

#211: DECEMBER 2015

THE INDYPENDER

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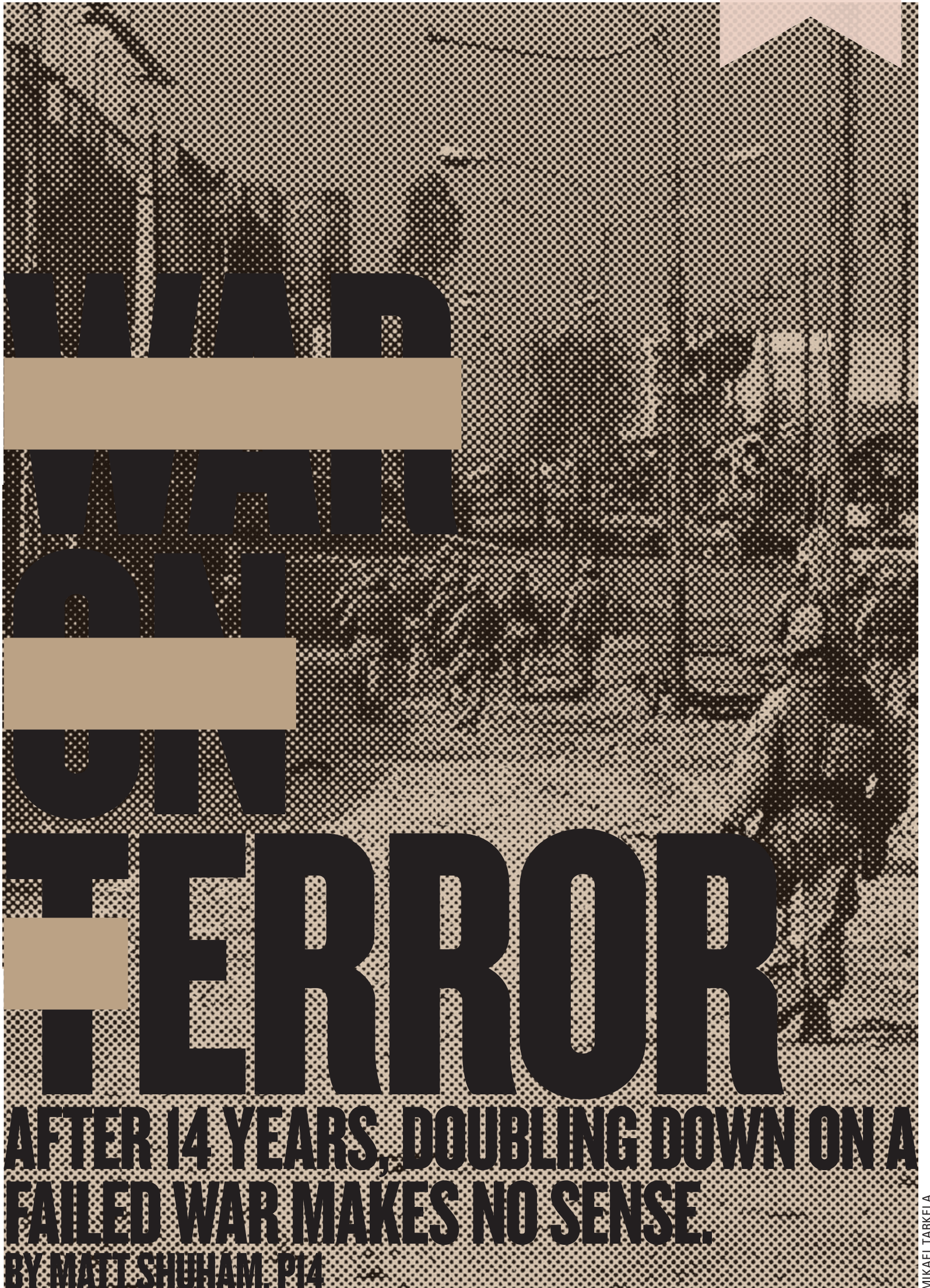
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AFTER 14 YEARS, DOUBLING DOWN ON A FAILED WAR MAKES NO SENSE.

BY MATT SHUHAM, P14

MIKAEL TARKELA

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EDITOR'S NOTE

AND THE NEW 'NEW MEDIA' IS ... PRINT?

The Indypendent began publishing 15 years ago in the early days of the Internet. We have watched the digital tide sweep through the economy and remake whole institutions, including journalism. More legacy print publications have vanished than we can count.

During this time this newspaper has managed to survive, often to the astonishment of our supporters. It is incontestable that every day more people are online doing more things with their digital devices. Based on this, media gurus have been prognosticating print's inevitable doom for the past decade. From our experience of watching new issues of the Indy get snapped up month after month, year after year, we came to another conclusion: A lot of people still like to read print.

Why is that? Take your pick. Because print is unique. Because it's tactile and highly portable. Because it doesn't require you to stare at a screen. You can flip back and forth between the articles, write on the pages, tear out a favorite article and post it on the fridge or pass it around from one friend to the next.

But still, we have been reminded over and over again that print has no future. So imagine my surprise when I recently came across a story on the Columbia Journalism Review (CJR) website hailing print as the new 'new media.'

Say what?

CJR is published by the nation's preeminent school of journalism. It is a respected arbiter of trends and tastes in the journalism industry. And now in relation to print, words like "innovative," "artful," "perspective-altering" and "faithful spouse" were being bandied about in its pages.

"For years, the new media vanguard has preached 'digital first' and the death knell has sounded again and again for print," the CJR article intones. "Now, 20 years into the digital revolution, print is making something of a comeback."

In fact, we are told there's a man in Mississippi who tracks the dozens of new print publications being started every month on his website.

Somehow the Indy had fallen so far behind the times it ended up ahead of the curve.

The CJR article noted that daily newspapers — unable to keep up with the speed of the Internet and watching their revenues be eviscerated by online competitors — still face a grim future. But for print publications that have a passionate community of readers, the future is brighter.

We've known that for a long time too. It's our reader support that has always carried us through. We do a single fund drive at the end of each year. The money we raise at this time is crucial to our ability to continue publishing in the coming year. In a sense it's an annual referendum on how much our readers value the work we do. It's one we have to pass at the end of each year to continue into the next year with the resources we need.

I encourage you to check out our back-page fund appeal and the premiums we are offering and respond generously. It may sound like a cliché, but your support really does make all the difference, whether you make a one-time gift or sign up to become a monthly sustainer. It makes possible the on-the-ground coverage of social movements, the incisive, hard-hitting analysis of the most important issues of the day and the beautiful artwork and photography you will find in the following pages.

If you are giving once again this year, thank you for your stellar support. If you have enjoyed reading the paper but have not previously given, why not make this the year you join our growing community of reader-supporters?

We look forward to doing more great work in 2016, but first we need to hear from you.

— John Tarleton

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THE INDYPENDENT

WHO CAN AFFORD 'AFFORDABLE' HOUSING?

ZONING TWEAKS DRAW WIDESPREAD OPPOSITION

BY STEVEN WISHNIA

Mayor Bill de Blasio says he has proposed “the largest affordable housing plan in the history of this city or any other city,” but it is drawing increasing opposition around the city.

The plan promises 80,000 new “affordable” apartments. To do this, it relies largely on adjusting city zoning regulations through “mandatory inclusionary housing” and “zoning for quality and affordability”: letting developers build more market-rate housing in slightly taller buildings while requiring that 25 to 30 percent of the units built be rented out at lower costs. More than two-thirds of the city’s 59 community boards have recommended rejecting it, with some saying they would accept it if the amount of housing produced for people who make under \$40,000 a year was significantly increased. Bronx Borough President Ruben Diaz called the plan “unacceptable,” and City Comptroller Scott Stringer weighed in against it on Dec. 2. Grassroots groups in East Harlem, East New York, and the Bronx have been organizing against it for several months.

The biggest criticism voiced is that most of the housing built wouldn’t actually be affordable. In the southwestern Bronx, the housing planned for the neighborhoods along the 4 train line on Jerome Avenue will be intended for “moderate income” people who make around \$69,000 a year, says Joseph Cepeda of Community Action for Safe Apartments, but most current residents make between \$8,000 and \$32,000.

“You’re excluding this whole portion of the community,” he says. “You’re saying all the key words — ‘affordable housing’ — but you’re not giving us any substance.”

Opponents have also said that relying on the construction of luxury housing to create affordable housing will displace more people than it helps; that the plan is a “one size fits all” approach that is being rushed through without adequately considering the characteristics of individual neighborhoods; and that developers building the affordable units will not be required to use union labor.

The community boards’ role is advisory; the City Council will vote on the final version of the plan next year. But the level of opposition has vexed and perplexed the de Blasio administration, which argues that its inclusionary-zoning program “would be the most rigorous in any major U.S. city.” Unlike similar programs in Boston, Chicago, and Seattle, it says, developers will be required to include below-market housing. Unlike those in Denver and Los Angeles, that housing would be permanently affordable. And the amount reserved as “affordable” is by far the highest: 25-30 percent, with San Francisco sec-

ond at 12-20 percent, L.A. requiring 15 percent, and Washington 8-10 percent.

The plan’s opponents are being impractical, says a spokesperson for the Department of City Planning. Requiring developers to include a higher proportion of below-market units or apartments that rent for less than \$1,000 a month would not be financially feasible: They simply wouldn’t build anything, and 25-30 percent of something is better than 50 percent of nothing. Leveraging private investment to create moderate-income housing will free public funds for low-income housing, she adds.

The administration and the plan’s opponents, however, are using different definitions of “affordable.” The official definition is based on percentages of “area median income” for New York City and the three counties in its northern suburbs: 60 percent of AMI is considered “low income.” But as the median income for the city, about \$53,000 a year for a family of three, is roughly two-thirds of the metropolitan AMI, nearly half of city residents would count as “low income.”

In East New York, where most people make less than 40 percent of AMI, 84 percent of the residents “will be unable to afford the market-rate units proposed under the rezoning, and 55 percent will be unable to afford the affordable units,” Comptroller Stringer said in a report issued Dec. 2. With nearly 50,000 people in the area living in buildings too small to be rent-regulated, “the introduction of thousands of new higher-income residents” would threaten to displace them by pushing rents upward.

The administration disagrees. Gentrification is already happening, and if no new housing is built, even more people will be displaced, says the DCP spokesperson. The administration has also earmarked funds to provide legal aid to tenants threatened with eviction, she adds, and while its zoning plans allow taller buildings along major streets like Atlantic Avenue in East New York, they discourage tearing down smaller residences on side streets.

“We are going to balance the market dynamics,” de Blasio said at a Dec. 10 press conference.

Displacement will be “the damaging part” of the plan, responds John Medina of Community Voices Heard in East Harlem. If new housing is built that’s more than two-thirds luxury, he contends, landlords in the neighborhood will see that they can get higher rents and escalate efforts to oust current tenants. “Housing Court is going to have lines around it for days,” he says.

CVH, along with other groups like the Movement for Justice in El Barrio and CASA in the Bronx, has been organizing around the plan since last winter, holding forums, meeting with community residents and businesspeople, and trying to develop alternative ideas. In East Harlem, CVH, Community Board 11, Coun-

cil Speaker Melissa Mark-Viverito, Manhattan Borough President Gale Brewer, and various labor unions and community groups are preparing a plan to present to DCP early next year.

Alternatives proposed include basing the rents for affordable housing on income levels in community districts, espoused by Stringer and Manhattan Community Board 12 in Washington Heights/Inwood. (DCP says there would be legal problems with not having a single citywide standard.) CASA wants the construction jobs to be union, with apprenticeships to get neighborhood residents into the building trades. Stringer wants clear anti-displacement measures.

The Association for Neighborhood Housing Development has urged that the program be revised to give neighborhoods a “deep affordability” option, in which 30 percent of the units built would be reserved for households that make less than 30 percent of AMI; these would rent for about \$625 a month or less. “More than 25 percent of New York City households make less than \$25,000 annually,” it notes. Another possibility would be requiring all housing built under the program to include at least 15 percent apartments for that income level.

Why has this plan, which critics agree at least makes an effort to provide a significant amount of affordable housing, drawn more opposition than former mayor Michael Bloomberg’s blatantly gentrifying rezoning schemes?

“Bloomberg got away with this, but people are waking up,” says Joseph Cepeda. “We’ve already seen it happen, so we mobilized in advance.” The public is better informed now, adds John Medina: “With more transparency and a so-called progressive administration, people are going to hold elected officials accountable. They’re going to exercise their right to say no.”

Of the 80,000 new “affordable” apartments promised, only 16,000 are slated for people who make less than \$35,000 a year. That’s four times as many as the Bloomberg administration built in 12 years, but well below the 60,000 homeless people or the more than 270,000 on the waiting list for public housing in the city.

“Unfortunately, the de Blasio Administration’s current MIH proposal misses the opportunity to create the guaranteed, truly affordable housing that many neighborhoods are demanding,” Association for Neighborhood Housing Development said in November. The proposal, it added, primarily targets people who make more than \$50,000, “leaving out the more than 40 percent of New Yorkers that earn below these levels.”



JINSHI WANG/STILLS



JILL DOWLING

SIGN OF THE TIMES:

Hundreds of Bronx residents turned out during a blizzard last March for a forum organized by Community Action for Safe Apartments (CASA). Opposition was running high to a proposal by the de Blasio administration to rezone a 73-square block swath of land just north of Yankee Stadium.

SPEAKING OUT:

Members of Movement for Justice in El Barrio protest at a November meeting of Community Board 11 in East Harlem. The protesters called on CB 11 to vote against the de Blasio administration’s plan to rezone their neighborhood.

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CROOKED: Former NY State Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver.

WHILE SILVER LINED HIS POCKETS, TENANTS LOST OUT

BY STEVEN WISHNIA

In the summer of 1997, my then-girlfriend moved into a studio apartment in Williamsburg, a few blocks from the Lorimer Street stop on the L line. The rent was \$600 a month.

She was one of the last New Yorkers to rent an apartment before the deceptively-named Rent Regulation Reform Act of 1997 went into effect. For both good and bad, that law is the biggest legacy former Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver — expelled from the Legislature after being convicted on federal corruption charges November 30 — left to people trying to live in the city and its inner suburbs.

Silver, who had represented the southern Lower East Side since 1976 and became speaker in 1994, did prevent the legislation from being worse. The state Senate's majority leader, Joseph Bruno, advocated completely abolishing rent controls, and the governor, George Pataki, backed deregulating all vacant apartments. But the compromises Silver accepted to prevent the laws from expiring — deregulating vacant apartments that rented for \$2,000 or more, an automatic 20 percent rent increase on vacant apartments that also made it much easier for landlords to get away with illegal increases — blew a hole in the levee protecting tenants from rent-gouging and arbitrary evictions.

That irrevocably changed the city's housing market. It paved the way for rents of \$1,500 in Brownsville and \$5,500 in the East Village, the economic-ethnic cleansing of black and Latino neighborhoods and a city with 60,000 homeless, where most people under 30 will never have the security of living in an apartment where rent increases are limited and they can't be evicted without a legal cause.

Silver was a flawed bulwark for tenants during his tenure as Speaker. The Assembly repeatedly passed "one-house bills" to repeal vacancy decontrol, close loopholes used for rent increases and curb landlord fraud, but was consistently thwarted by the Senate's Republican majority — or, in 2009 and 2013, when Senate Democrats backed by the real-estate lobby switched party allegiance. In 2003, Silver got rolled by the Senate, which renewed a slightly

weakened version of the rent-regulation laws late at night and then adjourned. In 2011, Governor Andrew Cuomo would not support more than token improvements.

