospheric 32 percent, and the median value of owner-occupied homes is a paltry \$52,900. Manufacturing dropped from 50 percent of the workforce in 1950 to 16 percent in 2007. This includes a staggering loss of 31 percent of manufacturing jobs in the region from 2000 to 2007 — before the economy fell off the cliff.

At the downtown crossroads, Occupy Youngstown has taken up a position in the shadow of three different banks, including a Chase branch. The occupation is a latecomer, having started on Oct. 15 with a rally more than 400 strong at its peak, according to Chuck Kettering, Jr., an aspiring actor who has been laid off for a year from his previous position as a HVAC technician.

"We were once a huge steel city for America," says the cherubic, 27-year-old Kettering. "In the 1970s they started closing up all our steel mills, taking all the jobs and

shipping them down south and overseas where labor is cheaper. Youngstown's been a city that has been going through this economic struggle for almost 40 years now, and I think we have a valid voice of addressing these issues on a national scale."

His family is living proof of the toll of deindustrialization. In a phone interview, Chuck Kettering, Sr., calls himself "the poster boy for the rust belt." A Youngstown native, he went to work in 1973 at age 19 and worked at two local U.S. Steel plants that shuttered: one in 1979, the other in 1982. Next, he landed a position with Packard Electronics in 1985 making electrical components for GM cars. After GM spun off Delphi in 1999, Packard was subsumed by the auto-parts maker. The company started moving jobs overseas.

"Local operations were pressured by wages and most operations moved south of the border" because of NAFTA. Following Delphi's bankruptcy in 2008, Kettering and some co-workers were given a one-time chance to work for GM itself and keep their wages, benefits and pensions.

"It was a no-brainer," he says, but their seniority did not transfer to plant assignments. Despite nearly 25 years at Packard and Delphi, Kettering says, "I found myself at the age of 54 starting at the bottom, working alongside 21-year-olds trying to keep up on the line. Many of us who transferred were not spring chickens, and it was hard to keep up."

Now Kettering is on disability. His wife, hired by Packard in 1979, worked her way into management and was forced to retire after 30 years with a monthly pension that was slashed in half to \$1,600 and with expectations of further cuts.

"I'm really proud of our local guys," he says. "The police and the firefighters really support the Occupy movement. Our mayor supports it. We have a united front here in Ohio."

Unlike the seven other occupations I have visited, Occupy Youngstown embraces electoral issues. Kettering and other occupiers wave signs and wear buttons opposing Issue 2, which would strip some 350,000 public-sector workers of collective bargaining rights.

