

THE INDYPENDENT

#240: OCTOBER 2018 • INDYPENDENT.ORG

**WILL NYC SAVE
MOM & POP
SHOPS?
P6**

**NOVEMBER
ELECTIONS
P11**

**SONGS OF
RESISTANCE
P19**

WE WILL BE HEARD

**THERE'S A CULTURAL REVOLUTION
UNDERWAY THAT BRETT KAVANAUGH'S
CONFIRMATION CAN'T STOP.
LINDA MARTÍN ALCOFF, P4**





THE INDEPENDENT



THE INDEPENDENT, INC.
388 Atlantic Avenue, 2nd Floor
Brooklyn, NY 11217
212-904-1282
www.independent.org
Twitter: @TheIndependent
facebook.com/TheIndependent

BOARD OF DIRECTORS:

Ellen Davidson, Anna Gold,
Alina Mogilyanskaya, Ann
Schneider, John Tarleton

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF:

John Tarleton

ASSOCIATE EDITOR:

Peter Rugh

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS:

Ellen Davidson, Alina
Mogilyanskaya, Nicholas
Powers, Steven Wishnia

ILLUSTRATION DIRECTOR:

Frank Reynoso

DESIGN DIRECTOR:

Mikael Tarkela

DESIGNERS:

Leia Doran, Anna Gold

DIGITAL MEDIA DIRECTOR:

Elia Gran

INTERNS:

Chelsey Sanchez

GENERAL INQUIRIES:

contact@independent.org

SUBMISSIONS & NEWS TIPS:

submissions@independent.org

ADVERTISING & PROMOTION:

ads@independent.org

VOLUNTEER CONTRIBUTORS:

Linda Martín Alcoff, Sam
Alcoff, Charlyne Alexis, Gino
Barzizza, Bennett Baumer,
Yousef Oussama Bounab,
Pooja Chopra, Valerio Ciriaci,
Rico Cleffi, Anne Derenne,
Federico di Pasqua, Renée
Feltz, Lynne Foster, Esteban
Guerra, Lauren Kaori
Gurley, David Hollenbach,
Gena Hymowech, Manvi
Jalan, Gary Martin, Lydia
McMullen-Laird, Charina
Nadura, Farid Nassif,
Alex O'Brien Nicoll, Brady
O'Callahan, Donald Paneth,
Dean Patterson, Mark Read,
Reverend Billy, Erin Sheridan,
Steven Sherman, Apoorva
Tadepalli, Naomi Ushiyama,
and Amy Wolf.

VOLUNTEER DISTRIBUTORS:

Erik Anders-Nilssen, Eric
Brelsford, Chris & Pam
Brown, Hank Dombrowski,
Joseph Epstein, Ed Fanning,
Kim Frazcek, Lew Friedman,
Mindy Gershon, Tami Gold,
Allan Greenberg, Priscilla
Grim, Zack Kelaty, Michael
Korn, Jane LaTour, Dave
Lippman, Ashley Marinaccio,
Saul Nieves, Caroline Rath,
Liam Reilly, and Carol Smith.

COMMUNITY CALENDAR



EVERY MONDAY

6PM–6:30PM • FREE
RADIO: INDY RADIO NEWS
Tune in Mondays at 6pm to
catch our new weekly news
broadcast with hosts Elia
Gran and Lydia McMullen-
Laird.
WBAI 99.5 FM

THRU OCT 21

Times vary • \$79
THEATER: *WHAT THE CON-
STITUTION MEANS TO ME*
Fifteen-year-old Heidi
Schreck put herself through
college by giving speeches
about the U.S. Constitution.
Now, the playwright and
Obie Award-winning actor
resurrects her teenage self
in order to trace the docu-
ment's profound impact on
women's bodies — starting
with her great-great-grand-
mother, a mail-order bride
who died under mysterious
circumstances.
NEW YORK THEATRE
WORKSHOP
79 E. 4th St., Mnhtn

THU OCT 11

6PM • \$25–\$105
PARTY: WAR RESISTERS
LEAGUE'S 95TH ANNIVER-
SARY CELEBRATION
War Resisters commemo-
rates nearly a century of
vibrant, cross-movement
community building by hon-
oring activists committed to
peace and justice.
DCTV
87 Lafayette St., Mnhtn

THU OCT 11

6:30PM–9PM • FREE
SCREENING: *THE IRON
TRIANGLE*
For decades, the Iron
Triangle at Willets Point in
Queens has been the site of
an interconnected network
of hundreds of small auto
repair shops. But with

the Iron Triangle declared
a blight and marked for
lucrative redevelopment,
the working class of Wil-
lets Point face off against
gentrification and urban re-
newal for the future of their
livelihoods and community.
A discussion will follow this
documentary screening.
NEW YORK PUBLIC
LIBRARY – SEWARD PARK
BRANCH
192 E. Broadway, Mnhtn

OCT 15–NOV 19

MON, 6PM–7:30PM • \$18 a
session
DANCE: AFRO-PUERTO-
RICAN BOMBA DANCE W/
JULIA GUTIERREZ-RIVERA
Tap into one of the old-
est dance and musical
practices of the Caribbean
during this special class of-
fered by one of today's most
noted Bomba dancers, Julia
Gutiérrez-Rivera. Classes
feature live drumming and
are open to all skill levels
and appropriate for all
genders.
FIT4DANCE
778 Nostrand Ave., Bklyn

MON OCT 15

6:30PM–8PM • FREE
PHOTOGRAPHY: LIVING IN
SANCTUARY: AN EVENING
WITH CINTHYA SANTOS-
BRIONES
Documentary photographer
Cinthya Santos-Briones will
share her latest work from
her ongoing, long-term proj-
ect about undocumented
families living in sanctuary
in NYC churches. Angelo
Guisado, staff attorney at
the Center for Constitu-
tional Rights, and Anu
Joshi, Immigration Policy
Director at the New York
Immigration Coalition join
her to discuss strategies for
resisting President Trump's

draconian immigration
policies.
59 East 4th St., Rm 7W,
Mnhtn

MON OCT 15

6:30PM–8:30PM • FREE
PANEL: REPORTING ON
IMMIGRATION
Journalists and grassroots
advocates discuss the
impact immigration cover-
age has had on immigrant
communities and explore
ways reporters can amplify
the stories of immigrants
more safely, ethically and
effectively. Panel moder-
ated by Garry Pierre-Pierre,
founder of the Haitian
Times and CUNY's Center
for Community and Ethnic
Media.
THE NEW SCHOOL WEL-
COME CENTER
72 Fifth Ave., Mnhtn

WED OCT 17

7PM–9PM • \$6–\$15
HISTORY: MUSIC, RESIS-
TANCE, REPRESSION
Using music, video selec-
tions, news clippings and
records from extensive
Freedom of Information Act
filings — including never
before released material
— historians Mat Callahan
and Aaron Leonard tell the
story of how some of the
most prominent folk singers
of the twentieth century
were subject to government
surveillance and suppres-
sion.
THE PEOPLE'S FORUM
320 West 37th St., Mnhtn

OCT 20–NOV 10

TUES & THURS, 10AM–
12PM • FREE
CLASS: CITIZENSHIP
PROJECT CIVICS COURSE
Through the Citizenship
Project, the New-York
Historical Society offers

civics classes for green
card holders on the path to
American citizenship. The
24-hour course prepares
permanent residents for the
civics test portion of the
U.S. Citizenship and Immi-
gration Services naturaliza-
tion interview. Participants
will explore the Historical
Society's museum and learn
about American history and
government using objects,
paintings and documents
from its collection. Classes
are taught in English and
are accessible to English
language learners.
NEW-YORK HISTORICAL
SOCIETY
170 Central Park W., Mnhtn

OCT 20–DEC 16

THU–FRI, 3–7PM; SAT–
SUN, 1–5PM • FREE
EXHIBITION: WAR AND
PEACE IN LIBERIA
Tim Hetherington and Chris
Hondros' powerful photo-
graphs played an important
role in moving the world
to action and ending the
Second Liberian Civil War
(1999-2003). Hondros risked
death to send frontline im-
ages of women and children
being killed by the hundreds
to front pages around
the world. Hetherington
embedded with soldiers
fighting dictator Charles
Taylor's forces and provided
documentation of the rebels
shelling civilians. He was
also targeted by Taylor's
assassination squads.
BRONX DOCUMENTARY
CENTER
St. Mary's, 364 E. 151st St.,
Bronx

SUN OCT 21

7:15PM & 9:15 PM • \$22
SCREENING: *NOSFERATU*
WITH A LIVE SCORE
A masterpiece of Ger-

man Expressionism, the
power and beauty of F.W.
Murnau's unauthorized
adaptation of *Dracula* has
not diminished in the slight-
est almost a century since
its original release. Watch
it as musicians with Tenth
Intervention provide the
score.
VIDEOLOGY BAR & CINEMA
308 Bedford Ave., Bklyn

WED OCT 24

6:30PM–8:30PM • \$5
PANEL: THE PATH TO A
POST-RIKERS NYC
Hope for breaking the brutal
violence of Rikers Island
with a 10-year plan to close
the complex raises new
questions on accountability,
bail reform, borough-based
jails, inmate release and
the persistent inability to
operate a humane criminal
justice system, regardless
of location. Experts from
the CUNY Institute for State
and Local Governance, the
Mayor's Office of Criminal
Justice and the Vera Insti-
tute weigh in.
BROOKLYN HISTORICAL
SOCIETY
128 Pierrepont St, Bklyn

THU OCT 25

2:20PM–3:45PM • FREE
TALK: OSCAR LÓPEZ
RIVERA: PUERTO RICO'S
FUTURE
Puerto Rican independence
leader Oscar López Rivera
spent 35 years in prison for
"seditious conspiracy" until
his sentence was commuted
by President Obama in
2017. He discusses the state
of the independence move-
ment in the context of the
island's ongoing financial
crisis and Hurricane Maria.
GUTHART CULTURAL CEN-
TER THEATER AT HOFSTRA
UNIVERSITY

ADVERTISE IN THE INDY

UNIQUE AUDIENCE • AFFORDABLE RATES • PERSONAL ATTENTION
FOR MORE INFORMATION, EMAIL ADS@INDEPENDENT.ORG OR CALL 212-904-1282

THE INDEPENDENT

OCTOBER

IN THIS ISSUE

COMING FORWARD, P4

We are living through a cultural revolution in which more and more women refuse to remain silent.

KNEE TO THE GROIN, P5

A woman describes how she survived two attempted rapes.

SAVING NEW YORK, P6

A bill to preserve NYC's small businesses might finally have its day after 32 years.

BRIEFS, P7

Fossil fuels, corruption and a bit of good news too.

CLEANING UP THE INDUSTRY, P8

Laundry workers are fighting for higher wages and safe working conditions in El Barrio and beyond.

ONE FOR ALL, P9

A new movement breeds solidarity among construction workers.

THE GREAT GREEN HOPE, P10

The Green Party's Howie Hawkins is the only progressive left in the governor's race.

HOW'S IT GOING TO END? P11

Local and state races to watch in the midterm elections on Nov. 6.

THIS IS HOW IT IS DONE, P12

Progressives could learn a few lessons on building power from their GOP nemesis.

TRUTH & RECONCILIATION, P14

After decades, French authorities cop to the torture and execution of a young activist in Algeria. But the case is far from closed.

FRED MCDARRAH'S NEW YORK, P17

When the Village was both the edge and the center of American culture.

KICKING IT, P18

Recent memoirs recount the rise, fall and redemption of two of rock and roll's great radicals.

OLD SONGS FOR A NEW DESPOT, P19

Guitarist Marc Ribot and friends retool the protest song and take on Trump.

TEMPERATURE RISING, P20

Michael Moore asks what went wrong on Nov. 9, 2016 and what can we do now.

THE GREAT (AND SECRET) AMERICAN BAKING CHAMPION, P21

Vallery Lomas won one of the most watched cooking shows on TV. Here's why you haven't heard of her.

TRUMP HELP HOTLINE, P22

Our advice columnist answers readers' questions on travel, America and ORWGs (old, rich, white guys).

779 Hempstead Turnpike, Hempstead, NY

FRI OCT 26

7PM-12AM • \$5-\$10
PARTY: REAL MONSTERS!

Freddy Krueger may chase us in our nightmares, but plenty of real monsters — landlords, bosses, wardens and bankers — stalk us during our waking hours. Drink and dance away the horrors of medical debt, college loans and high rents. Proceeds benefit Mayday Space, a multi-story organizing center and social hub in Bushwick.

MAYDAY SPACE
176 St Nicholas Ave., Bklyn

SAT OCT 27

11AM-5PM • FREE
HISTORY: THE LEGACY PROJECT:

ARCHIVES FOR BLACK LIVES
Rooted in perseverance and self-documentation, this hands-on, intergen-

erational event gathers Black memory workers from across the country to explore the purpose and need of archives for Black lives. Do you or your folks have a special or important physical photo that you don't know what to do with? The experts with the Legacy Project will share their knowledge and resources with you.

WEEKSVILLE HERITAGE CENTER
158 Buffalo Ave., Bklyn

SAT OCT 27

8PM-12AM • \$15 suggested donation
PARTY: RED SCARE

Dress as your favorite revolutionary or wear something red (and spooky) to this fundraiser for the Democratic Socialists' Central Brooklyn branch.

VERSO BOOKS
20 Jay St., 10th Fl, Bklyn

FRI NOV 2

11PM • \$20

MUSIC: AWESOME TAPES FROM AFRICA (ATFA)

Using twin tape decks to unleash rare disco, soul and pop releases from West Africa onto the dance floor, ATFA's DJ set is unlike any other. Joining ATFA are special guests Dâm-Funk, nicknamed the "ambassador of boogie-funk," and Miranda Maxwell.

ELSEWHERE
599 Johnson Ave., Bklyn

MON NOV 5

6:30PM-8:30PM • FREE

TALK: ANGELA DAVIS
Activist, scholar and writer Angela Davis discusses politics and aesthetics in the era of Trump, #MeToo and Black Lives Matter. RSVPs open Oct. 15 at nyuskirball.org.

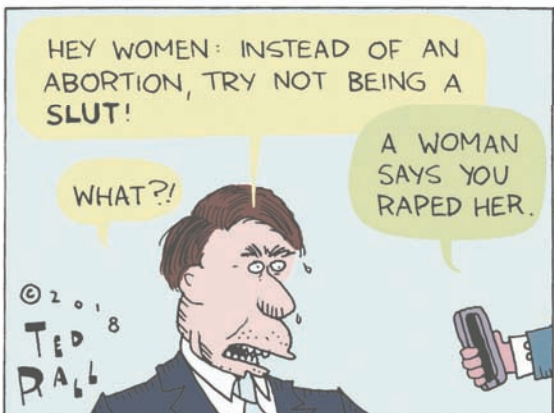
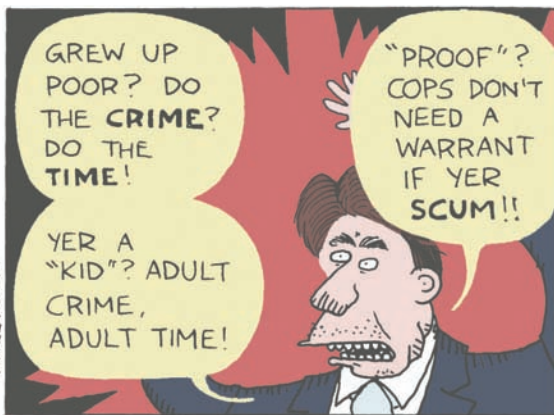
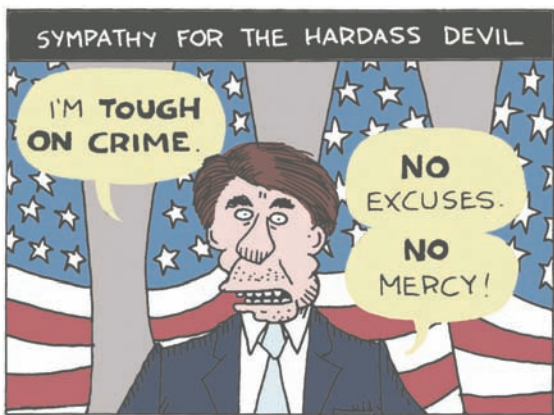
NYU SKIRBALL
566 Laguardia Pl, Bklyn

SPOILS OF WAR:

July 20, 2003: Joseph Duo, a Liberian militia commander loyal to the government, exults after firing a rocket-propelled grenade at rebel forces at a key strategic bridge in Monrovia. Among the photos on view at the Bronx Documentary Center starting Oct. 20.

SHOW & TELL:

Rosdely Ciprian and Heidi Schreck in *What the Constitution Means to Me* at the New York Theatre Workshop through Oct. 21.

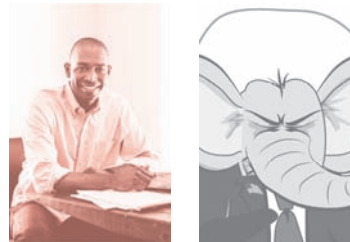


9-18-18

© CHRIS HONDROS/BETTY IMAGES

JOAN MARCUS

TED RALL



#METOO AFTER KAVANAUGH

BY LINDA MARTÍN ALCOFF

We can't say we didn't try. Anti-rape activists all over the country mobilized and marched and called out senators with new forms of heartfelt testimonials combined with direct action in elevators! With Brett Kavanaugh's Supreme Court nomination now confirmed, we know we lost the battle, but we found some new allies, new insights, and new methods to win the war.

What we witnessed is, in a real sense, the "best case scenario" for accusers of sexual assault. The principal accusation against Kavanaugh, as made by Christine Blasey Ford, was taken seriously. Her charge was investigated by the FBI. She had an excellent team of lawyers. Major media across the country sent investigative journalists of their own to follow through on the details of the case, and gave her story serious coverage. Both print and digital media solicited opinion essays by well-known feminist commentators.

And, of course, Blasey Ford is white, middle class, mature in age, the mother in a reassuringly heterosexual family and a professional whose expertise includes memory functions of the brain. She's even blond.

