

THE

BLACK HISTORY MONTH CALENDAR POSTER • P12

INDYPENDENT

#243: FEBRUARY 2019 • INDYPENDENT.ORG

**QUEENS DA
RACE WIDE OPEN
P9**

**GRAB 'EM BY THE
CONSTITUTION
P16**

**THE NEW BOB
DYLAN
P19**

EMPIRE STATE OF MIND

**NEW YORK IS SET TO CASH IN ON CANNABIS.
BUT WHO WILL GET THE GREEN? P4
BY STEVEN WISHNIA**





THE INDYPENDENT



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COMMUNITY CALENDAR

TUE FEB 5

6PM-9PM • FREE
SCREENING: *DECADE OF
FIRE*

In the 1970s, the Bronx
was on fire. Left un-
protected by the city
government, nearly a
half-million people were
displaced as their close-
knit, multiethnic neigh-
borhoods burned. Bronx
native Vivian Vazquez
exposes the truth about
the borough's sordid his-
tory and reveals how her
embattled and maligned
community chose to re-
sist, remain and rebuild.
*CENTER FOR NEW YORK
CITY AFFAIRS*
72 5th Ave., Mnhtn

THU FEB 7

6:30PM-8PM • FREE
TALK: THE UNAUTHOR-
IZED PLANS FOR NEW
YORK

Throughout the history
of New York there have
been alternative visions
for peace and sustain-
ability put forward by
people suffering from
displacement. Join
Kazembe Balagun, Ashley
Dawson, Dio Ganhdih and
Aurash Khawarзад for a
discussion on alternative
narratives for the future
of the city.
*THE SKYLIGHT ROOM AT
THE GRADUATE CENTER,
CUNY*
365 5th Ave., Mnhtn

THU FEB 7

7PM-10PM • FREE
FOOD: RADICAL POT-
LUCK

The People's Puppets
of Occupy Wall Street
has spent the past three
months migrating to their
new studio. Join them
at their new space for a
night of performances,

movement-building con-
versations, food and drink.
THE PEOPLE'S PUPPETS
1 12th St., Bklyn

FEB 8-MAY 12

WED, FRI-SUN 11AM-
6PM, THU 11AM-10PM •
\$0-\$16

EXHIBITION: FRIDA
KAHLO: APPEARANCES
CAN BE DECEIVING
The largest U.S. exhibi-
tion in 10 years devoted to
the iconic painter and the
first in the United States
to display a collection of
her clothing and other
personal artifacts.
BROOKLYN MUSEUM
200 Eastern Pkwy., Bklyn

FRI FEB 8

7PM-10PM • \$10
PERFORMANCE: OPEN
STAGE

A performing arts event
in which any artist —
amateur or professional
— can take the stage
and share a five-minute
piece. Share your art or
just enjoy the show!
BKLYN COMMONS
495 Flatbush Ave., Bklyn

SAT FEB 9

2PM-5PM • FREE
SKILL SHARE: CREATING
A FOIA REQUEST

Join the Committee to
Stop FBI Repression and
learn how to compile
and submit requests for
data, files and documents
through the Freedom of
Information Act. Bring
your laptop and best can-
do attitude.
500 7th Ave., Mnhtn

SAT FEB 9

9PM-2AM • \$15-\$20,
21+
MUSIC: STRAIGHT TO
HELL: A TRIBUTE TO THE
CLASH

Special guests Smoke
& Mirrors, Black Days,
SaneInsane.

MAGUIRE'S PUB
5420 Roosevelt Ave.,
Bronx

SAT FEB 9

5:30PM-8PM • FREE
SCREENING: *PROFILED*
A powerful indictment of
racial profiling and police
brutality, featuring the
mothers of individuals
killed by the NYPD.
*UNITARIAN CHURCH OF
STATEN ISLAND*
312 Fillmore St., S.I.

SUN FEB 10

10:30AM-3PM • FREE
EXERCISE: SHELDON
BROWN MEMORIAL
RIDE

For anyone that has at-
tempted to fix or maintain
their bike, a quick internet
search will likely land you
at sheldonbrown.com at
some point or another.
Join the Mechanical
Gardens Bike Co-op for
the annual Sheldon Brown
Memorial Ride and cel-
ebrate the spirit of knowl-
edge sharing and public
access to bike repair.
*SOLDIERS & SAILORS
MEMORIAL ARCH*
Grand Army Pl., Bklyn

TUE FEB 12

6:30PM-8:30PM
TALK: COLONIAL PASTS
AND VIOLENT PRESENT
OF CONFINEMENT
Join Prof. Laleh Khalili as
she examines the histori-
cal roots of the Israeli oc-
cupation of Palestine and
the U.S. War on Terror.
THE PEOPLE'S FORUM
320 W. 37th St., Mnhtn

FRI FEB 15

8PM-1AM • FREE
PARTY: RED PARTY

Come ready to dance at
this communist anti-Val-
entine's Day Party. Special
guests: Red Yenta, a new
socialist dating platform
hosted on Twitter and Ins-
tagram (@redyenta), open
to leftists of all stripes
looking for whatever it is
we call love.
VERSO BOOKS
20 Jay St., Suite 1010,
Bklyn

FRI FEB 15

10PM-4AM • \$15
MUSIC: BROOKLYN DUB
CLUB: CHANNEL ONE
Expect earth-shattering
bass, entrancing reverbs
and some of the deepest
and most exclusive cuts
played through Dub-Stuy's
infamous 15,000W hand-
crafted hi-fi behemoth.
THE PAPER BOX
17 Meadow St., Bklyn

SAT FEB 16

4PM-8PM • FREE
PARTY: YEAR OF ABUN-
DANCE: A LUNAR NEW
YEAR CELEBRATION
A celebration of Lower East
Side and Chinatown com-
munities. Live performanc-
es, art activities, karaoke,
DJ sets and refreshments
from local restaurants.
ABRONS ARTS CENTER
466 Grand St., Mnhtn

FRI FEB 22

6:30PM-8:30PM • FREE
TALK: PREDICTIVE PO-
LICING & THE STALKER
STATE: HAMID KHAN &
ALEX VITALE
Hamid Khan, founder of
the South Asian Network
in conversation with Alex
Vitale, author of *The End of
Policing*, on the problems
with predictive policing
and the state's expanded
capacity to trace, track
and monitor us.

ST. MARY'S CHURCH
521 W. 126th St., Mnhtn

SAT FEB 23

9:30AM-3:30PM • FREE
CONFERENCE: NYC
ANARCHIST MENTAL
HEALTH CONFERENCE
Come strategize ways of
incorporating anarchist
values into mental health
work.

*JUDSON MEMORIAL
CHURCH, ASSEMBLY
HALL*

239 Thompson St., Mnhtn

MON FEB 25

6:30PM-8PM • FREE
TIME & SPACE: AVERY
GORDON: ARCHIVING IN
THE FUTURE PERFECT
TENSE

We tend to think of ar-
chives as repositories for
memories, things and doc-
uments. But Avery Gordon
asks, "What kind of
archive safeguards a past
that the present hasn't yet
caught up with? Can such
a past be summoned to
haunt the present as an
alternative?"
*JAMES ROOM. 4TH FL.
BARNARD COLLEGE*
3009 Broadway, Mnhtn

MON FEB 25

7PM-9PM • FREE
BOOK LAUNCH: *CAPITAL
CITY: GENTRIFICATION
AND THE REAL ESTATE
STATE*

As Samuel Stein makes
clear in this tightly
argued book, it's through
the seemingly innocuous
profession of city plan-
ners that we can best
understand gentrification
here in NYC. Planners
provide a window into
the dynamics of urban
change: the way the
state uses and is used by
organized capital, and the

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FEBRUARY

power of landlords and developers at every level of government. But crucially, planners also possess some of the powers we must leverage if we ever wish to reclaim our cities from real estate capital.
Verso Books
20 Jay St., Suite 1010, Bklyn

THU FEB 28
7PM • \$10

LIT: CHARLES BUKOWSKI MEMORIAL READING
Featuring performances of the Bukowski's poems and stories by a cast of talented fans, including monologist Mike Daisey and performance artist Diane O'Debra. Considered poet laureate of Skid Row, Bukowski was a champion of the lost, the lonely and the outcast. He wrote about the human condition — something that can be applied to any time period regardless of changes in technology, politics or societal conflict.

THE GALLERY LE POISSON ROUGE
158 Bleecker St. Mhhtn

THU FEB 28

9PM–4AM • FREE
PARTY: LAYLIT

A night showcasing the vibrant and diverse genres of Middle-Eastern dance music stretching all the way back to the late '60s. Come prepared with your disco balls and dabke sticks!
MOOD RING
1260 Myrtle Ave., Bklyn



FRID-OM: Nickolas Murray's *Frida with Idol, 1939*, as well as numerous paintings by and personal artifacts belonging to the artist herself are on view at the Brooklyn Museum beginning this February.

DIRTY OLD MAN: Toast Charles Bukowski at Le Poisson Rouge on Feb. 28.

© NICKOLAS MURRAY PHOTO ARCHIVES

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Gentrification threatens to cancel out the mayor's progressive reforms, including plans to expand health coverage.

A PEOPLE'S DA?, P9

A 31-year-old public defender takes on the political machine in the Queens DA race.

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New York City is taking initial steps to sell off its chronically neglected public housing.

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...of a U.S.-backed coup.

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Kenyan-born J.S. Ondara's draws inspiration from the folk legend, offering an outsider's view of America.

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Erik Loomis offers a history of America through labor's lens.

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A new bio looks at the role Harvey Milk's Jewish roots played in his activism.

TRUMP DEPRESSION HOTLINE, P22

Our advice columnist tackles love in a time of capitalist idiocy and artificial intelligence.



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\$40,000

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FEBRUARY 21

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THE
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BOTTOMLESS POT

AS LAWMAKERS HASH OUT THE DETAILS OF LEGALIZATION, COMMUNITIES LONG TARGETED BY RACIST ENFORCEMENT WANT A SEAT AT THE TABLE.

BY STEVEN WISHNIA

Imagine a New York where instead of the number of people getting busted for marijuana possession every year would fill Yankee Stadium, you could get off the D train and pick up a couple grams of Empire State cannabis at Boogie Down Buds on 161st Street, or pack a vaporizer in the back room of a St. Marks Place dispensary.

That might become a reality a couple years from now. Gov. Andrew Cuomo, a recent convert to the legalization cause, introduced a bill to allow cultivation and sales to people 21 or over as part of his state budget proposal in mid-January. With Democrats holding a solid majority in the state Senate for the first time since the 1960s, a legalization bill is considered likely to pass.

“After decades of a broken, racist prohibition model, the debate over marijuana legalization is largely over in New York,” Assemblymember Richard Gottfried (D-Manhattan) told *The Independent*. “Now it’s about the details.”

Those details, however, might determine whether the herb sold in state-licensed dispensaries is grown by a small farmer in Sullivan County or in a 40,000-square-foot industrial facility owned by a private-equity fund.

Cuomo’s proposed legislation, the Cannabis Regulation and Taxation Act, takes up almost half of the 197-page budget bill. It addresses issues as disparate and arcane as deadlines for submitting tax forms and ensuring that medical-marijuana patients are eligible for organ transplants. It would establish a state Office of Cannabis Management to oversee the industry. The governor has predicted that legal sales would bring in \$300 million a year in tax revenues.

PREVENTING MONOPOLIES

The bill’s key provision is that in order to limit the odds of monopolization, the industry would be divided along the same three-level lines as alcohol was after prohibition: Retail sales, distribution, and cultivation and processing would be kept separate, with businesses having a license in one area prohibited from engaging in the other two. The exceptions are that “microbusinesses” would be able to do all three, much as a small winery can serve glasses and sell bottles at its vineyard, and — a bigger exception — the “registered organizations” that now grow, process and sell medical-cannabis extracts might be allowed to stay vertically integrated, possibly by buying that right at auction. No company would be allowed to own more than three retail dispensaries.

Smoking or vaping in public would be lowered from a misdemeanor to a violation, with a maximum \$125 fine. Cultivators would pay a \$1-a-gram tax on buds, and retailers would have to

pay a 22 percent tax on wholesale purchases. Companies with more than 25 employees would have to be unionized to keep their license. Counties or large cities would be able to stay “dry,” but the bill would allow “on-site consumption” — pot bars, albeit without alcohol — although it implies that the licensing regulations would be stricter than for regular retailers. Home-growing would remain illegal except for registered medical patients.

Many details, however, remain unclear, and the Assembly and Senate are both preparing responses. “We have no idea what licensing fees are going to be, or how many licenses in each category,” says Doug Greene, legislative director of Empire State NORML, an affiliate of the National Organization for the Reform of Marijuana Laws.

RESTITUTION ‘IS THE STARTING LINE.’

Those details are crucial for a key demand of the legalization movement: That marijuana be legalized in a way that benefits the communities most affected by prohibition — such as Brooklyn’s Brownsville, a poor, overwhelmingly black and Latino area where

PEOPLE WHO FORMERLY SUPPORTED PROHIBITION NOW SEE CANNABIS AS A LUCRATIVE MARKET.

the number of police stops in 2011 exceeded a quarter of the neighborhood’s population, and together with adjacent East New York, accounted for 10 percent of the city’s total pot busts then.

That Cuomo has endorsed legalization is good news, says Assembly Majority Leader Crystal Peoples-Stokes (D-Buffalo), but his bill “does not totally meet the mark,” particularly as it lacks specific programs to aid such communities, like Buffalo’s East Side.

Restitution “is the starting line,” Cassandra Frederique, New York State director of the Drug Policy Alliance (DPA), said in a statement responding to the Cuomo bill. “Legalization can be an economic engine driving wealth and equity in marginalized communities and providing space for alternative economic systems — if we work intentionally.”