Would Silver have been a more adamant advocate if he hadn't been so corrupt? The lobbyist who set him up with luxury-housing developer Glenwood Management, part of the network that got him \$700,000 in kickbacks, testified that Glenwood was "satisfied" with the 2011 rent laws, which also renewed the 421-a tax break for housing construction. Silver stealthily pushed through the 2013 bill that gave 421-a exemptions to five luxury buildings in Manhattan that shouldn't have been eligible — including the \$100 million penthouse on 57th Street.

Sheldon Silver was far from unique. Senate Majority Leader Dean Skelos is currently on trial on federal corruption charges. The list of recently convicted state senators includes second-ranking Republican Thomas Libous, former Housing Committee chair Vincent Leibell and turncoat Democrats Pedro Espada, Hiram Monserrate and Malcolm Smith. Bronx Democrat Nelson Castro evaded jail time by wearing a wire for most of his four years in the Assembly, and ensnared his colleague Eric Stevenson.

Much of New York State's corruption is completely legal. A loophole in campaign-finance law lets limited-liability corporations donate \$150,000 a year, the maximum individuals are allowed. As landlords commonly set up separate LLCs for buildings they own, this enables the real-estate industry to give politicians far more than any other special interest — with Glenwood's billionaire owner, Leonard Litwin, the most prolific.

Money from Glenwood was the common thread between the trials of Silver and Skelos, two of the three most powerful figures in state politics before their indictments. The third has received more than \$1 million from the company since he was elected in 2010, but so far remains unscathed: Governor Andrew Cuomo.

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READY FOR RENEWABLES

BY PETER RUGH

“It’s like the Yankees are coming to Buffalo.” That’s how Alain Kaloyeros, an advisor to New York Governor Andrew Cuomo and president of the SUNY Polytechnic Institute, described the magnitude of a \$750 million state investment in a solar panel factory for the economically-depressed upstate city. The plan, which promises to create approximately 5,000 jobs, might appear to herald a transition toward a greener energy future, but coinciding as it does with continuing state bailouts for coal and nuclear plants, New York appears to be following the advice of one late Yankee in particular: Yogi Berra, who once quipped, “When you come to a fork in the road, take it.”

Environmentalists in New York State have won two major advocacy battles within the last year and, together with an announcement from the Cuomo administration of reforms that would put New York on track to rival California in carbon reduction targets, the future of fossil fuels in the state has begun to look a bit more precarious. But despite continued optimism, activists say the fight isn’t over.

When, in December 2014, Cuomo announced a statewide ban on hydraulic fracturing, it brought to fruition a years-long grassroots campaign involving tens of thousands of people who rallied against the natural gas extraction process and the well-funded lobbying effort behind it. Then, last month, Cuomo vetoed the proposed Port Ambrose liquified natural gas (LNG) import facility off Long Island’s south shore. It emerged as a major flashpoint for activists who, since the fracking ban, shifted their energy to oppose the outgrowth of gas infrastructure in New York.

“The local community in Long Island stood up and made their feelings clear that they weren’t going to let this be built,” said Patrick Robbins of Sane Energy Project, which helped coordinate opposition to the import facility. “We communicated with the coastal communities along the South Shore up and down the shore, fisherman, unions, small businesses, a couple of large businesses — a wide range of actors. That’s why we did eventually see the governor come down the way he did on that issue.”

Now, Sane Energy and other environmental groups are looking to take the lessons they learned opposing fossil fuel development toward building environmentally sound energy alternatives.

“We know how to stop bad projects,” said Mark Dunlea of the Green Education and Legal Fund. “You just do nothing else with your life for the next five or six years. If you keep up that level of fanaticism you win. But if you don’t put anything good in its place than you are just playing whack-a-mole.”

In the case of Port Ambrose, activists killed two birds with one stone. By defeating the LNG terminal, they were able to free up space for a proposed wind farm slated to be built in the same area, 19 miles offshore. The 350-megawatt facility could generate enough electricity to power 250,000 homes, according to a 2009 feasibility study conducted by Consolidated Edison and the Long Island Power Authority, and would displace 400,000 tons of carbon annually, the equivalent of removing 68,000 cars from local roads. The plant could generate twice as much electricity with upgraded transmission lines.

A separate 2014 study from the Energy Policy Institute at Stony Brook University notes that New York has the potential to generate 38,971-megawatts of electricity offshore. For each megawatt generated, offshore wind creates between seven and 42 jobs along with it.

Yet, despite activist gains toward realizing the existing potential of renewable energy, fossil fuels remain an entrenched part of New York’s energy system.

“We need to make [renewable] pathways emerge,” said Kim Fraczek, who is also with Sane Energy. “Our system isn’t designed right now to start building a just transition to renewable energy. We need everyone to start getting involved. Because if we don’t, they’re just going to tell us with glossy brochures and a fancy website that they care about the environment while they are making concessions for nuclear, gas and coal.”

Last year the state’s Public Service Commission (PSC), under Cuomo’s direction, launched an initiative titled “Reforming the

Energy Vision” (REV), to reduce the state’s carbon output by 40 percent from 1990 levels by 2030 and to transition to a 50 percent renewable energy diet. Whether or not REV’s targets are reasonable in the face of the threat posed by climate change is a matter of debate among environmentalists. But activists hoping to influence the REV process face the challenge of confronting high-level state bureaucrats and corporate lobbyists on the less-than-accessible terrain where key planning decisions are made.

“There’s a force field of boredom surrounding the utilities” that wards off public engagement, said Robbins. “They’ve been able to operate without scrutiny for some time simply because utility issues can be really wonky, really technical.”

In a December 2 letter to Audrey Zibelman, who leads the New York Department of Public Service, Cuomo directed her to present new clean energy standards to the PSC by the end of June 2016. However, in doing so, Cuomo told Zibelman to “ensure emissions-free sources of electricity remain operational,” in particular, upstate nuclear power plants.

Nuclear power is emission-free only insofar as the carbon intensive uranium extraction and enrichment processes are not taken into account. It is also a far cry from renewable energy sources like wind and solar, since the byproduct of nuclear fission, spent fuel, lingers for tens of thousands of years, is highly toxic and safe, long-term storage methods for housing the waste have yet to be widely implemented.

Cuomo has fought hard to keep two nuclear plants on the shores of Lake Ontario running as continued sources of jobs for the economically struggling region, even as operators of the facilities have sought to shut them down for lack of profit. In a deal struck in October between the Cuomo administration and Exelon, electric customers in Rochester will pay \$15.4 million per month to keep Exelon’s R.E. Ginna nuclear facility operating through March 2017, preserving about 700 jobs. Given Cuomo’s letter to Zibelman, subsidies to Exelon could continue well into the next decade with terms perpetually up for renegotiation.

The governor has made overtures of a similar deal to Entergy to keep its James A. FitzPatrick plant near Syracuse running. Despite his pleas, however, the company continues to insist it plans on shutting the facility down by 2017, citing an annual loss of \$60 million due to a glut of cheap gas and oil on the market from fracking.

Meanwhile, four massive coal-fired power plants account for 13 percent of the state’s electrical emissions, and have also benefited from hundreds of millions of dollars in state subsidies.

The Cuomo administration’s willingness to prop up polluting energy sources stands in marked contrast to its unwillingness to make longterm commitments to growing renewables. The governor appointed Richard Kauffman, an ex-Goldman Sachs partner and advisor to former Energy Secretary Steven Chu, to chair the state’s Energy and Finance Department. Effectively Cuomo’s energy czar, Kauffman oversees the New York Department of Public Service, the New York Power Authority (NYPA), the Long Island Power Authority and the New York State Energy Research and Development Authority, and is charged with meeting the carbon cutting and renewable targets outlined in REV.

In a November interview with *Vox*, Kauffman acknowledged that NYPA, the largest state public power organization in the nation, wouldn’t agree to purchase renewable energy in advance.

“The wind industry ... would like to know that we’re going to have a certain amount of dollars dedicated to wind every year — X amount of dollars or X amount of megawatts,” said Kauffman. “[T]hat’s not really the way we want to do it.”

“THERE’S A FORCE FIELD OF BOREDOM AROUND UTILITIES,” ONE ADVOCATE SAID. “THEY’VE BEEN ABLE TO OPERATE WITHOUT SCRUTINY FOR SOME TIME.”



Instead, Kauffman says, he plans to “layer in the renewable resources with the rest of the systems.”

A bolder approach can be found in a 2013 study led by Mark Z. Jacobson, a professor in the Department of Civil and Environmental Engineering at Stanford University. Jacobson found that New York has the technological capability and the natural resources to power its entire electrical grid on renewable energy by 2030. The plan requires significant capital investment in infrastructure up front, but produces savings of \$33 billion annually to New York’s economy (or about 3 percent of the state’s GDP) by removing the social costs of fossil fuel pollution: “mortality, morbidity, lost productivity, and visibility,” as Jacobson puts it.

His plan also envisions cutting \$3.3 billion per year from costs relating to climate change in the United States, such as storm damage and soil erosion. Under the Jacobson plan, transitioning off fossil fuels would result in an estimated 4.5 million jobs, 58,000 of them permanent positions. These figures dwarf the number of people — approximately 2,000 — employed in New York’s bailed-out coal and nuclear plants.

Bills introduced this year in the State Assembly and Senate would implement the Jacobson plan.

Having the technological capacity to make a switch to renewable energy is one thing, Patrick Robbins cautions, but we have to be mindful about how it is deployed.

Under Kauffman’s plan the PSC will create renewable energy markets that will be managed by utility companies. Utilities have traditionally collected profits by purchasing and then selling electricity to consumers. But average usage is down, thanks in part to conservation campaigns like New York City’s One City plan, as well the gradual proliferation of localized renewable power like rooftop solar panels.

Peak usage has increased on the hottest days of the year and during events like the Super Bowl, but the inconsistency between average and peak usage means that more electricity is being generated on the grid than is typically consumed. As a result utilities are hemorrhaging money and customers are paying inflated rates. Allowing utilities to manage renewable markets gives them skin in the game.

“You could argue that REV is a bailout

of the utility companies,” Dunlea speculated. “In this new world of smaller, decentralized energy sources they are not making money. So it becomes a matter of how do you give utilities more of a slice of the pie so that they are less resistant.”

Widespread community choice aggregation (CCA) would do away with utilities altogether, by allowing municipalities to purchase electricity directly from suppliers. Communities could democratically decide what forms of energy they want powering their homes rather than relying on utility companies to make that decision for them. A CCA pilot program was launched recently in Westchester County.

“We have an opportunity to have a just energy system, one that doesn’t price gouge the most vulnerable residents of New York State,” said Robbins, calling it “an opportunity to generate locally controlled, locally owned energy.”

Sane Energy, together with environmental groups statewide, formed the Energy Democracy Alliance in April. Their purpose, as outlined in their mission statement: to advance “a just and participatory transition to a resilient, localized, and democratically controlled clean energy economy in New York State.”

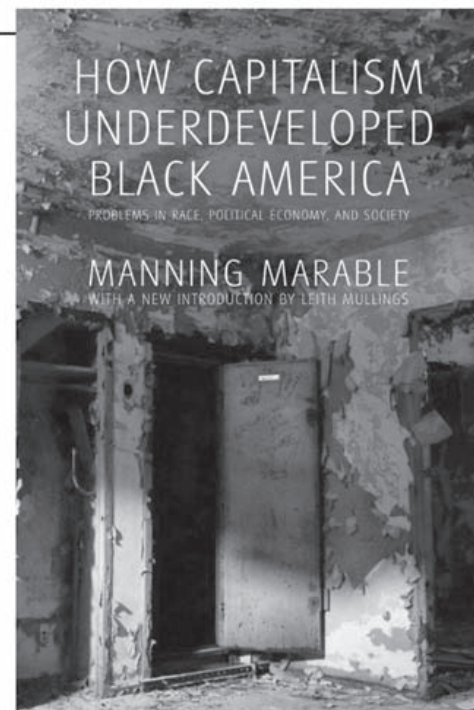
When this reporter spoke with Robbins and Fraczek, they were preparing for an upcoming PSC commissioners meeting in New York City on December 17 that, by coincidence, coincides with the one-year anniversary of Cuomo’s announcement of the fracking ban. The public isn’t permitted to testify at PSC meetings, but as *The Independent* went to press, a large contingent of activists was planning on attending anyway, so that, as Fraczek put it, “they know we are paying attention.”

In the battle against fracking, the governor’s annual State of the State address in Albany became a focal point for environmentalists across New York demanding a ban on the controversial drilling practice. Over 80 labor, faith, community and environmental organizations, calling for the state go 100 percent carbon free by 2030, once again plan to descend on the capital on January 13, this time calling on Cuomo to take decisive action to revolutionize New York’s power system.

HOW CAPITALISM UNDERDEVELOPED BLACK AMERICA

PROBLEMS IN RACE, POLITICAL
ECONOMY, AND SOCIETY

MANNING MARABLE
WITH A NEW INTRODUCTION
BY LEITH MULLINGS



“*How Capitalism Underdeveloped Black America* is one of those paradigm-shifting, life-changing texts that has not lost its currency or relevance—even after three decades. Its provocative treatise on the ravages of late capitalism, state violence, incarceration, and patriarchy on the life chances and struggles of Black working-class men and women shaped an entire generation, directing our energies to the terrain of the prison-industrial complex, antiracist work, labor organizing, alternatives to racial capitalism, and challenging patriarchy—personally and politically.”

—Robin D. G. Kelley, author of *Freedom Dreams: The Black Radical Imagination*

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BITING THE HANDS THAT FEED

MORE THAN 60,000 IMMIGRANT WORKERS HAVE HELPED MAKE NEW YORK AN AGRICULTURAL POWERHOUSE. HOW THEY ARE TREATED IS APPALLING.

BY LEANNE TORY-MURPHY

Maria is a farmworker who lives in a small town west of Syracuse. In the 12 years since arriving in New York, she has married, started a family and become accustomed to the four seasons of her adopted home and its long bleak winters. One day last January her husband, who is undocumented, went to do his laundry and never came home.

While waiting in his car outside the laundromat and downloading some games onto a tablet he had purchased for his 4-year-old son, Maria's husband was approached by local police. They quickly called in the Border Patrol, which detained him on the spot. After being held in various immigrant detention centers for 10 months, he was deported to Mexico, returning to his home state of Chiapas. Maria finds herself struggling to work and raise their son as a single mom. Sometimes he gets angry and refuses to talk with his father on the phone.

"I always have to remind him," she says, "it's not dad's fault."

The clear lakes and verdant fields of far upstate New York are not what immediately come to mind when people in the United States think of the "border." Nonetheless, more than 60,000 immigrant workers like Maria who hail from Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean have migrated to the region to work in its booming agricultural sector. They toil for long hours and low pay in local orchards, produce packing facilities, industrial-scale dairy farms and other low-wage industries. Yet, these immigrants' overriding concern is with the Border Patrol and its local law enforcement partners. Their smothering presence has left them fearful and uncertain about whether they will vanish from one day to the next into the federal government's vast machinery of immigrant detention and deportation. A farmworker who was detained after working in the United States for nine years recounts a common attitude among immigrants in the region: "One has to accept that this reality is reality, the reality of one who comes to live here."