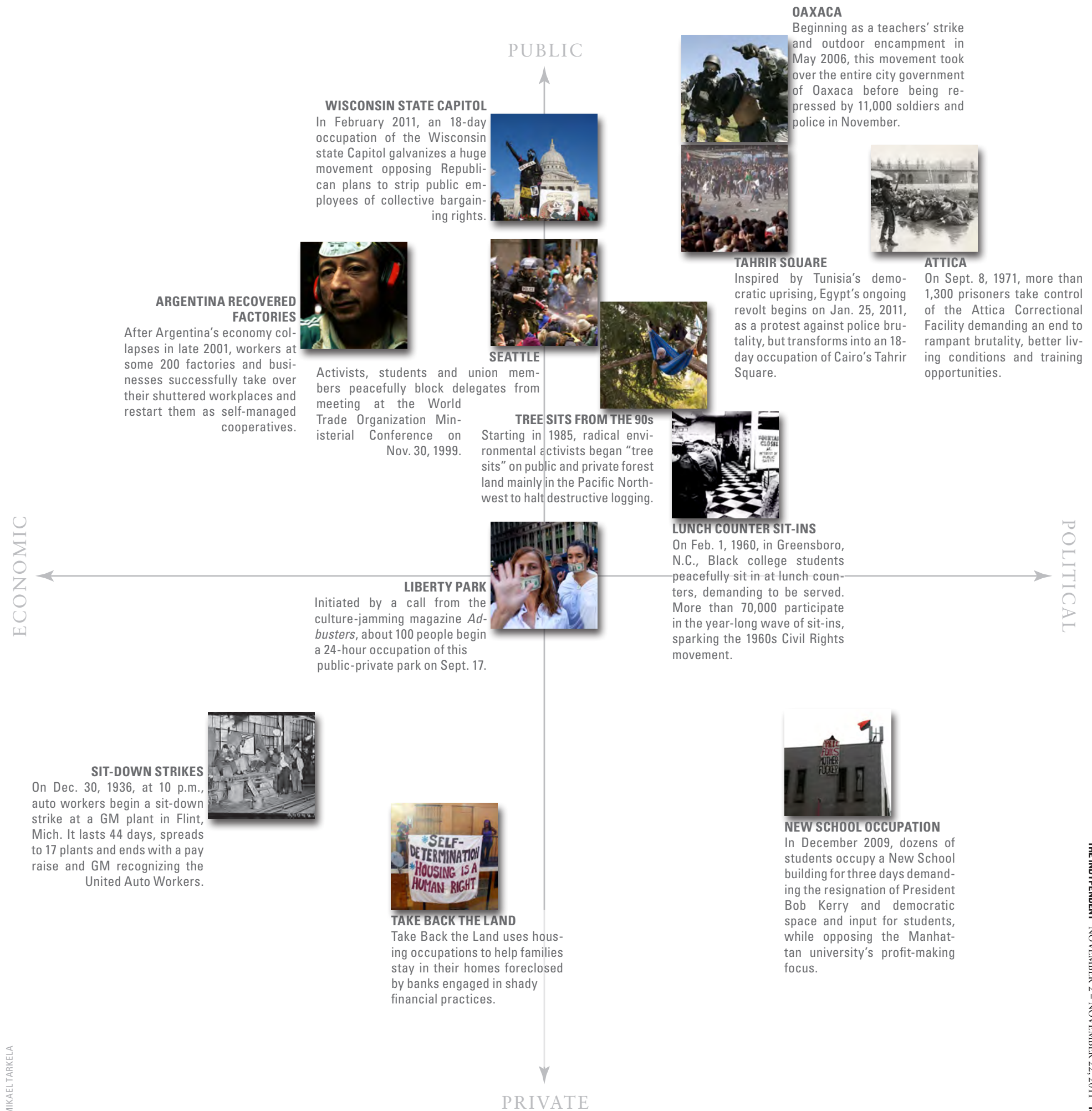
Continued on page 14

Charting Occupations

PRIVATE TO PUBLIC, ECONOMIC TO POLITICAL

BY ARUN GUPTA

The first recorded political occupation, a sit-down strike, occurred nearly 3,200 years ago in Ancient Egypt during the rule of Ramses III when tomb workers occupied six temples protesting the lack of food and supplies. The modern era has seen many types of occupations, such as the Paris Commune in 1871, Mohandas Gandhi's sit-in strikes in South Africa a century ago and the Freedom Bus Rides in the early 1960s in the Deep South. The following graphic charts various occupations along continuums of political and economic motivations and to what degree the occupied space was public, private or a mix.



All Occupations

Continued from page 12

Karen Joseph, a soft-spoken 59-year-old mother of two whose family spends one-third of its household income on health insurance, is by no means the only one who is against Issue 3, which would exempt Ohio from the incoming national healthcare law.

Everyone is against the plan to privatize the Ohio Turnpike being pushed by Republican Gov. John Kasich. All the occupiers we talk to express dismay at the prospect of hydrofracking in Mill Creek Park, which Kettering describes as “the jewel of the area with waterfalls, streams and lots of wildlife.”

This occupation comes with an expiration date. The city asked the occupiers to “take down the tents before business hours on Monday, Oct. 17, when the banks were opening,” according to Chuck Kettering, Jr. He says

they complied, but Occupy Youngstown still maintains a 24-hour presence and has pledged to do so until Nov. 8, Election Day.