The biggest piece missing, says DPA deputy state director Melissa Moore, is “community reinvestment.” The Marijuana Regulation and Taxation Act, a legalization bill introduced last year by Peoples-Stokes and Sen. Liz Krueger (D-Manhattan), would specifically earmark a portion of pot-tax revenues for things like drug education, after-school programs and re-entry assistance for released prisoners. The Cuomo bill, Moore says, states that revenues “could” be used for that “or any other purpose,” which she sees as

HOW POT PROHIBITION EVOLVED

Marijuana prohibition in the U.S. is more than 100 years old, beginning with the city of El Paso, Texas, in 1914 and the state of California in 1915. The federal government effectively banned it in 1937, after a campaign led by drug czar Harry J. Anslinger. He promoted propaganda films like *Reefer Madness* and *Marihuana: The Weed With Roots in Hell*, and claimed that smoking reefers drove users insane, turned Mexicans into murderous maniacs and lured white maidens to be ravished by horny black men. (The widespread belief that pot prohibition was the result of a plot by newspaper magnate William Randolph Hearst and the du Pont corporation to suppress hemp production is conspiracy-theory nonsense.)

The movement to legalize pot, however, did not emerge until the mid-1960s, as it spread into the educated bohemian

counterculture. Politicized Beat poets like Allen Ginsberg and John Sinclair were among its first advocates. By the 1970s, that counterculture was a mass market, and marijuana was mainstream, smoked in public at rock concerts. Fueled by a backlash to the quadrupling of petty pot busts — the largest anti-drug crusade in which white users were prime targets — and the federal Shafer Commission’s 1972 report recommending decriminalization, 11 states decriminalized marijuana possession. New York’s 1977 law reduced the penalty for possession of less than 25 grams to a \$100 fine.

The Reagan era, however, brought a massive reversal, with paramilitary raids on pot farms; draconian mandatory minimum sentences for drug offenses; drug testing for job applicants; and a widespread attitude that pot-smokers were almost as low as crackheads. If marijuana legalization seemed inevitable to some in 1978, it was almost unthinkable in 1988.

But in 1991, an alliance between California’s pot culture and its AIDS-ravaged gay community gave the legalization movement a victory: San Francisco voters approved an initiative spearheaded by gay activist and pot dealer Dennis Peron to recommend that medical marijuana be legalized. Five years later, with political professionals taking over the campaign, California voters passed a ballot initiative legalizing medical marijuana, and 33 states and Washington, D.C., now allow some form of medical use.

— STEVEN WISHNIA



PUFF, PUFF, PASS: Pot lovers parade a 51-foot inflatable joint through the nation’s capital, April 2, 2016.





EP_JHU/FLICKR

a large potential loophole.

Other key aspects of equity include ensuring access to the business and sealing or expunging criminal records for pot offenses. The Cuomo bill does give a preference for people with marijuana convictions for business licenses, but without access to loans, Moore says, it will be “incredibly difficult” for them to start businesses. She’s encouraged that the bill would include licenses for microbusinesses and let cultivators and others form cooperatives, which could provide technical assistance.

The state has plenty of business-incubator programs, says Peoples-Stokes, and it should set them up in black and brown communities to provide technical assistance and low-interest loans, so people there can get into the market “prior to it being gobbled” by those with more capital.

In practice, dispensaries are likely to be the easiest cannabis businesses for people with limited capital to start, says a staffer for a pro-legalization legislator.

Joe Bondy of the Cannabis Cultural Association, a lawyer who last year unsuccessfully challenged the constitutionality of the federal marijuana-prohibition law, says small businesses need affordable license fees and “an application form where you don’t need to hire a lawyer.” However, he believes that domination by corporations is “inevitable” due to their market power, with smaller operations occupying an upscale artisanal niche.

Assembly Agriculture Committee chair Donna Lupardo (D-Binghamton) says she’s pleased with the Cuomo bill’s provisions for small farmers. It gives a “very specific” preference for cultivation licenses to farmers in counties where the poverty rate is greater than 10 percent, which covers most of upstate. She would prefer to see ganja cultivated under natural sunlight in greenhouses, rather than in “energy-intensive indoor grow facilities,” and the bill would allow three sizes of greenhouse operations, from a micro level up to a maximum of two acres.

She says, however, that she’s a little concerned about jurisdiction over hemp farming being divided, with production for fiber and seed regulated by the state Agriculture Department, but hemp-extract products such as CBD under the cannabis system.

The fate of the 10 registered organizations authorized to sell medical-cannabis products is another issue. “It’s important to expand patient access to the medical cannabis program, as well as ensuring that the availability of adult use does not disrupt the functioning of the medical market,” says Gottfried.

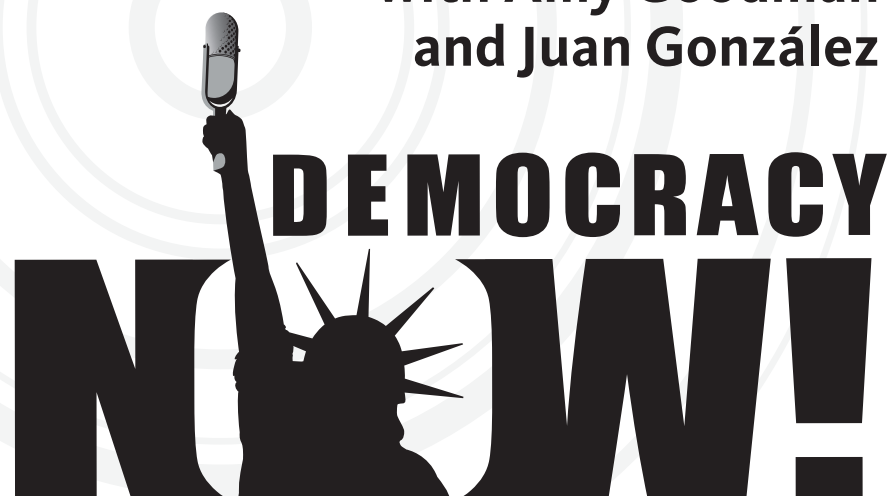
Those companies invested hundreds of thousands of dollars to open, as Gov. Cuomo insisted that medical cannabis be limited to a handful of large, vertically integrated operations that sell only extracts. Legalized adult use, however, would likely jeopardize them, as patients who prefer actual marijuana would buy from dispensaries instead. The Cuomo bill might auction off the right for them to remain vertically integrated, using the proceeds to fund social programs, but that would likely put the losers out of business. Another possibility is letting them operate dispensaries out of their current locations.

The opposition to legalization has been relatively minimal, with former mayor Michael Bloomberg the most prominent among police chiefs and county health associations. State Sen. Fred Akshar (R-Endwell), a former sheriff who is “personally opposed to legalizing marijuana,” posted an online survey on Jan. 23 to get constituents’ opinions.

“People have been taking it as a given and trying to change it rather than block it,” says Moore.

Continued on page 18

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

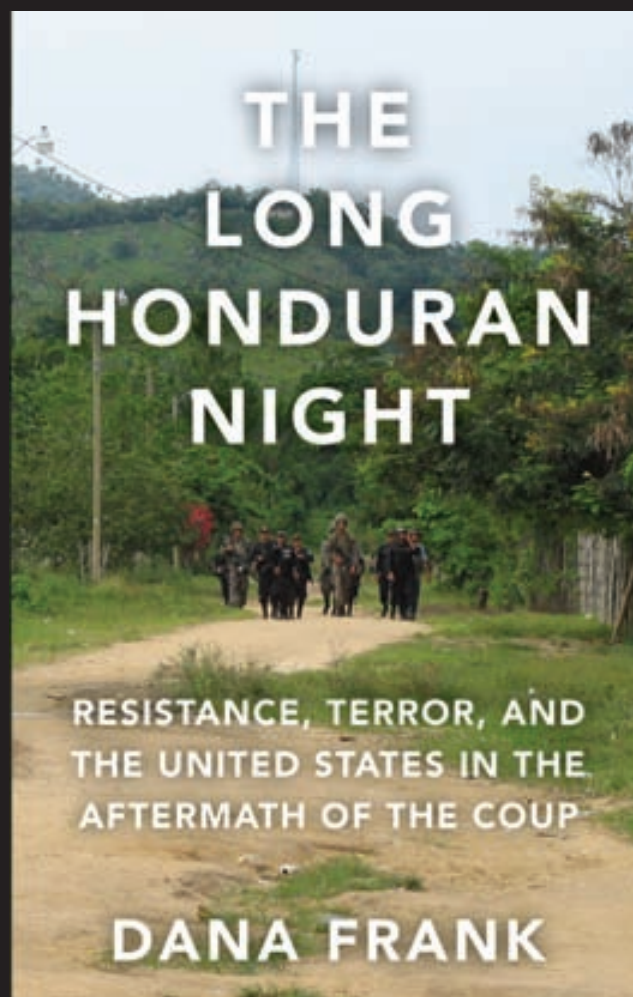


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This powerful narrative recounts the dramatic years in Honduras following the June 2009 military coup that deposed President Manuel Zelaya, told in part through first-person experiences. It weaves together two broad pictures: first, the repressive regime launched with the coup with ongoing US support; and second, the brave and evolving Honduran resistance movement, with aid from a new solidarity movement in the United States.



Haymarket
Books

Although it is full of terrible things, this is not a horror story: the book directly counters mainstream media portrayals of Honduras as a pit of unrelenting awfulness and unexplained violence. Rather, it’s about sobering challenges with roots in political processes, and the inspiring collective strength with which people face them

**REVEREND
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STOPSHOPPING
choir**

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BRIEFING ROOM



ERIK MCGREGOR

ELECTIONS HAVE CONSEQUENCES

In Albany, the newly Democratic-controlled state legislature had a busy January. It updated the New York State's archaic abortion laws in case the U.S. Supreme Court overturns Roe V. Wade, protected New Yorkers' access to cost-free birth control, banned gay conversion therapy and passed the New York DREAM Act which allows undocumented youth equal access to state financial aid to attend college. All these measures have the backing of Gov. Andrew Cuomo.

The governor also signed a bill extending the statute of limitations for child sex abuse cases that Senate Republicans, at the behest of the Catholic Church, had previously refused to bring to the floor. It passed by a margin of 63-0. Bigger, more contentious battles lie ahead over the annual state budget which has to be finalized by the end of March, the future of the Metropolitan Transit Authority (MTA), rent law reforms and climate change legislation.

CUOMO TO THE RESCUE?

For someone who supposedly doesn't control the MTA, Gov. Andrew Cuomo is sure exercising a whole lot of control over the MTA. In the blink of an eye, the agency scrapped plans — years in the making — to shutdown the L Train after Cuomo intervened in early January. Flanked by a pair of Ivy League engineers, Cuomo said shutting down the line for post-Sandy repairs was unnecessary thanks to new European technology. Instead service on the L will only be suspended at night and on weekends. Cuomo earned kudos from commuters, but it turns out the MTA had already explored a plan similar to the governor's in 2014 and rejected it over safety concerns. MTA engineers warned that keeping the L operational risks exposing riders and workers to silica dust, which can lead to lung disease. Critics have also raised cost and durability concerns over Cuomo's plan.

MTA BOARD SWIPES LEFT ON FARE INCREASE (FOR NOW)

In another straphanger superhero move, members of the MTA's govern-

ing board delayed a planned vote on fair hikes after criticism from Cuomo. The four percent increase was expected to go into effect in March after January's vote. NYC Transit President Andy Byford has put forward a \$40 billion subway modernization plan, yet the authority is facing a \$991 million operating deficit by 2022. It's caught in a feedback loop: as service continues to decline, fewer riders are relying on it. Fewer riders means less revenue, which means service will further decline. While he managed to impede the fare hike vote, Cuomo has been reluctant to provide the MTA alternative revenue streams.

FIRE ON ICE: Nine members of the Extinction Rebellion movement engage in a Jan. 26 die-in at Rockefeller Center.

AMAZON TO CITY COUNCIL: NO UNIONS

Appearing at a Jan. 30 City Council hearing on Amazon's planned move to locate its HQ2 in Long Island City, Brian Huseman, vice president of public policy, was asked if the company would agree to neutrality if workers at Amazon wanted to unionize. "No, we would not agree to that," Huseman said. Amazon has no unionized employees and is slated to receive \$3 billion in state and city subsidies. The hearing was disrupted at one point by protesters chanting "Amazon delivers lies."

ENDANGERED HUMANS OF NEW YORK

Nine members of the nascent "Extinction Rebellion" movement were arrested in Midtown on Jan. 26. In addition to staging a die-in over global warming on the ice rink at Rockefeller Center, activists dropped a banner from a gilded statue of Prometheus reading, "Climate change equals mass murder." Since its inception in October, members of the movement have engaged in civil disobedience in nearly 30 countries calling on elected leaders to take radical steps to confront the climate crisis, such as slashing fossil fuel emissions.

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DE BLASIO CARE

THE MAYOR IS EXPANDING ACCESS TO MEDICAL TREATMENT FOR NYC'S POOR AND UNDOCUMENTED. BUT HOW HE SAYS HE'S PAYING FOR IT MAY SICKEN YOU.

BY PETER RUGH

In early January, Mayor Bill de Blasio announced a program intended to expand health coverage to the city's 600,000 uninsured people. It's a sound, low-cost progressive policy concept but many of the people it aims to aid might not be around to reap its benefits.

Appearing on MSNBC's "Morning Joe" program Jan. 8, the mayor pledged to "guarantee health care for New Yorkers who need it." He said the plan, dubbed NYC Care, will "revolutionize" the way health care is delivered, reaching the 600,000 New Yorkers — largely undocumented immigrants and middle- to low-income residents who, despite the Affordable Care Act, lack insurance.

"This is one, universal way to reach all those folks right now who are not covered," de Blasio said.

The plan is not universal or single-payer health care. NYC Care is an attempt to treat members of the city's uninsured population by providing them care on a sliding scale, preferably before they are forced to make costly visits to hospital emergency rooms.

Set to be rolled out in the Bronx this summer and be in operation citywide within two years, the plan involves the city's hospital network, Health + Hospitals, hiring a slew of new primary-care physicians and establishing a hotline to connect patients to the care they need, including mental health treatment.