Furthermore, Blasey Ford's accusations were supported by other women, women she did not know previously. These women reported eyewitness accounts of similar behavior from Kavanaugh, involving alcohol-fueled sexual misconduct that occurred in close proximity to his male buddies, possibly for their benefit as much as his. Like Blasey Ford, these accusers have all gone on the record in public. Even if their accounts were not followed up by the FBI, they made it into the public airwaves. And, Blasey Ford was willing to subject herself to hours of public testimony in which a traumatic event in her life would be picked apart. She had to face questions from not just a single skeptical attorney, as many accusers must face, but a room full of them.

In sum, we have watched as these accusers — Blasey Ford, Ramirez and Swetnik — attempted to use official channels, to play by the book, to 'cooperate,' to follow the rules.

And yet, within 36 hours of her accusation becoming public, Blasey Ford had to relocate herself and her family from their home because of credible death threats. She had to move locations under cover of darkness as if she had threatened a Mafia crime boss. The domestic-violence support organization that Deborah Ramirez is affiliated with also had to institute security measures against threats it received, and Ramirez had to take leave from her job as volunteer coordinator at a Housing and Human Services Department in Boulder. Swetnik's credibility was attacked by a former boyfriend who made a charge against her about a different and irrelevant case, and as a result, her account in the Kavanaugh case was ignored. The very idea of gang rapes perpetrated by white male high school students was castigated as ridiculous. This reminded me of the Senators in 1991 who expressed naïve surprise at Anita Hill's descriptions of the pornography scenes Clarence Thomas described to her. Uh huh.

Although the Kavanaugh case involved a rarified class in this society, replete with prep schools and auspicious careers, the effects of the debates and decisions that result from it will reverberate on every level of society. Character assassination of Ford will affect those considering coming forward. Repeated debates over the length of time it took her to come forward

will work to shame some into continued silence. For whom are such events as Ford describes forgettable? For whom are such events a nagging torment? For whom is it safe to speak up? Anyone?

The threats and repercussions faced by Kavanaugh's accusers are not uncommon outcomes. Twenty percent of victims say they are not reporting because of fear of retaliation, primarily economic or physical. For this and other reasons, incidents of sexual violation, ranging from harassment to rape, are the most under-reported form of crime. By conservative estimates, two out of three are never reported to the police. Those that are reported are very unlikely to result in convictions. In fact, out of every 1000 rapes, 994 will result in no conviction.

Do we still need to wonder why victims rarely report? Or why they or their advocates seek out "unofficial venues" to warn others while maintaining their anonymity? Can anyone still believe that non-victims spread false accusations just for the glory of being a victim?

The peril faced by Blasey Ford and her family was witnessed around the country, but the usual scenario is a persecution carried out in the safety of the private sphere. A student stops coming to class, a co-worker leaves without explanation, a friend stops answering emails. To ensure their safety, and to lessen the scope of the retaliation, victims ghost their friends, their families, their own public lives. They delete twitter and facebook, leave jobs, and move.

Because of my scholarship in the area of sexual violence, I've had many students come to me over the years, looking for support, suggestions, safety. Some had their tires slashed, others had their friends harassed, their doors pounded on at all times of the night, their phones ringing off the hook. One received threatening letters from the perpetrator that he would be back to 'finish the job.'

Now that there are more highly publicized cases like Ford's, the retaliation can be spread to an anonymous army, an unseen horde of guerilla-style anti-feminist activists. Their motivation is not based on knowing the accuser or accused personally; rather, they are clearly incensed at the growing power that victims—generally women—are gaining in the public sphere. This power was represented by Kavanaugh in his opening statement as a 'whirlwind,' a maelstrom of female emotion and confusion that will bring anarchy to our hallowed institutions.

This may seem like more than a bit of hysteria on Kavanaugh's part, but it is true that this case was indeed at the nodal point of an intense political and cultural war zone, between political parties and political ideologies. At stake is the future of critical social policies that will affect millions of lives. And, because this case was so much in the headlines, it will have an impact on the capacity of victims to make accusations after a long time has passed, on the norms of teenage sexual behavior, and on the ways in which accusations will be heard, judged, and discredited in the future. This is what no doubt motivated the armies of skilled internet trolls who tried to silence Kavanaugh's accusers.

Yet, in the ordinary cases of

sexual assault accusations, one may still wonder about why there is such a low incidence of reporting. Why do victims of sexual violations so often remain silent, failing to report even serious crimes to the police?

Conservatives contended that delay is an obvious sign of malfeasance, an indication of deceit. Any self-respecting woman would defend her honor immediately, they suggested, if she were truly violated. Any innocent accuser would refuse any further contact or communication with the man who assailed her dignity. Any other sort of behavior on her part is a sure sign that the charge is a falsification.

Some liberals contended, on the other hand, that silence is the effect of trauma. The crime itself is what silences victims by producing a heightened emotional state where fear determines all their actions.

Both are wrong. Silence and the decision not to report these kinds of assaults is socially orchestrated, man-made. It is the result neither of deceit nor the natural conditions of trauma. Children are happy to tattle. Adult women have an innate capacity to speak up for themselves. But this capacity is ambushed by social conventions about speaking about our sexual lives in detail, speaking against those with more social status than we have, speaking about our own, as opposed to others' oppressions.

What made the Senate Committee confirmation hearings a "circus," exactly? My suspicion is that many of those who declaimed this event as a "circus" find any detailed discussions of sexual events distasteful in the public sphere. The topic breaks a taboo of polite speech. The particulars are uncomfortable to hear the first time, much less repeated. The inevitable images that come to mind are repugnant. The calm and rational, civil disputations that many conservatives imagine to have heretofore ruled the nation's elite institutions cannot share space with these images of hands passing over bodies, mouths forcibly shut, penises thrust in faces, queues of boys awaiting the chance to engage in serial rapes. There is no way to speak about such events with language that will not be considered a transgression on polite civility.

Maybe it is natural that no one really wants to be forced to hear these descriptions of disturbing events. But some may also feel they are entitled to live in a genteel world where ugly and unpleasant stories can be kept out of the room.

Continued on page 23

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN ACT'S UNCERTAIN FUTURE

While the Brett Kavanaugh confirmation hearings and the allegations of sexual assault brought against him by Christine Blasey Ford and at least two other women dominated headlines in September, the 1994 Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) was set to expire.

As a part of a larger short-term spending package that will avoid a government shutdown ahead of the midterm elections, Congress approved a short-term extension to the VAWA on Sept. 28. It ensures funding for support services for victims of sexual assault and domestic violence receive will continue through Dec. 7.

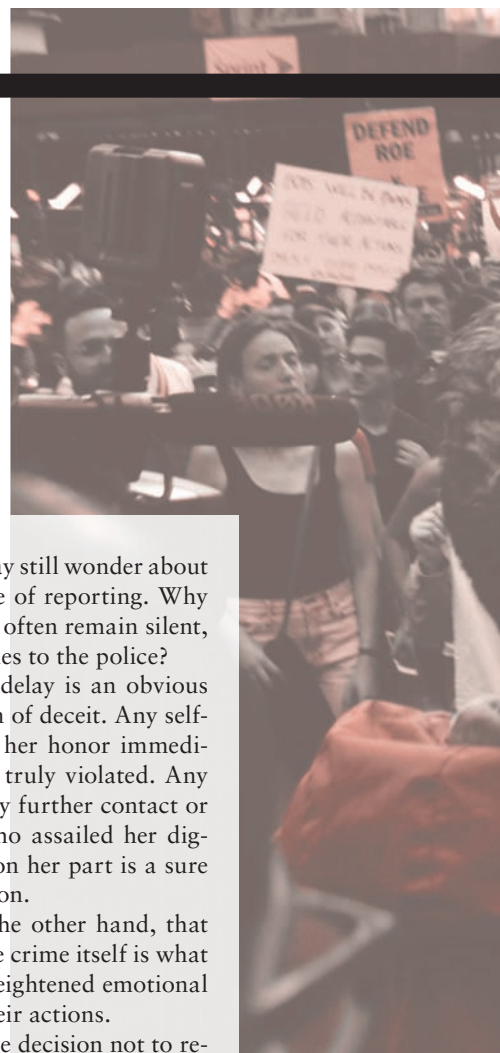
The Democrats say they want VAWA strengthened. A reauthorization bill introduced by Rep. Sheila Jackson Lee (D-Texas) in July would prevent individuals convicted of sexual

violence from purchasing firearms. Other added provisions would help victims of stalking and domestic abuse secure stable housing and prevent evictions based on the acts of an abuser.

Lee's bill also bolsters efforts to combat sexual assault on tribal lands, granting tribal law enforcement access to federal crime databases, and affirms native jurisdiction over non-Indian offenders. There are no Republican sponsors behind the legislation, making it unlikely to pass.

Republicans have expressed concerns over the fraud and waste of VAWA funds. They introduced a bill of their own in September that would extend the VAWA as is for six months, allowing time to negotiate changes.

— INDYPENDENT STAFF





HOW I FOUGHT MY RAPISTS & WON

BY CAROL LIPTON

The best way to stop rape in our culture would be for men and boys to stop raping. In the meantime, we women have to be ready to defend ourselves though, depending on circumstances, it's not always possible.

In my lifetime I have successfully fought back against two armed rapists, one when I was 25, another when I was 48. I don't ever want to have to do that again.

The first was in Washington, D.C., my last year in law school. I didn't know him, and he came up upon me in the street brandishing what appeared to be a 6-inch hunting knife. He grabbed me by the right arm, which was his mistake, because I'm left handed. When he told me to "Shut the fuck up, bitch!" after I offered him money, I realized his goal was to rape me and maybe kill me.

I was 5 foot 4 inches and weighed about 120 pounds. In that moment I remembered what I read about martial arts, that you attack your opponent when he is off-center. As we turned to go into the alley, I swung around with my left hand and in midair, grabbed the blade of his knife. I was not cut. I quickly managed to get it pointed it right at his heart, about 1 inch away. Then I had a split second to make a decision — do I toss the knife, or do I stab him in the heart and have his blood gush all over me?

I decided that I would disarm him. I threw the knife away, and started screaming at the top of my lungs. Not a single person on Swann Street NW came out of their houses to help me.

He landed a very powerful punch right between the eyes and sent me flying in the air, landing me on the street, badly hurting my back. Since I thought he might have a gun, I immediately began rolling over, as in basic training, until I saw him run away.

At the police lineup two weeks later, I met a pair of women from Antioch Law School who he raped. They were very angry that I didn't kill him.

The second time was a push-in intruder to my Brooklyn apartment. He held a gun to my right temple for about 13 minutes, during which time he asked for my PIN number, pistol whipped me when I initially made a beeline for the front door, took my wallet and wedding ring. He handcuffed me behind my back, which hurt like hell. I'm a pianist, and my hands are very important to me. I asked myself what Charlie's Angels would do, and I wriggled out

of the handcuffs with my right hand, pretending to still be cuffed behind my back. After he sat me down on the bed in my darkened apartment, I saw my opportunity as he was unwrapping a piece of duct tape to put over my mouth and was not looking at me.

I kned him in the groin with my left knee, then grabbed the barrel of his gun with my left hand, till I had it pointed down at the floor, all the while screaming loudly enough to wake the dead. He kicked me with a shoe that had cleats on it, and started to run out of my apartment. I chased him to the door and pushed him out, yelling "Get the fuck out of my apartment motherfucker!" and slammed the door on him. This time, the entire building and several neighbors who heard me scream gave chase. But because he had a stocking over his face, I was unable to identify him.

This time, my right ulnar nerve was permanently damaged, so I have tremendous weakness in my right hand and drop things all the time. I didn't realize until I was in the emergency room how badly he had beaten me. I had no insurance at the time. I waited two years for Crime Victims to give me approval for psychotherapy, but could not afford to lay out the money for therapy and wait months for reimbursement, so I've never had treatment.

I've never had nightmares, but the way my PTSD manifests is I am extremely aware of anyone in my space, and I don't want anyone walking behind me. I jump any time a car backfires. And I'm on edge and super alert every time I leave my apartment or go into an elevator.



OUTRAGED: Nearly 1,000 protesters marched on the Yale Club in mid-Manhattan on October 1 to voice their opposition to the Supreme Court nomination of Brett Kavanaugh, a Yale alumnus.

SPEAKING OUT: Participants in the Sept. 30 March for Black Women called for the Kavanaugh nomination to be rejected and for the permanent extension of the Violence Against Women Act.

CHELYN SANCHEZ

ELIA GRAN

DEFENDING MOM & POP

BY APOORVA TADEPALLI

Sick of the chain pharmacies plastering New York's corners with stock photos of grotesquely happy people? The Windex windows, wall-to-wall carpeting and Muzak atmosphere of fecundating bank branches? Tired of peering into the dark, padlocked spaces where your favorite butcher, vinyl purveyor, hairdresser used to greet you and wondering why the place has sat vacant for months? Feeling lost in a city that looks more and more like a suburb of itself day by day?

New York's small businesses employ more than half of the city's overall workforce. They often serve as a first rung up on the economic ladder for working-class immigrants. And they are part of what makes New York New York.

"These small businesses are run by human beings, with families, with culture, with history in their neighborhoods, connecting to social networks that keep people in their neighborhoods alive," says Jeremiah Moss, author of *Vanishing New York*. "In order to have a healthy city you need to have long-lasting stable businesses."

Marni Halasa, who runs Red Eye Coffee in Chelsea with her husband, says that even though her store is small, it is popular because she and her spouse have created an intimate atmosphere. "People come to see my husband," she says. "My husband knows when their grandkids are coming to visit them, when their kids are graduating, when they're going on vacation — it's what New Yorkers need! You don't need an impersonal chain store. You need someone who knows your name."

The lease on the couple's café expires this year and Halasa says their landlord is hiking their rent well beyond what they can manage: "We feel like we're in a chokehold. Either we take it or we have to leave. It's really difficult because most spaces are even more expensive."

There's a bill before the City Council that could help Halasa and thousands of small business operators like her but the legislation has atrophied at councilmembers' fingertips for three decades since it was introduced in 1986, largely thanks to the power of the city's real estate lobby. This October, however, the Small Business Jobs Survival Act (SBJSA) is slated to have another chance at passage.

Here's what the bill does for mom-and-pops:

- Requires landlords to notify commercial tenants 180 days before their leases expire and inform them whether they will be granted an option to renew and, if not, provide a valid reason why.
- Gives small-business renters the option of signing a 10-year lease.
- Enables them to send lease disputes to binding arbitration.

- Sets a cap on security deposits.
- Imposes "prohibitions on landlord retaliation."

"Small businesses are the backbone of our economy and are major employers," Councilmember Ydani Rodriguez said in a statement when he reintroduced the bill in March. "The pizzerias, the bodegas, the hardware stores, the Jewish bakeries, the Indian restaurants, among many others, have all shaped the character and culture of New York City that must be protected."

In August, Council Speaker Corey Johnson announced he would allow a public hearing on the legislation. Johnson has expressed concern over the number of vacant storefronts and chain stores proliferating throughout the city but has so far shirked from taking a public position on SBJSJA.

"This hearing will be an opportunity for stakeholders and experts to present testimony and answer questions so the council may fully evaluate the bill on its merits," he told *The Independent* via email, describing protecting small businesses as a top priority.

"They should have passed this bill 30 years ago," complained writer and New York historian Luc Sante. "There's a crisis. You have rows and rows of storefronts that are just shuttered because nobody can meet rent that's being demanded by these commercial landlords."

Sante and others have also called for a vacancy tax that would penalize large landlords for leaving properties empty, a practice often carried out in the hopes of luring wealthier tenants. Mayor Bill de Blasio has said he supports such a tax but opposes SBJSJA.

Nevertheless, Moss and others are cautiously optimistic that this time the bill will receive a fair public hearing and that political pressure could lead to enough support on the council to withstand a mayoral veto and/or change de Blasio's mind if it passes with a simple majority.

"It's wise to support this [bill]," said Moss. "Since the election of [Donald] Trump, we're seeing a spectacular rise in interest in democratic socialist movements. We're seeing progressivism come back into popularity and this is a progressive bill."

Currently, 15 councilmembers have lined up to sponsor SBJSJA but, in 2009, 32 lined up behind it and it was set to pass. Yet then-Speaker Christine Quinn (who is eyeing a bid for Public Advocate) refused to bring the bill to the floor. She cited talking points from the Real Estate Board of New York (REBNY), which claimed the legislation impinges on private property rights and that it is a form of rent control, which is regulated by the state under the 1971 Urstadt Law.

A recent New York Bar Association report concurred with the latter assessment, although SBJSJA does not impose restrictions on the amount of rent landlords charge, merely binding arbitration.

On the matter of private property, New York City actually had commercial rent control beginning 1945.

It withstood numerous attempts to overthrow it in the Court of Appeals until it was eventually allowed to expire in 1963.

The city's Law Department raised no qualms with SBJSJA when the bill was originally introduced. Its alleged illegality only became an issue in 2009 when it looked set to pass, but it has since become the most frequent explanation given for not backing the legislation offered by the mayor and councilmembers, who straddle a line between satisfying their constituents and keeping out of REBNY's crosshairs.

"REBNY has been holding this back," says Kirsten Theodos, cofounder of TakeBackNYC, a coalition of small business owners, residents and advocacy groups who support SBJSJA. "They have an unlimited amount of resources and it's no secret that in New York City and in Albany they have a strong hold on our elected officials."

Given REBNY's reach, she is less optimistic than Moss that the legislation will pass this time around.

Corey Johnson received \$63,000 from developers when he last ran for office, part of a \$500,000-campaign chest that he shared with other candidates who later helped him secure the speakership in December. Nevertheless, Johnson's office said the speaker is weighing the bill on its merits, not its legality.

"What is vital here is that we discuss policy issues related to the bill," a spokesperson told *The Indy* on Johnson's behalf. "Bills are amended during the process and we are not going to tie ourselves to a legal interpretation."

TakeBackNYC wants clarity going forward.