New York, of course, is a border state with Canada, and anyone who has traveled to Montreal has passed through the orderly checkpoints on the Thruway. However, Border Patrol's jurisdiction goes much further, 100 miles into the interior from any U.S. land or coastal border. That's how they got Maria's husband. The town they live in is just south of the shores of Lake Ontario, where the international border cuts neatly through the lake. According to the American Civil Liberties Union, the area of Border Patrol's jurisdiction includes almost two-thirds of the U.S. population within it — about 200 million people.

THE 9/11 EFFECT

The Border Patrol's stated mission is to safeguard America's borders. It has been redefined in recent years to include "preventing terrorists and terrorists' weapons, including weapons of mass destruction, from entering the United States," according to the agency's website. In the years following the 9/11 attacks, the number of Border Patrol agents along the northern border has increased from 340 agents in 2001 to 2,094 agents in 2014. Two hundred and eighty-eight of these agents were primarily stationed in New York in 2014, up from 37 in 2001.

John Ghertner, a retired physician and activist who lives

***BECAUSE OF SAFETY CONCERNS, THE NAMES OF ALL IMMIGRANTS IN THIS STORY HAVE BEEN CHANGED.**

in Sodus, the heart of the state's apple industry, describes the huge increase of Border Patrol activity after 9/11. "Back then it was Gestapo tactics. Border Patrol was invading the village of Sodus every Sunday morning, picking people up on their way to church. They were actually picking up busloads of people at the time."

In the post-9/11 climate of fear and increased funding for immigration enforcement, once-sleepy border towns became sites of mass detentions. Ghertner believes that immigration enforcement focused its efforts in towns like Sodus because of the sheer quantity of farmworkers. By some estimates, 8,000 of them worked the county's apple crop alone. "It was like going fishing," says Ghertner. There was such a large increase in Border Patrol agents and "they had to have a place to do their job."

Ghertner and others decided to organize to get Border Patrol out of their community. Called Church Watch, a group of about 20 community members, including the mayor and local Congressman Dan Maffei, would stand across the street from the Catholic church every Sunday morning to bear witness to what was happening. Their efforts didn't stop there. A motivated group of community volunteers started following Border Patrol agents everywhere they went, filming and photographing them. The Border Patrol was averse to bad publicity, Ghertner recalls, and the documentation of their activities along with national and international media exposure forced them to assume a much lower profile.

Although the earlier era of mass raids has ended, Border Patrol has found other, less conspicuous ways to target undocumented immigrants. In addition to manning the points of exit and entry to Canada, Border Patrol agents in New York also set up interior checkpoints, are called in to "interpret" for local police and board Amtrak trains and Greyhound buses that pass through the region, even on purely domestic routes.

In November 2011, the New York Civil Liberties Union, along with the Immigrant Rights Clinic at New York University and Families for Freedom, an immigrant rights organization, produced a report called "Justice Derailed" that examined Border Patrol's transportation raids in NY. Border Patrol was forced to produce the documents the report is based on only after advocates filed a lawsuit. The documents revealed that from 2006–2009 almost 28,000 people were arrested in transportation raids at the Rochester Station alone. Seventy-six percent of the people arrested had been in the country for over one year and 73 percent were of Latin American origin, which indicates that Border Patrol is not targeting recent Canadian border crossers but rather Latin American immigrants who happen to live and work in the region. As a result of Border Patrol's aggressive policing, many U.S. citizens and others who are legally present in the United States have also been affected.

CECILIA'S STORY

Cecilia smokes a cigarette as she recounts being stopped for the fourth time during the week after the November 13 Paris attacks. Again they asked her where she was from, if she was a U.S. citizen and where she was going. Her eyes are both vigilant and tired. This is getting old.

She is a world away from her rural home in Puerto Rico (whose inhabitants were made U.S. citizens by an act of Congress in 1917), where inhabitants grow yucca and yams, raise horses and cows and

"there are fruits and vegetables everywhere." Her husband Juan moved from the island to St. Lawrence County four years ago after seeing a job posting in a Puerto Rican paper and Cecilia followed a year later. It was not quite what she expected. Before she was injured on the job a few months ago, she was working 12-hour shifts from 4 p.m. to 4 a.m., milking cows and cleaning out their stalls for minimum wage and sometimes in freezing and unsafe conditions.

Cecilia's broke her leg when she slipped on a placenta in an improperly cleaned stall where a cow had just given birth. Outside of work, she felt policed both by Border Patrol and the local community, which regards people such as her with suspicion.

FEEDING THE GREEK YOGURT BOOM

St. Lawrence County, which lies in the northernmost corner of the state, is one of the top dairy-producing counties in the United States. New York, meanwhile, is currently the third largest milk-producing state. According to Cornell University, the dairy industry accounts for \$14.8 billion in economic output and is the largest contributor of revenue to the state's agricultural economy. New York is the top producer of cottage cheese, cream cheese and yogurt (including Greek yogurt) in the country. Between 2008 and 2013 milk production increased sevenfold to support the growth of the Greek yogurt industry. By some estimates, in 2013 the Greek yogurt produced in New York accounted for 70 percent of all Greek yogurt sales in the United States, led by companies like Cho-

EXPLOITED BY THEIR EMPLOYERS, FARMWORKERS WHO MILK COWS AND PICK APPLES ARE ALSO SEEN AS POTENTIAL TERRORISTS BY THE BORDER PATROL.

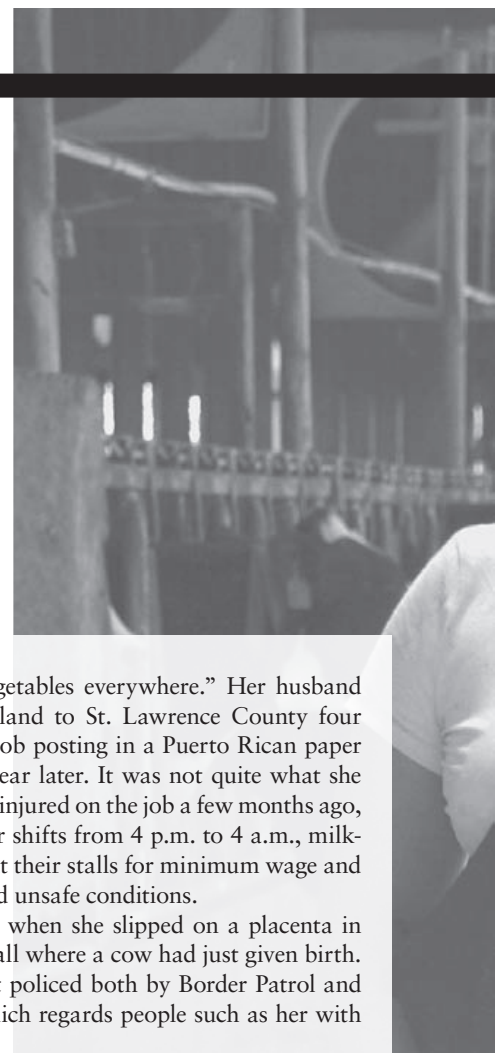
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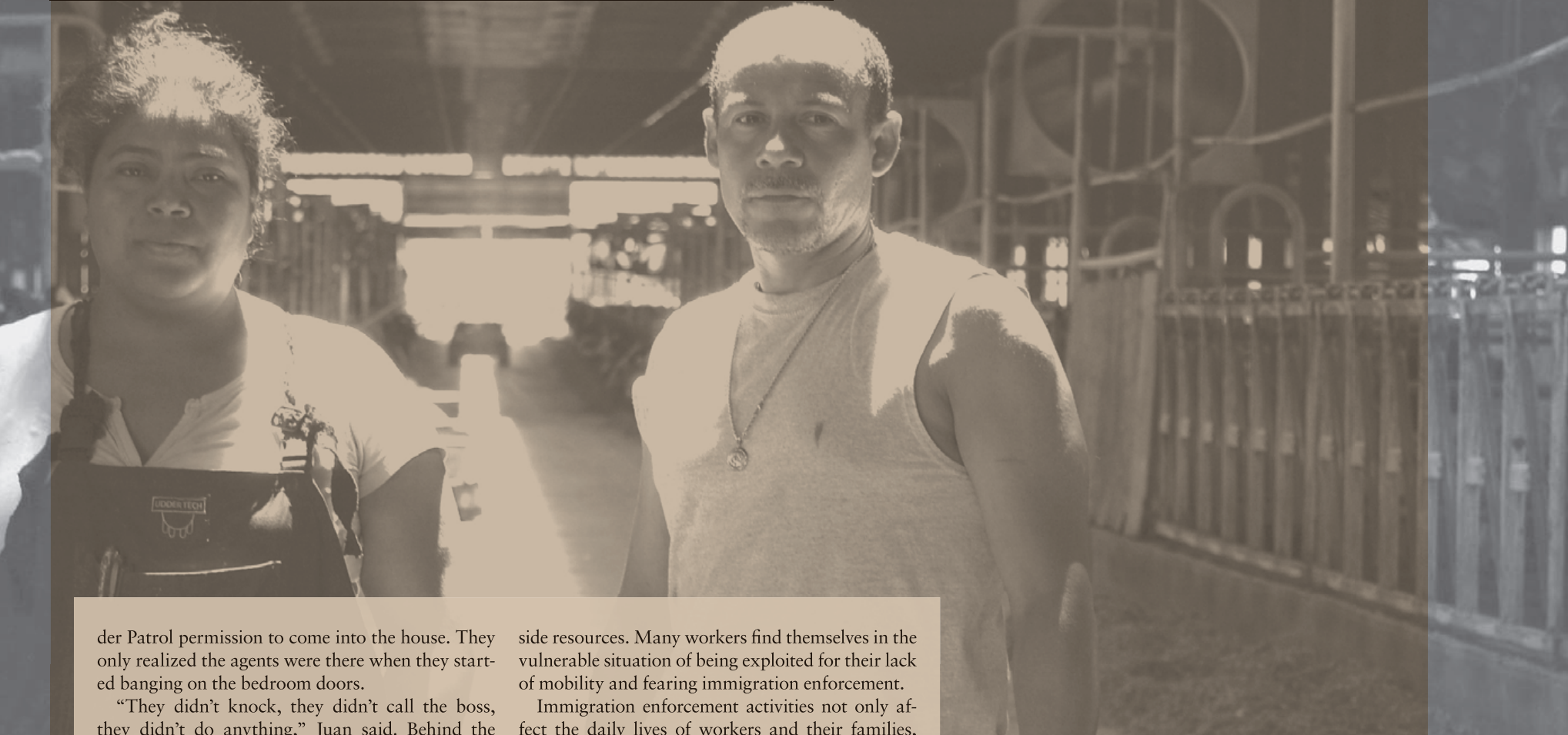
As the industry grows, some counties, like St. Lawrence, have undergone consolidation in the dairy sector, with some operations growing ever larger and smaller family-run dairy farms going out of business. The industry as a whole is marked by pervasive health and safety hazards, extreme working hours and low pay.

When Juan first started, the workers were a mix of Puerto Rican, Mexican and Amish. He says they have phased out the Mexican workers over the last few years because of the immigration raids.

Juan recalls a raid on worker housing late one night. "They came into the employee's house at 11 o'clock at night ... they saw an open door and came into the house, saying 'This is Border Patrol, everybody to the living room!'"

Border Patrol asked the workers to go one by one to their rooms to retrieve their IDs. The occupants had not given Bor-





CARLY FOX

der Patrol permission to come into the house. They only realized the agents were there when they started banging on the bedroom doors.

"They didn't knock, they didn't call the boss, they didn't do anything," Juan said. Behind the house where the Puerto Ricans lived, there was a smaller house that could not be seen from the road. The Mexican workers lived there. When one of the Puerto Ricans went to his room to get his ID he quickly called the other house from his cell phone and told its occupants to flee. The Border Patrol did not find them that night.

Although he cannot be deported because he is a U.S. citizen, Juan says that he feels persecuted. Juan estimates that he has been stopped 11 times in the past four years, often while he is walking to or from work, about a mile down the road. His pre-adolescent daughter now suffers from panic attacks when encountering law enforcement. When asked why he thinks he is being stopped so often, he simply replies, "For being Latino."

"When I go out with my step-daughter ... she gets nervous," Cecilia adds. "In the moment that one might forget an ID or leave it at home they treat you like if you don't have anything to show them, an ID with your photo, that they'll just send you to jail, and well, it's something that scares you."

Cecilia believes that Border Patrol sees all Spanish-speakers as being from Mexico.

"Even when you say, or show them an ID, and if they don't read well that it says Puerto Rico they think you are Mexican," she notes. "My husband had that problem, they said 'No, you are Mexican.' And my husband told them 'I have an ID that says Puerto Rico, I'm Puerto Rican.'"

In 2013, Families for Freedom and the Law Clinic at NYU released another report revealing that hundreds of lawfully present individuals had been harassed, arrested or detained as a result of Border Patrol policy. The report also revealed that the Border Patrol in New York was awarding arresting agents with cash bonuses, vacation time and gift cards through discretionary incentive programs that reward a vaguely-defined "quality of work." In 2011 the bonus programs were valued at \$200,000 in the Buffalo sector, which encompasses much of upstate New York.

STRANDED ON THE FARM

Immigration enforcement along the northern border in New York has had devastating consequences. Many farmworkers, once they arrive to their place of employment, do not leave, sometimes for years. They suffer extreme social isolation, pay to have their groceries brought to the house (which is often on the work site) and pay people to wire money for them. When abuses take place, they may be fearful of advocating for their rights or lack access to out-

side resources. Many workers find themselves in the vulnerable situation of being exploited for their lack of mobility and fearing immigration enforcement.

Immigration enforcement activities not only affect the daily lives of workers and their families, but also the regional farmers and the agricultural economy that they sustain. People don't move from a small town in Mexico or Puerto Rico to a small town in upstate New York by accident. As in Juan's case, they are often directly recruited. Many farmers complain about the difficulty in procuring sufficient labor for their operations. A recent policy report produced by the Cornell Farmworker Program states that, "In order for NYS to capitalize on the yogurt boom, the critical issue of reliable and sufficient labor must be addressed directly." When anti-immigrant provisions were passed in Alabama in 2011 the state lost millions of dollars in unharvested crops.

Fruit needs to be picked or it rots. Cows need to be milked every day and most dairies run around the clock. The shifts are often 12 hours long and sometimes longer. Farmworkers often work six days per week and sometimes seven, and generally make little more than the minimum wage. Most U.S.-born citizens are unwilling to work under such conditions. As a result, some farmers use contractors to ensure a steady labor supply, while others ask their current employees to recruit friends and family members from home. Most immigrants arrive to the United States deeply in debt to their employers, contractors or family members, which further compounds the need to work and their vulnerability.

The vulnerability of farmworkers has been enshrined in federal law since they were excluded from New Deal-era labor legislation at the insistence of Southern congressmen who opposed giving new rights to Black agricultural workers in their home region. State law is no better in New York, where farmworkers are not entitled to a day of rest, overtime pay or collective bargaining protections. The Farmworker Fair Labor Practices Act would end those Jim Crow-era exclusions in New York but died again in the Republican-controlled State Senate this year.

PUSHING BACK

The presence of immigration enforcement in the border regions adds a looming threat that keeps many workers fearful about speaking up about their working conditions and advocating for their rights.

Rebecca Fuentes, an organizer with the Workers' Center of Central New York (WCCNY) in Syracuse traces her involvement in immigration enforcement issues back to 2005. At the time, many immigrants in central New York were being detained in Syra-

Continued on page 16



LEANNETORY-MURPHY



LEANNETORY-MURPHY

AMERICAN GOTHIC 2015: This immigrant couple works long hours for low pay at a large dairy farm in Western New York. The Border Patrol is a constant presence in their community.