The de Blasio administration is saying, "If you're an undocumented immigrant or you can't find coverage that is affordable for you, we'll set up a program that walks like insurance, talks like insurance, but is not insurance," Elisabeth Benjamin, a health-care policy analyst with the Community Service Society of New York, told *The Independent*.

Yet while NYC Care might alleviate one dilemma facing patients that universal health care would also tackle, the insurance void, single-payer supporters have a much broader set of concerns.

"They're sick and tired of a health-care system that costs out the patients; that has deductibles and copays, and every time you go in the hospital you come out with 20 different bills from various providers and nurses and radiologists and \$100 Band-Aids," said Benjamin. Single-payer, currently before the state legislature in the form of the New York Health Act, would benefit insured and uninsured alike.

NYC Care is more likely to help undocumented immigrants, who are ineligible for publicly subsidized health coverage, than the working-class un-

insured, who make too much for the state's \$20-a-month Essential Plan, but not enough to afford Obamacare. The administration wants to bring them into the city's MetroPlus public-option insurance, but its prices are similar to Obamacare's: A BronzePlus plan, which costs about \$450 a month before the Obamacare tax-credit subsidy, has a deductible of \$4,000 for individuals and \$8,000 for families.

So de Blasio's critics on the far right, eager to paint his every maneuver as a stride toward full communism, are more than a tad off the mark. The real whopper to come out of the mayor's mouth, however, arrived a few days later in January, when he explained how he planned to pay for the program: Amazon.

"One of the reasons I believed that the Amazon plan was so important for New York City is because it is going to bring in a vast amount of revenue," the mayor told Hot 97's "Ebro in the Morning," in reference to the deal he and Gov. Andrew Cuomo engineered with the company to put its satellite headquarters in Long Island City, bypassing oversight from the City Council and state legislature. "That's going to allow us to do things like this."

That assertion highlights a central contradiction of de Blasio's time in office. The mayor counts uni-

member of the de Blasio administration, told this reporter. "These are exactly the same folks who would be displaced when Amazon comes to Long Island City."

Ramos is a proponent of the New York Health Act, as is her former boss. But, "assuming the worst," she said, "assuming that we don't pass single-payer on the state level, then the folks who would need it the most wouldn't even be able to live in the city of New York any more."

On top of an approximate \$1.7 billion from the state, New York City is providing Amazon with roughly \$1.3 billion in tax breaks and subsidies. NYC Care will cost the city an estimated \$100 million annually, but that's not all that the tax revenue Amazon generates will bankroll, according to the mayor. He claims taxes from the 25,000 white-collar workers the company says it would hire will also pay for public-housing improvements and more affordable housing.

Yet many of these would-be Amazon employees already reside in the city and pay taxes. While these professionals will likely be compensated generously, why New York City would pay for the cost of health care, housing or any other social program on

A HEALTHCARE PLAN THAT HELPS SOME BUT IS FAR FROM UNIVERSAL.

versal pre-K, a raise in the minimum wage, paid sick time and likely soon paid vacations among his achievements — but the rampant gentrification he has presided over threatens to cancel out many of those accomplishments, including NYC Care.

De Blasio plans to build or preserve 300,000 units of "affordable" housing by 2026. But to do so, his administration has pushed through rezoning neighborhoods to allow taller buildings. Only 25 to 30 percent of the apartments in those new buildings are required to be "affordable" — which is defined based on the metropolitan area median income, a hefty \$93,900 a year for a family of three.

Amazon's move into Queens will only exacerbate the housing crisis in the borough and the rest of the city, argues state Sen. Jessica Ramos, who represents Elmhurst, Jackson Heights and Woodside, the neighborhoods east of Long Island City. NYC Care might help those priced out of insurance, but Amazon could end up pricing those same folks out of the city.

"Those who need health care the most are of course our most vulnerable," Ramos, a former



DANIEL FISHEL

IS QUEENS READY FOR A PEOPLE'S DA?

IN A WIDE OPEN RACE, A DSA-BACKED OUTSIDER CHALLENGES 3 ESTABLISHMENT OPPONENTS

BY THEODORE HAMM

Nobody can even remember the last competitive race for district attorney in Queens. Outgoing DA Richard Brown, who turns 87 later this year, has held the office since 1991, when he was appointed by Gov. Mario Cuomo. Since then the Queens Democratic Party machine has scared off any primary challengers. But after Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez toppled party boss Joe Crowley last June, the machine no longer seems so formidable. Meanwhile, the successful DA campaigns of Philadelphia's Larry Krasner and Boston's Rachael Rollins among others, show that now is the hour of criminal justice reform.

The three established contenders in Queens — Borough President Melinda Katz, City Councilman Rory Lancman and retired judge Gregory Lasak — are positioning themselves as reformers on a variety of issues. Lancman, chair of the city council's Committee on the Justice System, has been a leading critic of NYPD arrests for marijuana and fare evasion (many activists, however, are still angry that Lancman supported the hiring of 1,300 new cops in 2015). Katz, who voted for the death penalty as an assemblywoman in the mid-1990s, is now calling for open-file discovery for defendants and an end to cash bail. And although Lasak is the preferred candidate of law enforcement unions, he does have a track record of helping overturn wrongful convictions.

Of the three, Lancman has been the most outspoken in his support for closing Rikers. Katz had been reluctant to take a position, but through a spokesperson tells *The Independent* that "Rikers must be closed, and that borough-based detention centers are a better model for ensuring cases are heard in a timely manner." Lasak, however, is not supporting the initiative. "I don't believe where jails are located is within the purview of the District Attorney," he says.

All three figures have won campaigns with support from Crowley's county machine. In 2013, the party backed Katz for borough president and Lancman for councilman (representing Fresh Meadows); in 2017, Lasak was re-elected as one of the six State Supreme Court judges on the Democratic line. Although Lancman voted for him to remain party leader despite his defeat by Ocasio-Cortez, Crowley seems closest to Katz. Given that a new DA potentially could shake up the Queens courthouses, the party machine has a lot riding on the late June primary.

The degree to which the new DA will overhaul the office is a major concern for activists as well. On MLK Day at the courthouse in Kew Gardens, the Queens for DA Accountability coalition — which includes Color of Change, Make the Road NY, the Rockaway Youth Task Force and VOCAL-NY, among many other groups — announced a list of policy demands for the new DA to adopt, with a strong focus on police accountability and an end to low-level prosecutions. Andrea Colon, community engagement organizer for the Rockaway Youth Task Force, tells *The Independent* that her group wants the next DA to be someone "who is a genuine advocate for the people of Queens, which may be the most ethnically diverse place on the planet." Colon and other activists want a dramatic reduction in the myriad DA practices that target "crimes of poverty" and contribute to mass incarceration.

Similarly, Daniel Lynch of the Queens chapter of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) says the group wants the "DA's office not to be involved in the over-policing of minor crimes, which will free up resources for prosecutors to go after employers committing wage theft as

well as negligent or harassing landlords." The DSA also plans to focus on the role of money in the race, with a clear preference for Ocasio-Cortez-style small campaign contributions.

Scrutiny of the candidates' money trails raises questions about whether their donors really want reform. Meanwhile, many activists are supporting public defender Tiffany Caban, a recent entrant into the race. While the Queens for DA Accountability coalition cannot endorse because of its nonprofit status, DSA members voted overwhelmingly at the end of January to back Caban.

Although newly elected state Senator Jessica Ramos of Jackson Heights is not yet ready to endorse in the race, her communications director Julia Arrendondo views the DA's office as "ready for an upgrade" and says this race "is a chance to right the many injustices that people of color in Queens have had to live through." Neither Ocasio-Cortez's spokesman nor Assemblywoman Catalina Cruz (D-Corona) responded to requests for comment, but the insurgency has already begun

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ON THE FUNDRAISING FRONT, Lancman is at best a mild reformer. He explained to a recent DSA forum that amassing a "war chest" was necessary to order to win. Asked whether he imposes any restrictions regarding fundraising, Lancman tells *The Independent*, "We're not actively soliciting contributions from the criminal defense bar in Queens, and when I'm the DA, like Cy Vance mostly on the civil side of the Queens courts — have helped fill Lancman's coffers, contributing \$75,000 out of the roughly \$600,000 that the councilman has raised specifically for his DA campaign (Lancman also transferred more than \$400,000 from his city council campaign accounts).

Lancman has reeled in several donations from business entities, many of which — e.g. the Ferrari Driving School of Astoria (\$5,000) — have an unclear relationship to the DA's office. The \$20,000 Lancman received from a mysterious entity called ADJFAM Management also raises questions — especially because that same company was an early contributor to Trump's 2016 campaign. Various senior nursing homes have also kicked in more than \$20,000.

While Lancman has collected several contributions from real estate interests, Katz is clearly the preferred candidate of big developers. Shortly after suggesting that the Amazon deal (which Katz supported) should help revive the stalled BQX waterfront trolley project (which she said should be renamed the "QBX"), Katz received \$10,000 from Brooklyn's Two Trees Management, a key supporter of the project. According to campaign spokesperson Daniele de Groot, Katz's "contribu-

THE NEW MISSION, SAYS CABAN, IS 'TRANSFORMATIVE JUSTICE,' WITH STRONG ATTENTION TO RACIAL AND ECONOMIC EQUALITY.

tions are evaluated on a case-by-case basis in order to avoid conflicts of interest." More than \$150,000 of the \$600,000 Katz has raised directly for the DA's race has come from real estate players.

Continued on page 17



ERIN SHERIDAN



COURTESY OF THE TIFFANY CABAN CAMPAIGN

READY FOR CHANGE:

Members of the Queens for DA Accountability coalition rally outside the Queens County Courthouse on a bitterly cold MLK Day.

A DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVE:

Tiffany Caban is running for Queens District Attorney.

THE VULTURES ARE CIRCLING

DECADES OF DISINVESTMENT HAS DEVASTATED NYC'S PUBLIC HOUSING. AND NOW THE PRIVATE SECTOR IS READY TO CASH IN.

BY RICO CLEFFI

As temperatures plummeted into the single digits on Martin Luther King Day weekend, there was no heat in Karen Leader's apartment.

"We are taxpayers, we fought in the wars, we are veterans, working-class people," said Leader, a tenant activist who has lived in the Cooper Park Houses in East Williamsburg for over 30 years. "Why are you treating us like we don't matter, regardless of how much rent we pay?"

The intense cold is just another indignity she and her fellow residents of the 178,000 New York City Housing Authority (NYCHA) apartments have had to endure. Broken elevators, a lack of basic repairs, toxic lead paint and mold also top the list for many of the estimated half-million NYCHA tenants.

Leader and other NYCHA residents are now worried about another, more recent concern — the various privatization efforts the city is pursuing.

Last year was a particularly tumultuous one for NYCHA, capped by Mayor Bill de Blasio's announcement of a 10-year "NYCHA 2.0" plan, ostensibly to turn the authority and its housing stock around. Days after the plan was released, U.S. Housing and Urban Development Secretary Ben Carson issued an ultimatum for NYCHA to demonstrate signs of progress by the end of January or face a federal takeover. In the end, Carson stopped short of taking NYCHA over and instead reached an agreement with Mayor de Blasio whereby NYCHA's interim chief will be replaced by a federal monitor.

No one denies that NYCHA is in dire need of money. Most experts estimate that it would take \$32 billion to get all of its facilities in working order. In a December report, the Regional Planning Association put the amount at \$45.5 billion.

The de Blasio administration hopes to raise part of this money through "infill," selling air rights and leasing land in public-housing projects to private developers. Most of the NYCHA 2.0 program's funds will be raised, however, by turning over the administration of 62,000 units to developers, as part of the federal "Rental Assistance Demonstration" (RAD) program. Those developers will be required to make badly needed repairs, while keeping residents in their apartments.

*WE BREAK IT, DEVELOPERS GET RICH
FIXING IT*

The tabloids eagerly seize on NYCHA's chronic mismanagement and reports of after-work staff parties at its facilities. ("Overtime for Orgies," shrieked a typical *Daily News* headline.) The real core of its troubles, however, is chronic disinvestment.

Nicholas Dagen Bloom, professor of social science at New York Institute of Technology and author of *Public Housing That Worked*, blames NYCHA's current crisis on severe divestment over the last two decades. "Most of the stuff was completed in the '50s and '60s, so it was relatively young housing," he said. "Then you had massive cuts in city support. State support had already been cut, but then federal

support. So then NYCHA ended up with unstable budgets."

NYCHA has served an important function in providing affordable housing since it was founded in 1934. The agency, which has received the bulk of its funding from the federal government since the Carter administration, weathered severe budget cuts in the Reagan years. In the late 1990s, then-governor George Pataki halted operating subsidies from the state, and Mayor Michael Bloomberg later cut off the city's contribution. Gov. Andrew Cuomo has spoken in favor of funding NYCHA, but he has diverted much of \$100 million allocated for it to other state housing authorities. And for decades, until de Blasio ended the practice in 2014, the NYPD charged NYCHA an estimated \$100 million per year for police services already paid for by tax dollars.

The city has upped its contributions, but it still allocated \$143 million to NYCHA in fiscal year 2019, just 0.2 percent of the city budget. In his deal with the feds, de Blasio committed the city to another \$2.2 billion in NYCHA spending over the next decade. For its part, authority currently collects about \$1.07 billion in rents annually, about 32 percent of its total operating revenue.

RAD and infill are responses to "policy-generated disasters," says Bloom. "These things are necessary only because certain other things weren't done, and people refuse to do them — that is, to fully fund public housing. These are more or less the only solutions that are out there, but again, they are solutions to a problem that was generated by public policy positions."

Under de Blasio's current NYCHA scheme, tenants in designated units are likely to see significant repairs under RAD, though there is potential for significant risk.

A LOSS OF JUST 10% OF NYCHA'S UNITS WOULD FORCE 40,000 NYERS TO SCRAMBLE FOR HOUSING IN A CITY WHERE IT'S SCARCE.

Jamie Lee, director of the University of Baltimore School of Law's Community Development Clinic, tells *The Independent* that while federal law provides a baseline for tenant rights, "management companies can and have [in the past] tightened rules about who can live in the renovated developments, and who can stay or be evicted for certain behavior."