"The best thing to do is to get in writing from the speaker's legal department — is the SBJSJA constitutional or not? Does New York City have the ability to enact this piece of legislation or not?" Theodos said.

The Small Business Congress, which also supports the legislation, is planning to boycott the upcoming hearing. It is convinced that Johnson is not as dedicated to giving the bill a fair airing as he claims and notes that the Small Business Committee chair, Mark Gjonaj opposes the legislation.

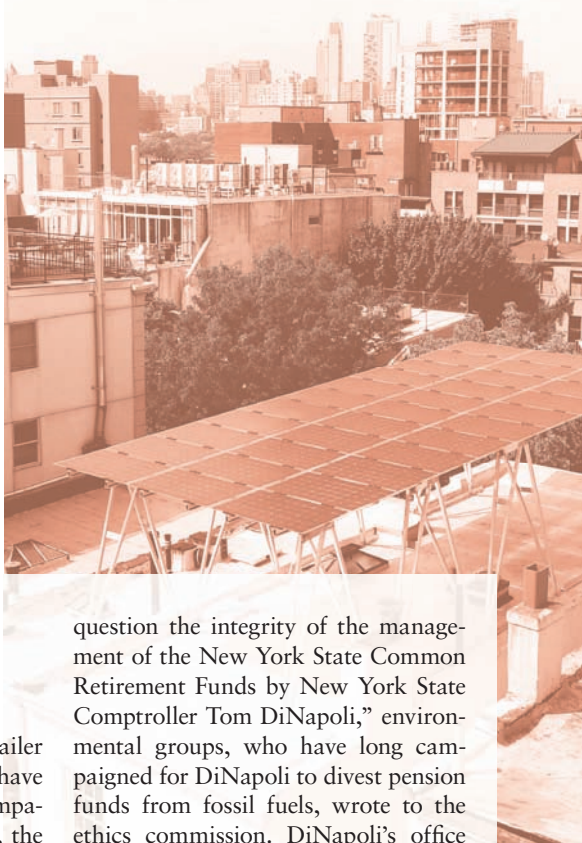
Even if SBJSJA clears the council, it could hit a dead end when it reaches de Blasio's desk, should advocates fail to garner a two-thirds majority to override the mayor.

"If the mayor thinks he can veto this bill and there not be a massive blowback to his political career, then he doesn't understand New York," Friends of SBJSJA member David Eisenbach told *The Indy*.

De Blasio's office did not respond to requests for comment.



ON A LEASH: A customer and his pooch squeeze into Marni Halasa's coffee shop in Chelsea. Halasa says her landlord is putting the squeeze on her.



BROOKLYN SOLAR CANOPY COMPANY

BY THE INDEPENDENT STAFF

AMAZON FEELS THE BERN

In news surrounding the mega retailer Amazon, New York appears to have been spared the presence of the company's HQ2. Meanwhile, on Oct. 2, the mega-corporation announced it could spare the change to provide its employees a minimum \$15 an hour. "This is what the political revolution is all about," said Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.) who has led a months long campaign calling on Amazon to pay its employees a living wage.

Last year, Amazon stoked fears of gentrification in New York and cities across North America when it announced it was looking for a location to establish a second corporate headquarters on the continent. Now it seems the company is zeroing in on towns in the Washington, D.C. metro area. Amazon's founder, Jeff Bezos, met with the governors of Virginia and Maryland last month. The company already has a growing presence in New York, however, including a 855,000-square-foot distribution center in Staten Island, expected to be fully operational by Christmas, and has signed a 15-year lease at Brookfield Properties' 5 Manhattan West in Midtown that will be home to its fashion, advertising and web services divisions. Amazon also owns the Whole Foods grocery chain, which operates 14 outlets in New York.

DIRTY POWER

Environmental groups sent a letter to the NY State Joint Commission on Public Ethics on Sept. 24, calling for an investigation after a report produced for WNYC revealed that the state's top pension officer took a job with Williams Companies after investing public funds in the natural gas conglomerate. According to the report, Vicki Fuller left her position overseeing the \$207 billion state retirement fund this summer and that same week took a seat on Williams' board. During Fuller's tenure at the comptroller's office, the state pension fund invested over a \$100 million in Williams bonds — even as the company's stock value sunk by as much as 20 percent. It also used its position as a major Williams shareholder to back executive payouts totaling \$62 million between 2014 and 2016.

"Ms. Fuller's appointment calls into

question the integrity of the management of the New York State Common Retirement Funds by New York State Comptroller Tom DiNapoli," environmental groups, who have long campaigned for DiNapoli to divest pension funds from fossil fuels, wrote to the ethics commission. DiNapoli's office says it cleared Fuller of wrongdoing after an internal review. Meanwhile, Gov. Andrew Cuomo's current campaign manager is a registered Williams lobbyist. The company, in the midst of seeking regulatory approval from the state to build a pipeline in Rockaway, Queens, has put \$100,000 toward Cuomo's re-election this year. Cuomo's friend, former-campaign manager and ex-chief of staff, Joseph Percoco, was sentenced to six years in prison on Sept. 20 for accepting \$300,000 in bribes from two power companies with business before the state.

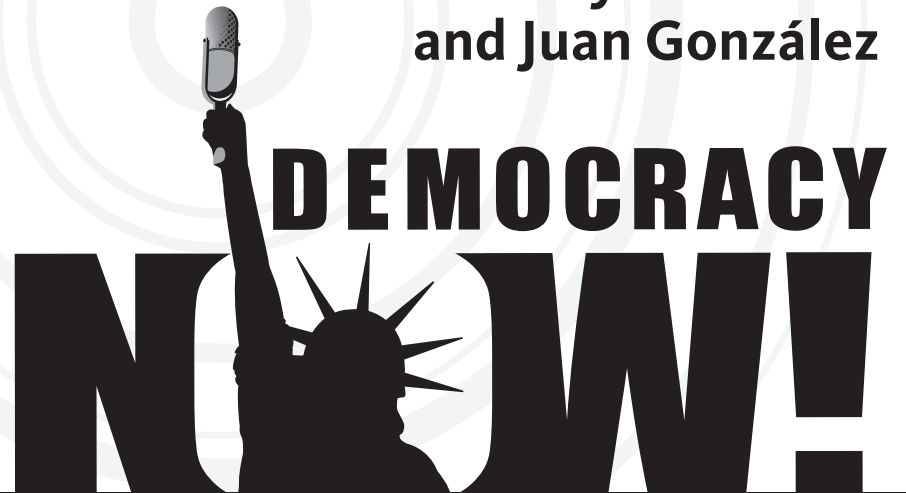
GREEN ON GREEN

While the state comptroller's office finds itself enmeshed in a scandal surrounding fossil fuel investments, NYC announced plans to put \$4 billion from its pension funds toward renewable energy by 2021. The investment, double the city's previous goal, comes after NYC comptroller Scott Stringer announced NYC would begin withdrawing funds from fossil fuel entities in January.

THE INVISIBLE WALL

Visa and Green Card applicants will no longer be guaranteed the opportunity to make corrections should the lengthy forms they must submit contain errors or lack information. Immigration advocates describe the policy, which went into effect on Sept. 11, as the latest brick in the "invisible," bureaucratic wall the Trump administration is erecting while the president calls for one to be built at the border. Also in September, the Trump administration announced plans to render recipients of federal food and housing assistance ineligible for Green Cards. New York City officials say such a move could impact the lives of nearly a million New Yorkers.

A Daily Independent
Global News Hour
with Amy Goodman
and Juan González



DEMOCRACYNOW.ORG
Tune In Live Every Weekday 8-9am ET

- Audio, Video, Transcripts, Podcasts
- Los titulares de Hoy (*headlines in Spanish*)
- Find your local broadcast station and schedule
- **Subscribe to the Daily News Digest**

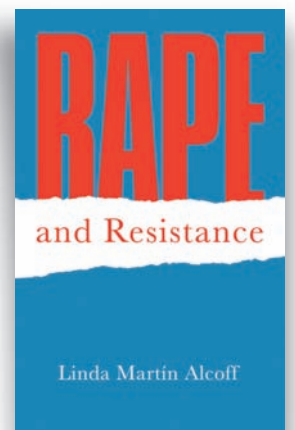
Follow Us @ DEMOCRACYNOW



20% discount to readers of
The Independent

RAPE
and Resistance

Linda Martín Alcoff



"Alcoff's groundbreaking book draws on the author's decades of experience as a scholar, an activist, and a survivor."

Alison M. Jaggar, University of Colorado at Boulder

"Alcoff's work is consistently insightful, clearly written, and well argued ... The best book I have read in several years."

Debra L. Jackson, California State University, Bakersfield

May 2018 / 280 pages / 978-0-745-69192-3 / paperback / \$24.95 **\$19.96**

Go to politybooks.com and use promo code **IND18**

*Offer valid until November 30th 2018.

polity
politybooks.com

RINSE & REPEAT

LAUNDRY WORKERS FIGHT TO END DIRTY LABOR PRACTICES

BY ALEX O'BRIEN NICOLL

The crowd gathered in Thomas Jefferson Park in East Harlem on June 28 was drenched but determined. They huddled under umbrellas, jumped over puddles forming at their feet and covered their signs with garbage bags to keep them dry.

Mahoma Lopez Garfias, co-director of the Laundry Workers Center (LWC), brought the crowd together for a rally as the rain stopped.

The protest was a bit of a coming home for the LWC. The group formed in 2011 to organize the laundry industry but the numerous laundromats, each with a limited number of employees proved more challenging than expected, so instead the center began to focus on other low-wage, high-immigrant industries. Most recently, the group led a campaign to unionize B&H Photo's warehouses. Seven years later, it is back where it originally intended to begin.

"This is a groundbreaking campaign," the center's other co-director, Rosanna Rodriguez-Aran, says. "We're trying to bring changes to the industry. Not just for this group of workers but for everyone."

Juana (who declined to give her last name because of anti-immigrant sentiment) and Nicolas Benitez, the only two employees of TYS Laundromat in East Harlem, spoke in Spanish through a megaphone. They detailed their grievances: earning less than the minimum wage, receiving no gloves, masks or even toilet paper from their employer, no overtime pay or breaks either. Juana said that she had contracted gastritis while handling soiled laundry.

With the help of the LWC, Juana and Benitez have been meeting with other low-wage workers and labor advocates over the past eight months in the hope of building a coalition to support their efforts to organize not just their shop, but hundreds like it across the city. In the midst of a summer thunderstorm, at least 50 people turned up to support them.

The rally marked the inauguration of the first organized retail laundromat in New York, and potentially in the United States. The employees named their campaign Awakening, as they intend to be an example for laundry workers around the city — and potentially, across the country — to collectively bargain with their employers.

There is virtually no union density in the non-industrial laundry field. The combination of small, diffuse workplaces and a largely immigrant workforce afraid of retaliation, has made the industry very hard to organize. This leaves a large void for the non-traditional and worker-led organizing tactics of the LWC.

The rally followed the release of the center's "Report on Working Conditions in the Retail Laundromat Industry." Researchers surveyed 100 laundry employees in New York City, uncovering harsh and illegal working conditions. The LWC hopes to use the report to lobby the City Council to pass a law providing stronger protections for those employed in the 2,000-plus laundromats citywide, potentially modeled on the New York Domestic Workers Bill of Rights, passed by the state legislature in 2010.

"We are looking at different models and are looking to see what we can use for all of the industry," said Rodriguez-Aran.

The study was the culmination of two-and-a-half years of work, aided by the Urban Justice Center's Community Development Project. LWC staff conducted the interviews for the project, while the Community Development Project trained researchers and helped to analyze the data. It provides groundbreaking information about retail laundromat workers, who, the survey found, are 99 percent people of color, 86 percent female and 79 percent immigrants. Laundry workers often work alone or with only one other employee, and as a result, 54 percent experience some form of harassment, often from customers. A quarter of workers who reported harassment had been called racial slurs at work.

They are often underpaid and overworked. One in five workers were paid less than minimum wage, according to the survey, while 36 percent of workers were underpaid or not paid at all for overtime. Almost a third of workers

did not receive any sick days or time off and 15 percent were not provided breaks.

Virtually all workers, 99 percent, have been exposed to hazardous materials while doing their job. This has led to roughly a quarter developing allergies and a fifth experiencing skin conditions. Often the worst exposure is from soiled clothes that customers bring in. Garfias heard workers complain of laundry bags full of blood, bed bugs and cockroaches. One worker, he said, "found a dead cat in a laundry bag." Meanwhile, one in five laundry employees were forced to purchase their own protective gear.

Benitez and Juana raised objections over their working conditions to their employer before connecting with the LWC but these were ignored. Benitez has worked at TYS Laundromat for eight years, after moving to New York from Guerrero, Mexico, Juana has worked there for ten, but neither know their bosses' real names. Instead, they call their male boss Roco and their female boss Bena.

The pair met Garfias when he came to the laundromat to gather information for the center's report. Benitez and Juana filled out the survey and said they wanted to learn more. They contacted the center again in October 2017 and their training as activists began.

The LWC encourages workers to be union organizers themselves, instead of clients of a staff of professionals. This point is extremely important for Garfias, who himself came to organizing through a LWC campaign while working at an uptown bakery. While he is now a full-time organizer, he's found campaigns only work when the workers are in charge.

"We can't lead the campaign for them," Garfias said. "They have to be in front. They have to build power in their community. They have to build power in the workplace."

As the sun burned away the clouds on June 28, the protesters marched half a mile down 116th Street, the heart of El Barrio, to TYS Laundromat. Rush-hour commuters held their fists in the air and honked their horns in a show of support. The march entered the laundromat and snaked between the washing machines, startling customers and one of the managers. The demonstrators chanted until it was time for Benitez and Juana to present their demands: minimum wage instead of \$8.25 an hour they earn, protective gear and breaks on the job.

Benitez said he felt a combination of fear and nervousness. "But also a lot of power."

A few days later, he and Juana had their hours cut. The center's legal counsel told the laundromat owner that it would sue if the retaliation continued. Shortly thereafter, the pair's hours were restored and their demands were met.

While the campaign was a success in this instance, the center knows the industry is too fractured for it to train leaders at every laundromat in the city — not that that is going to stop the LWC from reaching as many workers as possible.

"Going laundromat by laundromat is going to be labor intensive but someone needs to do something," said Rodriguez-Aran. "The alternative is no one handling this and that's why conditions are so bad."

The center is also preparing legislation for the City Council that will protect laundromat workers from on-the-job hazards. Garfias anticipates it will be ready within two years. LWC organizers have already met with Councilwoman Diana Ayala (D-East Harlem) multiple times. They plan to have laundry workers drive the creation of the legislation.

"They're the experts," said Garfias. "They're the persons who spend half of their lives on the job. They know what they really need."



MAKING A SPLASH:

Union supporters occupy the TYS laundromat in East Harlem earlier this summer.

ERIK MCGREGOR

UNDER CONSTRUCTION

#COUNTMEIN PROTESTS PRESS DEVELOPERS TO RESTORE UNION JOBS

BY STEVEN WISHNIA

As the sky lightens on Thursday mornings, construction workers stream down the streets west of Penn Station, men and a few women clad in lime-green and orange T-shirts, blue jeans and work boots, their hands clutching large coffees. Their hard hats are festooned with stickers — including a green rectangle that reads “#CountMeIn.”

#CountMeIn is a campaign and a movement that began last fall, as workers began holding weekly rallies outside Hudson Yards to protest developer The Related Companies’ use of nonunion labor on the behemoth West Side project. Related had signed a “project labor agreement” with the New York City Building and Construction Trades Council, the umbrella coalition for the city’s construction unions, to use exclusively union labor on the first phase. But it refused to do that for the second phase, instead hiring contractors using a so-called “open shop” mix of union and nonunion workers.

At 50 Hudson Yards, a 58-story office tower Related says will be the city’s fourth largest when it’s completed in 2022, union officials say it has brought in nonunion laborers, operating engineers and metallic lathers, the workers who build the metal frameworks that reinforce floors and hold walls.

“It’s terrible,” Abraham Hernandez, 66, a 39-year member of Metallic Lathers and Reinforcing Ironworkers Local 46, said while doing an informational picket at the site in July. “Carpenters, ironworkers, laborers, concrete. And they’re paid lower money.”

Construction workers “have had enough of corporate greed and are fighting back by demanding middle-class wages, a fair work environment and access to quality jobs,” Building Trades Council President Gary LaBarbera said in a statement to *The Independent*.

Nonunion contractors have been gaining an increasing share of the city’s construction industry for years.

“In the ’80s, we did everything,” says veteran Laborers organizer Mike Hellstrom, assistant business manager of the four-local Mason Tenders District Council, speaking to this reporter for *LaborPress* in early September. But now, work on smaller residential buildings is almost entirely nonunion.

Developers like Macklowe Properties, JDS Development Group, and Two Trees have used nonunion labor on high-rise apartment buildings in Manhattan and Brooklyn. At JDS’s 111 West 57th Street, an 82-story tower where apartments start at \$18 million, workers were paid as little as \$15 an hour and the general contractor was indicted in May for allegedly cheating more than 500 employees.

Related is now trying to use nonunion labor on large commercial buildings in Manhattan, the industry’s most solidly union sector. “Commercial construction is our bread and butter,” says Hellstrom. Over the last five years, he says, anger among rank-and-file workers has reached “a boiling point.”

A spate of fatal accidents increased that anger. In 2015, 25 construction workers in the city were killed on the job; in 2016, 21 were. More than 90 percent of them were nonunion workers, according to the New York Committee for Occupational Safety and Health.

On nonunion jobs, former workers say, they often don’t have basic safety protections such as being “tied off” with a harness to restrain them if they fall. “Open shops” are also dangerous, union officials say, because nonunion workers generally don’t get the safety training union apprentices do.

Large developers have historically been willing to pay extra for union labor because they get the job done faster and better, but the open-shop model revolves around using union workers for more skilled tasks and nonunion to save money on others. Building-trades unions also see it as a divide-and-conquer tactic.

“It’s not about saving nothin’. It’s about breaking us,” Mason Tenders District Council business manager Bobby Bonanza told a Times Square rally in April.