TOLEDO BLUES

In Toledo, Ohio, on the other hand, the occupation is struggling with living outdoors in a harsh climate because the city is making life difficult for them. Christopher Metchis, an energetic 19-year-old student who will be attending the Musicians Institute in Los Angeles next spring, explains that City Hall has denied them use of tents and generators and dispatched city crews to cut off their access to electricity. He has just spent the last two nights outdoors in a wind and rain-storm, huddling under tarps with a few hardy souls on a grass plaza in the downtown business district near the baseball stadium for the AAA Toledo Mud Hens.

While we talk, a few people come by to help with consolidating supplies, fold-

ing tarps, stuffing blankets into a crib and kitchen work. A local pastor has also stopped by with words of support. Candice Milligan, a 30-year-old trans woman, says the living conditions make it “difficult for people who aren’t able-bodied.” She also admits that concrete support is not as forthcoming because much of the public does not know what Occupy Toledo is trying to accomplish. And they have to contend with a police force that is indifferent at best and a local media that is hostile at times.

Awareness of the occupation movement co-exists with despair. During dinner one evening at an Italian restaurant in Toledo, our waitress, Dawn, tells us she supports it because “the people need a voice, not just the corporations and politicians.” A few minutes earlier, she lit up in excitement when she found out we are from New York, but her face crumpled instantly, exclaiming quizzically, “But now you’re here?!”

It has been a common sentiment on the trip so far. Americans in this part of the country are beaten down after decades of economic decline. Their prospects are limited. Civic embarrassment is more prevalent than pride. They lament the end of the “American Dream,” the notion that hard work and sacrifice would be rewarded with a comfortable retirement and a better life for their children and grandkids. But in the hundreds of occupations around the country they have found a space where they can speak of their struggles, burdens and aspirations. People listen and they hear similar stories, creating a genuine sense of community. They say it is giving them dignity. And perhaps most important, it is giving them hope.

For videos and regular updates from Arun Gupta’s tour of occupations visit occupyusatoday.com.

PEOPLE’S MEDIA

With mainstream media being generally dismissive of the Occupy Wall Street protests, independent media outlets have filled the void with everything from breaking news and information on how to get involved to thoughtful analysis. For more, see:

Occupy Together

Launched after sister occupations took hold in cities outside of New York, this website connects over 400 occupations from across the country. occupytogether.org

Occupy Wall Street

The original Occupy website, it features video from protests, daily schedules and news from other occupations. occupywallst.org

Adbusters

This culture-jamming Canadian magazine initially put out the call to occupy Wall Street and continues to support the occupations. adbusters.org

Occupy Wall Street Tumblr

This website features news, photos and more from occupations across the United States. occupywallstreet.tumblr.com

We are the 99 Percent Tumblr

Over 2,000 stories and pictures are shared here by members of the 99 percent. wearethe99percent.tumblr.com

The Independent

This New York-based newspaper and website has been providing in-depth coverage since the start of the occupation. independent.org

The Occupy Wall Street Twitter Feed

A consistent source for breaking news related to the occupation. twitter.com/occupywallst

The Occupied Wall Street Journal

Founded by New York journalists and activists involved in the Occupy movement, the paper has seen print runs of up to 50,000. occupiedmedia.com

—Manny Jalonschi

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TO REPRESS OR CO-OPT?

OWS Media Coverage Mirrors Splits Within the 1%

BY KEVIN YOUNG

Gandhi is often credited with saying, “First they ignore you, then they laugh at you, then they fight you, then you win.” In just the past month, it’s possible to discern the first three responses in the attitudes of U.S. elites toward the Occupy Wall Street movement. This should be a source of great encouragement to everyone involved.

THE RIGHT-WING RESPONSE

Many corporate elites and Republican leaders have skipped straight to the “fighting,” or at least “worrying,” stage. In late September, one “clearly concerned” bank CEO telephoned *New York Times* reporter Andrew Ross Sorkin to ask, “Is this Occupy Wall Street thing a big deal?” A few weeks later, a London banker quoted in the *Financial Times* noted with alarm that the protests “aren’t just about banks. ... They’re talking about the number of millionaires in the cabinet and all kinds of things.” In mid-October, a Wall Street money manager interviewed in *The New York Times* lashed out against Democratic politicians for failing to defend Wall Street vehemently enough, saying “They need to understand who their constituency is.”