It is also unlikely that a private developer would be more responsive to tenants than the government.

"The private sector makes most of its money early on in the process [during the renovations or rebuilding stage]," says Lee, who has studied the impact of public housing privatization on tenant rights. "So incentives are very low for high-quality, day-to-day operations that truly meet the needs of residents, or for robust, long-term care and stewardship of the buildings."

The amount of money raised through RAD and attendant programs will only offset a fraction of NYCHA's capital needs. There is also the issue of potential foreclosures stemming from the practice of mortgaging NYCHA properties to raise capital, should the city no longer have the revenue to pay the loans off.

A February 2018 Government Accountability Office audit of RAD found the program lacked both necessary controls against building foreclosures and sufficient guarantees to ensure long-term affordability for tenants.

The NYCHA press office was unable to say if there were any guarantees in place to prevent mortgage defaults. The city is insisting that residents will have rent protections and a "right of return" in instances where they are forced to move out while repairs are made. Most tenants will be able to remain in their homes during the conversions.

Another uncharted aspect of RAD is the fate of NYCHA's unionized workforce. At least one construction industry group has publicly called for RAD and infill to be done without union labor.

Josh Barnett, president of District Council 37 Local 375 — which represents city architects, engineers, and urban planners — and an employee in NYCHA's capital projects division, worries that RAD will function as a "union busting tactic."

"There's nothing in there [federal or city regulations] that requires any worker who does work at one of the privatized developments to be either civil service or union, which is really kind of scary," he explained. Barnett said the city has done little to keep the union in the loop, and he is skeptical of de Blasio's claim that there won't be any layoffs. In the meantime, he's working to forge coalitions between NYCHA residents and workers.

THE PAYOFF

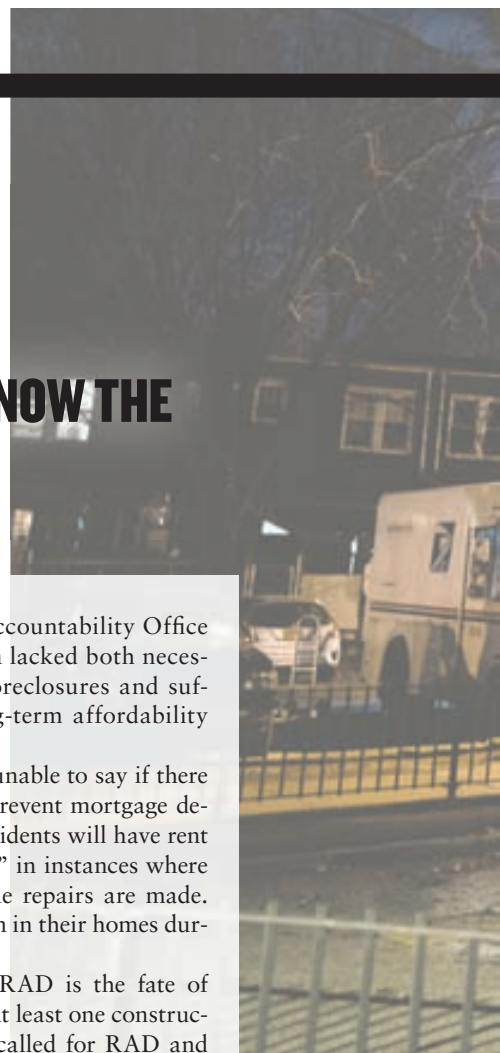
The question remains, what's in it for developers? "If NYCHA housing is so terrible," Bloom asks, "then

why are private developers interested in it?"

Affordable housing is now a multibillion-dollar growth industry, replete with publicly traded firms, lobbyists, trade associations, journals and conferences. The potential for profit has led to a dynamic where the same developers that created the conditions of displacement in New York City can be awarded lucrative contracts for public housing.

Take the case of Camber Property Group, the firm behind a deeply unpopular rezoning on DeKalb Avenue in Bushwick. It's one of the partners in a deal to purchase a 50 percent stake in the Murphy and Baychester Houses, two separate developments in the Bronx which contain a total of 722 units.

Stagnant wages and luxury-driven housing policies in major American cities have led to excess demand for affordable housing, so investors now see it as a low-risk opportunity. The government can afford to fund areas of operation too costly for private business ("socialization of risk"). Or, as Rick Gropper, a principal at Camber Property Group, recently told real-estate news website *Bisnow*: "[Y]ou don't have the





ERIN SHERIDAN

same risk as with market-rate housing.”

Developers benefit from the management of public housing through the collection of various fees and rents. Then there’s the Low Income Housing Tax Credits, or LIHTCs. The LIHTC industry took off during the Reagan administration, rising concurrently with deep cuts in direct federal funding for housing.

The tax credits are distributed to developers, who then sell them to third-party “syndicators.” A joint investigation by NPR and *Frontline* found that syndicators — a key part of the \$8 billion LIHTC industry — earned more than \$300 million in 2017.

NYCHA has used LIHTC financing previously, most notably in the 2017 conversion of Ocean Bay Apartments in the Rockaways. But an authority spokesperson was unable to answer how much of the “2.0” program would rely on those credits.

RAD originated in the Obama years, but right-wingers like Ben Carson and Howard Husock of the Manhattan Institute urban-policy think tank embrace it because it aligns with their ideology that government should support the private sector. Husock, who opposes public housing on principle, is all in for RAD. “The federal government will waive a wand, in a way,” he told *City Journal* recently, and declare NYCHA residents have “a dollar sign on their heads.” The idea is that developers will be able to borrow against the federally guaranteed revenue stream NYCHA tenants afford them.

Michael Higgins, an organizer with Families United for Racial and Economic Equality (FUREE), isn’t particularly enthused by these revenue streams, or the notion of putting dollar signs on people’s heads. He has been working with residents opposing an infill project by developers Two Trees and Arker Companies slated for Wyckoff Gardens in downtown Brooklyn, and he sees the public-private partnership model as part of the problem, not a solution.

“When we look at our housing issue with the city, it’s been created by the private market just not working,” Higgins says. “Whether we’re talking about landlords that are harassing tenants to remove units from rent control or rent stabilization, or we’re talking about luxury apartments that sit empty when we have thousands of people on the street, there’s a lot of things that don’t work. I just don’t think we really need to be giving any more resources for free or relatively cheaply to the private market to just do what they want.”

Mayor de Blasio has pitched infill as a way of building affordable housing while raising money for NYCHA. Recent events raise doubts about that. An infill development at Harborview Terrace in Hell’s Kitchen, in the works since Bloomberg’s term, was promoted by de Blasio as a 100 percent affordable project. Last August, the mayor’s office abruptly announced the project will now consist of 70 percent market-rate units, a move seen as a slap in the face to residents.

Karen Leader, who serves as secretary of the residents’ association at the Cooper Park Houses, has been fighting against a 250-unit infill tower slated for the development’s parking lot. “It’s supposed to be 250 units, and it’s supposed to be 50/50 market rate and ‘affordable.’ No one is saying what affordable is. Affordable

excludes low-income families. We can’t even pick up an application, it’s crazy.

“When we ask NYCHA, ‘well how much would you lease this land for?’” Leader continued, “they have no idea. So they are allowing private developers to dictate to them how much they’ll lease it for. Those developers are going to make millions, plus they get tax breaks. Why is everything done off of the backs of poor people?”

Leader and other Cooper Park tenants want NYCHA to conduct an environmental impact review of the proposed development. But she sees the authority’s engagement with tenants as a mere formality. “NYCHA, what they are saying is ‘this is our land, we’ll do what we want,’” she said. “They have this facade that ‘we’re taking into consideration all that you’re saying’ and that they care, but they’re not listening.”

Lower East Side tenant activist Jonathan Gardenhire acknowledges NYCHA’s budget problems, but, he says, “Any real solution should involve the residents helping to call the shots, finding out what their options are and proposing solutions.”

Other revenue streams are available to NYCHA, says DC 37’s Barnett: “They aren’t talking about taxing Wall Street or bringing back the penny tax on stock trading or taxing luxury housing.”

The increasing reliance on the public-private partnership model could further diminish government involvement in public and affordable housing.

“With the private sector gaining more and more control and influence over affordable housing, and with government taking less and less responsibility for it,” Jaime Lee says, “the lack of public investment in and accountability for privatized housing may make it easier in the future for government to further loosen the rules, decrease oversight and wash its hands of its responsibilities.”

A recent Regional Planning Association report predicted that reducing public housing would have a disastrous impact on the city. A loss of just 10 percent of NYCHA’s units would force an estimated 40,000 New Yorkers — many of them teachers, postal, health-care and transit workers — to scramble for housing in a city where it is already a scarce resource. The report estimates a potential 62 percent rise in the city’s homeless population under such a scenario.

“Real estate controls a lot of politics in New York City,” says Higgins. “And to that point, there isn’t really much will to not give away stuff to developers. There has to be an understanding that this doesn’t end well for people — you give it away and eventually you run out of things to give away.”

Meanwhile, Gardenhire has some advice for opponents of the mayor’s privatization schemes. He lived in the Alfred E. Smith Houses on the Lower East Side when tenants successfully fought off an infill attempt during the waning days of Bloomberg’s mayoralty. “We put so much pressure on the Bloomberg administration,” he says. “And I think that’s partially a big reason why they haven’t targeted Smith Houses again.”



ERIN SHERIDAN

MARKET-RATE MANIA:

To raise funds NYCHA is selling off open spaces like this parking lot at the Cooper Houses in East Williamsburg. It’s slated to be the site of a 250-unit luxury apartment tower.

THIS IS HOME: Cooper Houses tenant Karen Leader is a vocal opponent of NYCHA’s plan to build on-site luxury housing.

CELEBRATE BLACK HISTORY MONTH

MON FEB 4

11AM • \$17
SCREENING: **MISSISSIPPI BURNING**

Gene Hackman and Willem Dafoe star as FBI agents assigned to investigate the disappearance of three civil rights workers in this thriller loosely based on the real-life case of James Chaney, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner — two Jewish and an African-American civil rights workers who were abducted and murdered in 1964. This screening marks the film's 30th anniversary.

THE SHEEN CENTER FOR THOUGHT & CULTURE
18 Bleecker St., Mhntn

SUN FEB 3

2PM-5PM • \$5 SUGGESTED DONATION

FOOD: FARMING WHILE BLACK

An afternoon of storytelling and breaking bread among farmers of color and allies in celebration of Leah Penniman's new book, *Farming While Black*.

MAYDAY SPACE
176 St. Nicholas Ave., Bklyn

Leah Penniman

FEB 5-FEB 8

TUE-FRI, 8PM-9:30PM & 10:30PM-12AM • \$20-\$35
MUSIC: **CHRISTIAN SCOTT ATUNDE ADJUAH**

A two-time Edison Award winning and Grammy-nominated trumpeter and composer, Scott is the nephew of jazz innovator and legendary sax man, Donald Harrison, Jr. His 2017 *Centennial Trilogy* commemorated the 100th anniversary of the first jazz recordings in America.

BLUE NOTE JAZZ CLUB
131 W. 3rd St., Mhntn

FEB 5-FEB 27

DATES VARY, 6PM-8PM • FREE
SERIES: **THE BLACK EXPERIENCE IN AMERICA**

Dialogues centering how Black people navigate and make sense of their daily lives in the United States; featuring authors, scholars, activists and artists discussing their work in understanding the complexities of identity. Visit: liberalstudies.nyu.edu for detailed location listings and more info.

NYU
Mhntn

MON FEB 11

6:30PM-8PM • \$5

TALK: **BLACK-OWNED BUSINESSES: A HISTORY OF BROOKLYN**

Explore the rich history and social impact of businesses owned by and serving black communities in Brooklyn.

BROOKLYN HISTORICAL SOCIETY CONSERVANCY
128 Pierrepont St., Bklyn

SUN FEB 10

1:45PM • \$25

PAYING RESPECTS: **BLACK HISTORY MONTH TROLLEY TOUR**

Visit the gravesites of Madam C.J. Walker, W.C. Handy, Ralph Bunche, Duke Ellington, Miles Davis, Canada Lee, Rudolph Fisher and more.

THE WOODLAWN CEMETERY & CONSERVANCY
4199 Webster Ave., Bronx

SUN FEB 10

3PM • FREE

SCREENING: **12 YEARS A SLAVE**

Adapted from the 1853 slave narrative memoir of the same name, this 2013 film received critical claim.

LEWIS HOWARD LATIMER HOUSE MUSEUM
34-41 137th St., Queens

FEB 5-FEB 14

TIMES VARY • \$15
FILM: **RACE, SEX & CINEMA: THE WORLD OF MARLON RIGGS**

Defying the culture of silence and shame that pervaded the era of the AIDS crisis, Riggs created vibrant works that broke down the divide between documentary and personal essay to explore issues of race, sexuality, identity and representation. This series brings together all of Riggs' films alongside those of his contemporaries, key influences and those whom he in turn inspired and who carry on his legacy.

BAM
30 Lafayette Ave., Bklyn

WED FEB 13

1PM-2:30PM

HISTORY: **OPEN ARCHIVE: THE SLAVE SHIP**

Explore items from the Schomburg Center's collection of archival material related to this epochal symbol of Transatlantic slavery.

SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE
515 Malcolm X Blvd., Mhntn

MADAM CJ WALKER

GLORIA RICHARDSON

THU FEB 7

6:30PM-8:30PM • FREE

TALK: **RETHINKING BLACK WOMEN FREEDOM FIGHTERS**

Moving beyond the leading-man narrative of Black liberation, this event aims to restore the biographies of Louise Thompson Patterson, Gloria Richardson and others. Join scholars Ula Taylor, Joseph Fitzgerald and Keith Gilyard to discuss how Black women negotiated racism, patriarchy, class and a Cold War world and forged their own dreams for freedom.

SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE
515 Malcolm X Blvd., Mhntn

FRI FEB 15

8PM • \$45-\$75, 18+

MUSIC: **LADYSMITH BLACK MAMBAZO**

Founded in the 1960s, Ladysmith Black Mambazo provided a soundtrack for the civil rights struggle in South Africa and around the world.