The Building Trades Council has a much more symbiotic relationship with the Real Estate Board of New York, the trade group representing large developers, than most unions do with their employers because they depend on development to get work. They strongly supported the Hudson Yards project, a heavily subsidized mix of offices and luxury housing that was the centerpiece of Mayor Michael Bloomberg’s vision for the West Side, on the grounds that it would bring them jobs.

They did ally with the tenants movement in protesting Mayor Bill de Blasio’s 2014 affordable-housing program, as his administration refused to use union labor. That alliance has largely faded, although smaller groups of union workers such as Laborers Local 79 continue to protest the plan’s rezoning schemes.

But Related, whose owner, Stephen Ross, is a former chair of REBNY, has attacked the unions both in the courts and in the press. In March, it sued the Building Trades Council and LaBarbera for \$75 million, charging that the unions had fraudulently inflated costs at Hudson Yards, such as by having workers being paid \$42 an hour delivering coffee and lunch. (Most high-rise construction sites are closed to outsiders, so delivery people can’t get in.)

The legal case parallels a publicity campaign. For the last three years, the Center for Union Facts, an anti-union propaganda outfit run by lobbyist Richard Berman, has been running ads, launching websites and publishing newspaper columns accusing the building-trades unions of racism, with “bosses male, pale and stale” and blaming LaBarbera personally for the subways being screwed up.

The building-trades unions were largely segregated until the late 1960s, but blacks, Latinos and Asians are now a majority of union construction workers in the city and more than 60 percent of apprentices, according to a 2017 report by the Economic Policy Institute. The nonunion sector is more than half Latino and largely immigrant — many of them undocumented, which makes them much more vulnerable to wage theft.

#CountMeIn began with the weekly protests at Hudson Yards by the rank and file but has expanded to include larger rallies organized by the union leadership. A Union Square demonstration in May centered on the Building Trades announcing their endorsement of Gov. Andrew Cuomo.

Their tone has gotten more militant. In August, 37 people were arrested in a sit-in on Park Avenue across from the National Football League headquarters. (The connection: Related’s Stephen Ross owns the Miami Dolphins.) But the protests, like street demonstrations in general, are still symbolic.

If the unions were to try to stop work at Hudson Yards, that would likely run afoul of federal laws against “secondary boycotts,” which prohibit unions from going on strike against employers they don’t have a direct dispute with. In May, Related filed a complaint with the National Labor Relations Board after members of Steamfitters Local 638 briefly walked out to demand that the developer use union sheet-metal workers.

Union members see Related’s actions as a war on working people’s right to make a decent living. “My goal is to breed solidarity,” Laborers Local 79 member Justin Badagliacca, 36, said during a rally in March. “These guys want their employees to live in fear, so they can’t say, ‘I don’t want to do this, it’s unsafe.’”

“I think they want the title of ‘the guys who took down New York City unions,’” he added.

ALL TOGETHER NOW:
#CountMeIn demonstrators take part in a sit-in on Park Avenue.



STEVEN WISHNIA

LAST MAN STANDING

HOWIE HAWKINS IS THE ONLY PROGRESSIVE LEFT IN THE GOVERNOR'S RACE. BUT IS HIS PARTY STILL RELEVANT?

BY PETER RUGH

Howie Hawkins is running for governor but that's not why he's here. That's what the retired UPS worker in the dark gray suit tells the crowd of about 40 people who assembled to mark the seven year anniversary of Occupy Wall Street on Sept. 17 in the place where it all went down.

"I'm here because I'm a veteran occupier," says Hawkins, who helped organize a parallel encampment in Washington, D.C. in 2011.

Would the lifelong activist have been on hand at Zuccotti Park if he weren't running for office? Hard to say. The race is what brought the Syracuse native to New York City to begin with and, as he prepared to zig-zag his way campaigning across the state from Manhattan to Buffalo, it was certainly on his mind. The large stack of green pamphlets he'd stowed on a nearby marble bench testified as much.

Nevertheless, Hawkins, who dropped out of Dartmouth College just shy of graduation in 1977 because didn't want to wind up a paper pusher for the rich, addressed the crowd in language more of protest than politics. "You never know when you start something that it's going to be the event that changes history," he said, reflecting on Occupy's fight of economic equality and comparing it to movements he participated in as a young man — Civil Rights and the anti-Vietnam war effort. "Don't give up, keep agitating and we will make progress."

That's essentially Hawkins' motto. The 65-year-old retired Teamster is making his 22nd bid for elected office. So far he is zero for 21. But now that the hullabaloo surrounding this year's Democratic primaries has died down, he is hoping larger swaths of New York beyond the limited group here in Zuccotti will start paying attention.

In a year where Democratic voters have shown a keen interest in ruffling the feathers of the establishment, Hawkins is the only progressive left standing in the New York governor's race.

He has a message for the half million people who voted for Cynthia Nixon, Gov. Andrew Cuomo's defeated left-wing challenger in the Sept. 13 Democratic primary: "I'm you're Plan B."

Hawkins has crafted a platform that is in some ways more sophisticated than Nixon's. For instance, when it comes to rent regulation, Nixon called for universal rent control but said nothing about the Urstadt Law, which grants lawmakers in Albany, many of whom come from Republican districts upstate and receive hundreds of thousands of dollars in campaign contributions from downstate developers, a say in New York City's rent regulations. Hawkins would give the city home rule when it comes to rent law.

His platform also goes a few steps further than Nixon's or that of any of the other high-profile progressives in New York of late who have identified as socialists and run on the Democratic line.

"Their idea of socialism is basically old-fashion liberalism," he tells me. "I haven't heard a proposal from any of them saying, 'We want a public bank or public energy or partial socialization of any damn thing.' They're not talking about a new economic system. They're talking about social programs, which socialists support, but the difference between us and the liberals is we really mean it and the system really can't get it. That's why our slogan is 'demand more.'"

Hawkins helped found the Green Party in 1984 with the aim of taking the energy of social movements and transferring it to the ballot box. Many have sprung up since — global justice, anti-war, climate, Occupy, Black Lives Matter, #MeToo — yet the Greens have secured few ticks in the W column. Hawkins says the Greens' tactic has always been to get a grip on power through down-ballot races and rise from there, though even local victories

have been elusive over the past 34 years. Party members currently hold roughly 150 out of the 511,000 elected offices that exist in the United States. For his part, Hawkins has run for city council and mayor in Syracuse, for county executive, state comptroller and thrice for governor — all to no avail.

While he is critical of both Democrats and Republicans, Hawkins reserves his strongest disdain for the Working Families Party (WFP), a rival third party with ties to labor unions and community-based organizations like Make The Road New York and New York Communities for Change. Where the Greens reject any relationship with the Democratic Party, WFP regularly alternates between competing against establishment Democrats and supporting them, depending on circumstances.

In 2014 WFP backed Cuomo in the primary and the general. Following the election, Cuomo rewarded his labor allies by signing into law a \$15 minimum wage. This year WFP backed Nixon in the primary along with progressive challengers who knocked off seven pro-corporate Democratic incumbents in the state Senate. On October 3, WFP's central committee voted to replace Nixon with Cuomo as their candidate in November to ensure the 50,000 votes need to maintain their ballot line in New York State for the next four years.

"The thing Working Families is afraid of most is being accused of splitting the Democratic vote and a Republican getting elected," Hawkins says. He has fewer qualms about that. Marcus Molinaro, the Republican gubernatorial candidate, "may be marginally worse than Cuomo but he can't do any really bad things cause he's got to deal with a Democratic Assembly and

IS IT BETTER TO WORK INSIDE OR OUTSIDE THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY? OR DO BOTH?

probably a Democratic Senate. So relax. Vote for who you want."

Hawkins and the Greens want as many Democratic voters to come to their side as they can get. He accuses WFP of compromising its values in order to secure influence in the Democratic Party and argues Cuomo is more likely to notice Green Party votes since they count against him: "If you vote for Cuomo, even on the Working Families side, you get lost in the sauce if you're a progressive. He'll take it as a mandate for what he's talking about cause you voted for him."

This argument helped Hawkins garner nearly 5 percent of the general election vote when he last ran for governor in 2014 following on the heels of Zephyr Teachout's surprise showing that year when she tapped into anti-Cuomo discontent and won 34 percent of the Democratic primary vote and half the counties in the state.

Hawkins says his 2014 vote total helped subsequently force Cuomo's hand on imposing a permanent ban on fracking and freezing plans to tie teacher evaluations to student test scores — two issues that riled liberal voters that year. He hopes to catch a similar tailwind this year following Nixon's spirited primary run.

But to what end?

Before Bernie Sanders' presidential run, choosing between triangulating centrist Democrats and doomed third-party protest candidates was, with few exceptions, the best the left could hope for from electoral politics. Since

MAN WITH A MESSAGE: Howie Hawkins wants Cuomo's left-wing critics to vote for him as their "plan b" now that Nixon is out of the race.



ERIN SHERIDAN

SWING THIS WAY

NY RACES COULD DETERMINE HOUSE OF REPS OUTCOME

BY INDEPENDENT STAFF

Democrats need to gain 23 seats in November to regain control of the House of Representatives. If they succeed, they can launch multiple investigations into the Trump administration's misdeeds and make the next two years quite miserable for the President. Whether this happens could turn on the outcomes of several races in New York State where Democratic challengers are locked in tough battles with pro-Trump Republican incumbents.

2ND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

PETER KING VS.

LIUBA GRECHEN SHIRLEY

A pro-Trump immigrant basher and virulent Islamophobe, Peter King has held his congressional seat along Long Island's South Shore for a quarter century. His district went for Trump by nine points in 2016 after voting Democrat in the five previous presidential elections.

His opponent Liuba Grechen Shirley, a 37-year-old mother of two, is half King's age and hopes to ride a blue wave of anti-Trump sentiment to victory over King. Grechen Shirley founded a Long Island chapter of Indivisible, a liberal grassroots group, after Trump's election. She tried to find a candidate to run against King before having an epiphany: "I was waiting for the right person to run against him," Grechen Shirley told the New York Times, "and a few months later, I realized I was that person."

Refusing to take corporate money, Gretchen Shirley raked in \$700,000 in individual contributions by August, more than the combined total of King's five previous Democratic opponents. She's running the same kind of intensive door knocking campaign that Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez used to knock off Queens Democratic Party boss Joe Crowley in their June primary. Gretchen Shirley made headlines earlier in the summer when she successfully appealed to the Federal Election Commission to be able to use some of her campaign funds to pay for child care so she could spend more time campaigning, a first for any candidate. If elected, she says she will make access to affordable childcare one of her top issues.

19TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

JOHN FASO VS.

ANTONIO DELGADO

The 19th Congressional District, which covers the Hudson Valley and Catskill Mountains, voted twice for Obama, then went for Trump in 2016. It's never been represented in Congress by someone who was non-white but that could change this year.

Antonio Delgado won a seven-way primary in June and polls show him in a neck-and-neck race with incumbent Republican John Faso. A former Rhodes Scholar and lawyer from a half-Black, half-Hispanic working class family in Schenectady, Delgado has called for a public option for Medicare that would allow anyone who wishes to join the program to do so.

Yet, this race has increasingly become about race. Delgado finds himself under attack from Faso for his past a decade ago as an obscure rapper named AD the Voice whose discography rails against white supremacy, poverty and systemic racism. "[He] denigrated our nation and the free enterprise system," Faso complained in a New York Times editorial.

Delgado has refused to apologize.

24TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

JOHN KATKO VS. DANA BALTER

Hillary Clinton won this district by four points. Running on a platform of support for Medicare for All, the elimination of cash bail and moving towards 100 percent clean energy, Syracuse University professor Dana Balter won her primary in June over an establishment opponent backed by the national Democratic Party. She now finds herself going up against John Katko, the district's Republican representative since 2014. Balter trailed Katko by 15 points, according to an August poll. However in early October she reported she had raised \$1.5 million in the third quarter of the year from more than 40,000 individual donors, ensuring she can run a strong race all the way to the finish line.

THE CHALLENGER:

Antonio Delgado is running against incumbent Republican

John Faso in a congressional district that covers the Hudson Valley and the Catskill Mountains.



INDIVISIBLETHEFIGHTISON.COM

THE TOWN HALL PRESENTS

LEFT, RIGHT & CENTER LIVE!

DECISIONS X
DECISIONS X

NEW YORK CITY ★ NOV 7TH

KCRW.COM/LRCLIVE

ANA MARIE COX
LEFT

JOSH BARRO
HOST & CENTER

RICH LOWRY
RIGHT

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 2018 • 8PM

KCRW is taking *Left, Right & Center* on the road - just in time for the 2018 midterm elections that will decide which party controls Congress. Join **Josh Barro, Rich Lowry, Ana Marie Cox**, and a host of luminaries from across the political spectrum for a rollicking examination of the issues confounding our country. Imagine the most intensive, in-depth political analysis you've ever experienced - only fun!

LRC Live - because you have decisions to make.

TICKETS AVAILABLE AT TICKETMASTER.COM AND THE TOWN HALL BOX OFFICE (M-S 12-6PM)

THE TOWN HALL

123 W 43RD ST NYC | THETOWNHALL.ORG

CONNECT: @TOWNHALLNYC

SOCIAL JUSTICE TOURS

Social Justice Tours engages New Yorkers in critical dialogue by exposing injustice and highlighting inequality in an effort to encourage thought and inspire action.

UPCOMING WALKING TOURS!

Vegan Food

LOWER EAST SIDE

Saturday, Oct. 6 & 20 @11am

Women's History

WEST VILLAGE

Sunday, Oct. 7 & 21 @2pm

Gentrification

DOWNTOWN BROOKLYN

Saturday, Oct. 20 @12pm

Trump

MIDTOWN

Sun, Oct. 13 & 20 & 27 @12pm

Queer History

WEST VILLAGE

Saturday, Oct. 13 & 27 @2pm

Environmental Justice

GOWANUS

Sunday, Oct. 28 @12pm

BOOK NOW AT SOCIALJUSTICETOURS.COM

Social Justice Tours is a 501(c)(3) nonprofit grassroots organization. Visit us at socialjusticetours.com/support to find out how you can support our growth.

11

October 2018 THE INDEPENDENT

THE LONG GAME

WHAT WE CAN LEARN FROM THE REPUBLICANS' RISE TO POWER

BY JOHN TARLETON

Looking back at the history of how the Republican Party has gained so much power over the past half century and used it to move a deeply reactionary agenda, two conclusions leap to mind.

The first is that we're in deep trouble and the end game is coming into view. The ultimate Republican goal is to erase all the progressive gains of the 20th century from civil rights for historically oppressed groups to New Deal economic reforms and make it impossible for the rule of money and white supremacy to be challenged again in the future.

The short-term fix is to vote the Republicans out of power wherever possible in 2018 and 2020. But that's only a band-aid. Going back to the tepid centrism long favored by Democratic Party leaders is a dead-end. So how do we take the surge of protest and activism of the past couple of years and ensure that it isn't a temporary spasm of outrage but the opening salvo in advancing a transformative agenda for an inclusive, multi-racial democracy where everyone can flourish?

Ironically, the conservative movement has left us with a gift which is the history of their own example. Ruthless and amoral but also persistent, strategically savvy, willing to do the nuts and bolts work of building power and undisciplined by setbacks experienced along the way, conservatives have advanced their world view and policies from the margins to the center of our political system. We don't have 40 plus years to achieve the same but should draw whatever lessons we can from the past to help us envision how to win the future we want.

1971 BIG BUSINESS GETS ORGANIZED

Corporate lawyer and future Supreme Court Justice Lewis Powell writes a call-to-arms for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce urging big business to rally in defense of the "enterprise system" against liberal and left-wing critics. The Powell Memo, as it came to be known, provided a detailed blueprint for how corporate interests could engage in a long-term campaign to build public support for its both its worldview and desired policies. "Strength lies in organization," Powell wrote, "in careful long-range planning and implementation, in consistency of action over an indefinite period of years, in the scale of financing available only through joint effort, and in the political power available only through united action and national organizations."

1973 THE POWER OF IDEAS

Inspired by the Powell Memo, the Heritage Foundation opens its doors in Washington, D.C. as the first of many conservative think tanks that now exist at the national, state and local level. Backed by wealthy funders, conservative think tanks such as Heritage provide a veneer of scholarly credibility for right wing ideology and policy preferences and then amplify those messages by skillfully packaging their "expert findings" for use by the media. The Heritage Foundation has also played a key role in advising and staffing Republican administrations from Reagan to Trump.

1979 A FAITHFUL MARRIAGE

Christian evangelicals have been averse to participating in the "fallen world" of politics for much of U.S. history. Rev. Jerry Falwell changed that. Channeling the post-'60s cultural grievances felt by many conservative churchgoers, the silver-tongued Falwell founded the Moral Majority in 1979. It played a key role in moving the Republicans to the right on social issues and in electing Ronald Reagan to the White House in 1980. The group boasted four million members and two million donors at its height. It dissolved in 1989 due to financial woes but numerous right-wing preachers have followed in Falwell's footsteps and evangelicals remain one of the Republican Party's most loyal voting blocs.

1980 THE GIPPER WINS BIG

Former Hollywood B movie actor-turned-politician Ronald Reagan is elected president promising to cut taxes, roll back government social programs, deregulate business, pursue a massive military buildup and embrace causes espoused by newly politicized evangelicals, above all repeal of the 1973 Roe v. Wade Supreme Court decision that legalized abortion. The coalition of pro-business tax cutters, military hawks and social conservatives that coalesced around Reagan will prove extremely durable in the coming decades.