STARTING OVER: A dairy worker in far northern New York who was forced to leave his previous employer after the Border Patrol came to the farm following a house fire.

DANGEROUS WORK: A small dairy farm in the Finger Lakes region where a worker was killed due to unsafe working conditions. The Occupational Safety and Health Administration cannot inspect farms with fewer than 11 employees.



HOW TO MAKE SENSE OF ANTI-LATINO RACISM

BY LINDA MARTÍN ALCOFF

Jorge Ramos is one of the most powerful Latinos in the United States. A Mexican immigrant who is now a U.S. citizen, Ramos has co-anchored the evening news on Univision since 1986, achieving a level of trust with his viewers comparable to the iconic Walter Cronkite. He has won eight Emmys as well as numerous journalism awards, written best-selling books and interviewed every U.S. president since George H. W. Bush. In June, Ramos attended a press conference held by Donald Trump and asked Trump to explain how he could deny citizenship to children born in the United States. Instead of responding, Trump ordered him to “go back to Univision” and directed a bodyguard to physically eject him from the room. While standing in the hallway outside the press conference, considering what to do, Ramos was approached by an angry, red-faced white man who told him to “get out of my country.”

Attitudes toward Latinos in the United States are getting worse rather than better. As our numbers grow and we become politically crucial to elections and slightly more visible in the mainstream culture, wide public support has emerged for increasing militarism on the U.S.-Mexico border and instituting routine identity checks for people who “look like” they may be immigrants. Most Latinos, particularly Central Americans, cannot pass as white, no matter how they fill out their census forms. Today the term “refugee” may in practice signify “Syrian,” but the term “illegal immigrant” continues to signify “Mexican.”

Altogether there are 56 million Latinos in the United States, making up a little over 17 percent of the population. Given where the United States is located, people from Latin America will remain the largest grouping of immigrants. No other minority can realistically pose the threat of ballooning numbers that we can. Thus, public attitudes toward Latinos, citizens or not, cannot be disentangled from attitudes about the effects of immigration on the future of the imagined community of the U.S.

nation-state.

Jorge Ramos has enough power to deflect an occasional experience with racism. In the June episode, Trump’s handlers eventually invited him back into the press conference. Mexican and Central American day laborers waiting on sidewalks for employment across the United States have it much harder. They report not only routine verbal but also physical harassment, from having soiled food thrown in their faces to being shot at. Targeted violence against immigrants has become a routine weekly story across the country, whether instigated by high school kids or those more ideologically developed. We may gasp at Trump, but the level of acceptable vitriol against anyone who suggests providing education, worker protections, driver’s licenses or health benefits — even privately purchased — for the 11.3 million undocumented immigrants estimated to be living in the United States has increased in both mainstream news and the halls of Congress.

The acceptance of inflicting violence and degradation on this population is perhaps most profoundly symbolized by the continuing re-election of Sheriff Joe Arpaio, who uses Abu Ghraib-style prison practices in Arizona, including public sexual humiliation. Meanwhile, the hundreds of nameless bodies and bones found every year on our southern border go unmemorialized and largely unremarked. The people to whom they belong die trying to achieve the chance to work in the United States under conditions in which Mexicans are killed in on-the-job accidents at a far higher rate than U.S.-born workers.

This looks, feels and sounds like racism, but if Latinos aren’t a “race,” should it be called xenophobia or nativism instead? The problem with using more generic concepts like xenophobia and nativism is that they don’t explain how our specific targets are chosen. Religion and geographical origin are the principle criteria that elicit anger: being Muslim from anywhere, or being from anywhere outside of Europe.

Trump got his ideas about Mexican immigrants being rapists from Ann Coulter’s latest screed, *Adios, Ameri-*

ca: The Left’s Plan to Turn Our Country Into a Third World Hellhole. But the essence of their views about how immigration from Latin America is an existential threat to the U.S. polity has long been argued by more putatively reputable scholars, like the late Samuel Huntington, director of Harvard’s Center for International Affairs and an advisor to President Jimmy Carter on matters of national security. Huntington developed the concept of the “clash of civilizations” and his credentials lent a veneer of credibility to his claim that some cultures simply cannot be assimilated to the democratic traditions of the United States, a view one can hear widely echoed today in discourses spanning leftists such as Slavoj Žižek to right-wing pundits such as Ross Douthat. Like Coulter, Huntington placed his emphasis on the cultural threat from Mexico, arguing that Mexico has no tradition of respect for democracy, the rule of law or the Protestant work ethic.

The high incidence of worker deaths mentioned above would seem to be a contraindication of Huntington’s thesis: Mexicans are willing to work in dangerous jobs, yet the United States neglects serious enforcement of Occupational Safety and Health Administration rules that could avoid accidents. So much for the work ethic and the rule of law being on only one side of the border. Nonetheless, the problems often cited with a high influx of Central and South American immigrants is their pre-modern cultures, fervent Catholicism, high birth rates, violence and corruption. Every time a liberal white entertainer, such as, recently, John Oliver, makes comic reference to the trail of dictators in Latin America, this stereotype of the region’s cultural backwardness is reinforced.

The idea that some cultures are unchangeably “backward” and hence inassimilable is the basis for the new concept called “cultural racism.” Since the end of World War II, biologically-based claims about essential behavioral dispositions have lost traction. Research in the bio-

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TRAPPED IN A MODEL MINORITY MYTH

By CYNTHIA TRINH
as told to
ALINA MOGILYANSKAYA



From the discrimination faced by Chinese workers in the gold mines and railroads of 19th-century California to the internment of Japanese-Americans during World War II, the history of Asian-Americans in the United States has been a fraught one. Today, Asians — a category that comprises more than 20 nationalities — are the fastest-growing group of new immigrants to the United States. In her recent photo series “The Model Minority Reality,” photographer Cynthia Trinh invites us to contend with the contradictions of the Asian-American experience. Racism remains rampant — Jeb Bush’s recent remarks about Asian “anchor babies” are only the tip of the iceberg — and beneath the myth of the model minority are wide economic disparities within the Asian-American community, with many people working low-wage and often exploitative service jobs.

In “The Model Minority Reality,” Trinh documents the day-to-day of being a low-wage Asian-American worker in New York City’s Chinatown and Midtown. Trinh herself is Vietnamese-American, and as an intellectual property lawyer who recently left her profession to become a photographer, is personally familiar with the model minority stereotype. She brings this experience to her portraits — they are candid and evocative, depicting Asian-American nail salon workers, cooks, street vendors and store clerks as they make their livelihoods.

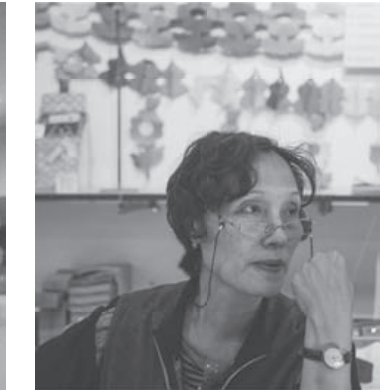
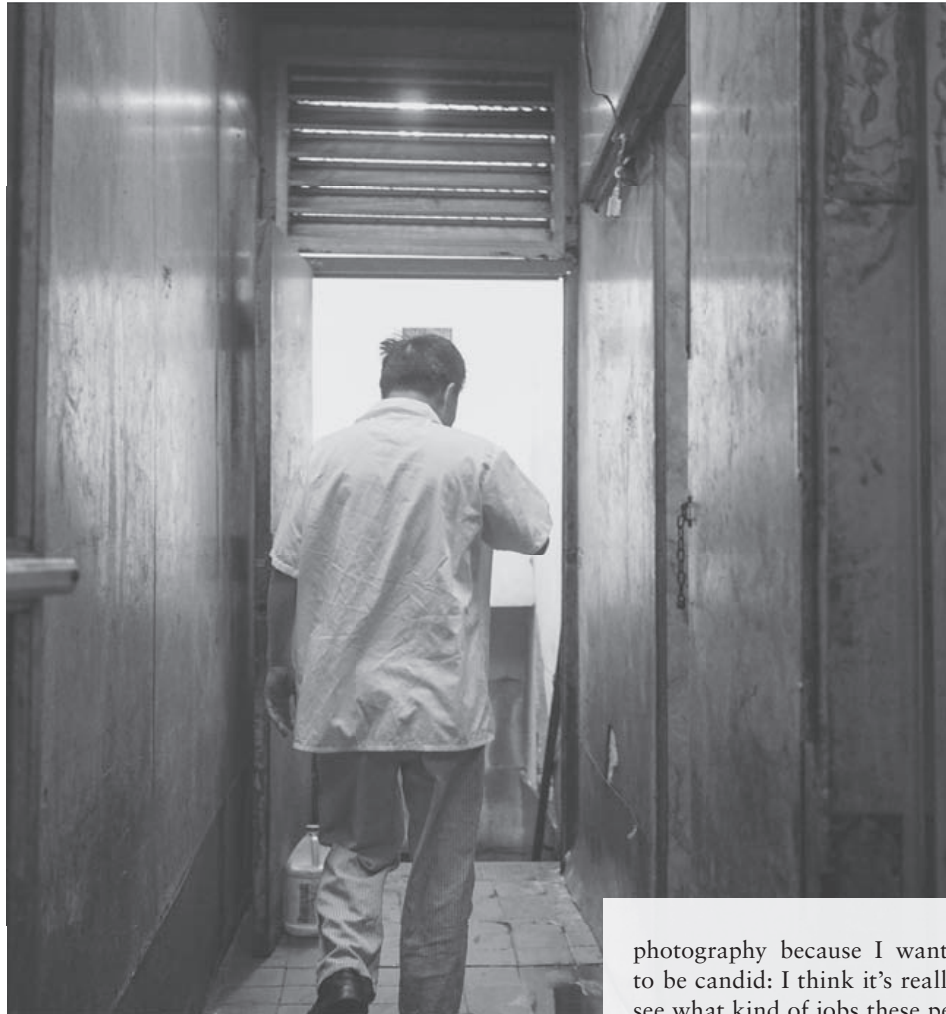
The project is about Asian-American workers in low-wage service jobs in and around the New York City area. The purpose of my series is to combat the model minority myth, which is the stereotype that all Asian-Americans are successful and wealthy and occupy professional jobs. That stereotype hurts a lot of Asian-Americans who are working hard, low-wage service jobs and struggling to make ends meet, especially those who are immigrants and maybe undocumented. The model minority myth is really insidious. The story behind a lot of the people I photograph and a lot of Asian-Americans is that we are a relatively new population of immigrants, especially the Vietnamese like myself, and we are still figuring out what it means to be American and where we all fit in. This is a story of many, many immigrants and it’s the story of my family, which came here from Vietnam after they were basically kicked out of their homes because of the war.

I identify my ethnicity as Asian and my nationality as American. I myself have propagated the model minority myth. I’m highly educated, I went to graduate school and my family created a life here through a lot of hard work, perseverance and family support. Many of my friends have also gone to college and graduate school. A lot of them are doctors, engineers, scientists.

A lot of my family is in the sciences: My brother is a chemist. My stepfather, he’s an engineer. My father is an engineer. And like many Asians, that’s because when they came to America the language barrier was hard for them to overcome and so they stuck to math and science because there was less of a language problem there.

At the same time, I worked from a young age and I have an affinity with the people who work these really hard low-wage jobs because a lot of my family members and friends had to do it. They were or still are nail salon workers, janitors, plumbers. I know how it feels to come here and just do what you have to do to pay the bills and feed yourself and your family.

What inspired me to do the series was the huge uproar in the community after the *New York Times* article about nail salon workers came out. It’s as if people didn’t realize that Asian-Americans are oppressed, are struggling and being exploited. It took that story to start the discussion about workers’ rights in nail salons, and it prompted New York to pass a law that basically guarantees fair wages for nail salon workers. But it’s not only nail salon workers. Now it’s time to start discussing fair wages and employee protections in a broader range of jobs. So a lot of my photos portray restaurant workers, street vendors, a whole range of different Asians working in the city in different capacities. I chose the medium of street



A man in an apron takes a cigarette break.

A nail salon worker paints a client’s toenails.

A worker moves supplies.

A woman sells produce on a nighttime street corner.

A man heads to his next task.

An elderly man works in a restaurant kitchen.

A woman behind a counter peers over her glasses.

A grocery store worker sells fruit and vegetables.

A man sells fish and other seafood.

photography because I wanted the images to be candid: I think it’s really important to see what kind of jobs these people are doing and what they’re doing when they’re at work, how they conduct themselves, how they’re dressed, what they do with their hands, their faces, their wrinkles, the bags under their eyes. I took the photographs mostly in Chinatown and Midtown, and for now they depict mostly Chinese- and Korean-Americans. Later, I would like to expand the series to include other Asian-American communities.

When the public thinks of Asians as the model minority, the problems of the Asian-American community are ignored. There’s still a lot of racism but it’s almost never acknowledged. A lot of scholars call Asian-Americans “the invisible race.” I think it’s in part because many people buy in to the stereotype that we’re all successful: On one hand, we’re used as a standard to tell Hispanics, Blacks and other minorities that they should be like us, that they’ll get what they want by working really hard. But on the other hand

we’re constantly treated as if we don’t belong in America and criticized for being foreign, for not assimilating into American society. It’s a double standard, and the very real struggles of Asian-Americans are lost within it.

For more on the “Model Minority Reality” project, see cindytrinh.com.

IN THE WAR ON TERROR, NOTHING SUCCEEDS LIKE

BY MATT SHUHAM

In early 2009, a leaked email from within the newly-elected Obama administration to senior Pentagon officials asked for a simple favor: “this administration prefers to avoid using the term Long War or Global War on Terror (GWOT) ... please pass this on to your speechwriters.” Four years later, in the early months of his second term, Obama repeated himself, this time publicly. “We must define our effort not as a boundless ‘global war on terror’ but rather as a series of persistent, targeted efforts to dismantle specific networks of violent extremists that threaten America.”

Even after the official change in terminology, our military actions rage on in the name of fighting terror, and our safety from the threat of terror is the primary political ruler against which we measure America’s health. The so-called “war on terror,” conveniently more ambiguous than a “war on terrorism,” has been readily on the lips of politicians, journalists, academics, diplomats and investors since President Bush first declared its existence. Now, a new batch of presidential hopefuls has their own colorful contributions: Chris Christie says the San Bernardino attacks mark “the next world war.” Jeb Bush says we are in “a fight for Western civilization.” John Kasich predicts “we will all be on the ground [in Syria] sooner or later. Sooner is better than later.”

It is already the case that young men and women who join the military on their 18th birthdays don’t remember a world without this war. Maybe that’s why it has so profoundly changed the way we treat our politics, and each other: we’ve forgotten what it’s like to live in peacetime.

Despite the hundreds of thousands of lives lost, most of them Muslim, the vast majority innocent of any

crime or even of actionable ill-will against the United States; despite the violations of our rights and our Constitution; despite human rights abuses by our military leaders, war profiteering by our corporations and demagogic self-aggrandizement by our politicians; we are more fearful than ever. Americans today have as much chance of being killed by a terrorist attack as they do a bee sting. And yet, the war on our bottomless national pit of terror continues.

Our reaction to the September 11 attacks has made them the most significant event in the 21st century. But it’s time to ask: is this war worth it?