If a few Democrats occasionally get confused, Republicans have no doubts about who their constituency is. House Majority Leader Eric Cantor has denounced “the growing mobs occupying Wall Street.” Mitt Romney has characterized the movement as a “dangerous” expression of “class warfare.” Congressman Peter King was even more candid when speaking on a radio show Oct. 7:

It’s really important for us not to be giving any legitimacy to these people in the streets. ... I’m taking this seriously in that I’m old enough to remember what happened in the 1960s when the left wing took to the streets and somehow the media glorified them and it ended up shaping policy. We can’t allow that to happen.

Such responses are one indicator of the movement’s power and mass appeal.

THE LIBERAL END OF THE CORPORATE MEDIA

Not all elites have the same way, however. The progression of *New York Times* coverage provides a different but no less impressive measure of the movement’s impact.



GB MARTIN

The first stage, “ignoring” stage lasted a little over a week, during which the *Times* printed just one short piece (buried on page 22) about the Wall Street occupation. “Laughing” came next. A Sept. 25 story in the newspaper by Gina Bellafante, entitled “Gunning for Wall Street, with Faulty Aim,” reproduced all the imagery once used by elite commentators to try to discredit 1960s social movements, arguing that OWS protesters were “clamoring for nothing in particular” and portraying them as psychological deviants.

But *Times* coverage has become somewhat more honest in recent weeks. One Oct. 8 blog post by Al Baker quoted a black college professor who noted that “the movement was gaining in diversity” and who compared OWS to the U.S. anti-slavery movement. Most surprising was an Oct. 9 editorial that derided “the chattering classes” who “keep complaining that the marchers lack a clear message and specific policy prescriptions,” saying that “the message — and the solutions — should be obvious to anyone who has been paying attention.” The editorial went on to condemn the country’s historic levels of inequality and noted that government “policy almost invariably reflects the views of upper-income Americans.”

Much press coverage continues to be dismissive and inaccurate. But there has been a substantial shift, and that shift is another

testament to the movement’s growing power.

THEY CHANNEL YOU

Shifting *Times* coverage reflects a broader trend among the more liberal sectors of the U.S. elite. President Barack Obama has said publicly that OWS “expresses the frustration the American people feel,” and many congressional Democrats have made similar statements. As a number of commentators have observed, Obama has tried to “channel” OWS grievances. Doing so may be politically risky, however, given Democrats’ allegiance to and dependence on the banks and corporations now under attack. And many OWS participants are very wary of the Democratic Party. One working-class Latina organizer in Detroit cautions that “while some elites have tried to discredit OWS, we must also be mindful of co-optation.”

The classic aphorism seems simplistic: some elites will directly fight you, but others will try to co-opt your movement. Doug McAdam, a leading scholar of the civil rights movement, observes in his classic book *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970* that while many elites view grassroots movements as threatening and thus try “to neutralize or destroy” them, others see them as “an opportunity to advance their interests and thus extend cautious support to insurgents.” The

Democrats are testing out the latter strategy. Although opportunistic, their responses are yet another sign of the movement’s influence.

YOU WIN?

There are many additional indications of the movement’s power. Solidarity occupations have now spread to more than 400 cities nationwide. And a *TIME* magazine poll in early October found that 54 percent of the public had a “favorable” view of the movement; only 23 percent had an “unfavorable” view. This sympathy toward OWS reflects widespread outrage over inequality, corporate power and the lack of a functioning democracy in the United States. In the same poll, 86 percent thought that “Wall Street and its lobbyists have too much influence in Washington,” 79 percent said that “the gap between rich and poor in the United States has grown too large,” and 68 percent said that “the rich should pay more taxes.”

There are also countless personal stories attesting to the movement’s impact. New York organizer Amanda Vodola spent 30 hours in jail along with others who were trying to close their accounts with Citibank during an Oct. 15 action. Later, she described unsanitary prison conditions and police officers who treated the prisoners more like cattle than human beings. Yet Vodola says that the experience “made me stronger and hasn’t stopped me from wanting to continue. Being in there with a group of powerful people definitely kept me going. It’s what keeps me going on a daily basis.”