1981 WAR ON UNIONS

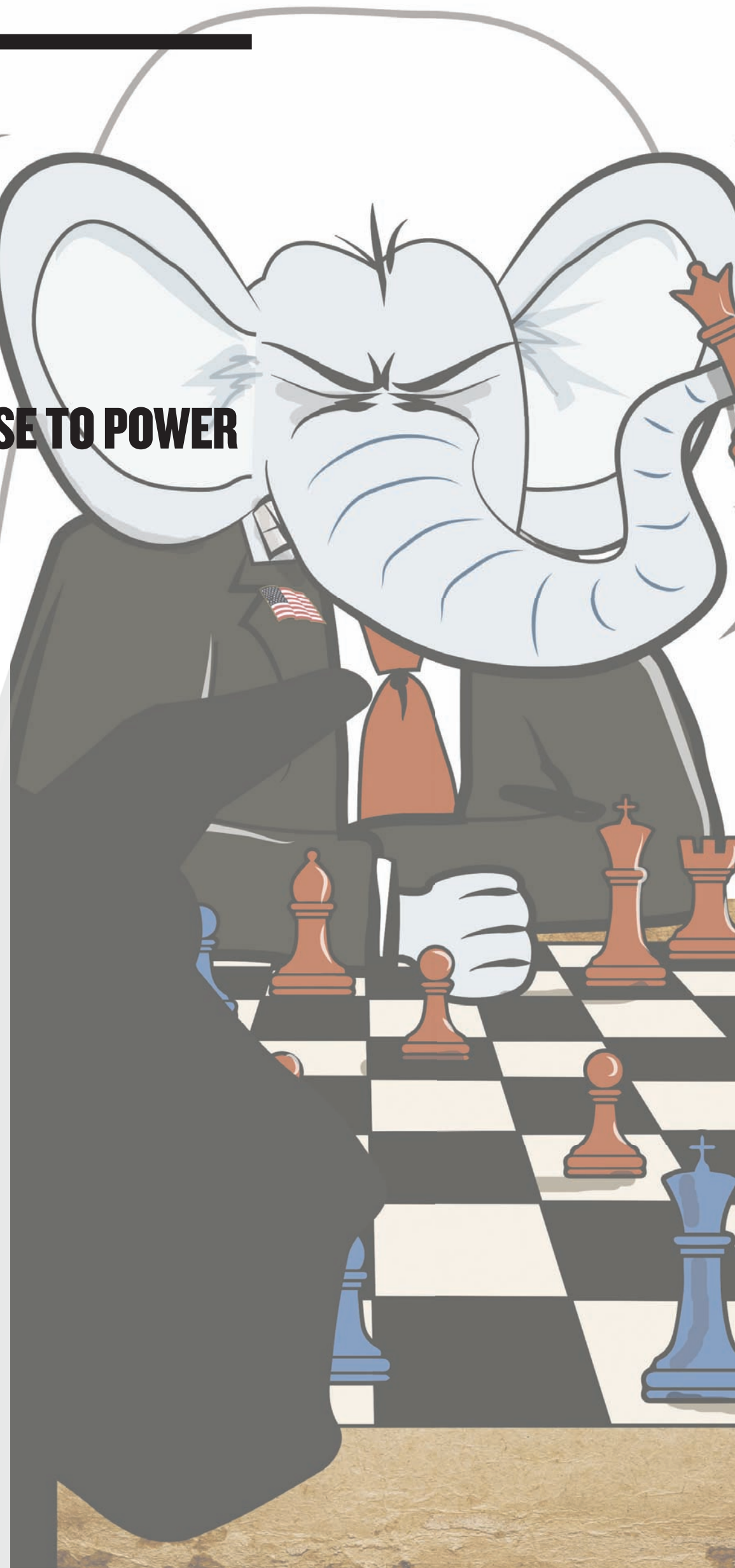
Today's economic inequality began in the mid-1970s and was turbocharged when Reagan came into office. After delivering generous tax cuts for the rich and budget cuts for the poor, Reagan declared open season on labor unions, one of the pillars of the Democratic Party. The big moment came when he fired 11,000 striking air traffic controllers and had their leaders jailed. Replacing striking workers soon became the norm for corporate America. When Wisconsin Gov. Scott Walker sought to destroy his state's public sector unions in 2011, he cited Reagan's actions as his model. 20.1 percent of workers belonged to unions in 1983, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. By 2017 it was down to 10.7 percent.

1982 CAPTURING THE COURTS

Founded by conservative legal elites in the same year as young Brett Kavanaugh's infamous calendar, the Federalist Society has grown into a powerful network of conservative lawyers that stretches from top law schools, to white shoe law firms to the highest levels of government and the judiciary. It groomed Supreme Court Justices Roberts, Alito, Gorsuch and Kavanaugh and is now the gatekeeper along with the Heritage Foundation for all of President Trump's judicial selections.

1987 NOT SO FAIR

Stocked with Reagan appointees, the Federal Communications Commission rescinds the Fairness Doctrine, a longstanding rule that required the holders of broadcast licenses to present contro-



versial issues of public importance and to do so in a manner that was honest, equitable and balanced. With that pesky rule out of the way, right-wing talk radio takes off with Rush Limbaugh and legions of imitators delivering a daily dose of vitriol to millions of Americans.

1991 CLARENCE THOMAS

A conservative ideologue with little judicial experience, Clarence Thomas sees his already shaky Supreme Court nomination almost go down in flames when faced with a credible allegation of workplace sexual harassment by Anita Hill. Republicans, led by Orrin Hatch, rallied to Thomas's cause, trashing Hill as delusional and suffering from "erotomania." Thomas's nomination was approved by a 52-48 vote with the help of "Yes" votes from 11 male Democratic senators.

1993-2001 THE STEALTH REPUBLICAN

The Republican-led march to the right in this country has received plenty of help from Democratic Party enablers, none more so than Bill Clinton. Coming into office in 1993 following 12 years of Republican rule, Clinton working in cahoots with congressional Republicans oversaw the passage of trade deals that decimated the Rust Belt (which flipped to Trump a quarter century later), deregulated Wall Street setting the stage for the 2008 financial crash, implemented welfare reform which targeted poor families and their children and overhauled telecommunications laws which led within a decade to the consolidation of 90 percent of the media in the hands of six corporations.

1996 OUTFOXED

The conservative movement's drive to build a media echo chamber for its followers accelerated with the founding of Fox News by media mogul Rupert Murdoch. Fox News was placed under the control of Roger Ailes, a Republican media operative going back to the Nixon years. Ailes reigned supreme for two decades before being felled by reports that he had sexually harassed more than a dozen female co-workers.

2000 A STOLEN ELECTION

George W. Bush becomes the first president in more than a century to win the electoral college while losing the popular vote. Bush was aided by a 5-4 Supreme Court decision that stopped a Florida vote recount that would have likely handed victory to Democrat Al Gore. All five justices voting to end the recount had been appointed by Republican presidents. Bush in turn would appoint conservative justices John Roberts and Samuel Alito to the court.

2001 EXPLOITING 9/11

The 9/11 attacks are used by the Bush administration to justify the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq and the massive buildup of a homeland security industrial complex that has profited handsomely off the "War on Terror." One of the new government agencies created at that time was Immigration & Customs Enforcement (ICE), a deportation force which has played a key role in carrying out Donald Trump's war on immigrants.

2005-2006 TEMPORARILY DERAILED

After Bush's re-election in 2004, GOP dreams of establishing a permanent Republican majority are derailed by the unraveling of the war in Iraq, a botched response to Hurricane Katrina and multiple scandals. The Democrats regain control of the House and Senate in 2006 but do nothing to end the war.

2010 MONEY EQUALS FREE SPEECH

By a 5-4 vote, the Supreme Court rules that laws regulating corporate campaign donations are illegal because they violate the free speech rights of said corporations. The ruling ushers in an unprecedented era of big money influence over elections.

2010 MID-TERM DISASTER

With the generous backing of billionaires like Koch Brothers, a conservative rebellion against Obama and the evils of "big government" yields a massive win in the 2010 midterm elections for Republicans who regain control of the House of Representatives and numerous state legislatures. Republican-dominated state legislatures take the results of the 2010 Census and use it to blatantly gerrymander state and congressional districts in their favor ensuring that only a "blue wave" election could displace them from power.

2013 THE END OF RACISM?

The Supreme Court strikes again gutting the key protections of the 1965 Voting Rights Act with Chief Justice Roberts arguing that the law was no longer necessary because the historic racism that necessitated its existence was no longer with us. Soon after the Court's ruling in *Shelby County v. Holder*, North Carolina and Texas enacted voter suppression measures that the Voting Rights Act previously prevented them from doing.

2014 ANOTHER MID-TERM DEBACLE

Voter turnout drops to the lowest level since 1942. Republicans regain control of the Senate and promptly use their majority to block all of Obama's federal court nominations including his 2016 pick of Merrick Garland to succeed Antonin Scalia on the Supreme Court after Scalia unexpectedly dies in February 2016.

2015-2016 THE RISE OF TRUMP

After spending years promoting the "birther" conspiracy that President Obama was not a real American, Donald Trump runs an openly racist campaign for president and wins the White House despite losing the popular vote by almost 3 million votes.

2017-2018 RESISTING TRUMP

Shattering political norms and leaping into the Washington swamp he had cynically promised to drain, Donald Trump goes about enriching himself and his wealthy backers while staffing his administration personnel provided by the Heritage Foundation and the Koch Brothers political network. Trump adds two more right-wing zealots to the Supreme Court while stoking hatred of immigrants, Muslims, sexual assault survivors and the media among others. His creeping authoritarianism tests the limits of an already deeply flawed democracy. At the same time, the 2016 election prompts a fierce backlash starting with millions turning out for Women's Marches on the first full day of Trump's presidency.

2018-?? A FORK IN THE ROAD

Will the Trump era be remembered as a long slide into 21st Century fascism? Or will it be an inflection point when millions of Americans were jarred into action and threw themselves into the long hard work of building a nation that begins to live up to its promise of "liberty and justice for all?" That's on all of us.

THE GHOST OF MAURICE AUDIN

BY YUCEF OUSSAMA BOUNAB

About an hour before midnight on June 11, 1957, Maurice Audin was at home with his wife and three small children at the family's apartment in Algiers when a dozen French paratroopers broke in and carried the young activist and mathematician away.

"Look after the children!" his wife Josette recalls him shouting out as he was carried down the couple's stairway.

It was the last time she saw her husband alive. His body has never been recovered.

Audin's disappearance was the subject of widespread coverage in the French press at the time and numerous firsthand accounts of both the intellectual's brutal treatment and the widespread use of torture by French authorities during the country's bloody, colonial war in Algeria have since been published. Less than a month after abducting Audin, French authorities claimed that he managed to escape while in transfer from one detention center to another. The French government never acknowledged the full scope of the violence it deployed to suppress the resistance in Algeria, including the systematic use of torture, nor has it come entirely clean about Audin's death, until now.

Accompanied by a number of historians and journalists on a visit to the home of Josette Audin on Sept. 13 in the Paris suburb of Bagnolet, French President Emmanuel Macron confessed to the 87-year-old widow that her husband "was tortured and then executed, or tortured to death, by soldiers who arrested him at his home."

The admission was the result of decades of advocacy on the part of Josette Audin and her children to uncover the truth about the activist's final days in the face of denials and deception on the part of French authorities. In 2009, Audin's daughter Michèle, also a mathematician, even declined the Legion d'Honneur, the nation's highest emblem of achievement, citing the government's treatment of her father.

Macron's acknowledgement of France's responsibility gives rise to a number of further questions concerning other dissidents who met the same fate as Audin, if not worse.

"This recognition also aims to encourage the historical work on all those who have gone missing during the war of Algeria, whether they were French or Algerian, civilians or soldiers," said the French president, who also conceded during a visit to Algiers in 2017 that French colonialism was "a crime against humanity."

"It's really a big, historical turning point for the history of France," said Benjamin Stora, an Algerian-born French historian who accompanied the president on his visit to the Audin family. "It's much bigger than the case of Maurice Audin. Macron spoke of a system that allowed torture, violence, crimes — a direct responsibility of the state. The case of Audin is emblematic, but this touches the whole history of colonization."

Torture was widely deployed from the beginning of the colonization of Algeria in 1830 but was finally "institutionalized" when, in 1956, a guerilla insurgency began attempting to rout the French from Algiers, intensifying the Algerian Liberation War, which ultimately claimed 1.5 million lives in the North African country.

French resident minister and governor-general of Algeria, Robert Lacoste, was granted "special powers" by the National Assembly to suppress the Algerian rebellion. Lacoste assigned Gen. Jacques Massu, commander of the French 10th Parachute Division, to "pacify Algiers." Massu entered the city with some 8,000 paratroopers whom he gave carte blanche to "establish order by all means" and proclaimed martial law. The military intervention only inflamed tensions in the city in revolt, haunted by insecurity and suspicion.

At the time, Audin was teaching at the Science University of Algiers while preparing his PhD thesis for the Sorbonne in Paris. Although French, both Audin and his wife were advocates of Algerian liberation and members of the Parti Communiste d'Alger (PCA), a Marxist, pro-independence party. Though he had distributed war circulars and had harbored fugitives, Audin never was directly involved in the fighting.

In *The Audin Affair*, published a year after the activist's disappearance, French historian Pierre Vidal-Naquet insisted that Audin died due to torture. The book puts forth the witness of Dr. Georges Hadjadj, another PCA member and independence advocate, who was also held on the same day in a covert detention center situated in El-Biar on the heights of the city.

"On the night of June 11 to 12, I was put in the presence of Maurice Audin," Hadjadj recounts. "It was about one o'clock in the morning. ... Audin was in underwear, lying on a board. Pliers connected by electrical wires to a generator were attached to his right ear and his left foot. ... I was then taken back to the infirmary, and for a long time I heard the shouts of Maurice Audin that seemed to be stifled by a gag."

In 2012, French journalist Nathalie Funès uncovered a document handwritten by Colonel Yves Godard, a former commander in Algiers during the war. The colonel writes that Audin was confused with another detainee whose killing had been ordered and that Audin was stabbed to death by a non-commissioned officer. Godard also notes in the record that Audin was buried in a pit about 12 miles from the city. Complicating the plot but not its basic conclusion, the French general Paul Aussaresses later admitted to ordering Audin's death.

Audin's arrest, torture and killing is just one instance among many during this sanguinary era of French-Algerian relations. During the war, two million Algerians by some estimates were interned without trial, detained and deported to "villages de regroupement" and to concentration camps built by the French army in desolate rural areas. Many were beaten into confessing to crimes they did not commit.

Vidal-Naquet, considered the leading historian of the war, notes that the practice of torture affected an uncountable number of people, some "hundreds of thousands," the majority of whom were civilians.

In one instance, Larbi Ben M'hidi, one of the six founders of Algeria's National Liberation Front (FLN) was captured by paratroopers in February 1957, tortured and executed while in detention. That same month, Ali Boumendjel, a lawyer and activist, was thrown from the sixth floor of an interrogation building. Boumendjel's death was later passed off as a suicide. Gen. Aussaresses admitted ordering these killings as well.

In his book *The Real Battle of Algiers*, published in 1972, Gen. Massu, by then retired, evoked the practice of torture in Algeria and particularly in Algiers. Speaking with the French newspaper *Le Monde* in 2000, he said that widespread use of torture, while "certainly reprehensible, was covered, and even ordered, by [French] civil authorities, who were perfectly aware of it."

France's political leaders have been more reluctant to discuss their country's brutality in Algeria. It was only in 1998 that the French Embassy in Algiers apologized for the 1945 Sétif and Guelma massacre, in which French police and colonial settlers killed thousands of civilians in central Algeria. In 2007, President Nicolas Sarkozy declined to even respond to a letter from Josette Audin herself.

The evasion held up until June 2014, when Macron's predecessor, François Hollande, made it clear that Audin had never escaped but died while in detention. On a presidential visit to Algeria in 2012, Hollande recognized, in vague terms, "the violence of colonization" but failed to make any further statements regarding when or how Audin died.

While meeting with Audin's widow, President Macron announced that he would be opening up French intelligence archives to historians and to the families of those whose bodies were never found.

Audin's son Pierre, who was just one month old at the time of his father's extra-legal kidnapping, told French radio: "From now on, it is necessary to tell the truth and to transmit the documents which will make it possible to know, for my father and for thousands of others, what happened precisely."

For Maurice Audin's widow, Josette, many questions remain and her fight is far from over. "How was Maurice killed? What are the names of his torturers? What has been done to his body?" she wondered aloud during Macron's visit.

Not everyone in France was in favor of Macron's declaration. "Maurice Audin helped hiding FLN terrorists who committed attacks," Marine Le Pen, who heads the National Rally party, formerly known as the National Front, tweeted shortly after Macron's visit with Audin's widow. "Macron commits an act of division while thinking to flatter the communists."

Le Pen's father, Jean-Marie, who also led the National Front, fought in a paratrooper regiment between 1956 and 1957.





Maurice Audin

ESTEBAN GUERRA

HEALTHCARE NOT WARFARE.

HAVEN'T WE HAD ENOUGH WAR?

We must speak up now or face new wars in Iran, Syria, or Korea.

- Trump trashed the historic Iran nuclear accord, increasing the threat of war
- He's sending thousands more U.S. troops to Afghanistan
- He's escalating U.S. bombing in Syria
- He's making massive upgrades to the U.S. nuclear arsenal while issuing frightening threats to actually use nuclear weapons against adversaries.
- He's threatening military intervention in Venezuela.



IT'S TIME TO TAKE ACTION FOR PEACE! COME TO A COMMUNITY MEETING!

Meet your Brooklyn neighbors.

Let's talk about what we can do to stop out-of-control war spending.

We need to put priorities on human needs: schools, healthcare, jobs, decent mass transit, and bold action on climate change.

WEDNESDAY NOV. 14TH, 7 PM

BROOKLYN COMMONS // 388 Atlantic Avenue between Hoyt and Bond

JOIN BROOKLYN FOR PEACE'S WORK AGAINST MILITARISM AND WAR

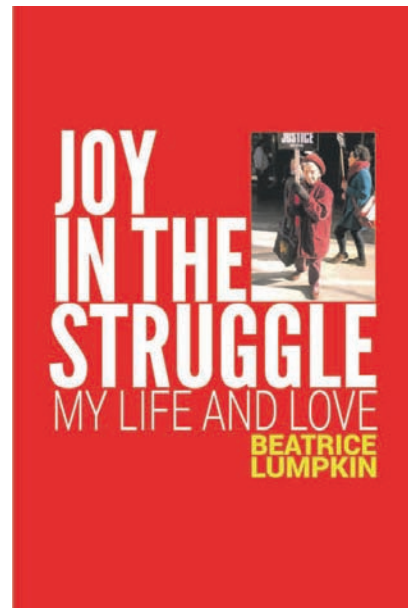
HELP US LOBBY OUR CONGRESS MEMBERS. COME TO OUR FORUMS AND MEETINGS!
DEMONSTRATE WITH US! MAKE PEACE AN ISSUE!
HELP US ORGANIZE A MOVEMENT FOR PEACE AND ECONOMIC JUSTICE!