SONY HALL
235 W. 46th St., Mhntn

LOUISE THOMPSON PATTERSON

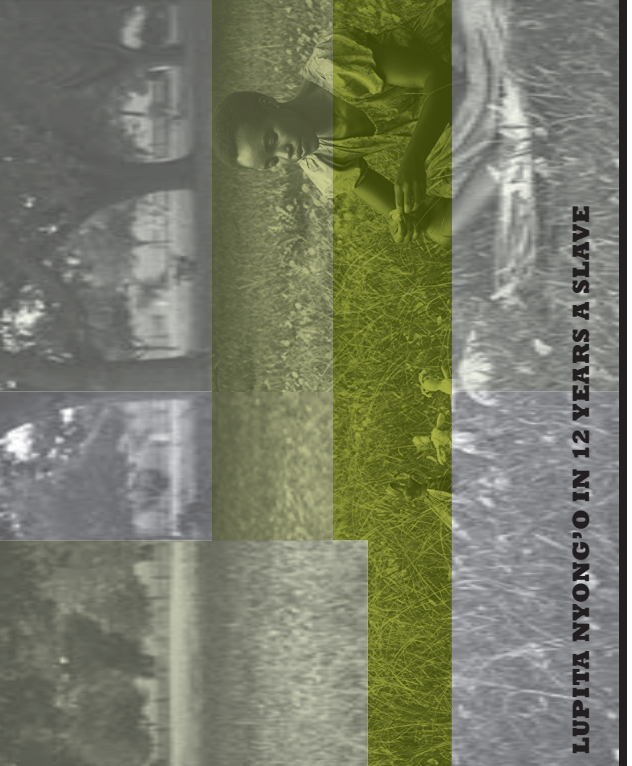
FRED HAMPTON

SAT FEB 9

7PM-11:30PM
FILM: **AFRICAN FILM FESTIVAL SHORT FILMS**

Shorts from Senegal, Botswana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and the United States.
SEARCH PARTY STUDIO
71 Wave St., S.I.

LUPIITA NYONG'O IN 12 YEARS A SLAVE



SUN FEB 24

1PM-2:30PM • FREE

WALKING TOUR: **THE BIRTHPLACE OF HIP HOP**

Join the Urban Park Rangers and learn about the history of hip hop at its earliest incarnation as an underground urban movement.

CEDAR PLAYGROUND
W. 79th St. & Sedgwick Ave., Bronx

THU FEB 21

6:30PM-8:30PM • FREE

TALK: **REVISITING ALEX HALEY'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MALCOLM X**

The Schomburg's recently-acquired manuscripts of *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* include handwritten corrections and notes between Malcolm X and Alex Haley, and the full, unpublished chapter titled "The Negro."

Scholars discuss these revelatory materials, and how they may shape a more authentic understanding of X as a political thinker and pioneer of Black liberation philosophy.

SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE
515 Malcolm X Blvd., Mhntn

FRI FEB 22

7PM-9:30PM • FREE

AUTHOR TALK: **LESLEY-ANN BROWN**

Brown's *Decolonial Daughter: Letters from a Black Woman to her European Son* explores motherhood, migration, identity and nationhood.

BLUESTOCKINGS BOOKSTORE, CAFE & ACTIVIST CENTER
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Join poet, musician and activist Felipe Luciano for an interactive discussion around the power of music and spoken word in forging narratives of purpose and intentionality of justice.

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THU FEB 28

6:30PM • FREE

MUSIC: **THE HARLEM CHAMBER PLAYERS' BLACK HISTORY MONTH CELEBRATION**

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SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE
515 Malcolm X Blvd., Mhntn

LADYSMITH BLACK MAMBAZO



THE PRODIGAL SON

WILL THE LEFT EMBRACE THE WHITE WORKING CLASS IN ITS HOUR OF NEED AND CREATE AN UNBEATABLE PROGRESSIVE COALITION?

BY NICHOLAS POWERS

He looks like he hasn't slept in days. The waiter, an older white man with thick glasses, chats me up about Reno. Young people are leaving. Jobs are scarce. His quiet hopelessness reminded me of other workers; the woman luggage handler in Ohio, the cab driver in upstate New York and the crew at the car wash.

They are part of our future. The 2018 midterms showed a diverse rainbow wave can break the Republican red wall. The 2020, presidential is next and with it, a chance to create a permanent Leftist coalition that will snap American conservatism for generations. It can happen but only with a chunk of the white working class. But how?

The answer is in the biblical parable of the Prodigal Son. The U.S. ruling class used race to divide American workers, but now whiteness is becoming an empty inheritance. Abandoned by global capitalism, millions of rural Trump voters and non-voters are in pain. If the left can see them not as "a basket of deplorables" but as the Prodigal Sons of history, it can welcome enough back to create a social democratic America.

SPLITTING THE INHERITANCE

Before America, whiteness did not exist. The early colonial era was a brutal time but not a racial one. In the New World slaves and indentured servants, Africans and Europeans lived in a limbo. Free Africans could buy land. Europeans could be whipped for disobeying masters.

They worked relentlessly in blistering winters and boiling summers. The sweat of labor glued them together. They were exploited by the same wealthy landowners. When Nathaniel Bacon led a rebellion against Virginia's colonial government in 1676, Africans and Europeans shared musket balls and shot the same British enemy.

The revolt was crushed violently. New laws, written by the ruling class, pitted the two groups against each other. Now "white" became a privileged identity. The Prodigal Son was born. He was white and male, he got more rights, more land and status. He felt his power against a black background. He left the human family.

Today, we live among his descendants. They are in the millions across America. They took their portion and their brother's portion of the land's riches. Every wave of European immigrants took up the Prodigal Son's role. And squandered what Martin Luther King, Jr. would later call "the vast ocean of material prosperity."

Whether Irish, Jewish or Italian, they bought new "white" lives, new faces, new cars, new homes and new last names. They called it the Roaring Twenties and the Fabulous Fifties. In the '80s they called it Morning in America, in the '90s the Dot Com Boom. It was in Luke 15:12, he "took his journey into high country, and there wasted his substance with riotous living."

Now, finally, after centuries of wild stock markets and with a planet teetering on the edge of environmental collapse, a great famine has struck the West. Capitalism, the engine of whiteness, has now left it behind. Technology replaced workers. Overseas, cheap labor replaced American labor. The Prodigal Son scrapes at nothing.

And I see it. In Ohio, I pass near empty towns, where families, push shopping carts on the street. In Reno, the waiter has bags under their eyes. Upstate, the cabbie tells me of working five jobs because not one pays enough to live.

They have a memory of white inheritance. Too many are easy marks for the demagogues of nostalgia. One says "Make America Great Again" and they wear his hat as they wait for their future to return.

BASKET OF DEPLORABLES

After Trump's election, a deep wild rage at red state America rose in our throats. How could they? How could they miss it was a promotional stunt gone wrong? Did they not see Key and Peele joke that he didn't even want the job?

Conservative pundits flooded media with white working class apologetics. The Prodigal Son was a victim. He was hooked on meth and dying; he was unemployed and ashamed. He was hurting and needed help. Author J.D. Vance gave him a hillbilly elegy. Charles Murray said he was coming apart. It was like the verse in Luke 15, "There arose a mighty famine in the land and he began to be in want."

It was a hard sell. In 2016, nearly 230 million Americans were eligible to vote and 139 million did and they split 66 million for Hillary and 63 million for Trump. The angry Trump rallies made it hard to see any of his supporters as victims. In the campaign, Clinton tried to parse the bigots from those suffering. "Half of Trump's supporters are in the basket of deplorables. They're homophobic, xenophobic, misogynistic," she said. "But that other basket feels that government let them down, the economy has let them down. Nobody cares about them."

It was an even harder sell after the election, when fear fueled our anger. Reports showed wealthy, educated white voters went for Trump. And it was about race. They panicked at losing status in a new America. They weren't victims. They were the inheritors of whiteness and they wanted to keep it.

Except some were hurting. A report broke down the Trump coalition into five types. Some were hopelessly lost like staunch conservatives and free marketers. The American Preservationists were the poorest but also the most racist. The types open to a leftist class-based message are the anti-elites and the disengaged who make up 19 percent and 5 percent respectively, which adds up to 15 million voters. Here are the Prodigal Sons, who are scraped raw by the newfound loss of class status, bitter toward elites and not fully partisan.

If those voters go to the right, they'll hit a dead end. The GOP is led by a president who channels racial anxiety at global elites and minorities while pushing business-friendly policies. More

THE PRODIGAL SON REAPED THE BENEFITS OF UNDESERVED PRIVILEGE FOR CENTURIES. NOW MILLIONS OF PEOPLE FIND THEIR INHERITED WHITENESS IS WORTHLESS.

tax cuts. More labor rights repealed. If they go further right, Neo-Nazis will embrace them as victims but there's still a taboo against being, well, a Nazi.

If they go to the left, they'll meet disgust. Sociologist Jonathan Haidt mapped political morality and defined liberalism as in part driven by a focus on harm and fairness. The left in essence creates "sacred victims," he said. That spawns a disgust at those with privilege as "subhuman, monstrous, morally deformed."

Many of us on the left are appalled by the Prodigal Son. We see him as a white straight male and Christian victimizer who



DAVID HOLLENBACH

now finds himself the victim of the very forces that once gave him power. He took his inheritance. He took the land and wealth and even life. And he lied to himself that the theft could go on forever. Now he wants sympathy?

Our disgust at the Prodigal Son comes through in our fetishizing of elite political jargon and the near-religious embrace of Ta-Nehisi Coates's Afro Pessimism. It comes out in neoliberal Democrats like Rep. Nancy Pelosi and Sen. Kamala Harris using race and gender to angle for power. It ripples out from colleges, where professors repeat the iconography of victimization. It is less a language than our border wall to keep the Prodigal Son out.

Parts of the left are like the elder brother in the parable, who in Luke 15:28 was so angered that the feckless brother was being welcomed home, "he would not go in." It is like the activists who gave Bernie Sanders flak for speaking awkwardly at times about the relationship between race and class. What can break this disgust?

THE CELEBRATION

"How do you defuse disgust," the interviewer asked Haidt at his TED talk. He bobbed his head as if trying to get the right word. "The opposite of disgust is actually love," he said, "Disgust is about borders. Love is about dissolving

walls. Personal relationships are probably the most powerful means we have."

In the Prodigal Son that wayward child returns home in rags. Luke 15:20 says his "father saw him, and had compassion, and ran, and fell on his neck, and kissed him." The son apologized for his foolishness but the father, seeing he suffered, did not punish him but celebrated his son's homecoming.

The scene tells us something vital for our political moment. First, the Prodigal Son has to want to come home. A permanent, ruling progressive coalition can take shape if millions of working-class whites, accept an equal role, not a dominant one in the new America. If a class identity can outweigh, if not totally dissolve, a racial one. Second, we have to be ready to take him in.

Welcoming a lost child back is tradition in the Black freedom movement, where leaders have turned historical suffering into a bridge. In his 1988 Democratic Convention speech, Rev. Jesse Jackson said, "Most poor people are not lazy. They're not black. They're not brown. They're mostly white and female and young. But whether white, black or brown a hungry baby's belly turned inside out is the same color." Years later, Prof. Cornel West repeated the theme, "White working-class brother. We know you have pain ... but we're asking you to confront the most powerful, not scapegoat the most vulnerable."

What if this is what our ancestors worked so hard for? They put us in the position to decide the fate of the nation. The centuries-long struggle to transform ourselves from slaves to citizens gave us the authority to define the meaning of our history. We're not victims. We're inheritors of a powerful empathy that can rescue others who are being trapped like we once were. Maybe we can be the elder brother in the parable who meets the Prodigal Son, all the millions of them in America, and tells them it's time rejoin the family.

James Baldwin said in an interview with poet Nikki Giovanni, "For a long time you think, no one has ever suffered the way I suffered. Then you realize ... that your suffering does not isolate you, it's your bridge ... so that you bring a little light into their suffering, so they can comprehend it and change it."

It's not in the Bible but I like to think that the elder brother went into the house where his sibling sat at the table, trembling with shame. I like to think he bent down, lifted his brother and hugged him. I think he felt joy when he did.

Nicholas Powers is a Professor of African American Literature at SUNY-Old Westbury.

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LIVESTREAMED CLASS /
February 5th - May 7th
6:00pm - 8:00pm
LIVESTREAM: <https://bit.ly/2FTuC3G>

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VENDORS MARKET / February 9
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COLONIAL PASTS AND VIOLENT PRESENT OF CONFINEMENT IN COUNTERINSURGENCIES WITH LALEH KHALILI

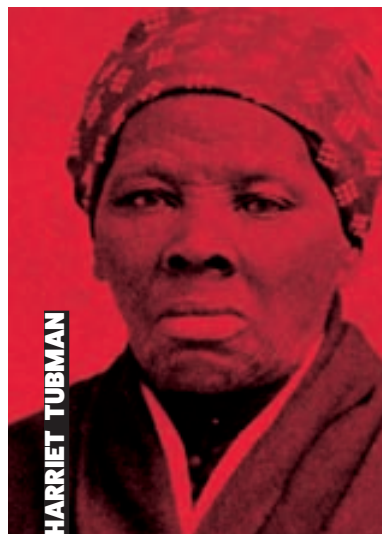
BOOK TALK / February, 12th
6:30pm - 8:30pm
FREE Rsvp: peoplesforum.org

THE EDUCATIONAL & POLITICAL PHILOSOPHIES OF MALCOLM X (PART A)

WORKSHOP / February, 20th
6:00pm - 8:00pm
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WORKSHOP / February, 21st
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THE ERA IS BACK

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT ONE STATE FROM RATIFICATION THRESHOLD. BUT WILL IT COUNT?

BY ELEANOR J. BADER

Although 24 states currently mandate gender equality in their Constitutions, the U.S. Constitution does not. But that may change — and relatively soon — if feminist activists are able to push the Equal Rights Amendment to the 38-state threshold needed for it to become law.