THE PERFECT PRETEXT

The first official use of the phrase “war on terror” — in President Bush’s speech to a joint session of Congress on September 20, 2001 — anticipated the term’s elasticity in the years ahead. The speech referenced “terror,” “terrorists” and “terrorism” 33 times, each time expanding the definition of the words and the consequences they carried for the world. “Every nation in every region now has a decision to make,” Bush warned. “Either you are with us or you are with the terrorists.” Such a statement, which manipulated Americans’ fears after 9/11 into a grand inquisition of international allegiances, captures the essence of the war on terror: it is a tool, an ever-changing, universally-applicable justification for the worst steps a government can take. Saddam Hussein, we were told, was with the terrorists. And so we went to war.

The invasion of Iraq, as with many of the U.S. initiatives in the course of the war on terror, seems in retrospect to have been a long time coming. The 9/11 attacks provided the pretext for the invasion — despite the lack of any concrete intelligence tying Iraq to al-

Qaeda — but President Bush and his administration had sought such a pretext long before the attacks occurred.

At Bush’s first national security meeting on January 30th, 2001, for example, Treasury Secretary Paul O’Neil later remembered “[t]he President saying, ‘Go find me a way to do this,’” referring to Saddam’s ouster. Bush bombed targets close to Baghdad the next month. In March 2001, the Pentagon delivered a crucial report to Vice President Dick Cheney, “Foreign Suitors for Iraqi Oilfield Contracts.” Cheney, the former CEO of Halliburton, spoke frequently with oil company executives while in office. The day after the 9/11 attacks, as counterterrorism czar Richard Clarke recalled later, “[Bush] told us, ‘I want you, as soon as you can, to go back over everything, everything. See if Saddam did this,’” even though overwhelming evidence, then and now, pointed to Saudi-funded al-Qaeda operatives.

The invasion of Iraq illustrates a much larger point about the economy of terror management: there are many reasons to use the war on terror as a political tool, and few incentives to end it.

ERODING INTERNET PRIVACY

For George W. Bush and friends, the incentives for going into Iraq were numerous and complex, and the war on terror provided cover for all of them. But the same is true for many politically influential groups in U.S. politics. With each additional incentive, the momentum behind the war on terror builds, regardless of the actual success of the war itself.

Take, for example, the USA PATRIOT Act, passed in the immediate weeks after 9/11. The Patriot Act is best known for its authorization of certain types of warrantless searches and seizures, bulk collection of phone and other types of metadata and enhanced intelligence sharing between federal and local officials, among many other things. How did legislators write, read and pass such a complex and lengthy bill in the immediate aftermath of a paradigm-shifting tragedy? In short, few of the ideas in the bill were new.

Though the bulk of the Patriot Act was written by Congressman Jim Sensenbrenner, chair of the House Judiciary Committee, alongside Attorney General John Ashcroft and other members of the Bush administration, it was modeled on proposals written in 1995, months before the Oklahoma City bombings. At the time, then-Senator Joe Biden introduced the Omnibus Counterterrorism Act of 1995, known today, according to CNET, for “allowing secret evidence to be used in prosecutions, expanding the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act and wiretap laws, creating a new federal crime of ‘terrorism’ that could be invoked based on political beliefs, permitting the U.S. military to be used in civilian law enforcement and allowing permanent detention of non-U.S. citizens without judicial review.”

Many of the Patriot Act’s most egregious tactics, such as “sneak-and-peek” searches, have been much more commonly used for drug, immigration and fraud investigations than terrorism cases, which constituted just 0.5 percent of such searches in 2013, according to the Electronic Frontier Foundation. One can hardly blame politicians like Biden — who worked closely with the FBI as a senator, has advocated tough Internet copyright and censorship laws and is now the Obama administration’s unofficial liaison to the law enforcement community — for capitalizing

THE COST OF WAR

14

NUMBER OF YEARS SINCE THE WAR ON TERROR BEGAN.

1.3–2 MILLION

ESTIMATED LIVES LOST IN IRAQ, AFGHANISTAN AND PAKISTAN IN THE 10 YEARS FOLLOWING 9/11.

4,486

TOTAL U.S. TROOPS KILLED IN IRAQ AS OF 12/10/15.

2,354

TOTAL U.S. TROOPS WHO HAVE DIED IN AFGHANISTAN AS OF 12/10/15.

200,000–300,000

NUMBER OF IRAQ AND AFGHANISTAN VETERANS WHO HAVE SUFFERED A TRAUMATIC BRAIN INJURY ON DUTY.

UP TO 300,000

NUMBER OF IRAQ AND AFGHANISTAN VETERANS WHO MAY BE SUFFERING FROM POST-TRAUMATIC STRESS DISORDER (PTSD).

\$1.66 TRILLION

TOTAL COST OF WAR FOR U.S. TAXPAYERS SINCE 2001.

\$8.36 MILLION

HOURLY COST OF WAR FOR U.S. TAXPAYERS SINCE 2001.

\$65.6 BILLION

TOTAL COST OF WAR FOR NYC TAXPAYERS SINCE 2001.

\$331,000

HOURLY COST OF WAR FOR NYC TAXPAYERS SINCE 2001.

\$293 BILLION

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE BUDGET FY 2000.

\$598 BILLION

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE BUDGET FY 2015.

2044

THE YEAR FORMER OBAMA ADMINISTRATION DEFENSE SECRETARY LEON PANETTA EXPECTS THE UNITED STATES TO CONCLUDE A “30-YEAR WAR” WITH

THE ISLAMIC STATE.

\$20.01 BILLION

NYC TAXPAYERS’ CONTRIBUTION TO 2015 PENTAGON BUDGET.

\$20.01 BILLION

THE COST OF SUPPLYING 3.4 MILLION HOMES WITH RENEWABLE ENERGY FROM WIND POWER FOR 10 YEARS.

\$20.01 BILLION

THE COST OF PROVIDING 369,088 LOW-INCOME PEOPLE WITH HEALTH CARE FOR 10 YEARS.

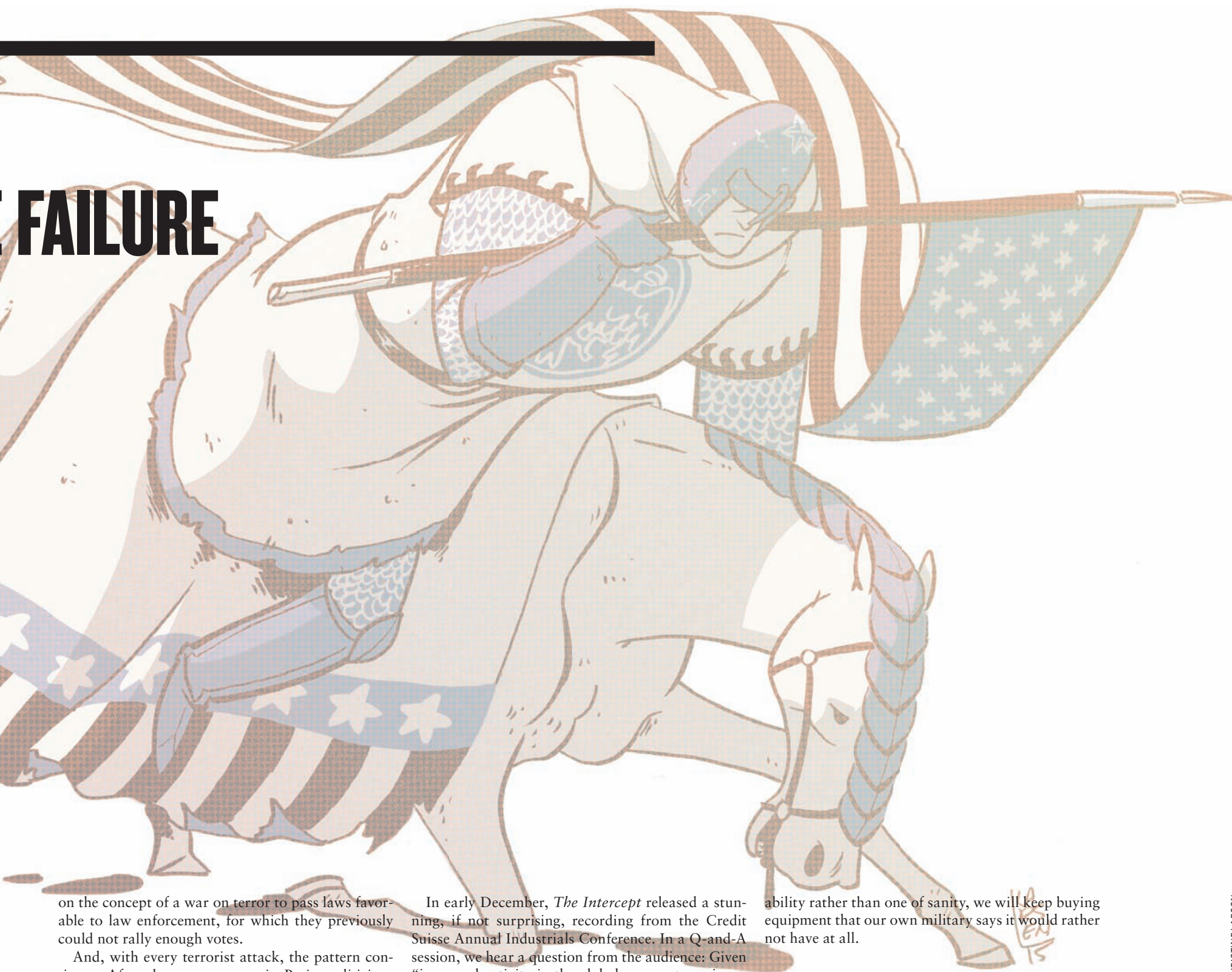
\$20.01 BILLION

THE COST OF PROVIDING FOUR-YEAR UNIVERSITY SCHOLARSHIPS TO 741,467 STUDENTS (\$6,746 PER YEAR, PER STUDENT).

— JOHN TARLETON

SOURCES: Boston University, Center for the Study of Traumatic Stress, National Priorities Project, Physicians for Social Responsibility, *USA Today*, *Washington Post*.

FAILURE



CHRISTINE LARSON

on the concept of a war on terror to pass laws favorable to law enforcement, for which they previously could not rally enough votes.

And, with every terrorist attack, the pattern continues. After the recent events in Paris, politicians and intelligence communities worldwide called for an end to encrypted messages, a demand that is decades old, even though the attacks were openly discussed on plain old cell phones: the failure to prevent the attacks can be traced to human intelligence error, not a shortage of data. Still, where there is a will, the war on terror provides a way. The proposed “Snooper’s Charter” in the United Kingdom would eliminate end-to-end encryption, obliterating the potential for anonymity from government surveillance and making Internet users more susceptible to hacking by foreign governments, terror cells and cyber-criminals.

In the aftermath of the San Bernardino shootings, everyone from John McCain to James Comey has advocated for similar laws in the United States: President Obama called on the tech world “to make it harder for terrorists to use technology to escape from justice.” Hillary Clinton echoed his sentiment, noting regretfully that “You’re gonna hear all of the usual complaints, you know, freedom of speech, et cetera.” Donald Trump proposed “closing that Internet up in some ways.”

Outlawing end-to-end encryption wouldn’t stop extremists of all stripes or others interested in maintaining online anonymity from establishing their own encrypted networks on private computer servers. But this war rewards tough talk and opportunism, even when they make people less secure.

PROFITING FROM TERROR

The incentives inherent in maintaining a never-ending war on terror aren’t anywhere more clear than in the vast expansion of the American military industrial complex (see infobox).

In early December, *The Intercept* released a stunning, if not surprising, recording from the Credit Suisse Annual Industrials Conference. In a Q-and-A session, we hear a question from the audience: Given “increased activity in the global war on terrorism... how [might that] leverage Lockheed’s portfolio?” Lockheed Martin Executive Vice President Bruce Tanner answers by citing the downed Russian jet in Turkey, an event that prompted the increased presence of surface-to-air missiles in the region, “making Syria a very dangerous place to fly. And who is flying a lot of those missions in Syria? The U.S. military.”

What goes unmentioned: the nearly \$15 million Lockheed has spent lobbying Congress and the White House every year since 2011, when President Obama considered shrinking the Pentagon budget.

It’s this kind of lobbying money — which, in addition to buying off members of Congress, funds think tanks, museum exhibits and academic chairs — that creates bizarre scenes like the one that took place at a hearing of the Senate Armed Services Committee in January:

“There has got to be a more effective and efficient method of procurement,” Democratic Senator Joe Manchin of West Virginia said. “When [President] Eisenhower said ‘beware of the military industrial complex,’ man he knew what he was talking about. ... We force stuff on you all that we know you don’t want.”

Army Chief of Staff General Raymond Odierno agreed. “We are still having to procure systems we don’t need,” Odierno said, adding that the army spends “hundreds of millions of dollars on tanks that we simply don’t have the structure for anymore.”

Despite reports from experts in military procurement that we are simply buying too much stuff, the buying continues. This war is too profitable for private contractors and our fear is too abundant. If hawkish politicians — those who raise funds from companies like Lockheed — can scare us into believing that a smaller military budget is a sign of vulner-

ability rather than one of sanity, we will keep buying equipment that our own military says it would rather not have at all.

BUYING VOTES WITH FEAR

The demagogue, as a political character, has thrived in the war on terror. Bolstered by the right’s fear-mongering, Islamophobes can do as well at the ballot box as the intelligence community has done with their new surveillance powers, or the military industrial community has done with their contracts.

In November, 31 governors “refused” to take in Syrian refugees — even though it’s not up to them, and they know that — in order to score political points with their constituents. The House of Representatives set aside all other business to make this same point: despite a certain filibuster from Senate Democrats, 47 Democrats and 242 Republicans voted to stop refugees from Iraq and Syria from coming into the United States, despite what is now well-known: that all identified Paris attackers were European nationals. The Syrian passport found near a dead suicide bomber is almost certainly a fake, according to the *Washington Post*, intended by the Islamic State to sow Western fear of refugees fleeing Syria’s civil war.

Meanwhile, Ben Carson compared potential Syrian refugee-terrorists to “rabid dogs.” Donald Trump has called for an end to all Muslim travel of any kind into the United States, monitoring otherwise unremarkable mosques and executing the families of terrorists. Ted Cruz wants to see “if sand can glow in the dark” in Syria. Actually, most presidential candidates heartily endorse this latter attitude, as have leaders from around the world: Turkey, France, Russia, the United Kingdom, the United States and others are currently engaged in airstrikes across Syria,

Continued on next page

ISIS: WHAT CAN BE DONE?

A Community Forum

featuring



Phyllis Bennis

activist, analyst on Middle East and UN issues, and author of *Understanding ISIS and the New Global War on Terror: A Primer*

David Wildman

United Methodist Church Human Rights & Racial Justice; recently visited refugee camps in Lebanon, Palestine, and Jordan



- What is ISIS and what threat does it pose?
- What have been the effects inside Iraq & Syria?
- What has been US policy up until now and how is it likely to change?
- Is there a peaceful resolution to the challenge posed by ISIS?
- What is the role of the US in the emergence of ISIS and the refugee crisis?

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Following the horrific attacks by Isis terrorists in Paris and Beirut, we have rapidly seen blatant pandering to xenophobia on a disturbing scale and scope. Leaders throughout the US and Europe have demanded that authorities stifle the flow of migrants seeking asylum, and to increase the size and depths of intelligence and law enforcement powers in the US and Europe...