BROOKLYN FOR PEACE // BROOKLYNPEACE.ORG
For more info: bfp@brooklynpeace.org | 718-624-5921

FORT GREENE PEACE // FACEBOOK.COM/FORTGREENEPEACE

From International Publishers



On the occasion of Bea Lumpkin's 100th birthday

International Publishers

is proud to announce the release of this special commemorative edition of *Joy in the Struggle*, the memoirs of a life of activism told in her own words

Order via the IP
[websitewww.intpubnyc.com](http://www.intpubnyc.com)
or call:
212-366-9816

**TUNE IN
MONDAYS
6-6:30PM**

**AT
WBAI 99.5FM**

WITH HOSTS

**ELIA GRAN
&
LYDIA
MCMULLEN-
LAIRD**

**INDY
RADIO
NEWS**

HOWIE HAWKINS

Continued from page 10

2016, a constellation of groups both new and old — Our Revolution, Justice Democrats, WFP, MoveOn, Democracy for America, among others — has taken shape, backing a strong, diverse field of left-leaning candidates in Democratic primaries. A significant number are winning city council, state legislative and congressional seats, though victory at a statewide level has so far proven to be elusive.

The leftmost of these groups, the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), shares an anti-capitalist ideology with the Greens but has adopted a different electoral strategy.

Pursuing what might be described as an “outside-inside-outside” strategy, the group participates in grassroots activism outside of the electoral arena, fields candidates when members decide that they align with their socialist principles and then runs door-to-door canvassing operations in support of those candidates that are independent of the politicians themselves. Here in New York, DSA played a key role in this summer’s primary victories of future congresswoman Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and of Julia Salazar, who won a hotly contested North Brooklyn state Senate primary just four days prior to Hawkins’ Occupy anniversary appearance.

Hawkins poo-poops the idea that the

left can dance with the Democrats for long without compromising its integrity. He views DSA and the candidates they’ve helped elect as proponents of a weaker brand of socialism — if socialism at all. Nonetheless he says he is glad Ocasio-Cortez beat Queens Democratic Party boss Joe Crowley and concedes that Sanders and other socialists that have run as Democrats in his wake have made it safe to use the ‘S’ word without sending voters running for the hills — a development that led to the Green Party declaring itself an outright anti-capitalist party for the first time in 2016.

“Sanders really turned the tide on that,” says Hawkins, noting that in the past he had campaigned with “socialist content but without the word.”

Interestingly, Hawkins’ political career is not dissimilar from the senator’s early days in Vermont. Sanders’ ran on the Liberty Union third-party ballot line for governor in 1972 and 1976 and the U.S. Senate in 1972 and 1974. He never won more than 6 percent of the vote before gaining a political foothold as Mayor of Burlington in 1981 after running as an independent. Hawkins is still looking for his leg up. He won’t win on Nov. 6 but his ideas might, should voters decide to keep troubling the status quo.

SOME PLACES YOU CAN FIND

BELOW 14TH ST

SEWARD PARK LIBRARY
192 EAST BROADWAY

HAMILTON FISH
LIBRARY
415 E. HOUSTON ST.

LES PEOPLE’S FEDERAL
CREDIT UNION
39 AVENUE B

TOMPKINS SQUARE
LIBRARY
331 E. 10TH ST.

NATIVE BEAN
36A AVENUE A

BLUESTOCKINGS
172 ALLEN ST.

THEATER FOR THE NEW
CITY
155 FIRST AVE.

MCNALLY JACKSON
BOOKS
52 PRINCE ST.

4TH STREET CO-OP
58 E. 4TH ST.

THINK COFFEE
248 MERCER ST.

FILM FORUM
209 W. HOUSTON ST.

HUDSON PARK LIBRARY
66 LEROY ST.

CINEMA VILLAGE
22 E. 12TH ST.

LGBT CENTER
208 W. 13TH ST.

14TH TO 96TH ST

CIVIC HALL
118 W. 22ND ST. 12TH FL.

EPIPHANY LIBRARY
228 E. 23RD ST.

MUHLENBERG LIBRARY
209 W. 23RD ST.

TACO BANDITO
325 8TH AVE.

COLUMBUS LIBRARY
942 TENTH AVE.

MANHATTAN
NEIGHBORHOOD
NETWORK
537 W. 59TH ST.

YORKVILLE LIBRARY
222 E. 79TH ST.

67TH ST. LIBRARY
328 E. 67TH ST.

ST. AGNES LIBRARY
444 AMSTERDAM AVE.

96TH ST. LIBRARY
112 E. 96TH ST.

ABOVE 96TH ST.

SAVOY BAKERY
170 E. 110TH ST.

MORNINGSIDE HEIGHTS
LIBRARY
2900 BROADWAY

HARRY BELAFONTE
115TH ST. LIBRARY
203 W. 115TH

HARLEM LIBRARY
9 W. 124TH ST.

125 STREET LIBRARY
224 E. 125TH ST.

GEORGE BRUCE
LIBRARY
518 W. 125TH ST.

PICTURE THE
HOMELESS
104 E 126TH ST.

COUNTEE CULLEN
LIBRARY
104 W. 136TH ST.

HAMILTON GRANGE
LIBRARY
503 W. 145TH ST.

UPTOWN SISTER’S
BOOKS
W. 156TH ST. &
AMSTERDAM

FORT WASHINGTON
LIBRARY
535 W. 179TH ST.

INWOOD LIBRARY
4790 BROADWAY

INDIAN ROAD CAFE
600 W. 218TH ST.

BROOKLYN

BROOKLYN BOROUGH
HALL
209 JORALEMON ST.

BROOKLYN COMMONS
388 ATLANTIC AVE.

CARROLL GARDENS
LIBRARY
396 CLINTON ST.

COUSIN JOHN’S CAFE &
BAKERY
70 7TH AVE.

SMILING PIZZA
323 7TH AVE.

CAFÉ MARTIN
355 5TH AVE.

BEACON’S CLOSET
92 5TH AVE.

SUNSET PARK LIBRARY
5108 4TH AVE.

CONNECTICUT MUFFIN
429 MYRTLE AVE.

DEKALB LIBRARY
790 BUSHWICK AVE.

WYCKOFF STARR
COFFEE SHOP
30 WYCKOFF AVE.

BUSHWICK LIBRARY
340 BUSHWICK AVE.

BAGELSMITH
566 LORIMER ST.

METRO COMMUNITY
LAUNDROMAT
561 METROPOLITAN
AVE.

LEONARD LIBRARY
81 DEVOE ST.

WILLIAMSBURG
LIBRARY
240 DIVISION AVE.

KAISA’S CAFÉ
146 BEDFORD AVE.

CROWN HEIGHTS
LIBRARY
560 NEW YORK AVE.

EASTERN PARKWAY
BRANCH LIBRARY
1044 EASTERN
PARKWAY

FLATBUSH LIBRARY
22 LINDEN BLVD.

TUGBOAT TEA
COMPANY
546 FLATBUSH AVE.

OUTPOST CAFE
1014 FULTON ST.

RED HOOK LIBRARY
7 WOLCOTT ST.

ALIGN BROOKLYN
579 5TH AVE.

BAY RIDGE LIBRARY
7223 RIDGE BLVD.

COBRA CLUB
6 WYCKOFF

STARR BAR
214 STARR ST.

QUEENS

ASTORIA LIBRARY
14-07 ASTORIA BLVD.

21 FAMOUS DELI
29-15 21ST AVE.

BROADWAY LIBRARY
40-20 BROADWAY

LONG ISLAND CITY
LIBRARY
37-44 21ST ST.

STEINWAY LIBRARY
21-45 31ST ST.

COURT SQUARE
LIBRARY
2501 JACKSON AVE.

SUNNYSIDE LIBRARY
43-06 GREENPOINT AVE.

WOODSIDE LIBRARY
54-22 SKILLMAN AVE.

JACKSON HEIGHTS
LIBRARY
35-51 81ST ST.

LANGSTON HUGHES
LIBRARY
100-01 NORTHERN
BLVD.

CORONA LIBRARY
38-23 104TH ST.

BRONX

MOTT HAVEN LIBRARY
321 E. 140TH ST.

HUNT’S POINT LIBRARY
877 SOUTHERN BLVD.

THE POINT
940 GARRISON AVE.

HIGH BRIDGE LIBRARY
78 W. 168TH ST.

NEW SETTLEMENT
COMMUNITY CENTER
1501 JEROME AVE.

MELROSE LIBRARY
910 MORRIS AVE.

JERSEY CITY

FIVE CORNERS LIBRARY
678 NEWARK AVE.

**WANT TO HELP
DISTRIBUTE THE INDY?
CALL 212-904-1282 OR
EMAIL CONTACT@
INDYPENDENT.
ORG.**

EXHIBIT

WHEN IT TOOK A VILLAGE

Fred W. McDarrah: *New York Scenes*
THRU NOV. 3
STEVEN KASHER GALLERY
515 WEST 26TH STREET

By Gena Hymowech

“Fred W. McDarrah: *New York Scenes*” is a nostalgic and strangely current exhibit, celebrating, as it does, the historic work of a *Village Voice* photographer less than two months after the publication’s website shut down. (The print version ended in 2017 with, fittingly, a McDarrah photo on its cover.) By the time it died, the *Voice* was no longer a brand youth idolized, but at one time it defined New York City cool, and McDarrah was a big part of it. In his long career, McDarrah, who died in 2007, captured alternative culture’s movers and shakers, as well as everyday New Yorkers — from a random group of folk dancers in Washington Square Park to a welfare hotel dweller fighting with a security guard. This exhibit takes us back to one of the city’s most exciting time periods (the ’50s through the ’70s) with such clarity that you can almost hear the shouting of revolution. His pictures, deceptively simple looking, communicate deeply-felt messages. Borders are one stylistic trademark — a line in the street, a “Women of the World Unite!” sign held against a building, Brillo boxes stacked up around Andy Warhol. McDarrah also seemed to stretch space in a superhuman way by fitting more into a photo than you’d imagine possible. In short, he elevated photojournalism to its highest form.

Take his photograph of Robert F. Kennedy visiting a Lower East Side tenement, standing near a picture of Jesus. Perhaps it was a coincidence that he found Kennedy there, but I like to think McDarrah understood the symbolism — Jesus passing the torch to a living representative, Jesus made to suffer like the residents. A clothesline separates Kennedy from Jesus, a McDarrah border that cuts the picture in two: Jesus is up in heaven, away from the apartment, but not so far away that he can’t see hell on earth, the tenement. If this picture were taken by a tabloid photographer, the focus would be Kennedy’s celebrity, but



McDarrah made the bleakness of the tenement the star. Kennedy is there to look solemn. When he was assassinated not long after, that same photo was used for his obit in the *Voice*, changing

the meaning entirely.

The Beat Generation is well-represented. A photo of Jack Kerouac shows him absolutely commanding a room in a godlike way while reading poetry, his hands powerfully outstretched. In another photo, Allen Ginsberg looks directly into a camera as he is photographed at an anti-Vietnam demonstration, wearing an American flag hat. The photo doesn’t have to show Ginsberg shouting. The hat makes the point: Like Kennedy, Ginsberg wasn’t scared to criticize America when he knew it was headed down the wrong path, and also like Kennedy, that doesn’t make him any less a patriot. Compare this to a picture of a young Donald Trump, looking smug as hell. McDarrah’s camera served

queens in a line like that can make you realize that this is not all that different from any other pageant.

During the famous gay Sip-In, McDarrah photographed men from the Mattachine Society fighting for their right to drink wherever they wanted. Yes, it was once against the law to be gay and drink in public. (Can you even imagine?) In capturing that moment of the bartender’s hand covering a man’s drink, McDarrah captured nothing less than the brazen cruelty of a backwards-thinking public.

Being that McDarrah was so closely associated with the *Voice*, it seems strange not to see at least some of his work as it appeared in articles. That — and the fact that there is a picture of a Chicago demonstration in an exhibit titled *New York Scenes* — are my only two criticisms. (Though I like that Chicago picture. It’s a great photo of protestors expanding into the horizon like an ocean.) We could certainly use McDarrah today, photographing Trump protests and women’s marches



Drag queens compete in the Miss All-America Camp Beauty Pageant at Town Hall, 123 West Forty-Third St., February 20, 1967.

Robert Kennedy in Stanton Street apartment once occupied by Senator Jacob Javits, May 8, 1967.

Bob Dylan, sitting on a bench in Christopher Park (across the street from the offices of the *Village Voice*) either salutes or shields his eyes from the sun, January 22, 1965.

MCDARRAH’S CAMERA SERVED AS A TYPE OF TRUTH SERUM THAT COULD REVEAL A PERSON’S HEART

as a type of truth serum that could reveal a person’s heart.

Most striking among the queer photos is one of a Pride parade-goer dressed as a man on one side and a woman on the other. This person stands in front of a white road line, another McDarrah border, away from the rest, suggesting that even in the LGBT world this genderfluid representative is pushing the envelope. Someone in the background is covering his face with his hands, like he can’t believe this is being committed to film. To his credit, McDarrah did not exploit. The person is glowing with confidence.

McDarrah’s photograph of contestants in a drag queen pageant brings to mind the repetition that made Warhol famous. (Warhol was coincidentally the contest’s judge.) And again, McDarrah avoided exploitation. He approached what should have been a shocking image for the era in a jaded way. Seeing similarly-dressed drag

and God knows what else, because it’s not enough for activists to be out there changing the world. The world has to see activists in just the right light.

SEX, DRUGS & RADICAL POLITICS

Double Life in Double Time

BY ALAN "AL SCHVITZ" SCHULTZ
MANIC D PRESS, 2018

The Hard Stuff

BY WAYNE KRAMER
DA CAPO PRESS, 2018

By Steven Wishnia

Radical politics, drugs and rock 'n' roll — and winding up in prison — are the common threads between the memoirs *Double Life in Double Time*, by MDC drummer Al Schvitz, and *The Hard Stuff* by MC5 guitarist Wayne Kramer.

Their bands were arguably the two American rock bands most explicitly associated with radical politics. The MC5 were the only band to play the protests at the Democratic Convention in Chicago in 1968, while MDC played the "Rock Against Reagan" protests at the Republicans' 1984 convention in Dallas.

If all this is ancient history to you, the "No Trump! No KKK! No Fascist USA!" chant is derived from a 1981 MDC song.

Both memoirs share the same trajectory: rock 'n' roll meets radicalism, drugs and incarceration, followed by partial resurrection. There's only six years difference in their ages, but a vast gulf between the eras they played in, between the infinite-possibilities-meet-nasty-backlash days of the late '60s and the cold, constricted age of Reagan.

Kramer, who grew up in a working-class family in and around Detroit, came up in the Motor City's rich mid-'60s garage-band scene; an early version of the MC5 opened for British Invasion stars the Dave Clark Five when he was 17. The MC5 soon blew up their Chuck Berry/James Brown roots with an infusion of LSD, free-jazz chaos, and radical politics — the latter catalyzed by the free outdoor show they did on Kramer's 19th birthday in the spring of 1967, when mounted police he describes as "overjoyed" and "sadistic" assaulted "a bunch of regular folks, stoned-out weirdos and Budweiser-buzzed factory rats."

Trying to navigate being both radicals and rock 'n' rollers, the MC5 crashed into both music-biz expectations and ultra-left dogma. Their first album, *Kick Out the Jams*, cut live at two late-'68 shows, is among the most explosive pieces of rock 'n' roll ever recorded and briefly reached the Top 30, but got slagged for being sloppy; Kramer says he was appalled because his guitar went out of tune on the first song. They overcompensated on their cleaner-sounding second album, after mentor/manager John Sinclair was sentenced to nine years in prison for pot. They got it right on their third, *High Time*, with a funkier sound that wouldn't have embarrassed itself next to Jimi Hendrix or Miles Davis, but it sank without a trace, and the band was crumbling into heroin and alcoholism.

Kramer then descended into Detroit's underworld of burglars and dopefiends, trying to support a heroin habit and a new band, and got four years in prison for selling cocaine. (That descent echoes the city's, which after the 1967 rebellion, he says, went from "a working-class boomtown of union jobs and solid brick houses" to "an empty shell ... ruled by crime and despair.")

Schvitz, born Alan Schultz, grew up in an affluent suburb on Long Island, and didn't start playing professionally until his mid-twenties. MDC — originally an acronym for Millions of Dead Cops — played what would be dubbed "hardcore" punk, a relentless, high-speed blast of rage, the drums hammering like a carpenter on methamphetamine. (Kramer's more music-theory take on '90s punk was fast tempos with "an almost 12-tone avoidance" of anything conventionally melodic.) MDC's version was about 90 percent hardline politics and 10 percent gender-bending, interspersing a chant of "dead cops" with "why is America so straight and me so bent?"

They inhabited a much narrower subculture, with minimal hope for or desire to reach the mainstream. MDC's biggest audiences came on the European squat circuit, and in 1984 they put out a compilation called *P.E.A.C.E.*, featuring 55 bands from a dozen countries, including the Dead Kennedys and British anarchists Crass. Schultz's taste for meth grew into professional dealing, and he wound up in prison for it in 1995.