The Occupy movement is still young. The deep structural injustices associated with corporate power won’t be rectified quickly; in this context, the practical meaning of “winning” is still unclear. Occupy Wall Street organizers will continue struggling to build a long-term movement that can achieve concrete policy changes while avoiding factionalism, reformism and absorption into institutionalized politics. Many organizers also cite the need to continue diversifying the movement’s demographics and to “confront the hierarchies within the 99 percent” while still maintaining movement unity. But despite the challenges ahead, the range of elite reactions, combined with the enthusiastic public response, provide some measure of the movement’s early effectiveness and are encouraging indicators of its potential.

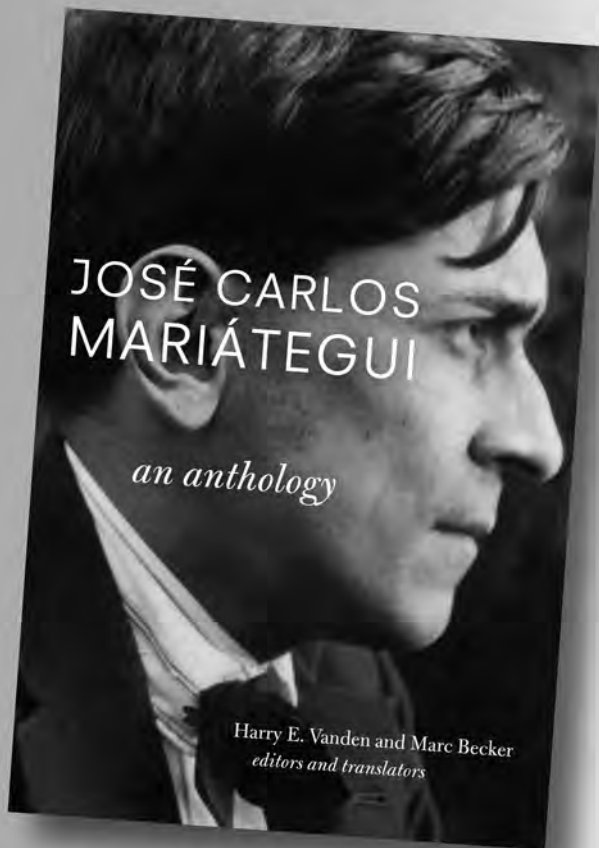
Kevin Young is a member of the Organization for a Free Society, afreesociety.org, one of the groups helping to organize the OWS movement.

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CULTURE

Chronicling NYC's Open Public Spaces

Open to the Public?
DIRECTED BY PAPER TIGER TELEVISION
DISTRIBUTED BY PAPER TIGER
TELEVISION, 2011

The legal reasoning that allows members of the Occupy Wall Street movement to lay claim to Liberty Park (or Liberty Plaza Park, as I would prefer to call it) is confusing enough to leave all but the most studied lawyers scratching their heads. In a deal with the city dating back to 1968, the park's builders agreed to make the privately owned and managed plaza open to the public 24 hours a day, in exchange for a zoning

Park in service to crass and empty commercialism at the expense of public access to the land.)

The breadth of *Open to the Public?* is impressive, and the film goes so far as to delve into the predominating psychogeography theory of the Prohibition Era that drove the design of some of New York City's great parks. While the film makes note of Jane Jacobs and Robert Moses, Paper Tiger also spends time examining the less known urbanist William H. Whyte, the author of *City: Rediscovering the Center*, who drew inspiration from Jacobs, but had a clear paternalistic streak in his desire to rid parks of so-called "undesirables." By Whyte's

admittedly lacking oversight that the NYPD is subjected to. BIDs have also redesigned public spaces to limit the use of infrastructure by the homeless, for example, altering benches to prevent people from being able to lie down on them. The French novelist and journalist Anatole France once cynically noted, "The law, in its majestic equality, forbids all men to sleep under bridges — the rich as well as the poor." But it doesn't take a tremendous logical leap to understand that bench redesigns and vagrancy laws affect those least able to defend their right to public space.