I don't have all the answers - but I do know that blaming minority groups, refugees and immigrants, investing in gigantic surveillance platforms and calling for expansive legal authority and the creation of a neo-Gestapo and panopticon-style police state aren't one of them.

-Chelsea E. Manning (Guardian Op-Ed, 25 November 2015)

WAR ON TERROR

Continued from previous page

many of them in cities where Islamic State soldiers are mixed in with civilians.

We hear about civilian casualties from drone strikes in Lebanon, Afghanistan, Yemen and Pakistan. We hear about civilian casualties from airstrikes in Iraq and Syria. We've heard, for almost 13 years now, about the hundreds of thousands of innocent lives lost across the region from the destabilization spurred by the invasion and subsequent occupation of Iraq. We have heard about these deaths, and yet we remain fearful of a wholly insignificant threat. These bombings are how we purchase peace of mind, and the cost in lives is astronomical.

WHERE DOES THIS END?

It goes without saying that this means the "radical Islamic extremists" are winning: the Islamic State, the most recent and deadly creation of our war on terror, has stated that they want to engage with the Western world in an eschatological struggle. The Syrian town of Dabiq is central to this narrative, according to *New York Times's* Rukmini Callimachi: "The countdown to the apocalypse begins once the 'Romans' — a term that militants have now conveniently expanded to include Americans and their allies — set foot in Dabiq."

As a military force, the Islamic State is

growing weaker by the day. And as a government and a society, they have absolutely failed: hospitals are understaffed and new recruits must be threatened with death for abandoning their ranks, and yet they still do. But as an instrument of propaganda, the war on terror is their favorite tool: by selling a narrative of Armageddon, of Islamophobic Western governments and of the prospect of a never-ending war on terror, the Islamic State is using our own fears against us.

No one will stop it for us: our politicians and our governments stand to gain too much off it, as do the people perpetrating acts of terror that serve to fuel their Armageddon fantasies, with our help. The hundreds of billions of dollars we've spent fighting the war on terror are now investments in its continued existence.

In "losing" the war on terror — by remaining terrified of the world around us — we allow it to continue indefinitely. The only way to win it is to refuse to fight it altogether. We must task our governments with addressing terrorism just as they did before the war on terror existed: by approaching it as a style of violence like any other; a crime punishable in court.

Just as the "War on Drugs" has failed continuously for the past half century, so too will the war on terror. We must rethink our willingness to ascribe to the idea of such a war, or else it will never end.

BITING THE HANDS THAT FEED

Continued from page 9

cuse and in neighboring towns. Local community members started a Detention Task Force whose early work centered around the development of a bail fund for detained immigrants. But, as Fuentes says, "We just couldn't keep up." The sheer volume of requests from the bail fund forced the group to address the roots of the issue, the detentions themselves.

The group began to organize demonstrations at the rail and bus hub in Syracuse where many arrests were happening, and sent letters to Amtrak, Greyhound and other transportation providers about their concerns. They also began to work with local police departments to discuss how the collaboration of police with immigration enforcement undermines public safety because immigrants who fear being detained and deported

will not report crimes even when they are the victims. Fuentes says that things have gotten better since then, transportation raids have gotten less frequent and the local police are less likely to call in immigration enforcement than before. However, life for immigrants in rural areas remains difficult because of the social isolation, lack of access to transportation, racial hostility and fear.

The Agricultural Workers Committee of the WCCNY, formed in 2013, seeks to change that dynamic. A group of dairy worker leaders from several counties, they have organized demonstrations at the State Fair and on a large dairy farm in Jefferson County to bring light to the working conditions in the industry. The group has successfully encouraged the Occupational Safety and Health Administration to conduct surprise inspections at New York dairies due to the high rates of death and injury. They chose the collaboration of local police with immigration enforcement as one of their

focal issues after one of their members, Jose Coyote, was detained last year. In that case, park police called immigration while Coyote was enjoying some time in a state park with his family.

Fuentes and Ghertner agree that detentions and raids could spike again at any time. Republican Congressman John Katko, who replaced Maffei, is pushing for increased enforcement in New York, stating in a recent press release that, "Tough border security will ensure the safety of Upstate New York and the sovereignty of our nation." The Northern Border Security Review Act, which he introduced, passed the House of Representatives this October. Fuentes says that if the bill passes it will make it even harder for immigrants to live in the region, adding, "These are the people that are making your towns prosper, and we are marginalizing, isolating and criminalizing them."

THE COLORADO PLANNED PARENTHOOD SHOOTER IS A FAMILIAR FIGURE

BY ANN SCHNEIDER

What lies behind Robert Dear's Black Friday shooting spree at a Colorado Springs Planned Parenthood?

Readers of the *New York Times'* in-depth background report on Dear's past call him a gun nut, a religious zealot, a terrorist, a Christian, not a Christian, isolated, a pro-lifer, a white supremacist, a drug user, a malcontent, bipolar and/or mentally ill. Most people posting comments are men driving forward the predictable debates about the joining of the words "Christian" and "terrorist."

But as a lawyer practicing divorce for 20 years, I can tell you that most of my male clients and the husbands of my female clients have characteristics in common with Dear, who killed three people and wounded nine.

He married and divorced multiple times. He lied and told his current love interest he was divorced when he wasn't. Then he went back to his first wife and made a baby. Like so many good Christians, he railed against women who had abortions but excused his own pleasure seeking, the natural result of which was pregnancy. If that isn't hypocrisy and narcissism, I don't know what is.

When Dear left his first wife for the second time, he demanded that his rights as a father be respected. But he refused to divulge his address to the mother, effectively kidnapping his son.

Like my male clients who swear never to remarry after

having to share their assets with their ex-wives, Dear decided to shack up with his last girlfriend but not commit further. This way, she would never gain rights to alimony or property division.

She was also effectively kidnapped as they lived in a trailer, "off the grid." She didn't even have access to a phone.

Like many white, middle-aged married men, Dear had no need for friends. Reminiscent of Robert Durst, he actively chased them away by speeding down dirt roads in his ATV and mistreating his dogs. Instead, according to the *Times*, he "craved (I'd say, demanded) near-constant female company." This is the modern marriage contract. Women do the emotional labor while men are free to — as Barbara Micheau, Dear's second wife, described him — be "hard to please" and "erupt into fury in seconds."

He expected reward and financial support without effort. He got himself fired from his job at a utility company for lack of effort. Since he wasn't working, the money he used to buy a motorcycle and an "expensive gun" had to be from his second wife's earnings. Divorce papers reveal a lot. Dear's say he wouldn't help with bills or clean the house. And he is not alone in being a burdensome husband. Today's hipster fathers are proud to wear a baby sling but they still don't do an equal share of housework, according to a recent Pew Research Center survey. Husbands also create seven more hours per week of housework for wives, according to a 2008 National Science Foundation study. Disputes over housework top the list of frequent domestic

complaints.

In Dear, we have a sexual predator who aggressively pursued a woman, refused to take "no" for an answer and ultimately raped her at knifepoint. The victim's husband, who may have also been infected with the same mindset, decided "we had to let God take care of it," after a witness, described in the *Times* as a "Navy wife," refused to testify against Dear. Prosecutors dropped the charges.

Rape is only occasionally an issue in my cases, but in one recent study, one in three male college students acknowledged they would have "intentions to force a woman to sexual intercourse" if assured they would not be caught.

Short of actual rape, exhibitionism is another form of sexual harassment. According to the *Times* article, Dear liked to sit outdoors in his underwear and swim naked in view of the neighbors, such that they had to build a fence. His exhibitionism betrays his sense of entitlement to acting however he pleases, including forcing the sight of his sexual organs onto nonconsenting others.

Sexism is a social disease and we're swimming in it. Let's call the attack on Planned Parenthood what it is: misogyny.



LYNNE FOSTER

ANTI-LATINO RACISM

Continued from page 10

logical sciences in particular has disproved such claims, and this, together with the association between biology-based racial ideas and Nazism, has made biological racism a tough sell in the West. It still sells, but its market share has dropped in favor of newer forms. The old idea was that basically trivial physical characteristics, such as skin color, hair type, eye and nose shape and so on, were evidence of deeper characteristics determinative of behavior, intelligence and even moral disposition. Today there is a consensus in the scientific community that these ideas are complete trash.

Yet some believe they can impute similar deep dispositions to cultures. So the architecture of racism has simply shifted from physical bodies to cultures that are then essentialized — and often seen as static and un-

changeable — in the same way. Examples of cultural racism would be claims such as "the Greeks will always be lazy," "Arab societies will never democratize" or "Mexico will always be corrupt." To Huntington's credit (sort of), he believed that Mexican immigrants could "evolve" if they assimilated fully to the Anglo-Saxon Protestant cultures of the United States, and started, as he put it, to "dream in English." In effect, their bodies could advance but their culture could not, so it had to be left behind. He was not a biological but rather a cultural racist.

This is not really an advance. Biological racism was neatly disproved by advances in our understanding of how genes work and how similar the human genome is across racial differences. To contest the claims about culture there is no similar magic bullet: all we have to go on is history. The fact that all of our histories, including of course European and U.S. history, are replete with genocides, slaveries, orchestrated famines, extreme inequalities,

etc., might indicate that the sort of hierarchical ranking Huntington pushed was as baseless as the old biological claims. Unfortunately, it can also lend a veneer of plausibility to cultural racism.

To redress cultural racism we need to go to the social sciences, including history, more than to the biological sciences. The great Palestinian scholar Edward Said, who had more reason than most to be fatalist about human history, advanced a counter-argument to Samuel Huntington that is as powerful as the scientific community's repudiation of biological racism. Diverse cultures, Said pointed out in his last book, get along much more than they fight. They peacefully coexist and deeply influence one another, as one can track in the literary and expressive forms — Said's expertise — that mark our cultural traditions. We constantly find linguistic, religious and musical hybridity rather than separatism. Difference sometimes causes fear and repulsion, but it at least equally prompts attraction, curiosity

and interest. In truth, Said held, cultures are never inviolable, homogeneous or stable, but in constant motion from both internal and external influences.

It is cultural racism, not the diversity of cultures, that threatens the aspirational democratic values that are often articulated yet too rarely achieved in the United States. While fear is spread, our table condiments, musical styles and political assumptions indicate multiple influences and belie neatly separated categories. Immigration is not just a means to maintain the supply of cheap labor, but the conduit for fresh thinking and new cultural amalgamations.

Linda Martín Alcoff is a professor of philosophy at the City University of New York and the author of *The Future of Whiteness* (Polity Press, 2015). She is Panamanian-American.

EXPLORING THE FUTURE OF WHITENESS

INTERVIEW BY DON JACKSON

The Black Lives Matter movement has forced Americans of all colors to think about race and how it affects everything from politics and policing to our daily interactions.

For Hunter College professor of philosophy Linda Martín Alcoff, race is something she has been reflecting on since growing up in segregated, small-town Florida in the late-1960s as the light-skinned daughter of parents of Panamanian and Irish descent.

"It's painful to pass, because you hear white people say all this garbage you don't want to have to hear," Alcoff recalls. "I never had the luxury of thinking that race was not important."

The author of numerous books that explore the intersection of race, gender and class, Alcoff has become an increasingly prominent public voice on these topics that are such a fraught part of life in the United States in the early 21st century.

In her latest book, *The Future of Whiteness*, she explores what the coming decades may hold for this country's largest racial group as it loses its majority status.

DON JACKSON: What is whiteness and what motivated you to write this book at this time?

LINDA MARTÍN ALCOFF: Whiteness is a historically formed racial identity, like all other racial identities. It's meanings and its boundaries have changed over time and will undoubtedly continue to change. What is distinct about whiteness from other racial formations is that it has been supported and protected by white-dominated governments around the world to get special privileges, so that whites had an easier time to become citizens, work, build or buy homes, vote and stay out of prison. These privileges were justified on the basis of racist ideologies about racial hierarchies, ideologies that affected the formation of white identity, getting inside people's heads. Thus whiteness has both an objective empirical aspect and a subjective psychological aspect.

However, racist ideology is not the only ingredient that has gone into the formation of white identity "on the ground," so to speak. Most whites come from immigrant families fleeing destitution or persecution. Most today still live modest lives, and millions are living in poverty or near-poverty. Many whites struggle with discrimination based on sexuality, disability, gender, religion and so on, yet here too their whiteness affects their options for survival. We have to find a way to talk about the complexity of whiteness, without either downplaying rac-

ism or simplifying whiteness into one seamless racist ideology. Whiteness is not going to wither away, nor can it be abolished by individual acts of disavowal. I wrote the book to offer a realistic way to think about what whiteness is that can keep its complexity in view and is neither fatalist nor naïve about its future.

We are in a critical, historical moment. By 2042 whites will be the largest plurality but no longer a majority of the United States. When presidents talk about the American people, the American people are going to change. My book provides a way to think about what race and whiteness means that doesn't go back to the old biological views that all scientists and most people today reject.

Who do you think most needs to read your book now?

Anybody trying to think about social justice and about how to reduce racism needs to think about whiteness. I'm really hoping white leftists will read it because there are a lot of avoidance strategies among white leftists who think that you can talk about class and avoid race. These include but are not limited to: first, thinking that capitalism can be understood apart from race (and gender), second, opposing all concepts of race on the grounds that the biological concepts of race are bogus, and third, believing that the white race can be "abolished," as if historically formed organic identities can be wished out of existence.

How is understanding whiteness beneficial to all people, especially to efforts by all groups who are involved in seeking a better future for humanity?

There are special challenges to imagining a non-racist multiculturalism in the United States that would include white people. Whiteness has been associated with being the vanguard of the human race, an idea makes it really difficult for whites to see themselves as one among others.

Whiteness is an issue for all oppressed groups as well to think about in terms of how identities can get used politically in nefarious ways. And whites are not the only group whose identity is tied to histories of oppression. We have to become more sophisticated in our thinking.

You mentioned that currently the right only talks about anti-white racism. They do not acknowledge other forms of racism.

There are a striking number of white people who believe that anti-white racism is a big problem in the United States. It's not the majority of whites who think that, but it's a sizeable enough

number to make you pause. The reasons for this are complicated. Some whites have experiences of being marginalized, of not being the favorite person in the room.

They are wrong because the material and political advantages still accrue more to whites than to others, but it still tells us something about the way people experience their lives and their society that we can respond to and learn from.

Ted Allen, the author of *The Invention of the White Race*, is known to have said "Don't call me white." And I've also met quite a few other Europeans who are very uncomfortable with being called white.

I respect Ted Allen's work and his contribution very much but I do disagree with his view on this matter. It's not up to us what race we are. No matter what you call yourself, you will still be seen and treated as a certain racial group. Your political commitments do not determine your racial identity. What determines your racial identity is history and the way you are seen in your society.

The historian David Roediger is quoted in your book saying that race concepts are "ontologically empty." Is this criticism valid or useful?

Roediger says that because he's a good historian and he knows whiteness was created out of a set of laws and practices orchestrated by the U.S. government. It was fomented by the 1 percent to get the 99 percent divided among themselves, and to get white workers to believe that their interests were more aligned with the white power structure than with people of color. Roediger is arguing that the interests of white workers are not with the white elite but with other people of color struggling for economic justice. So whiteness is ontologically empty in the sense that there are no cross-class shared white interests. But his mistake is in thinking that identity categories are constructions solely from the top down and those of us at the bottom only have the choice of accepting or rejecting these. That's not actually true. Black and brown people, and Asian-Americans and Native Americans, have had a major role in changing how our identities are understood.