Both books are written in an unassuming first-person style. Schultz's is the more immediate, as he wrote most of it in San Quentin, repeatedly admitting he's a neophyte author. The autobiographical bits and tour stories bounce around semi-chronologically, in between descriptions of prison life—the string-and-hook system used to trade books between cells, ramen-based potluck meals, and keeping enough respectful distance to avoid setting off the landmines of racial tension. One of its funniest bits is his resolving the stereotypical situation of dropping the soap in the shower: After the "rough, nasty state soap," he didn't want to abandon his brand-new bar of Irish Spring — so he picked it up with a macho growl, much to the other prisoners' amusement. (He then confesses losing his anal virginity to a tube of tweak he was smuggling into Germany.)

Kramer's has the benefit of 20 more years of insight, the hard-won realization that recovery doesn't just mean sobriety, but learning how to live



NAOMI USHIYAMA

like a mature man. The one benefit of his prison term, he says, was meeting bebop trumpeter Red Rodney, who became a musical mentor and a father figure, something he didn't get from his alcoholic father or his racist, abusive stepfather.

Like most people locked up in the war on drugs, he concludes, "I didn't need prison; I needed help."

Both are still playing. Schultz is touring with lead singer Dave Dictor in a revived MDC. "The current government has given us renewed energy for being the angry young men we were; we are just not young any more," he writes in the book's epilogue. Kramer revived his career in the '90s, making several albums of rock 'n' roll for adults. He later toured with revues doing MC5 songs, and in 2014, cut a jazz album called *Lexington*. He and his wife also founded the U.S. incarnation of Jail Guitar Doors, a music-class program for prisoners.

I don't know how much these books will mean to people who, unlike me, don't have a wall of CDs and vinyl with the MC5 and MDC next to each other. But if you want to read about musicians wrestling with their personal demons while eternally chasing the inspirations of high-energy music and fracturing injustice, both *Double Life in Double Time* and *The Hard Stuff* are well worth checking out.

MUSIC

NEW & VINTAGE 'SONGS OF RESISTANCE'

Songs of Resistance
1942–2018
BY MARC RIBOT
ANTI-, 2018

By Brady O'Callahan

The labor movement had “Solidarity Forever.” Civil Rights had “Mississippi Goddam,” “Strange Fruit” and the spirituals activists sang with linked arms in the streets. Black Lives Matter adopted Kendrick Lamar’s “Alright.”

“Every movement which has ever won anything has had songs,” says Marc Ribot in promotional materials introducing his new record, *Songs of Resistance 1942-2018*. Of course. Music helps movements instill resolve in their base and renders messages memorable and digestible as they spread to a wider audience.

The guitarist knows well the horrors of authoritarianism. His grandparents lost siblings in the Holocaust and over his career he has toured in places like Turkey and Russia. He recognizes President Trump, he says, “and it’s no mystery where we will wind up if we don’t push back.”

Ribot has lent his mastery at the strings to everyone from Ikue Mori to Elton John, Allen Toussaint to Allen Ginsberg. With *Songs of Resistance*, he gathers an impressive group of friends and collaborators to present a captivating collection of original and traditional protest songs that showcase the longevity of message and, conversely, the seemingly glacial nature of progress.

“John Brown,” an original song written by Ribot, recounts the story and spirit of the abolitionist. It’s an interesting and effective blend of tradition and modernity. The century-and-a-half-old tale of revolt is recontextualized by Ribot’s funk freak-out arrangement and Fay Victor’s soulful vocals.

“Fischia Il Vento,” a 1943 Italian anti-fascist anthem, is updated to rail against climate change and the forces that perpetuate it in “The Militant Ecologist.” The substitution of the enemy in the song could risk feeling a bit paint-by-numbers, as if songs of protest could be written using mad-lib formulas, if not for the fact that climate change denial actually seems to be one more facet of the authoritarian regimes we know today. This adaptation refines the original’s scope, envisioning a future where “the earth’s green flag is flying.”

Tom Waits, a long-time collaborator of Ribot’s, joins him on “Bella Ciao,” yet another 1940s Italian anti-fascist song. Waits, per usual, sounds weathered but resolute, a natural fit. “One

fine morning, woke up early to find a fascist at my door,” Waits sings.

In the accompanying music video, seemingly calm American streets are shown with increasing police and military presence. People gather to protest the Trump administration, police brutality and other modern-day horrors plaguing the country. The character in the song, too, resolves to fight the evil on his doorstep. Placed in our modern context, the song shines a light on the damning reality that despotism has gained a foothold here in America.

This sad state of affairs manifests itself powerfully on the standout track “Rata de dos Patas,” an anti-misogynist ballad sung originally by Mexican artist Paquita la del Barrio. This updated version of the song powerfully pairs a woman singing in Spanish of taking down Trump — comparing him to rats, snakes, cockroaches — with Trump’s infamous slurs against Mexicans. The singer was tragically unable to be credited on the song for fear of repercussion due to her undocumented status in America.

Songs of Resistance is certainly never subtle or terribly nuanced, but it seems fairly disingenuous to begrudge it that. If you’re looking for precedent shattering songwriting, you’d best look elsewhere. Simplicity and spreadability (even in bits and pieces) of political and social messaging may be more valuable here.

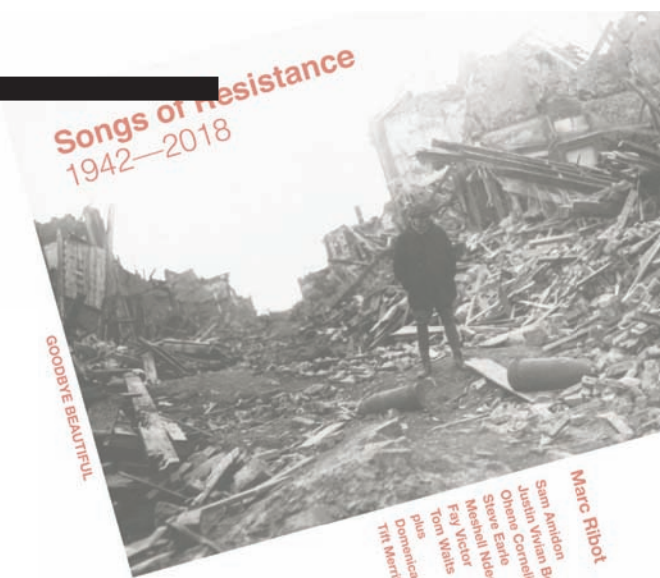
“I have a lot of friends who think that any kind of politics isn’t cool,” Ribot says. “I appreciate the sentiment but we need to get over it, roll up our sleeves and get our hands dirty if we’re going to survive this thing.”

I tend to agree, and *Songs of Resistance* succeeds in raising a number of banners you can grab and run with.

Perhaps the most poignant moment on the album is “Srinivas,” a lyrical document of Srinivas Kuchibhotla, a Sikh immigrant murdered in February 2017 by a racist who mistook him for a Muslim. It’s a horrifying story that sadly illustrates the reality of many Americans’ lives, the environment we have fostered for centuries and that has been stoked by the current administration.

“My country, ’tis of thee” Steve Earle sings repeatedly, though he never reaches, as if unable to, the commonly known following line. He sings of a nation in turbulence, one with unfulfilled potential, one where only certain populations are free to live without worry.

Hopefully, one day soon, we’ll be able to rightfully call it sweet land of liberty.



MAJOD MINOR
FOLK, BLUES, BRASS & JAZZ | LIVE MUSIC SERIES
SUNDAYS AT STARR BAR

SEPT 9
8PM | REV BILLY
AND THE CHURCH OF STOP SHOPPING CHOIR

SEPT 16
9PM | ROOTS & BLUES
WITH FATBOY WILSON AND OLD VIEJO BONES

SEPT 23
7PM | SONGS OF RESISTANCE
A FUNDRAISER FOR IMMIGRANT RIGHTS

SEPT 30
9PM | PIANO CABARET
WITH MITCH MARCUS, SHAYE TROHA, JEREMY FREER AND GUESTS

STARR BAR
CONSPIRE • CREATE • CELEBRATE

214 STARR ST, BUSHWICK, BROOKLYN
VISIT / BOOK EVENTS:
STARRBAR.COM

wild smart fun
SAVITRI D
REVEREND BILLY
photo: john quilty

THE EARTH WANTS YOU!
activism, music, news, culture, spirit, science
PODCAST & RADIO HOUR
LISTEN

SoundCloud.com/REVBILLY & the usual places
schedule details & information at revbilly.com & FB
produced by Killian Sundermann & The Church of Stop Shopping

A FILM FOR A COUNTRY ON FIRE

Fahrenheit 11/9

DIRECTED BY MICHAEL MOORE

BRIARCLIFF ENTERTAINMENT, 2018

By Mark Read

“**H**ow the fuck did this happen?” Michael Moore lobs the question at us as he concludes the prelude of his new film, *Fahrenheit 11/9* and it looms over the rest of the film, haunting Moore’s steps as he tries to make sense of a world gone mad.

Moore takes us on a meandering but ultimately entertaining journey through his experience of the United States since the election of Donald Trump. While the film is almost maddeningly structureless, Moore is such a familiar and successful filmmaker that at this point it seems as though he can break or rewrite just about any rule of filmmaking and get away with it.

It’s a latitude that he has sometimes abused by allowing his oversized persona to overwhelm the story, but here Moore relies far less on his usual schtick. While he certainly indulges in pranksterism and confrontation, he makes a point of sharing the spotlight with the other characters. Without Moore as the dominating protagonist, the film does feel a bit rudderless, but he remains a compelling storyteller and this time around he has some truly worthwhile stories to share.

Do you remember election night? Moore’s depiction of that evening makes that already strange experience feel even stranger. Watching it all again makes you feel as though the election happened on an alternate planet — and now we’re on the wrong one. “How the fuck did this happen?” Indeed.

But then we’re off to Flint, Michigan, West Virginia and Parkland, Florida among other places. While none of them directly address the question at hand, they all have a lot to teach us about just where we are now. Here are a few takeaways from the tour:

- *Flint’s water crisis was a far more insidious affair than most people realize. Michigan Governor Rick Snyder should be in jail. After the Flint River was discovered to be toxic, Snyder allowed a GM plant to hook back up to clean water from Lake Huron because the river water was corroding its car parts. But he forced the population of Flint to keep drinking the lead-infused water. How is that not a crime against humanity?*
- *The West Virginia teachers who struck this spring were even bolder and more heroic than you thought*

they were. They bucked not only their state’s Republican governor but their own weak-kneed union leadership when it signed onto a deal that would have given teachers a raise but not bus drivers. The teachers stayed out on strike in all 55 of West Virginia’s counties — in defiance of their union — until the bus drivers, the janitors and the food prep staff got the same deal that they did. And then they stoked up strikes in other states. Badasses, every last one of them.

- *The Parkland students do not have any quit in them and are even smarter than you might have realized. Did you know that the March for Our Lives was, according to Moore, the single largest day of protest in the history of the country? The Parkland High School kids basically made that happen. Yes, they got loads of support but it was their doing. High school kids. Let that sink in for just a second.*

These are all great stories but they don’t address Moore’s original question about how we wound up with Trump as president.

Things were fucked up before Trump showed up on the scene and Moore does a fine job of making this very, very clear. Under two consecutive presidencies (Bush and Obama) the country saw that there were no consequences for massive criminality in the wake of the illegal war on Iraq and the crashing of the U.S. economy. Now we have a president who is the very embodiment of impunity. These things are not disconnected.

Prior to both of those presidencies, the Clintons turned the Democratic Party away from organized labor and towards Wall Street while attacking the social safety net and ramping up the carceral state. They and their cohort turned the party into a version of Republican-lite, leaving working people with nobody to represent them.

Obama is in the crosshairs as well. One of the most powerful segments of the film is Moore’s unflinching look at Obama’s visit to Flint during its water crisis, where his behavior should shock the conscience of any liberals still holding out illusions about Saint Barack. Moore makes it plain that the Democratic Party remains a party run by and for



CHARLYNE ALEXIS

elites, and its in desperate need of being taken over.

It is the final part of the film that really packs a wallop. Moore makes a persuasive case that we are teetering on the verge of fascism. The assault on democratic institutions — the courts, the press, the political class as a whole — when combined with racial scapegoating and attendant appeals to tribalism comprise a methodology that is eerily similar to how the Nazi party built and kept their base of support. The Weimar Republic, after all, was a flourishing democracy, with a robust free press and highly literate and engaged citizens. Hitler was elected.

Crucially, both the Trump gang and the Nazis accurately assessed the two factions that need to be appeased in order to take and hold power. Trump satisfies his electoral base with a few bombastic tweets every couple of days, creating counterfactuals while letting surrogates make occasional excuses for his “lack of polish.” His other audience is the ruling class, elite interests that have no interest in actual populism and might actually be turned off by his divisiveness. Tax cuts and deregulation that send corporate profits soaring appease them. Turns out that the Nazis passed similarly elite-friendly policies while they consolidated power.

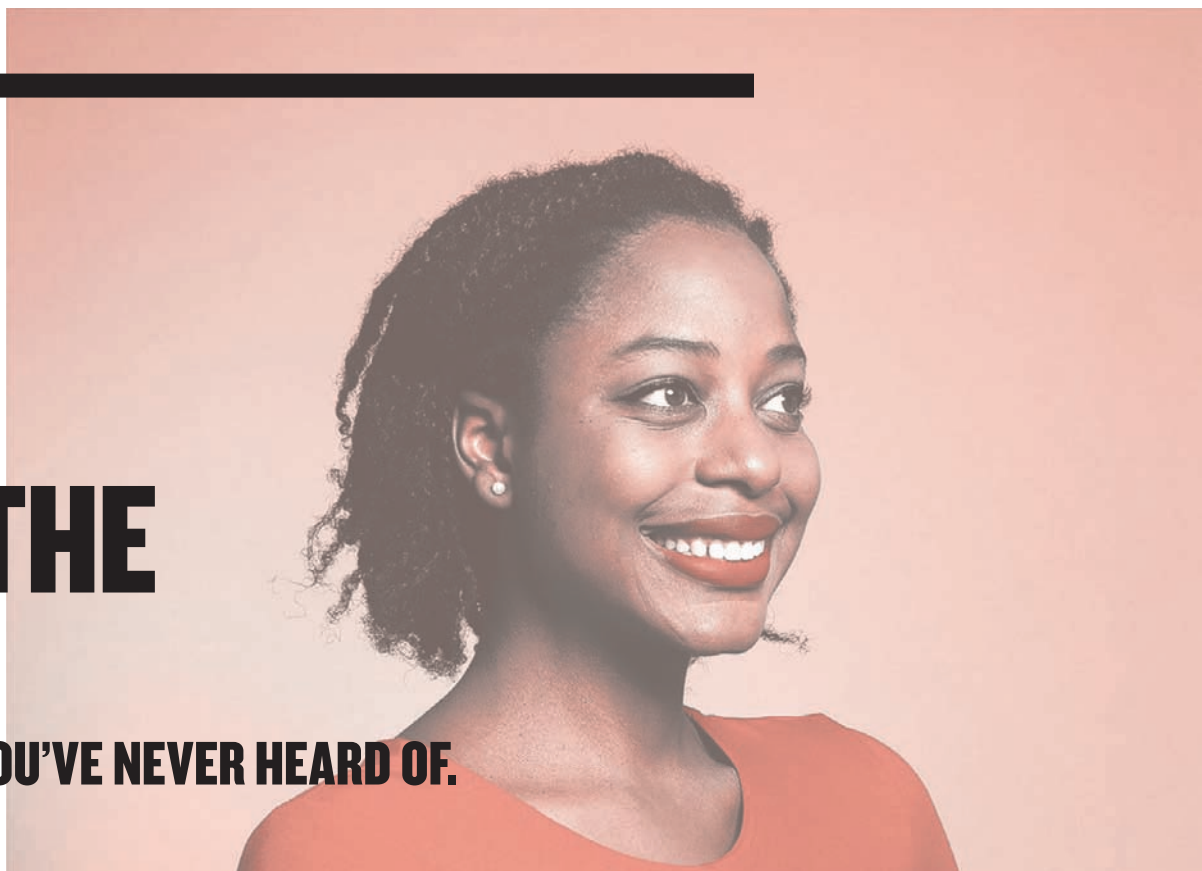
The Nazis understood the nature of power. So does the Trump gang. This is not to say that Trump is a genius, but he does intuitively understand the mob, while the past and present cast around him — Jared Kushner, Stephen Miller, Steve Bannon, Paul Ryan, Mitch McConnell — understand the importance of keeping the ruling class happy.

So, what do we do? Moore calls for a dual strategy: an electoral insurgency from the populist left led by figures such as Bernie Sanders and Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and, simultaneously, unrelenting street activism to keep pressure and heat on those currently in office.

Moore has made similar calls to action before. But the stakes now feel bigger, starker and more frightening. The coming midterm elections will determine a great deal in regards to keeping Trump in check. I, for one, immediately took out my checkbook when I got home and gave to a few political groups that share the analysis articulated by this film. I will also do some phone banking and I will re-dedicate myself to showing up in the street. I hope you do the same. If the house is on fire, it’s going to take a bucket brigade of everyday citizens to put it out.

SWEEPING UP THE CRUMBS

MEET THE MOST TALENTED BAKER YOU'VE NEVER HEARD OF.



MICHELLE MCISWAIN

BY MANVI JALAN

Perfect sponges, flaky pastries and chocolate seducing you out of yet another diet. Who doesn't love a great baking show? The popularity of food television may be on a steady high but are shows doing a better job of representing minorities and women of color? Whose soufflé sinks the fastest when a show is cancelled?

Vallery Lomas is a lawyer-turned-baker who you would've known as the latest winner of *The Great American Baking Show* had a twist of fate not awaited her. ABC pulled the show when multiple former employees accused judge Johnny Iuzzini of sexual harassment, leaving fans of the show with nothing to hold on to except dreams of Vallery's orange chocolate donuts.

Born and raised in Louisiana, Vallery grew up in a family of bakers, surrounded by her grandma's fruit trees and fresh preserves. She baked through law school and now you'll find her blogging full time from her home in Harlem or eating her way through all the crêpe spots in the city.

We spoke to Vallery about the show, its sudden cancellation and life after.