Having fended off a de facto eviction once already, the OWS



UP IN THE AIR: While the High Line aerial park (pictured above) remains in public hands, public spaces in urban settings are increasingly facing threats of privatization.

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variance that allowed them to construct a building higher than was normally allowed. In an ironic twist, the protesters have had a far easier time occupying a privately owned public space than they would have if they had tried to set up camp in a city-owned park that would be subject to the whims of Mayor Michael Bloomberg's administration.

Had the OWS movement happened a few months earlier, it would have made a great case study for the activists, organizers and academics interviewed in the short documentary film *Open to the Public?* produced by the Paper Tiger Television media collective. The continuing encroachment of private interests on public spaces is thoroughly examined in the piece, which illuminates the tangled web of parties, desires and practices that define public space and our expectations about access to it. (I, for one, burn with quiet rage at the sight of the massive Fashion Week tents erected in Bryant Square

estimation, this demographic consisted of muggers and other criminals, but also included the poor and drug-addicted. But the recurring story of public space is that of the tension between the people exercising their free will in deciding how public spaces will be used, and the state, which has often resorted to violent force to police the use of parks and other common areas.

A relatively recent development within this relationship is the rise of the management of public space by private business associations, manifested in New York City as Business Improvement Districts, or BIDs. Driven foremost by the business interests of their members, BIDs' desire for public spaces has often proven to be at odds with those of the larger public. Especially frightening are the powers granted to private security employees hired by BIDs, which at times exceed even those of the New York Police Department, with none of the

participants will likely be challenged again by police, who will either act with or without the blessing of park owner Brookfield Properties. But there is tremendous hope in the resilience the occupiers have shown, and as the group evolves, defines and redefines itself, so too will its relationship to Liberty Plaza Park. As Ethan Kent of the Project for Public Spaces says in the film, "Public spaces should never be static, should never be finished. They should be platforms on which communities continually recreate themselves and define themselves."

—RAHUL CHADHA

Open to the Public? is available to purchase, rent or watch online at blog.papertiger.org. To schedule a screening of the film, contact Paper Tiger TV at info@papertiger.org.

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KEEP IT IN THE PARK

Art Exhibit Strains to Make a Point

"NO COMMENT"
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Red and black. And gray. That's what I think of when I recall "No Comment," a hastily-assembled exhibit in the echo-y lobby of the historic JP Morgan building, just a few blocks from Liberty Park — the epicenter of the Occupy Wall Street movement. The purpose of the exhibit apparently was not to showcase media relating to the protests — there will be enough of that in the months to come. (Over at Liberty Park, it seems, every other person is holding a video camera.)

"No Comment" was something much rarer: an art show held in tandem with the protests — art as part of a movement, rather than art about a movement. Though it was only up for about a week, the show seems to have through several iterations (a new version of the exhibition may be coming to

could just as easily been taped to a sign and held aloft at a rally, but this wasn't a rally — it was an art exhibition. Just a few blocks from Liberty, removing this stuff from the throes of protest turns it into something strained and flimsy. In paintings and prints: images of starving African children, oil derricks, menacing businessmen and riot cops, defaced American flags and all that red and black; this work can feel (I won't say "oppressive") dispiritingly similar. At the same time, some of the art frustrated with its lack of discernible messages. Tunji Dada's 2001 sculpture of post-genocidal fashion dummies didn't know what to do with my attention once it had grabbed it. Anton Kandinsky's recent paintings — combining high-nationalist iconography with *trompe l'oeil* gemstones — sport a

Lubelski has been criticized for his practices as an art dealer (the organizers of "No Comment" have come under similar criticism), but his bonfire-ready piece really did channel some of the conflicted, semi-Utopian energy of the protests outside. Paintings by Artem Mirolevich and others, in which melancholy scrawls and whorls coalesce into animalistic figurations lack direct polemical symbolism, but feel instead like evocative gestures (little dances, maybe) in the face of a failing world.