I think identities are best understood as both top-down and bottom-up, and the ways in which the top tries to control us is affected by what we do. They know they have to accept a certain amount of multicultural rhetoric because we're just not going to accept the old bio-

OWN YOUR PRIVILEGE: Says Hunter College Professor Linda Martín Alcoff who has become an increasingly prominent voice in public debates about race.

ERSELLIA FERRON



MICHAEL MOORE, OPTIMIST

Where to Invade Next
DIRECTED BY MICHAEL MOORE
DOG EAT DOG FILMS AND IMG FILMS, 2015

By Matt Shuham

It's alright if you forgot Michael Moore made movies. Since *Capitalism: A Love Story* back in 2009, the documentary filmmaker, author and activist hasn't released anything for the silver screen, until now. Asked about his lengthy hiatus in a *Rolling Stone* interview, Moore acted as if he was waking up from an accidental half-decade nap: "How about it's just enough that it'd been a long while since I'd made a movie and I felt like making one?"

Fair enough. But it doesn't seem like a coincidence that a liberal filmmaker has been sitting out a mostly-liberal presidency. Moore began his career running down the CEO of General Motors with his 1989 documentary *Roger and Me*, and ever since, he's played the willing David to the Goliaths of American crony capitalism — guns, oil, pharmaceuticals, health care, finance — against the backdrop of whichever conservative administration was running things at the time. (He released two films in the Clinton years, *Canadian Bacon* and *The Big One*, neither documentaries.)

Growing up with Moore's films, I saw in them an articulation of a frustrated liberalism that couldn't seem to find a home anywhere else in the mainstream, save maybe "The Daily Show" and *The Onion*. Moore was always on camera, anger on his sleeve, an avatar for the anti-war protestors, the debtors, the mothers caught in administrative insurance hell. He was a big, physical guy who wasn't afraid to do some goddamn yelling.

Things have changed since Barack Obama took office, none more than the belief (a sacred one in 2007) that switching out presidents would end our long national nightmare, the Bush administration. With Obama's election, Moore lost more than a villain, he lost a plot device.

Where To Invade Next is Moore's answer to this new political and narrative reality. Absent a faux-cowboy villain, our protagonist travels across the world (read: Europe and Tunisia), "invading" places and stealing their best policy ideas for America's benefit. It's clear why his crew nicknamed the project "The No Problems, All Solutions Movie." It's all solutions: from healthy school lunches in France to ample vacation time in Italy, work councils in Germany and free college in Slovenia, we see the world through Moore's fresh pair of rose-colored glasses, in 15-minute chunks at a time.

Still, most of the policies discussed stand on pretty familiar ground. And, as the film leans heavily on the tropes Moore has come to be known for in his work — his jaw has been similarly slackened by reports of Europeans' quality of life for decades, now — I got the feeling that the movie's main shtick, planting a flag in every country visited, was meant to assure viewers they weren't watching old footage.

But if the issues themselves are a little stale, Moore's approach to them carries the film. We're not asked to be angry, nor even on the lookout for the same conspiratorial thrills that made Moore's most successful film, *Fahrenheit 9/11*, so groundbreaking. There's no one to blame for America's failure to live up to its potential as the wealthiest country but ourselves. All of the ideas he "steals" from the rest of the world, after all, have previously

been championed by American progressives, liberals and socialists.

In one of his most powerful moments on screen, Moore visits the Berlin Wall with an old friend, comparing the day it fell — after such a long time, and at the hands of a few young people with pickaxes — with similar moments in recent American history: the legalization of gay marriage, electing a black president and the stirrings of a low-wage workers movement.

Just as Moore's films have punctuated my life, so too have the political changes he marvels at punctuated all of ours. And they really are marvelous: with the ascent of the Internet as a tool for organizing, our politics have been, ahem, disrupted. We don't have to wait for a nonprofit to donate to, or for a political candidate to take on our cause. We're driving this thing now. (Or at least, our hands are creeping closer to the wheel). And we have to decide what happens when the web amplifies our individual politics: the populist fascism and demagoguery of Donald Trump? The scattered good intentions of Occupy Wall Street? The urgent civil disobedience of Black Lives Matter?

Moore seems to have his own movement in mind, reserving the entire end of the film for the role women have played in Tunisian and Icelandic politics — delivering the only successful, inclusive and democratic Arab Spring revolt, and quickly and justly stabilizing an economy after the global financial crash, respectively. A gender-inclusive politics, he seems to be saying, is within our reach. All of these things are within our reach. This new, hopeful Moore just wants us to act.

Where to Invade Next will begin screening in New York City on December 23.

HE'S BACK: Michael Moore's first movie in six years is about to hit the big screen.

MONTCLAIR FILM FESTIVAL/FILCKR

WHITENESS

Continued from previous page

logical racist argument. So they changed their laws and rhetoric in response to what we do.

During the 1970s and '80s, you were part of a group that resisted and infiltrated the Ku Klux Klan. Some of your colleagues were severely beaten and even raped when discovered. How did you and your colleagues find the courage to face such violence and intimidation and what made you stand up to them in the first place?

I think people had different motivations. There were people of color who were certainly involved, and Jews who were involved. And white Vietnam vets who had suffered through the lies of white vanguardism. There were certainly white people who were involved who just did not like the fact that the Klan

presumed to speak for them. It's one thing to just say the Klan doesn't speak for me but you have to show it.

It's not going to have an effect if you just say it in your living room, you have to go public in one way or another. And in that period, as I write about in the book, the Klan really was a serious menace. This was a period of Klan resurgence that had started during the Civil Rights Movement and had grown and they were engaging in brazen acts of murder in broad daylight and getting away with it. If you were in a major city in the South like Charlotte or Atlanta you were fairly safe, but if you needed to travel between Charlotte and Atlanta and you were not a white person or your whole group wasn't white, you had to take precautions. You couldn't travel at night and you had to be careful where you stopped for gas. It was rural terrorism.

The Klan has long had a bad effect on social movements. If you wanted to challenge class inequality in the United States you had to address racism then, and you have to address it today. Because racism is the primary way in which the working class gets caught up in fighting each other.

So what ultimately, then, do you see as the future of whiteness?

Well, I do think that there will continue to be a political polarization among white people and it's pretty extreme. I don't think that's going to go away, but I think that the demographic changes will change the realistic options, for example to live or work in a white-only space.

It is true that there's a lot of thinly disguised racism out there among liberal whites. Yet a sizeable number of whites will continue to reject vanguardist ideas and will realize that they need to learn how to get along in a multi-racial, multi-ethnic world. Almost half of white people today are significantly trying to be anti-racist. I hope my book will help.

bluestockings

radical bookstore | activist center | fair trade cafe
172 ALLEN ST • 212-777-6028

bluestockings.com

The Air — Max Elbaum

WED JAN 6 • 7PM • \$5 SUGGESTED
MONTHLY WORKSHOP: PRESENTED BY THE ICARUS PROJECT NYC. The Icarus Project is a radial mental health support network and media project by and for people who experience the world in a way that are often diagnosed as mental illness. Monthly workshops explore these themes through peer-based discussion, guest presentations, art, forum, theater and more.

SAT JAN 9 • 7PM • \$5 SUGGESTED
BOOK LAUNCH: COMING OUT LIKE A PORN STAR. Contributors with a range of identities, orientations, and bodies read their essays from Jiz Lee's anthology *Coming Out Like a Porn Star*: 50+ stories on the subject of "coming out" (or not!) about working in the adult industry.

WED JAN 13 • 7PM • \$5 SUGGESTED
DISCUSSION: "HOW TO BE AN ARTIST AND NOT LOSE YOUR MIND" a one-night workshop put on by a working artist for actors, performers, artists, musicians and writers.

HISTORY STATES

Law and Disorder radio

WBAI
99.5 FMMondays
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"Our basic constitutional rights are in jeopardy. "Law and Disorder" is an excellent magazine format radio show, hosted by progressive lawyers who analyze the state of civil rights in this post-9/11 period. From attacks on Muslims at home to torture abroad, "Law and Disorder" puts these constitutional attacks into perspective."

—AMY GOODMAN,
HOST, DEMOCRACY NOW!

Hosted by movement lawyers Heidi Boghosian, Executive Director, National Lawyers Guild; Michael Ratner, President, Center for Constitutional Rights; Michael Smith, New York City attorney and author

Now on Facebook.com

BOOKS



CHARLYNE ALEXIS

M TRAIN
MEMORIES*M Train*

PATTI SMITH

ALFRED A. KNOFF, 2015

By Beatrix Lockwood

Those who only know Patti Smith as a punk rock icon may be surprised that her new memoir, *M Train*, dwells more in libraries and cafés than in the sleazy clubs and cheap hotels that typically fill the pages of rock-and-roll memoirs. Unlike her first book of prose, *Just Kids*, which is set in New York City's gritty 1970s music and arts scenes, *M Train* contains only passing references to Smith's punk rock alter ego.

Smith has said that she always considered herself a writer and that she became a rock star somewhat by accident. Yet the evolution of Smith's public image from punk poetess to bestselling author has only recently reached a tipping point. Even when she received the National Book Award in 2010 for *Just Kids*, some skeptics attributed her success as a writer to nothing more than a bad case of hero worship. Now with *M Train*, a brilliant and beautifully written follow-up to her acclaimed debut, Smith has solidified her place as one of today's top literary talents.

Smith's prowess as a writer can certainly be attributed in part to her voraciousness as a reader. Patti Smith does not simply read books; she surrenders herself to them. She writes that, as an adolescent, she would "enter a book so wholeheartedly it was as if [she] were living within it." "I finished many books in such a manner," she continues, "closing the covers ecstatically yet having no memory of the content by the time I returned home." Now in her sixties, Smith remains just as vulnerable to hypnotism by literature. When she finishes Haruki Murakami's 600-page novel, *The Wind-Up Bird Chronicle*, she imme-

diately turns the book over and begins to read it a second time. "I did not wish to exit its atmosphere," she writes, though she admits that her second reading was driven primarily by her obsession with the Miyawaki house, an abandoned residence that the novel's protagonist stumbles upon while searching for his cat. Eventually, Smith's enchantment with the house inspires a real-life trip to Tokyo.

It is a similar urge that takes her to King's College in Cambridge, where she hopes to locate the room where, in the book *Wittgenstein's Poker*, Karl Popper and Ludwig Wittgenstein quarrel with one another. In another chapter, Smith travels to French Guiana to collect pebbles from a penal colony described in Jean Genet's *The Thief's Journal*.

Patti Smith's *M Train* traverses the globe, taking the reader not only to Tokyo, Cambridge and French Guiana but also Berlin, Tangiers, Mexico City, Reykjavik and back to Manhattan. But the journey of the titular *M train* — a stand-in for "mind train" — is very much an internal one. This is a book about solitude, loss and mourning. Smith loses her husband, MC5 guitarist Fred "Sonic" Smith, to heart failure at age 45 and her younger brother Todd to a heart attack only a month later. She loses a beloved coat that she had received as a gift from a poet. She loses a Polaroid camera on which she had taken countless photos (some included in this book) of sacred objects — Herman Hesse's typewriter, Frida Kahlo's crutches, the interrogation room from "Law & Order: Criminal Intent." About halfway through the book, the Greenwich Village café where Smith spent nearly every day, huddled in a corner drinking black coffee and writing, closes down. Hurricane Sandy destroys the Rockaway Beach boardwalk where she recently bought a house. After the storm passes, the beach house somehow still stands tall and sturdy, surrounded by the wreckage of neighboring homes. "My Alamo," she calls it.

Smith's meditations on loss in *M Train* are some of the most wonderful passages in the book. After losing her tattered black coat, Smith writes: "Why is it that we lose the things that

we love and things cavalier cling to us and will be the measure of our worth after we're gone? Then it occurred to me. Perhaps I absorbed my coat. I suppose I should be grateful, considering its power, that it did not absorb me." By the end of the book, Smith stands alone, but tall and sturdy, having absorbed the many people places, novels and objects that she encountered in her life. As much as *M Train* is a dedication to lost objects — "An aria to a coat. A requiem for a café," she writes in her final chapter — it is best read as a book about solitude and the power of imagination. It is a lesson about growing old and the sustaining power of curiosity.

BOOKS

GENTRIFICATION AS ORAL HISTORY

The Edge Becomes the Center: An Oral History of Gentrification in the Twenty-First Century

DW GIBSON

OVERLOOK PRESS, 2015

By Matt Wasserman

It is a truth universally acknowledged among New York City tenants that the rent is too damn high. Nor will it come as news that whole swaths of the city have been undergoing a reverse White flight. In Brooklyn, where I live, largely Black and Latino neighborhoods have been invaded by hordes of White twenty-somethings. Strewn in their wake are purveyors of artisanal sandwiches and coffee shops offering pour-overs, usually unaffordable to the previous denizens of the neighborhood. Rent stabilization and rent control have likely lessened the impact of this transformation on long-time residents, but tenant harassment and buyouts remain rampant.

In *The Edge Becomes the Center*, Flatbush resident DW Gibson takes readers on a tour of the dark underbelly of rapidly changing neighborhoods. In a wide-ranging series of interviews, Gibson stakes his claim as an heir to the legacy of oral historian Studs Terkel by channeling the voices of those caught up in the churn of gentrification. Intensely attuned to the complexities and contradictions of lived experiences, he brings alive what could be the subject of a dry sociology monograph.

While Gibson shares the quintessentially New York fascination with real estate, his real passion seems to be for colorful characters. *The Edge Becomes the Center* features a veritable Greek chorus of them. His sympathies seem to largely lie with the low-income residents, housing court lawyers, Lower East Side squatters, left-wing professors and tenant union organizers fighting to keep New York affordable. But more interesting to me were his interviews with real estate brokers, contractors and others on the supply side of the equation. Gibson wisely refrains from commenting, allowing his subjects to hang themselves with their own words. The most damning interview is with a landlord who is largely unabashed about his racist practices, portraying his efforts to rid his buildings of residents of color as a response to

the demands of an affluent clientele. You can imagine their list of requirements for an ideal place: hardwood floors, exposed brick, granite countertops and, oh yes, no Black tenants in the building.

The strengths of Gibson's approach are also its weaknesses. *The Edge Becomes the Center* offers little by the way of analysis. It is loosely structured at best. And Gibson's politics are mushy: While his affinities seem to be with the left, the closest he comes to suggesting a solution for widespread displacement seems to amount to talking to your neighbors. Without some sort of larger organizing effort, this risks amounting to gentrification with a smile. But gentrification is about structural inequity, not individual malice; while the explicitly racist landlord makes for a good story, most landlords are motivated by green, not Black or White.

The Edge Becomes the Center is an engaging complement to the academic literature on the subject, but it mostly provides flavoring, not light. Readers interested in understanding gentrification would be better served checking out Neil Smith's *The New Urban Frontier*, Saskia Sassen's studies of the transformations in the urban landscape wrought by finance capital, such as *The Global City*, or Lance Freeman's research on residents of the rapidly gentrifying neighborhoods of Harlem and Clinton Hill, *There Goes the 'Hood*, to pick only some obvious examples.

In New York, it sometimes seems impossible to step out into the same street twice. However, while change may be a constant, displacement and dispossession need not be. Each of us participates in the housing market as atomized individuals or families, pitted against one another and subject to the whims of the lords of the land. Nonetheless, we can change the choices available to us through collective action. A previous generation of New Yorkers did just that in constructing affordable housing and passing rent regulation laws.

Many of us share some complicity, however unwilling, in the processes of gentrification. I certainly do. But, to paraphrase Joe Hill: don't feel guilty, organize.