The original ERA was introduced in 1923 by suffrage activists Crystal Eastman and Alice Paul (who recognized that winning the right to vote was merely the first step) in reaching gender parity. The current Amendment — it has been modified several times over its storied history — is short and straightforward: “Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.”

Already 37 states have ratified the measure. Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Utah and Virginia have not.

Momentum, however, is building and despite a mid-January defeat in Virginia, activists remain hopeful that the ERA will finally be ratified.

Not surprisingly, this has rattled right-wing groups and they are wasting no time in decrying the ERA and its supporters. Anne Schlafly Cori, the daughter of Phyllis Schlafly, whose Eagle Forum succeeded in derailing the Amendment in the 1980s, is currently the chair of the group her mother founded. Like her mom, she sees the ERA as “a bad amendment” and has lobbied and spoken out against it. Her argument is that feminism hurts women. “Feminism has had a terrible effect on making women unhappy and their lives worse off. Equal rights is (*sic*) not about equality and any effort to enforce equal rights hurts women,” she wrote on the Forum webpage

Her colleagues, conservative evangelicals all, have also derided the ERA, dubbing it a “constitutional foothold for abortion” ... a “weakening of [women’s] hard-won rights [in order] to advance the abortion industry.”

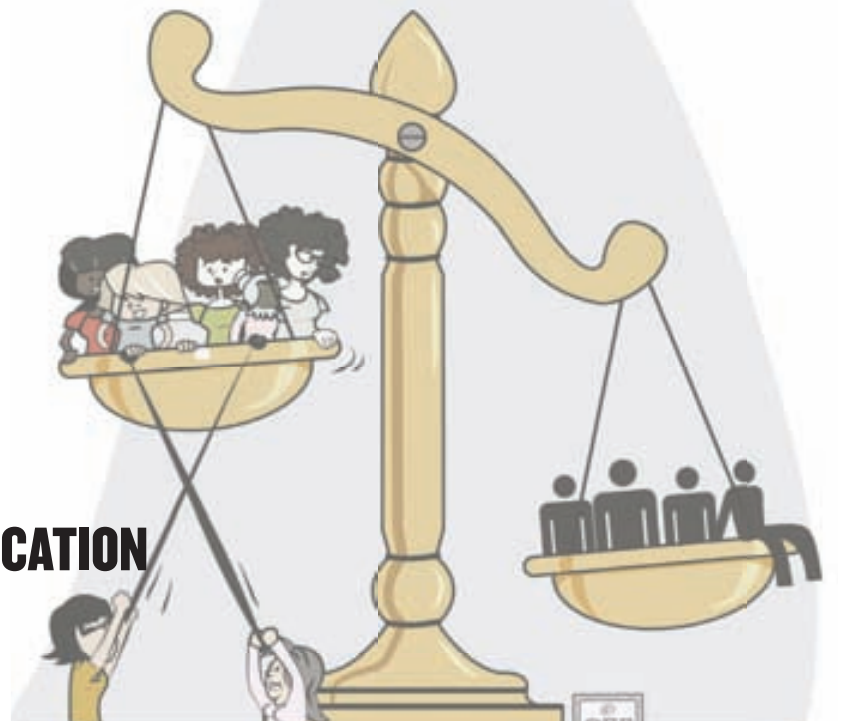
These hard-won rights, they argue, include numerous pieces of protective legislation that keep women out of harm’s way, including insulating them from having to register for Selective Service at age 18. They also fear that the ERA will limit who can receive Social Security Survivor’s benefits.

Kati Hornung, campaign coordinator of VAratifyERA, calls these statements ridiculous, but adds that backers of the amendment have focused on the fear-mongering and abortion panic that have been promulgated by conservatives, addressing each item point by point. “In October 2017, the Pentagon recommended that women register for Selective Service,” she begins. “They made this recommendation apart from the ERA. And women already have a legal right to abortion. Furthermore, since 1975 Social Security has been inclusive, giving all surviving spouses access to Survivors’ benefits. What conservatives are warning about is essentially already the status quo.”

But despite their ability to rebut the right’s assertions, roadblocks to the ERA remain and progressive activists understand that even after a 38th state passes the measure, litigation is likely.

Here’s why. When Congress passed the ERA in 1972, it went to the legislatures of all 50 states. These bodies were then given seven years, until 1979, to approve or reject it. For a while, passage looked promising, with 35 of the necessary 38 states voting in favor of amending the Constitution before the ratification deadline. Then, as the deadline neared, feminists successfully pushed Congress to give the states until June 20, 1982 to vote.

It was at this point that the ERA sputtered and ultimately stalled. Still, feminists persisted and continued to demand Constitutional equality. Their



GARY MARTIN

efforts paid off, and 35 years after the second deadline came and went, on March 11, 2017, Nevada became the 36th state to support amending the U.S. Constitution to include an Equal Rights Amendment. A little more than a year later, Illinois followed suit, voting yes on the ERA in May 2018.

“Our lawyers tell us that it is possible to remove the deadline,” Carol Jenkins, co-president and CEO of the ERA Coalition/Fund for Women’s Equality told me. “It was extended once already so Congress can do away with the deadline.”

Indeed, precedent for this exists: The 27th amendment, governing Congressional pay hikes, was first proposed in 1789. Two hundred and three years later, in 1992, it was ratified.

What’s more, Jenkins notes that coalition lawyers believe that another oft-cited obstacle, the fact that five states — Idaho, Kentucky, Nebraska, South Dakota and Tennessee — voted to rescind their initial support of the measure in a bid to appease the right — is a non-issue. “Courts have not looked kindly on efforts to undo what a whole state has voted to support,” Jenkins says.

Ellie Smeal, president and co-founder of the Feminist Majority Foundation, agrees and adds that the legal experts she’s consulted with believe that neither time limits nor rescissions are binding. In addition, should another state vote in favor of the ERA, Smeal says that supporters will then demand ERA certification.

“After the 38th state passes the ERA,” Smeal explains, “the measure will go to the National Archivist, David S. Ferriero. He does not have jurisdiction alone, but can ask for guidance from the Department of Justice. We believe that the drum is beating for us. We see the grassroots movement growing, growing, growing. The public support is there. The ERA will address the

‘EQUALITY OF RIGHTS UNDER THE LAW SHALL NOT BE DENIED OR ABRIDGED ... ON ACCOUNT OF SEX.’

unfair pay gap, discrimination in educational programs, in mortgage lending and finance. Things won’t change overnight, but once we have the ERA, the country will have decided once and for all that women are equal and valuable members of the U.S. population.”

QUEENS DA RACE

Continued from page 9

Like Lancman, Katz will transfer a sizable amount of money (over \$300,000) from other campaign accounts. Her donors include several New York City real estate titans, with names like Tishman, Doctoroff, Walentas, Barnett of Ex-tell Development), and the Dolans leading the list. De Groot says that “along with civic leaders and residents, these business leaders recognize that Queens needs the kinds of reforms that Melinda has proposed [and] seek to be a partner in justice for all Queens communities.” Yet that same elite is most unlikely to give money to anyone they perceive as a potential threat to the status quo.

Lasak, meanwhile, raked in nearly \$700,000 in just over three months. According to campaign manager Danny O’Halloran, Lasak “will not accept contributions from employees of the Queens DA’s office and does a thorough vet of all contributions he receives.” That policy leaves the door open for criminal defense attorneys active in Queens to help fill Lasak’s coffers. For example, Dennis Coppin, who has regularly defended Queens clients (including in Lasak’s courtroom), has given more than \$15,000.

Even more problematic is Lasak’s sizable haul from law enforcement unions. The New York State Troopers (\$35,000) and Sergeants Benevolent Association (\$30,000) are his two largest contributors. Lasak tells *The Independent* that he’s “led the investigation and prosecution of law enforcement officers when they violated the law. But these unions are backing me anyway — because I’ve always been

fair, honest and impartial.” Those same unions are almost never on the side of criminal justice reform.

• • •

HER PLEDGE NOT TO TAKE any corporate money — and to seek only small contributions — differentiates political newcomer Tiffany Caban from the established candidates. (Caban recently created her campaign account, so her donations will not be listed until the next filing). Caban also brings the perspective of a seasoned public defender to the contest.

“Public defenders are people-focused and take a holistic approach to dealing with their clients and their families,” says Caban. The 31-year-old Caban has been a public defender in Manhattan for seven years, the first three with Legal Aid and the rest with New York City Defender Services. Caban is Puerto Rican and queer.

The Queens native grew up in South Richmond Hill and graduated from St. Francis Prep high school in Fresh Meadows. Caban’s father was an elevator mechanic and her mother a daycare provider.

Caban is troubled by the gap between local district attorneys’ stated intentions to initiate reform and their actual practice. She fully supports the demands made by the Queens for DA Accountability coalition. That list includes that the next DA should “decline to prosecute charges that are low-income, people of color, LGBTQ and/or survivors of interpersonal violence.”

Caban also pledges to shake up the DA’s office, invoking Larry Krasner’s overhaul in Philly. “If you are not aligned with our priorities and mission, you can look elsewhere,”

advises Caban. The new mission, she says, is “transformative justice,” with strong attention to racial and economic equality, and it includes restorative justice, because “people who harm most often have also been harmed, and we need to break the cycle.” Like Krasner, Caban’s unit investigating wrongful convictions would also examine cases with excessive sentencing, faulty cop testimony and dubious plea deals.

Caban is eager to bring the reform agenda to Queens. Rikers, she says, “needs to be closed and the city’s timeline isn’t fast enough. But the proposed new jails are too large and don’t have enough emphasis on rehabilitation and re-entry services.” Caban will no doubt face strong resistance every step of the way, including getting on the ballot (petitioning starts February 26). But her campaign is clearly in sync with the activists’ calls for radical change in the most powerful elected office in Queens. Are you listening, AOC?

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THE LAURA FLANDERS SHOW

February 2019 THE INDEPENDENT

VENEZUELA AT THE BRINK

BY VANESSA BAIRD

Nicolás Maduro is hardly a model leader or democrat. Nor is he very impressive on the economics front. But whatever you think of him, the decision on whether he stays or goes as Venezuela's president belongs to the people of that crisis-ridden South American country and them alone.

It is most emphatically not that of any foreign power.

The recent statement by U.S. Vice President Mike Pence that the United States was recognizing opposition and National Assembly leader Juan Guaidó as the self-proclaimed interim president of Venezuela was a flagrant violation of international rules. The governments of Canada, Brazil, Colombia and Argentina are little better for jumping on the U.S. bandwagon.

As writer and academic Miguel Tinker Salas points out, the UN Charter article 2(4) reads: "All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations."

Article 19 of the Organization of American States Charter, to which the U.S. and its regional allies are signatories, states: "No State or group of States has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other State. The foregoing principle prohibits not only armed force but also any other form of interference or attempted threat

against the personality of the State or against its political, economic, and cultural elements."

Venezuela is living through surreal times. Once the richest country on the continent, able to help poor regional neighbors like Cuba and Bolivia with supplies of cheap oil, today its people struggle to buy food, let alone medicine. Inflation was a staggering 1.3 million percent in November 2018; the International Monetary Fund predicts it will reach 10 million percent this year. U.S. sanctions have not helped, but are not alone to blame for the country's extraordinary economic woes.

For the past 40 years, successive governments have mismanaged the country's oil wealth via a toxic and divisive politics of 'clientelism.' Revenues from oil were used to buy votes and political advantage. When in power the right governed for their middle- and upper-class backers and ignored the poor. When in power, the left, under Hugo Chavez, did the same in reverse, building houses and creating programs for their mainly working-class supporters. Neither political tendency bothered to create a diverse economy, to wean the nation off of its dangerous over-reliance on a single commodity whose global price was subject to fluctuations. And the sharp decline in the price of oil coincided with the lamentable rule of Nicolas Maduro, which began when Chavez died in 2013.

Today Venezuela is sitting on the world's largest oil reserve. This is an important fact to keep in mind as events unravel over the next

days, weeks and months. It is key to its relationship with the rest of the world, including the United States.

Russia, heavily invested in Venezuelan oil, is backing Maduro. China is strongly opposing foreign interference in Venezuela's affairs, while Germany appears to be supporting the 35-year-old engineer, Guaidó, and calling for new elections.

Rather than backing sides, deepening divisions and upping the risk of serious violence, foreign

CENTER OF THE STORM: Venezuelan President Nicolas Maduro swarmed by supporters.

US-BACKED REGIME CHANGE WOULD MAKE A BAD SITUATION WORSE.

states would do better to back initiatives, such as those put forward by Uruguay, the Vatican and U.N. Secretary General Antonio Guterres, that have sought to heal the deep political and social wounds in Venezuela.

This article originally appeared at the New Internationalist (newint.org).



XAVIER GRANJA CEDEÑO

MARIJUANA REFORM

Continued from page 5

HOW THE MOVEMENT PREVAILED

After the draconian drug-law enforcement of the Reagan, Bush I, and Clinton eras, marijuana politics has proceeded along two lines the 21st century. Possession arrests, largely fueled by urban stop-and-frisk policing, have not fallen below 570,000 since 1996, peaking at 775,000 in 2007. According to FBI figures, they have exceeded the number of arrests for violent crimes every year since 2002. But beginning with Colorado and Washington in 2012, 10 states and Washington, D.C. have legalized cannabis, with all but Vermont and D.C. allowing sales.

What changed politically to enable this? Keith Stroup, who founded the National Organization for the Reform of Marijuana Laws in 1970, says the answer is more demographic than political. "It's not because we've come up with better arguments or a strategy," he says. "It's because we've outlived our opponents."

Stroup, now 75, explains that people born before World War II were much more likely to believe the Reefer Madness myths, that marijuana had as fiendish a grip on its users as heroin, while baby-boomers and those younger grew up around enough ganja to realize it was not the weed with roots in hell.

"We gradually won the hearts and minds of a majority of Americans, including nonsmokers," he says — in part by

convincing them that regulation was a better way than prohibition to prevent problems such as teenage use.