At a show organized around an activist happening, it makes sense that one of the best pieces would have also emerged out of an activist happening: in Los Angeles several human rights groups occupied an abandoned house and asked people to contribute their thoughts on "home." The simple photos



NOCOMMENTART/FLICKR

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the Chelsea Art Museum). When I went on Oct. 13, I had to pick up a few paintings off the floor, and people were still installing their work for that night's closing party. The show was being set up to be taken down.

There are, of course, reasons protest movements don't usually spawn concurrent gallery exhibitions. For people who are big fans of both things — people like me — it always seems that art and activism should be kindred pursuits. And it's always vexing when the two prove somewhat incompatible. It's sad, but the slow-burning contemplation that defines so much good art often doesn't mesh with the street-level immediacy that is necessary for effective protest. In the case of "No Comment," there was a lot of work that

winning pictorial audacity, but the politics are muddy.

The most effective work showed a more subtle solidarity with the movement at large, seeking out the spiritual and personal territory amidst the oil fields and broken banks. Several works included landscapes in disarray; one memorable painting shows a hellish Boschian orgy — a sort of right-wing fever-dream given strange life. Michael Greathouse's digital collages reconfigure American money into Baphomet-like evil oracles — the sinister dimensions of wealth, felt at some level by folks across the political spectrum. Abraham Lubelski's *250,000 works on paper* (1991-ongoing) was presented here as a mass of simple, harsh little abstractions, free for the taking, packed into a trash can —

(cats and kids and pepper plants) and handwritten notes ("where you feel safe, snuggle under quilts reading a book") highlight why Occupy Wall Street has generated so much worldwide support: more than any one ideology or ideal, the protesters are struggling for the basics — a sustainable economy, a chance to live a decent life. After all, what happens when there aren't enough jobs, when people can't afford their homes, when people don't have even the basic resources to make art or act up? No comment.

—MIKE NEWTON

For updates on future "No Comment" exhibitions, visit nocommentartshow.com.

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THU NOV 3

5-7pm • Free
DISCUSSION: MALCOLM X IN FRANCE, 1964-1965: COLD WAR INTERNATIONALISM AND THE POLITICS OF BORDER CONTROL. Harvard Professor Moshik Temkin, a specialist in modern trans-Atlantic history, discusses the global context of Malcolm X's politics through the lens of his visit to France. 70 Washington Square South, 10th Fl 212-998-2630 • library.nyu.edu/tamiment

FRI NOV 4

9am-5:10pm • Free
SYMPOSIUM: JUSTICE IN TRANSITION: SERVING THE TRANSGENDER COMMUNITY IN LAW AND PRACTICE. NYU OUTLaw invites you to participate in this all-day event that will explore the legal and social challenges facing transgender people, with a special focus on the intersections of transgender identity with race, class, disability and age. Greenberg Lounge, Vanderbilt Hall 40 Washington Square South nyulaw.imodules.com/justiceintransition

4-6pm • Free

DISCUSSION: *WE ARE AMERICANS: RETHINKING THE ORIGINS OF BLACK POLITICS IN ANTEBELLUM AMERICA.* Author and professor Van Gosse discusses his upcoming book examining the roots of modern black politics. 758 Schermerhorn Ext 120th St & Amsterdam Ave 212-854-7080 • iras.com

1-2pm • Free

TEACH-IN: NEITHER REFORM NOR REVOLUTION, A NEW STRATEGY FOR THE LEFT. Gar Alperovitz, the author of *America Beyond Capitalism* will discuss the emerging resistance movements against austerity and autocracy and how they can transform society. Zuccotti Park, Liberty St & Broadway nycga.net

SAT NOV 5

All Day • Free

PROTEST: NATIONAL BANK TRANSFER DAY. This massive divestment campaign invites consumers to withdraw their money out of commercial banks and place it in non-profit credit unions. info@banktransferday.org facebook.com/Nov.Fifth

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12-4pm • Free

CONFERENCE: PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY, COUNTER G-20 CONFERENCE. While the G-20 summit in France develops new ways to shore up a failing economic system, this counter-summit sponsored by the Bail out the People Movement will examine the struggle for social and economic justice from local, national and international perspectives. Discussion will also focus on supporting the Occupy Wall Street movement and fighting police brutality. Hostos Community College, Savoy Manor E 149th St & Walton Ave, Bronx 212-633-6646 • bailoutpeople.org