STEPPING OUT: Crown Heights Tenant Union members march through their neighborhood in June, 2014.

AntiSocialStudies

editorial illustrations & cartoons by gee

Demographics of the Long-Term Unemployed

Those out of work for six months or longer now make up more than 40 percent of all unemployed. Here is a look at how their characteristics compare with those of the overall labor force.

Characteristic	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL LABOR FORCE	PERCENTAGE OF LONG-TERM UNEMPLOYED
SEX		
Male	53.4%	60.6%
Female	46.6%	39.4%
RACE		
White	4.4%	6.2%
Black	10.1%	12.7%
Hispanic	25 to 34	23.5%
Asian	35 to 44	19.3%
Other	45 to 54	21.7%
AGE		
18 to 24	15.0%	13.8%
25 to 34	21.7%	
35 to 44	21.4%	
45 to 54	23.1%	
55 to 64	15.0%	
65 and older	4.2%	

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www.antisocialstudies.com

Because the revolution WILL be drawn!

SOVIET PHOTO SURPRISES

The Power of Pictures: Early Soviet Photography, Early Soviet Film
THE JEWISH MUSEUM
THROUGH FEBRUARY 7

By Mike Newton

In *Workers' Cafeteria*, a photo taken in 1930 by Ukrainian-born documentarian Arkady Shaikhet, you can barely see the people for all of the light. Bolts of sunlight are streaming in from the large windows, spilling across the tablecloths and floorboards. It's a pleasant scene — it looks like a nice café — but the powerful light assumes an almost violent quality, turning all of the assembled workers into silhouettes and shadows.

Themes of energetic force and anonymity come up again and again in “The Power of Pictures: Early Soviet Photography, Early Soviet Film,” currently on view at the Jewish Museum. It's a good exhibition, tidily fitting years of history into a few galleries. It even includes a small movie theater, with a rotating program of Soviet cinema classics.

The legacy of Soviet art evades easy answers or simple summaries. A totalitarian state run by a censorship-happy central government should, in theory, be absolute anathema to artistic creativity, and yet the USSR made massive contributions to modern cinema and photography, not to mention painting, literature and graphic design, among other fields. Part of this is certainly thanks to the canny abilities of Soviet artists to sneak avant-garde ideas past the censors, but the Soviet leadership also embraced elements of the artistic avant-garde. Under Lenin, radically new approaches to making art were encouraged: a revolutionary creative culture to mirror the radically shifting culture at large. Stalin, as you might expect, wasn't as enthusiastic, but even he valued certain art forms for their powers to advance state-sanctioned ideology.

For example, it was Stalin's push for industrial modernization that led, in the 1930s, to the creation of the FED. A small camera manufactured in large quantities in Ukraine, the FED was meant to give ordinary Soviet citizens the ability to create high-quality photographs, though in true Stalinist fashion, it was named after a murderous police chief and is said to have been produced using forced labor. The exhibition also includes a 1938 issue of the

propaganda magazine *USSR in Construction* devoted to Soviet cinema. By then, the Soviet film industry was the third largest in the world. The magazine features a two-page spread in which an eager crowd has gathered

to watch an exciting war film, and floating above them all is Stalin himself, gazing benevolently upon the proceedings and, perhaps, watching the movie as well.

The exhibition tells us that while Soviet photographers under Stalin were increasingly pressured to shoot only subject matter that glorified the state, there were fewer restrictions on how they were to shoot these subjects. Boris Ignatovich's *Bath* and Alexander Rodchenko's *Dive* (both 1935) each show athletic, virile young men — subjects perfectly in line with the USSR's common extolling of physical fitness and youthful vigor — but in each shot, inventive framing turns the male body into a compressed, semi-abstracted form. It's as if avant-garde ideas were straining at the edges of the composition, trying to slip their way into the image.

This interplay between idealized representation and creative experimentation can be seen even more directly in photos of the Soviet military. Naturally, Soviet photographers were expected to highlight those qualities that made the Red Army so formidable: its advanced weaponry, dedicated soldiers and sheer size. Images of individual soldiers were eschewed in favor of photos that showed many soldiers grouped into imposing, orderly masses: marching across the Russian countryside, or standing rigidly at attention. Images like these, in which so many individuals are subordinated to a collectivized force, can be read not just as demonstrations of strength, but also as reflections on dehumanization and exploitation.

Georgy Petrusov's *Red Army Soldiers* (1939) is carefully composed so that no one man's face can be seen in full: a sea of outfitted soldiers where stray bits of flesh are quickly lost under waves of glinting helmets. Georgy Zelma's 1933 images of military parades are cropped in such a way that these arrays of marching men look less like people and more like currents of natural energy; meanwhile, a 1931 Zelma photo shows soldiers dwarfed by a skeletal power line. From a contemporary vantage point, it's easy to see such images as laments for lost humanity; it feels impossible that at the time, the photographers didn't

intend this, at least somewhat, themselves.

Amid these powerful images of athletes, locomotives, cannons and film stars, one may wonder: where are the farmers? One of the show's most singular images, Shaikhet's 1925 *Lenin's Light Bulb: Peasants Turn On the Electricity for the First Time* shows two peasants gladly examining their new, state-issued light bulb. They look bedraggled and tired, and one questions whether the last several years under Lenin have actually made things any easier (to say nothing of the Stalinist horrors to come). It's for exactly this reason that images of struggling peasants — in all their ordinariness — were discouraged under Lenin and basically disallowed under Stalin. The relative scarcity of such imagery in this show seems to reflect a broader problem with the USSR's approach to art or, for that matter, the problems of art-making within any censorious, totalitarian system. As with so much in the Soviet Union, leaders marshaled photographic and cinematic creation — with its sweeping, dramatic power and gleaming bright lights — into the service of ‘The People,’ too often leaving actual people struggling, somewhere, in the darkness.



Alexander Rodchenko, *Stairs*, 1929–30.

Arkady Shaikhet, *Assembling the Globe at Moscow Telegraph Central Station*, 1928.

Alexander Rodchenko, *Sports Parade on Red Square*, 1936.



MARK HOLDEN PHOTOGRAPHY © DREAD SCOTT

THRU MAR 16

\$14/\$10 for Students and Seniors/
Free Under 20

EXHIBITION: JACOB RIIS: RE-VEALING NEW YORK'S OTHER HALF.

A retrospective of the photographs and writing of the late-19th century newspaper reporter Jacob Riis, this exhibition chronicles Riis' use of photojournalism to illustrate the plight of impoverished residents of New York.

Museum of the City of New York
1220 Fifth Ave
212-534-1672 • mcny.org/jacobariis

THRU AUG 7

\$16/\$12 for Students and Seniors/
Free Under 19

EXHIBITION: AGITPROP!

A combination of "agitation" and "propaganda," Agitprop! traces the long relationship of art and social activism, featuring historical social movements and contemporary efforts by artists engaged across mediums as diverse as photography, film, prints, banners, street actions, songs, digital files, and web platforms.

Brooklyn Museum of Art
200 Eastern PKWY
718-638-5000 • brooklynmuseum.org

ONGOING

Free
CLASS: ADULT MENTAL HEALTH FIRST AID TRAINING.

The New York City Department of Health and Mental Hygiene offers these day-long training sessions specifically to non-mental health professionals. Attendees will learn to identify the early signs of common disorders and assess what to do next.

Various locations
nyc.gov/doh • mentalhealth-firstaid.org

ONGOING

Free (!)
SIGN UP FOR A NYC MUNICIPAL ID!

As The Independent went to press, it was announced that the NYC Municipal Identification Card -- which is open to all New Yorkers who are at least 14 years old, regardless of immigration status -- will remain free for a second straight year. The ID comes with a slew of benefits, including free one-year memberships in more than two dozen cultural entities such as the Bronx Zoo, the Brooklyn Museum and the New York City Ballet. To make a mandatory in-person appointment to receive a card, follow the link below.

IDNYC

nyc.gov/idnyc

SUN DEC 20

1pm • Free
FORUM: FEMINIST DISCUSSION OF MASCULINITY.

This discussion is a safe space to discuss the gendered expectations placed on men and boys in a patriarchal society, and how these have affected, and continue to affect, all of us. The forum is open to all, inclusive of gender and level of knowledge of the subject matter.

Bluestockings
172 Allen Street
212-777-6028 • bluestockings.com

MON DEC 21

7pm • Free
EVENT: CAMPAIGN FOR POLICE ACCOUNTABILITY -- GENERAL MEETING.

Jews for Racial & Economic Justice invite you to attend this monthly meeting with a focus on ending discriminatory policing in NYC. The meeting will include an update on work with Communities United for Police Reform, planning future "Know Your Responsibilities" workshops and legislative advocacy.

Jews for Racial & Economic Justice
330 7th Ave Suite 1901
212-647-8966 • jfrej.org

THU DEC 31

9:45/10pm • Free
BIKE RIDE & PARTY: NEW YEAR'S EVE RIDE

Join Times-Up for the direct action environmental organization's annual New Year's Eve ride and party. Bike or skate over the Williamsburg bridge and up to Central Park for a dance party. Non-riders are welcome to attend, simply meet at 11:45pm at Belvedere Castle. Dress festive ("don't forget noisemakers and party favors") and bring food and drink to share.

9:45pm Williamsburg Bridge at the Brooklyn entrance, OR
10pm Washington Square Park Arch, Manhattan
212-802-8222 • times-up.org

WED JAN 6

11am • Free
PARADE: 39TH ANNUAL THREE KINGS PARADE.

The Three Wise Men of the Christmas story are celebrated on this throughout Latin America and in El Barrio. The parade route runs from 106th and Lexington to 115th and Park. Attendees are invited to

a celebration at El Museo del Barrio after the parade. To register to march or volunteer, see the website below.

El Museo del Barrio
1230 5th Ave
212-831-7272 • elmuseo.org

FRI JAN 8

8:30pm • \$7 RSVP/\$10 at the door/
Free for groups of three or more.
EVENT: ART LOVHER ARTIST SALON.

ArtLovHer is an evening of drink, draw, and performance in a historic artist collective space. Each event features a gallery reception, a live model to draw and a featured performance, and closes with an open mic welcome to any form of artistic expression.

WOW Café Theatre
59-61 East 4th St
917-725-1482 • wowcafe.org

SAT JAN 9

7pm • Free
READING: COMING OUT LIKE A PORN STAR.

Contributors to Jiz Lee's upcoming anthology of essays on "coming out" about working in the adult industry will read their work. Lee's work spans a decade of queer pornography and hardcore gonzo adult film genres.

Bluestockings
172 Allen St
212-777-6028 • bluestockings.com

SAT JAN 9

8pm • \$18 suggested donation
PERFORMANCE: REGGIE HARRIS AND PAT WICTOR.

Join singers and guitarists Reggie Harris and Pat Wictor as they perform solo and together across a broad range of styles: everything from classical, folk, gospel and jazz to roots music, blues and country.

People's Voice Cafe
40 East 35th St
peoplesvoicecafe.org

TUE JAN 12

2pm • Free
EVENT: BROOKLYN AFTERNOONS: ART AND CONVERSATION FOR INDIVIDUALS WITH MEMORY LOSS.

Held during non-public hours, the Brooklyn Museum welcomes those living with memory loss and their caregivers to enjoy an afternoon of art, conversation, and each other's company within the museum's galleries. Wheelchairs and assistive listening devices are provided. Registration is required via email or by calling the number

below.

Brooklyn Museum
200 Eastern Parkway
718-501-6229 • brooklynmuseum.org

WED JAN 13

7pm • Free
DISCUSSION: ISIS: WHAT CAN BE DONE?

Phyllis Bennis, activist author of Understanding ISIS and the New Global War on Terror: A Primer, and David Wildman of the United Methodist Church Human Rights & Racial Justice, will discuss ISIS, U.S. policy in Iraq and Syria, conditions on the ground, and the refugee crisis.

The Brooklyn Commons
388 Atlantic Ave
718-624-5921 • brooklynpeace.org

WED JAN 13, 20 AND 27

7:30pm • \$25-45/No one turned away for inability to pay
CLASS: SEVEN ESSENTIAL STEPS IN MARX'S DIALECTICAL METHOD IN THREE NIGHTS

This three-night course will detail the seven steps in Marx's dialectical method through explanation and practice, with the ultimate goal of helping people think, study and act more dialectically.

The Brooklyn Commons
388 Atlantic Ave
marxedproject.org

TUE JAN 19

6:30pm • Free
SCREENING AND DISCUSSION: A PLACE AT THE TABLE.

This film looks at three American families and their daily struggle with hunger and sources of food. Director Lori Silverbush will be on hand.

Brooklyn Historical Society
128 Pierrepont St
718-222-4111 • brooklynhistory.org

TUE JAN 19

6:30pm • \$16/\$12 for Students & Seniors
PANEL DISCUSSION: HOUSING A GROWING CITY.

Urban planning professionals including housing advocates, city officials and community leaders will lead a discussion on NYC's affordable housing crisis, its origins and some possible solutions.

Museum of the City of New York
1220 Fifth Ave
212-534-1672 • mcny.org



JACOB RIIS / COURTESY OF THE MUSEUM OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

CHALLENGING

COMPLACENCY: Dread Scott is one of the artists whose work will be featured in Agitprop!, an exhibit at the Brooklyn Museum of Art that connects contemporary art devoted to social change with historic moments in creative activism.

THE OTHER HALF: Jacob Riis's work highlighted the plight of children like this one who grew up with their immigrant families in filthy, overcrowded tenement buildings in the late 1800s and early 1900s.

THE INDYPENDENT

We're celebrating our 15th anniversary this year. Publishing a newspaper every month for 15 years hasn't been easy. Our finances are often tenuous, but our readers have always made the difference. Now, we need to raise \$30,000 in our year-end fund drive to stay on track heading into 2016. Will you help?

WHEN YOU GIVE TO THE INDYPENDENT, YOU ARE SUPPORTING:

- Original, on-the-ground coverage of grassroots social movements here in New York and around the world.
- Critical writing and analysis for a broad public audience on issues of race, gender and class, war and peace, the environment and much more.
- The continued growth of our arts and culture section.
- Our long tradition of training and nurturing the next generation of radical journalists.
- The interplay of words with beautiful illustrations, photography and design that a print publication makes possible.

We are passionate about our work. But it takes money. So if you like what you see in the Indy, please give today!

Whether you can give \$25, \$50, \$100, \$200, \$500 or \$1,000, it makes a big difference.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR SUPPORT,
The Independent staff & volunteers

With a gift of \$100 or more, you'll receive the choice of personally signed books from two of our favorite authors: **THE FUTURE OF WHITENESS** by Linda Martín Alcoff, or **THE OCCUPIERS: THE MAKING OF THE 99% MOVEMENT** by Michael Gould-Wartofsky. With a gift of \$200 or more, you'll receive both books.

You'll also get these premiums by signing up at independent.org/donate as a monthly donor of \$10 and \$20, respectively.



ERSELLIA FERRON



OZIER MUHAMMAD

YES! I WOULD LIKE TO MAKE A GIFT: \$25 \$50 \$75 \$100 \$250 \$500 \$1000 \$ _____

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THE FUTURE OF WHITENESS THE OCCUPIERS

TO MAKE A GIFT, YOU CAN WRITE A CHECK OR MONEY ORDER TO "THE INDYPENDENT" AND SEND IT TO 388 ATLANTIC AVE., 2ND FL., BROOKLYN, NY 11217.

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