The legalization movement's decision in the 1990s to focus on medical use also paid off. The motive was mainly moral — to put people wasting away from AIDS or vomiting from chemotherapy first in line for relief — but it also increased public acceptance of cannabis. "It's hard to demonize a substance that helps people with serious illnesses," says Stroup.

Melissa Moore says legalization in New York was a remote possibility when she began working for DPA in 2016, but "framing the conversation as a racial and economic justice issue" helped. The racism of pot-law enforcement had become painfully obvious, particularly in New York State. New York City became the pot-bust capital of the nation in the late 1990s under Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, with anywhere from 30,000 to 70,000 arrests for possession every year, the vast majority young black and Latino men.

That pattern continued under Bloomberg's stop-and-frisk policies. Few of those nabbed with buds spent more than a few nights in jail, but it became an "entry-level bust" that gave them criminal records — with collateral consequences that could include getting barred from public housing, losing student loans or being deported.

Those arrests, says Moore, also undermined the argument for decriminalization, the traditional middle ground for legalization opponents who don't want to see people go to jail for pot. New York State has had decriminalization since 1977, but that didn't prevent more than 800,000 arrests for possession in the last 20 years, she says.

That Colorado, Washington and other states have legalized cannabis sales without disaster has also helped. Cuomo was likely pushed to the left on the issue by Cynthia Nixon's primary challenge last year. And with the first pot shops opening in Massachusetts, and New Jersey seriously considering legalization, New Yorkers might soon be able to evade any continued prohibition with a short road trip.

There is tension between the racial-equity and business-oriented sides of the legalization movement, says Stroup, but after spending most of his 50 years as an activist working against long odds, "it's wonderful to have the luxury of having that internal debate."

Peoples-Stokes is more pessimistic. "Sadly, I think it's the money," she says. People who formerly supported prohibition, she says, are now seeing cannabis as a lucrative market, and they have more financial resources than the people who traditionally used, sold or grew it.

She sees her purpose as repairing the damage done by prohibition and mass incarceration.

"I'm not an advocate of people smoking it, but whatever people have been doing with it, they've been doing it since I was born," she says. "It shouldn't be criminalized. It should be regulated."

MUSIC

TRANSPLANTED MELODIES

Tales of America
By J.S. ONDARA
VERVE, FEB. 15

By Brady O'Callahan

The American Dream probably means something different to each person you'd ask. For some, it's getting married, moving to the suburbs, having a couple of kids. For others, it's working your way from bagging groceries to owning and operating a successful chain of supermarkets. J.S. Ondara has a different idea.

Ondara grew up in Nairobi, Kenya, where he fell in love with American rock music, especially Bob Dylan. Due to this intense affinity, Ondara decided to move to Dylan's home state of Minnesota in 2013 in order to chase his dream of becoming a professional musician. He brought with him a head full of songs and not much else. He didn't even know how to play an instrument.

Now, in 2019, Ondara is releasing his debut album *Tales of America*, on Verve Records.

Ondara plays simple, soulful folk rock, with little in the way of a musical nod to his Kenyan roots. His voice is at the forefront, backed by acoustic guitar, sparse percussion and occasional support from additional strings. He's a self-taught singer and guitar player who's made a point to avoid training, thereby leaving his raw sound untarnished. As a result, the songs on *Tales of America* are uncomplicated. Ondara has no trouble creating fun and memorable melodies.

And he really shines at moments on this record. "Days of Insanity" finds the singer navigating the wild state of the world, asking us to call a doctor, priest, rabbi, witch, wizard, sheikh — anyone who might have answers. These uneasy sentiments ride over a driving acoustic guitar strum. Frantic strings creep in from the distance before disappearing and relinquishing control to the rhythm once more.

"Lebanon" harkens to the call and response cadence of American spirituals without losing Ondara's sense of self. "Give Me a Moment" is a gorgeous heartbreaker. Ondara is able to paint an ultra-personal picture of unrequited love in the span of a single line: "It's not enough to tell your friends we're in love." It's a sub-

ject touched by almost every songwriter, but few do so so poignantly.

The crooner wears his influences on his sleeve, however, sometimes to the point of seeming imitation.

"Master O'Connor" could easily slot into *Freewheelin' Bob Dylan* and feel at home. Ondara effects Dylan's vocal delivery and cadence so accurately that his own identity seems to disappear. "Saying Goodbye" invokes Damien Rice's emotional howl, and again all I can seem to think of is how much I enjoy certain Rice songs. In another number, Ondara himself warns, "Don't hold a torch to the sun," but he's guilty of just that here. This isn't to say that these songs aren't pleasant or good, they just keep the most interesting part of Ondara from us: his voice and story.

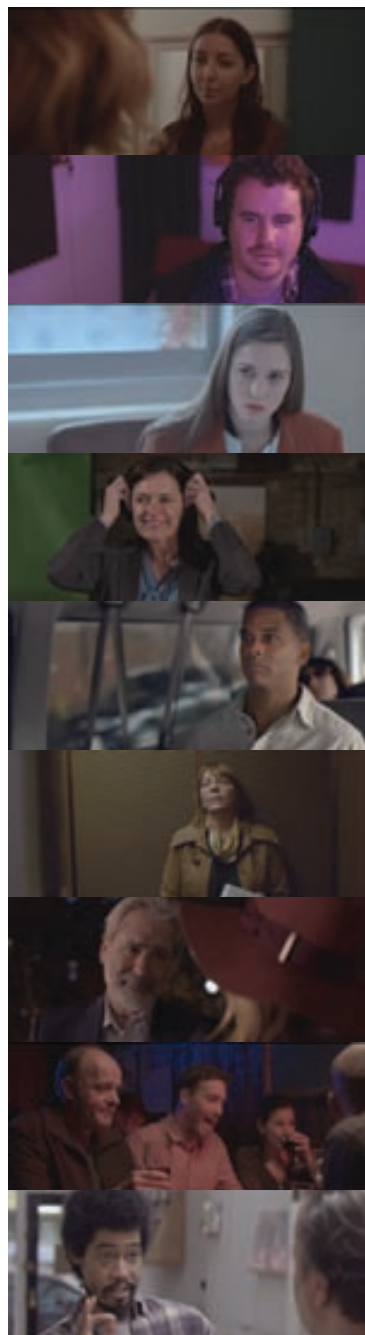
One of the most compelling songs is the title track, where he treats listeners to his outsider's take on the "American Dream." The song pulses at a sort of paranoid pace, with a dizzying fiddle hopping in to support a sense of uncertainty throughout. The music video accompanying the song presents a man confused by what he sees in his own backyard: a black man arresting a police officer, children being outlawed, food grown exclusively by electrolytes. It's a powerful reminder that dreams can often be delusions, and that we need to temper our expectations with reality. Yet our reality in America right now is troubled. The video ends with the character entering a gun store, driven by fear. "Who would dream of this America?" we must ask ourselves.

The American Dream is a promise more than anything concrete, the promises of freedom for all. Though it has been marred by slavery, exploitation, bloody wars abroad and internal strife, perhaps beauty still lingers in its potential.

Tales of America and J.S. Ondara represent a hope for what the dream might one day be. Ondara is off to a great start and possesses an enormous amount of potential. Hopefully he achieves the freedom to grow and change, un beholden to anyone else's dictated path.

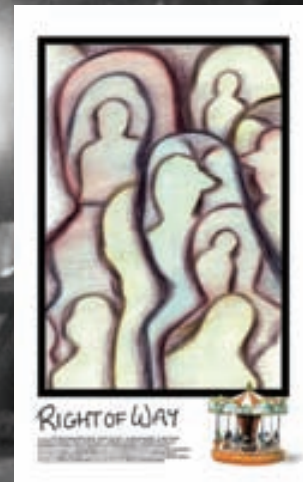


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PICKET LINES PAST

A History of America in Ten Strikes
BY ERIK LOOMIS
THE NEW PRESS, 2018

By Steven Sherman

With public support for unions surging, historian Eric Loomis has produced a timely book called *A History of America in Ten Strikes*. It's more comprehensive than the "Ten Strikes" title implies; with some 150 events listed in the appendix, it might have been more accurately called "A History of America in 150 Labor Events." There is some danger of the reader getting lost in the multitude of scenes of gun battles and such between workers and Pinkertons or police, but Loomis does well at extracting a coherent narrative arc about how these instances show the importance of the government's attitudes and actions towards labor.

That narrative begins with the brutal inauguration of the Industrial Revolution in the U.S. between 1820 and 1850. The courts regularly ruled in favor of employer rights, and unionization efforts were hard-fought and short-lived.

Loomis continues by describing slaves' resistance and rebellion, culminating during the Civil War, when they fled plantations as the Union Army approached. They simultaneously freed themselves and undermined the Confederate war effort, as it depended on revenues from the sales of slave-grown cotton. This is the freshest chapter in the book, as slavery is usually omitted from American working-class histories.

The Gilded Age that followed the war saw widespread strikes and a growing movement for the eight-hour workday. The Knights of Labor grew rapidly in the context of national railroad strikes, but their membership collapsed in the wake of repression after the Haymarket bombing that killed four police officers in 1886. This opened the way for the more conservative American Federation of Labor, which focused on uniting craft workers (who were overwhelmingly white men) rather than the entire working class. Even so, employers intensely resisted them. A rare labor victory came in a Colorado gold-mining strike in 1894, when the governor declared the owners' private army illegal.

The Progressive Era marked a turning point. President Theodore Roosevelt's administration at times attempted to respond to strikes in a balanced way; as a candidate for vice-president in 1900, Roosevelt had sided with striking mine workers, although they didn't win recognition for their union. Workers' struggles during this

period aligned with middle-class reformist outrage at child labor and abysmal working conditions. Loomis argues that this was not effective in improving the overall condition of the working class, and thus spurred greater radicalization.

This led to the growth of the Industrial Workers of the World, with its aspirations for "one big union" and a general strike to bring down capitalism. Loomis criticizes many aspects of the IWW, including its sectarianism, its violent rhetoric and its tendency to jump from one place of struggle to another. Yet he also writes admiringly about its free-speech struggles and its occasional ability to overcome racial divisions among workers by rooting itself in working-class struggles. It was not able to survive the repression during and after World War I, however.

The 1930s saw a landmark breakthrough, with a rising labor movement in industry benefiting from virtuous cycle of sympathetic actors in government facilitating greater organizing, and greater organizing enhancing the power of sympathetic actors. Unsurprisingly, Loomis highlights the Flint sit-down strike of 1936-37, in which the United Auto Workers won their first contract with General Motors. Michigan's New Deal governor, Frank Murphy, helped by not sending the National Guard to crush the strike.

After World War II, pent-up demand produced a wave of strikes. In Oakland, a fight against the Retail Merchants' Association and the Republican political machine snowballed into a general strike, but it dissipated amid racial and gender tensions. Not long after, the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947 hobbled unions and anti-Communist witch hunts purged many of their most militant and dedicated members and organizations.

In the 1960s and 1970s, public-sector unionism expanded, in tandem with militant social movements. Much of the union movement, however, was out of step with the anti-war, civil-rights and feminist movements (and vice versa). Efforts by young workers to remake the unions in the anti-authoritarian spirit of their generation proved largely unsuccessful. The 1972 wildcat strike against the pace of work at a GM plant in Lordstown, Ohio, failed to fundamentally shift work relations.

The deteriorating economy and accelerated deindustrialization of the 1970s worsened the situation for unions. In Atlanta, Mayor Maynard Jackson, whose election had been a triumph of the post-civil-rights era, fired 1,300 striking sanitation workers. This was a preview of President Ronald Reagan firing striking air-traffic controllers in 1981. Loomis portrays their union, the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organi-

zation (PATCO), as isolated from the larger working class and the public. It made a fateful miscalculation when it endorsed Reagan for president in 1980. The crushing of PATCO was a decisive moment — an announcement that the federal government was openly antagonistic to unions, encouraging corporations to abandon the post-World War II social contract of accepting them.

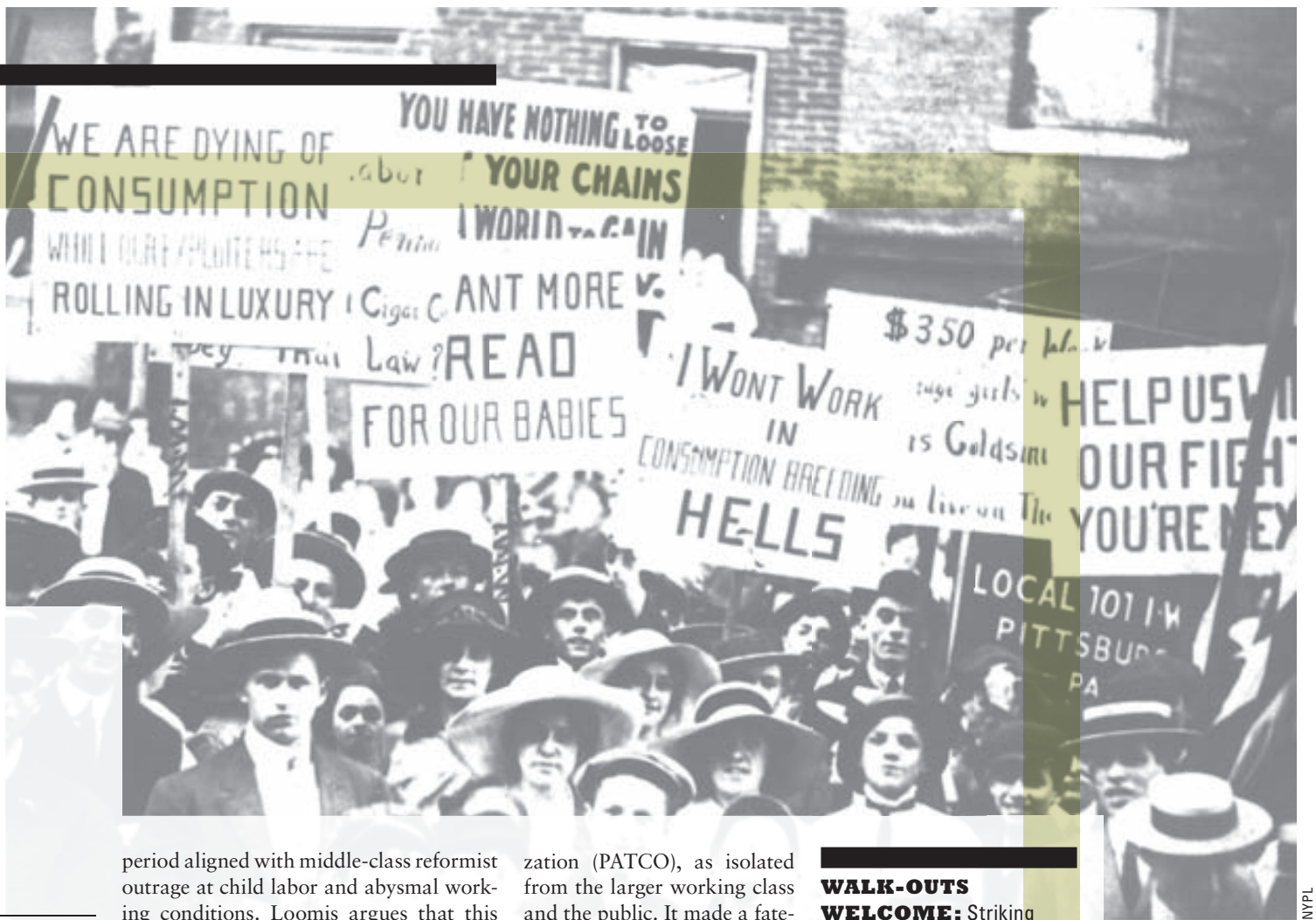
In his final chapter, Loomis uses Justice for Janitors to highlight the way union struggles have refocused on immigrants doing service work. Recent struggles noted include opposition in Wisconsin to Gov. Scott Walker's attacks on public-sector unions, the Fight for \$15 campaign and the Verizon strike of 2016.