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PROTEST: HENRY KISSINGER. Come protest Henry Kissinger's war crimes and human rights violations outside of an event sponsored by The New York Historical Society to honor Kissinger. Organized by War Criminals Watch and the East Timor and Indonesia Action Network. The Waldorf Astoria, 301 Park Ave

866-973-4463 • etan.org

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6:30-9pm • Free w/ RSVP
TRAINING: KNOW YOUR RIGHTS. Practical information and training on your rights when dealing with the police and how to exercise them safely. 105 E 22nd St, Room 4A info@peoplesjustice.org • peoplesjustice.org

7-9pm • Free w/ RSVP

READING: *WALKING WITH THE COMRADES.* Arundhati Roy reads from her new book, a story of Maoist guerillas in India fighting corporations and the government. Proshansky Auditorium CUNY Graduate Center, 365 Fifth Ave gc.cuny.edu

FRI NOV 11

7-10pm • \$8
READING: "DRINKING AND DRIVING IN URUMQI." In this new essay, Andrew Dementre recounts a night on the town with Uyghur minority members of the PLA (Peoples Liberation Army) and the CPC (Communist Party of China). Nuyorican Poets Cafe, 236 E 3rd St 212-780-9386 • nuyorican.org

SAT NOV 12

4-7pm • \$10-\$100
FUNDRAISER: SAVE ETHNIC STUDIES. Join Save Ethnic Studies for a screening of *Precious Knowledge*, a documentary chronicling the efforts of students and teachers in Tucson High School's Mexican-American Studies Program to keep ethnic studies legal in Arizona. Question and answer session to follow. Schomburg Center, 515 Malcolm X Blvd saveethnicstudiesnyc@gmail.com • schomburgcenter.org

SUN NOV 13

5pm • Free
DISCUSSION: ROBERT SCHEER AND MR. FISH. Editorial cartoonist Mr. Fish and Truthdig editor Robert Scheer discuss their work and the contemporary state of world politics. Revolution Books, 146 W 26th St 212-691-3345 • revolutionbooksnyc.org

UPCOMING EVENTS

WED NOV 2 • 7:30pm

PANEL DISCUSSION: THE BEACH BENEATH STREET(S): THE SITUATIONISTS, STREET ACTIVISM, AND PUBLIC SPACE. Benjamin Shepard and Gregory Smithsimon, the co-authors of *The Beach Beneath the Streets: Contesting New York City's Public Spaces*, and McKenzie Wark, the author of *The Beach Beneath the Street: The Everyday Life and Glorious Times of the Situationist International*, will discuss the ongoing struggle to transform public space. Sliding Scale: \$6/\$10/\$15

WED NOV • 5:30-7:30pm

CLASS: ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES TO THE HOUSING PROBLEM: SOCIALIST, SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC, AND CAPITALIST. This four-session class led by Tom Angotti and Peter Marcusse will explore different perspectives on the housing problem. Sliding Scale: \$45/\$65

SAT NOV 5 • 4 pm

PANEL DISCUSSION: TO THE RIGHT MARCH — THE TEA PARTY IN AMERICA. Chip Berlet, Laura Flanders, Lauren Langman and Michael Thompson will examine the roots of the Tea Party as a right-wing "movement." Sliding Scale: \$6/\$10/\$15

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MON NOV 14

6:30pm • Free
LECTURE: POWER OF PERFORMANCE, THEATER IN WAR ZONES. Combining footage of Bond Street Theater's work in war zones around the world, this discussion focuses on the use of performing arts, especially theater-based projects, as a tool for education, healing and humanitarian outreach. The New School, Wollman Hall Eugene Lang Building, 65 W 11th St newschool.edu/tcds

NOV 25

6pm • \$35

SCREENING: OPENING NIGHT AFRICAN DIASPORA INTERNATIONAL FILM FESTIVAL. The opening night of this two-week festival features two films by director Menelik Shabazz. Discussion and catered food to follow. 212-864-1760 • nyadiff.org

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