THE INDEPENDENT: *When did you find out the show wouldn't air?*

VALLERY LOMAS: The night before the third episode was going to air, I received a phone call. They said, "Hey, there were some allegations against Johnny Iuzzini and the network had to pull the show." Within minutes of receiving the call, it was announced nationally.

It's crazy because it felt like I broke through that glass ceiling before and now I'm back under it and keep hitting my head. But I'm happy too because I'm passionate about baking.

How did you end up on the show?

The casting director discovered my Instagram account and they sent me an email asking if I was interested in applying. I knew it would take a lot since I was working as a lawyer but I was already blogging. I owed myself a chance to take it to another level.

As an African-American woman, what was your experience on the show like?

I knew someone of African-American descent had never won the

show. *The Great British Baking Show*, which the show was based on, had people of color win but never anyone of African-descent. When I won I knew it mattered. Growing up, it was always exciting to have someone to look for, have someone who looked like you on TV. You don't always see people who look like you represented in media so I knew that it was something really special.

Of course, I never got to see the fruition of that. But the night that it did air [as a 90 second clip on the program's Facebook Page], I had so many people reach out of me, saying, "I have a little girl and she has natural hair like you, she loves your spirit, she loves seeing someone who looks like her." That really meant a lot, that it wasn't really about me, it was about this next generation of people who have the privilege of seeing someone who looks like them. To me that was the roughest part of the show being pulled, I knew that it meant something, that it mattered. It's crazy that Iuzzini's actions created a ripple effect for so many people.

Do you think women of color are being recognized in the food industry?

I definitely think some women are getting recognition they deserve but at the same time I think there's a lot of rounding up. It'll take time to tell.

What is your first food memory?

My grandmother lived in Prairieville, Louisiana, this

little town right next to Baton Rouge where I grew up. She would give me figs straight off her trees and at 5, it was the best thing I'd ever tasted. Or I'd go strawberry picking with my dad and make preserves. Growing up in South Louisiana and enjoying the bounty of fresh fruit was incredible.

During the holidays my mother always had this tradition where we would bake family heirloom recipes. I grew up with my sisters and everyone had their own thing to bake. I always enjoyed it but I didn't tap into it until the third year of law school when the recession was happening and I needed a creative outlet. I started blogging about baking and that encouraged me to bake everyday.

What are you working on now that we can look forward to?

I'm working on a cookbook and blogging full time.

Do you have advice for women of color who are trying to make it as chefs?

I would say just stay true to who you are and remember why you're here to begin with because you have this passion that you want to share with the world. That's what I tell myself on bad days.

VALLERY'S PUMPKIN CHOCOLATE SWIRL BREAD

Serves 8
Prep time: 30 minutes, Cook time: 60 minutes

INGREDIENTS

Butter, for coating the pan
3 ounces semisweet chocolate chips
1 3/4 cups all-purpose flour
1 teaspoon baking soda
1 teaspoon cinnamon
1/2 teaspoon nutmeg
1/2 teaspoon baking powder
1/2 teaspoon salt
1 1/2 cups granulated sugar
1/2 cup vegetable oil
2 large eggs
1 cup pumpkin purée
1 teaspoon vanilla extract

METHOD

1 Preheat the oven to 350°F. Coat a 9" x 5" loaf pan with butter and set aside.

2 Melt the chocolate by microwaving it at 10-second intervals, stirring until it's melted.

3 Whisk together the flour, baking soda, cinnamon, baking powder, nutmeg and salt in a medium bowl.

4 Combine the sugar and oil in the bowl of a stand mixer fitted with a paddle attachment and beat on medium-high speed until combined, about one minute.

5 Reduce the speed to medium and add the eggs one at a time, beating for about 30 seconds after each addition. Reduce the speed to low. Add the pumpkin and vanilla, and mix until just combined, about 30 seconds. Stop the mixer and scrape down the sides of the bowl and the paddle.

6 With the mixer running on low, slowly pour in the reserved flour mixture, and mix until just combined.

7 Remove the bowl from the mixer and drizzle all of the melted chocolate evenly over the batter, reserving about one tablespoon. Using a rubber

spatula, fold the chocolate into the batter until it's just swirled in, making sure to scrape the bottom of the bowl with each stroke, about 5 strokes total.

8 Carefully pour the batter into the prepared pan. Dollop the one tablespoon of reserved chocolate on top, and use a toothpick to create a swirl design.

9 Bake at 350°F until the bread is browned on top and a toothpick inserted into the center comes out clean, 60-70 minutes.

10 Remove the loaf from the oven and let it cool in the pan on a wire rack for 10 minutes. Remove the loaf from the pan and allow it to cool completely on a wire rack. Slice and savor the autumnal spices and brisk weather!

For more recipes from Vallery visit FoodInNewYork.com.

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

the Air — Max Elbaum

FEMINIST THEORY
FROM MARGIN TO CENTER

EVERY THURS • 6:45–7:30AM
YOGA: Start your day with sun salutations and a vinyasa flow.

OCT 12 • 7–9:30PM
POETRY: 2016 Lambda Emerging Writers Fellow Wren Hanks reads from his new work *The Rise of the Genderqueer*.

NOV 2 • 7–9:30PM
SCREENING: *Syria: The Impossible Revolution* documents the realities of the war-torn country today.

NG THE COLOR

RESIST!

ZAPATISTA STORIES

HISTORY
D STATES

Law and Disorder
radio

WBAI
99.5 FM

Mondays
at 9am

DOWNLOAD PODCASTS
at lawanddisorder.org

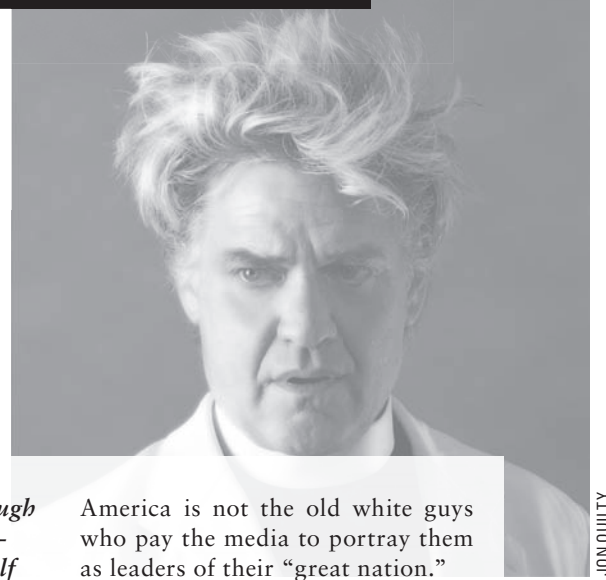
“Our basic constitutional rights are in jeopardy. “Law and Disorder” is an excellent magazine format radio show, hosted by progressive lawyers who analyze the state of civil rights in this post-9/11 period. From attacks on Muslims at home to torture abroad, “Law and Disorder” puts these constitutional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

—AMY GOODMAN,
HOST, DEMOCRACY NOW!

Co-founded by Michael Ratner (1943-2016) President, Center for Constitutional Rights; and hosted by movement lawyers Heidi Boghosian, Executive Director, A. J. Muste Memorial Institute; and Michael Steven Smith, New York City attorney and author.

Now on [Facebook.com](https://www.facebook.com)

TRUMP DEPRESSION HOTLINE



JON QUILITY

Hi Billy, watching the Kavanaugh hearings and all those Republicans defend him, I found myself wondering why old, rich, white guys are so pathologically f'd up? Maybe they're just born that way. Any insights?

— KRYSTAL, Harlem

LET'S NOT BLAME all of society's ills on the old rich white guys.

It does seem reasonable, though, to strip them of their \$3,000 suits, their senate seats, their guns and their pornography. Let's not stereotype these poor souls, but they really should scream in the agony of humiliation as they kneel for hours before gigantic statues of Anita Hill and Christine Blasey Ford in the center of Times Square.

And there is a basic common decency in the idea that, as their bank accounts are emptied, that we should begin to laugh at them, the laughter building until it rings up the avenues and down the streets. A laughing city! Free of Chuck Grassley and Lindsay Graham and Mike Crapo.

Then again, am I guilty of self-loathing? I've managed to not be rich but the white part and the guy part do persist. The old part I've put off till next Tuesday. All I know is that right now, Krystal, we're in some deep shit. We have to save each other no matter who we are.

• • •

Hey there, Rev, I'm planning a trip abroad next month. Whenever I go overseas people always ask me, what is wrong with America? Why are you Americans always starting wars? Why can't you give people health care? What do you have against immigrants? I get a lot of that kind of thing. It makes it hard to make friends. What should I tell them?

— BRIAN, Crown Heights

BRIAN,
Our America is with the citizens of Earth who were here first and the Africans who survived the Middle Passage. As I write this, I feel the America of thousands on Capitol Hill who — by the whole-soul commitment of their protests — are bringing survivors' stories to the light of day.

Brian, are you looking for friends in the wrong places?

America isn't the bankers on Wall Street or the paramilitaries that pry families apart and put children in privatized concentration camps.

SUBSCRIBE TODAY!

**12 ISSUES FOR ONLY \$25
MAILED STRAIGHT TO YOUR
HOME EVERY MONTH**

INDYPENDENT.ORG/SUBSCRIBE

**OR SEND A CHECK OR MONEY ORDER TO THE
INDYPENDENT/388 ATLANTIC AVE., 2ND FL./
BROOKLYN, NY 11217**

THE INDYPENDENT

#ME TOO

Continued from page 4

I recall an event at a college campus not long ago where I was picketing a Parents Weekend event on behalf of the union efforts for adjunct faculty. This was a fancy school, private and expensive, with beautifully landscaped grounds. I leafleted a woman my age, smartly dressed, looking like she had just stepped out of the hairdressers. I said to her, this leaflet provides information on the working conditions of the faculty who will be teaching your child. She looked at me with an angry distaste and refused to take the leaflet. She said between clenched teeth: "There is a time and a place for such things, and this is not it." I had sullied the celebration, the ceremony, the sunny morning. She made me feel as if I were out there on the sidewalk selling diarrhea medication. I sensed if she did not take this leaflet now, she would never avail herself of any avenue of information about the topic of injustice perpetrated in this elite rarified space.

When is the time and place to air our experiences of sexual violation? Where is the proper, public space in which to debate the seriousness of these events? Yet how can we expect the public, or elected representatives, to deliberate in the absence of details? Details about beds, penises, and hands that shove you into rooms and roam over your body?

What exactly is the time and place for such discussion? For many people, the correct answer is only the private and cloistered room of the therapist, or the religious sanctuary.

The silence of victims of these sorts of crimes is systematically produced, enforced, and managed. Most victims are not operating in the 'best case scenario,' but in lives structured by a subservience created by socially made disadvantages. If we speak against bosses or co-workers, we are likely to lose our livelihood, and the same is true if we speak against partners. If we speak against friends we are likely to not be believed, and then to face personal repercussions of harassment. If we speak against family members we may lose our right to be included within our very own families.

Maintaining the smooth functioning of every form of social connection and economic activity is put above our needs.

What becomes clear is that the systematic nature of our enforced silence is not only about our credibility: the credibility of (usually) those with lower social status, such as females, workers, children, people of color, disabled folks, and queer folks. It is not just that we are not likely to be believed, but that what matters to us does not matter 'objectively'. Our accusations may be true, and yet nonetheless, as the New York Times lead editorial on October 1 suggested, be "insignificant." We have seen that what white teenage boys do, whatever it is, has been deemed insignificant. What happens to young girls is insignificant. What happens a long time ago is insignifi-

cant. Most importantly, whatever crimes have been perpetrated by fine upstanding Yale graduates with resumes fit for the Supreme Court is insignificant.

Yet there is cause for hope.

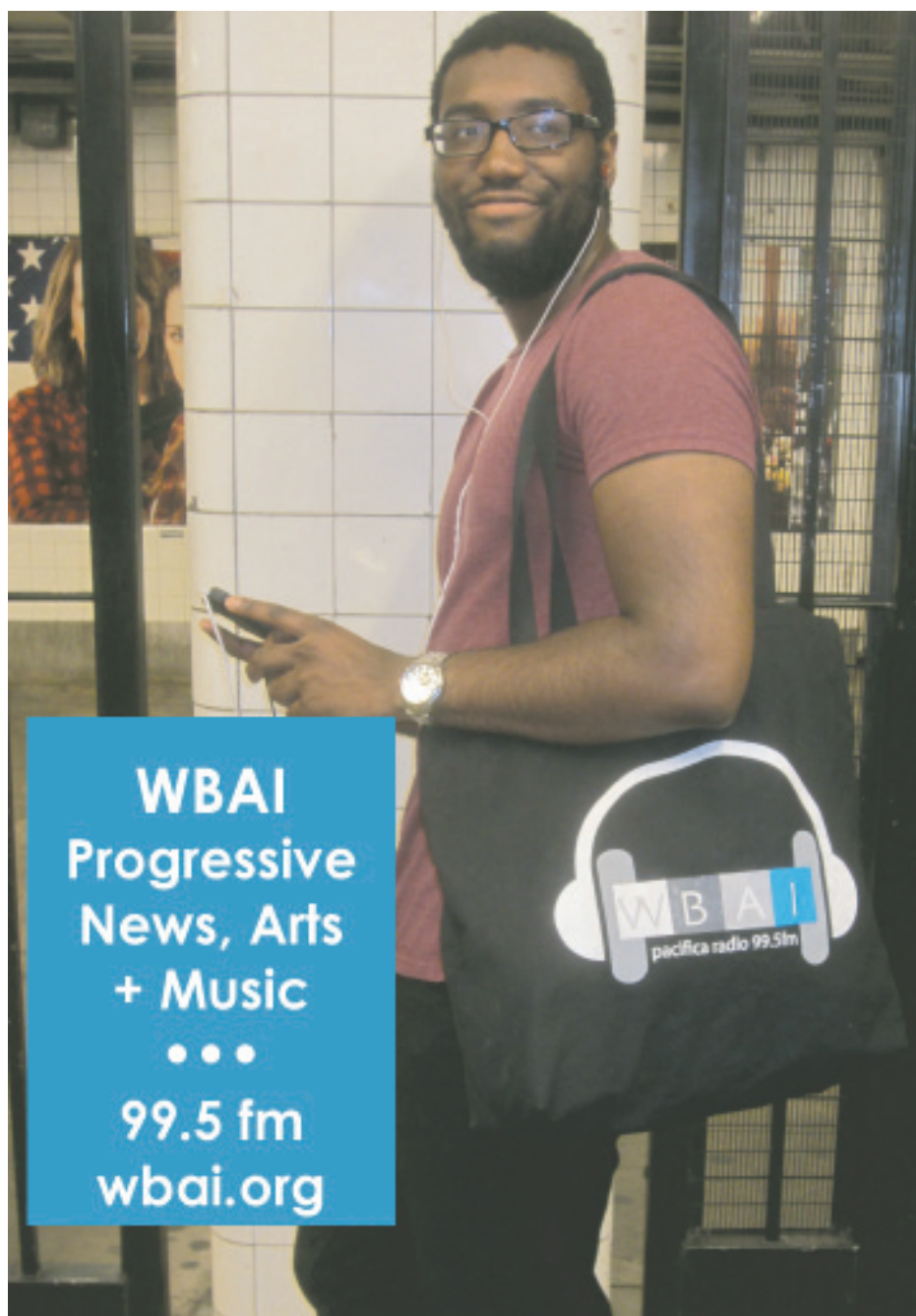
The intensity of the backlash is a sign that we are living through a cultural revolution. Though the current government is headed by a perp-in-chief, even the institutions of the state are riven from within between partisans from both sides. Victims are not backing down. Even after seeing what has happened in the best case scenario of Blasey Ford's accusation, they are accosting senators in elevators, marching in the street, telling their stories from the bullhorn of social media. We have threatened some of the central frameworks that feed the epidemic, which is why we must be silenced.

Revolutions are messy affairs. Nuance is lost, decisions have to be made quickly, and there are always undeserved casualties. But what we are fighting for goes way beyond any individual case, or individual career. This is a revolution over who can speak, who can be accused, and who will bear the brunt of the costs.

The key is to keep the fight focused on reducing sexual violation in all its forms, individual and institutional. To not let it get hitched to the wagon of one political party, or diverted to beef up the carceral state, or interpreted through heteropatriarchal frames that cast male protection as our only hope.

Everything the Republicans trotted out to establish Kavanaugh's squeaky clean morals is, of course, to some of us, a reason for suspicion. The most notorious fraternities school their members in good works: from charity drives to youth mentoring. Good Christians can prefer women to marry their rapists rather than abort their fetuses. The kind of resume Kavanaugh can tout — no dropping out, no convictions, no unexplained gaps in his career climb — are often the product of invisible armies of support: the cop who chooses to look the other way, the teachers that give him a break, the victims who never report because they are doubtful they will be believed over Mr. Clean.

Kavanaugh is being savagely ridiculed on late night television, in stand up comedy routines, in homemade YouTube scenes. Everything about him that would usually generate respect is now seen as a sign of moral depravity, self-importance, hypocrisy. Change is afoot.



"*Citizen Illegal* is right on time, bringing both empathy and searing critique to the fore as a nation debates the very humanity of the people who built it."

EVE EWING, author of *Electric Arches*

"*Citizen Illegal* is a poetic assault on the state and cultural processes that continue to stamp out empathy and humanity within the rise of today's migratory drift and its management by the state."

BROOKLYN RAIL



Visit haymarketbooks.org for our Latinx Liberation reading list, 50% off now through October 15, including free ebook edition with print purchase.

SEE MORE OF MNN THAN EVER BEFORE.

No one tells the story of New York better than New Yorkers, and now the story just got bigger. Presenting MNN's HD Community Channel: We built this channel specifically for MNN Community Producers to tell their stories. Love stories, documentary stories, action stories, BIG stories. Join us at MNN HD on Time Warner Cable channel 1993 for the biggest New York stories there are - the story of your life.

AMPLIFIED
LOCAL VOICES

**TIME WARNER CABLE
CHANNEL 1993**

HD
MNN

STREAMING WORLDWIDE ON MNN.ORG