Out of 150 labor events, Loomis has crafted a clear narrative arc, beginning with the courts' rejection of practically any rights for workers. American workers fought back and eventually attained more sympathy from government. During the New Deal era, workers' rights expanded, and new federal laws and policies facilitated the expansion of unions. But after the economic downturn of the 1970s, the business community went on the offensive and governmental allies largely disappeared. But new strategies of fighting back are being developed. The story is well told and peppered with vivid details.

Inevitably, there are omissions. The Teamsters' UPS strike of 1997, the Great American Boycott staged by immigrants on May 1, 2006 and the Chicago Teachers Union's 2012 strike all go unmentioned. These may hint at a direction of organizing and action as important as that mapped out by Justice for Janitors. The Chicago teachers' strike in particular led the way for the Red for Ed teacher strikes of last year, which renewed the idea of the strike and struck at the red-state model of low taxes, poor public services and anti-union laws. Then this January, teachers went on strike to challenge privatization in the Democratic redoubt of Los Angeles.

Loomis emphasizes the need for the labor movement to welcome all workers regardless of race, gender or immigration status, and the importance of working through the existing American political system by engaging with the Democratic Party. That's good advice. But given all that is described above, can we defer forever eliminating the concentration of economic power in the business class?

WALK-OUTS WELCOME: Striking IWW cigar workers, Pittsburgh, P.A., 1913.



HARVEY MILK'S CHUTZPAH

Harvey Milk: His Lives and Death

BY LILLIAN FADERMAN
YALE BOOKS, 2018

By Jessica Max Stein

‘Another biography of Harvey Milk?’ I thought with a twinge of annoyance when I saw Lillian Faderman’s latest book, *Harvey Milk: His Lives and Death*. Certainly the scrappy gay activist is deservedly iconic, and his short, storied life makes for compelling reading. But Milk hardly needs to be rescued from history. His face is on a postage stamp; he’s the token gay in *Time Magazine*’s “100 Most Influential Individuals of the 20th Century”, featured in the “Heroes and Icons” section alongside Anne Frank and Mother Theresa; and he was portrayed by no less a household-name hetero than Madonna’s ex-boyfriend Sean Penn in the star-studded, Oscar-sweeping 2008 biopic *Milk*. Furthermore, why try to top Milk’s canonic 1982 biography, *The Mayor of Castro Street*, in which San Francisco journalist Randy Shilts reports directly from the front lines? But Faderman’s new biography, in Yale University Press’s “Jewish Lives” series, retells Milk’s legend in light of his Jewishness, and in doing so makes it a intriguingly timely tale.

As Milk became a mainstream icon, his Judaism was largely written out of his story (Penn’s prosthetic Cyrano-nose notwithstanding). Part of this is due to the faint praise of assimilation: invisibility (“Oh, I don’t even see you as a Jew!”). I appreciate that Faderman embraces Milk’s relationship to Judaism as it is meaningful to him, a flexible, respectful treatment of the true diversity of American Jewish expression that we don’t see often enough. Milk said he was “not theologically oriented” (though he referred to God when taping messages to be played in case of his assassination, a version of “no atheists in foxholes”); most often, he referred to himself as a New York Jew, observing his Judaism culturally and tribally. Would we think of Milk as “more” Jewish if he wore payes (side-locks), or sprinkled his famous speeches with Yiddish phrases? Would Milk have become as iconic if his family name were still Milch?

It’s a scary time to be a Jew in America right now, in a way that it hasn’t been since Milk (b. 1930) and his cohorts in the silent generation grew up glued to their radios for news of their relatives back in Eastern Europe. Milk’s grandfather Mausche Milch was one of the first Jews on Long Island in the days when the Klan openly paraded there; he quickly anglicized the family name. The now-Milks co-founded the Woodmere synagogue as well as the local Jewish-friendly country club, since the existing one was “restricted.” Milk celebrated his Bar Mitzvah just days after word emerged of the Warsaw Ghetto rebellion against the Nazis, a tiny, resilient David crushed by the gargantuan Goliath, a story he retold for the rest of his life.

As with assimilation, Milk could be a veritable chameleon on a variety of fronts. He butched it up as one of the only Jews at Bay Shore High School, while secretly picking up men at the Metropolitan Opera and in Central Park. He did stints as a college student, a high school teacher, a Navy deep-sea diver, a



LYNNE FOSTER

Broadway actor and even a Wall Street wonk eagerly leafleting for Barry Goldwater, before moving at age 42 to San Francisco, where the legend as we know it usually begins — hanging his Bar Mitzvah picture on the wall of his famed Castro Street camera store.

Here, Milk’s life and Faderman’s narrative both hit their stride. Faderman paints Milk’s political career as the culmination of all his previous “lives.” Milk is often remembered as a baby boomer, because in that generation he found his true cohorts. He used Castro Camera as a base to organize, garner support and build coalitions for five hard years of lost elections before winning a seat on the San Francisco Board of Supervisors in 1977, thus becoming “the most prominent homosexual in America.” As with his Judaism, Faderman also refreshingly embraces Milk’s sexuality, easily dismissing any ostensible contradiction between participating in a free sexual culture and valuing romantic partnership.

A master storyteller in full control of her material, Faderman deftly situates Milk’s tale inside the larger narrative of LGBTQ liberation that she sketched out in 2015’s sweeping tome *The Gay Revolution*. Her confident, streamlined narration is broken only by the occasional perfect quote. Milk is so well-drawn he practically walks out of the pages, though some of the supporting characters could be more sketched out. The story builds suspensefully, even for readers who already know the outcome, without being overly dramatic or sensationalist. Like narrative nonfiction at its best, the book reads like a good novel, one that you can’t put down.

Particularly riveting is Faderman’s treatment of Milk’s murder — at just 48 years old, at the hands of a fellow supervisor, less than a year after taking office — presented in a series of devastating scenes. However, and especially in the book’s denouement, Faderman owes a debt to Shilts, cherry-picking his best details and drawing upon his original research, though her own additional no-stone-unturned scholarship tweaks and updates Shilts’ information and interpretation of events. She vividly brings to life the riots that raged in the streets when Milk’s murderer Dan White, claiming he was whacked out on too many Twinkies, received a sentence of just seven years for killing both Milk and San Francisco mayor George Moscone. (White would serve five years, and commit suicide upon being released.)

People called Milk paranoid or a diva for anticipating his own assassination, but instead he was prescient — again, largely due to his Jewish identity, as Faderman makes clear. Milk’s trailblazing openness as a gay man stemmed directly from his years of being out as a Jew in the face of danger. Like many of his generation, the Holocaust was real to him, and recent. Easily gays could be next. “If a bullet should enter my brain,” he said, “let that bullet destroy every closet door.” To claim Harvey Milk explicitly as a Jewish martyr, not just a gay one, is a powerful move in an era of reinvigorated hate, a different kind of coming out. This is a delicious and a necessary book.

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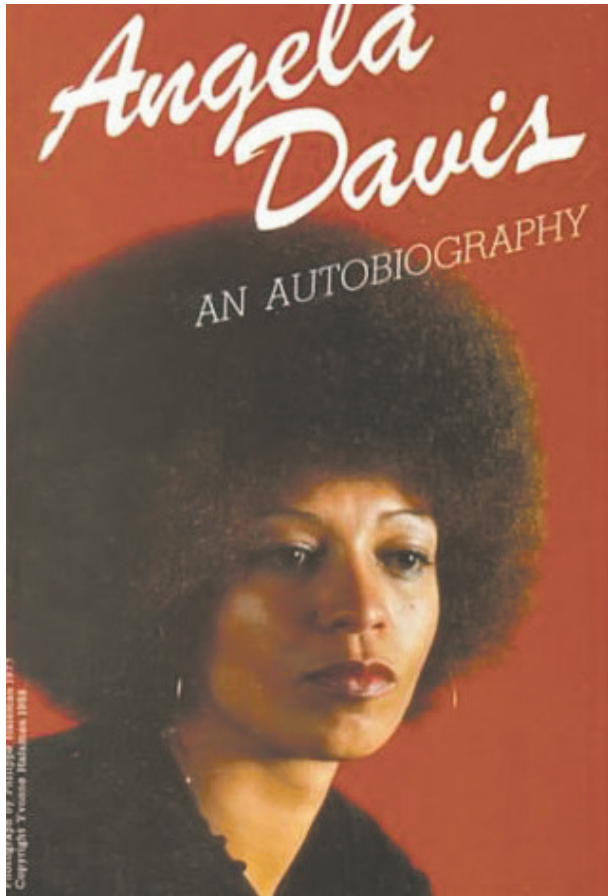
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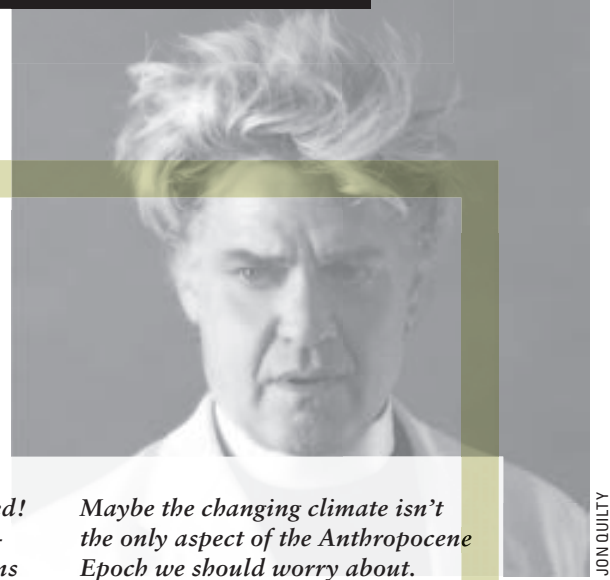
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Hi Billy, my girlfriend proposed! But meanwhile life is going extinct. There's racism and oceans full of plastics and our vigilante president — everything is in free fall. And yet there are all these weddings. I'm asking myself, how will we raise a family?

— NANCY, Flushing

DEAR NANCY,
 Beware: romantic love is an old profit center for consumer-capitalism. It inserts its products into love — not to mention hate, nostalgia, bowels and boredom — and it is ready to make your wedding very expensive.

If marriage is what you two are choosing, okay, but be sure to kick out the patriarch and all that right-wing religiosity. Love molds destiny, love defies laws, as Emma Goldman tells us.

Families are under attack by the gun-toting state. The most obvious nightmare is the tent-camps of children along the border. But your love can be the best defense against official hate and fear.

When you think about it, home-made governments — devoted couples, caring children — really are the future, because the climate apocalypse is pushing the fascists back to their forts and resorts. The future needs our love for each other and a healing love for Earth.

Gaijalujah!

...

Dear Billy, is it just me or are dating app algorithms guiding the natural selection process these days?

Maybe the changing climate isn't the only aspect of the Anthropocene Epoch we should worry about.

— BERTIE, Kensington

DEAREST BERTIE,
 The personhood of the corporation has his hand on my leg. It's Mark Zuckerberg. I'm trying to clear my head — is this real? He says he loves me, his tongue is slimy between my lips, prying open my face. What a bad date!

Can we break through the rot of corporate erotics? The plastic and conflict minerals that reboot our genitalia across space? A.I. is sold to us as a way to get what we desire faster, but Silicon Valley's inventions are always hard work in the end. Addictions are exhausting.

It's 10 degrees. It's raining ice. Walk outside shirtless with me, Bertie! Immerse yourself in the natural world. Go back to natural selection. Every blood platelet in our bodies stares at this storm. Fantastic. Earthalujah! Great sex is extreme weather.

— Billy

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	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY	SUNDAY	
5:00	Earth Mum Radio Host: Earth Mum 5-6am	Equal Time for Freehtought Host: Arnel Dorwett 5-6am	Black Seinfeld Host: Psycho 5-6am	Making Contact Host: Lisa Rudman 5-5:30am	Womens Media alternates w/ Rape Forum 5-6am	Back of the Book alternates w/ Jimmy Dore Show 5-6am	Cutting Edge Rebroadcast Host: Dred Scott Keyes 5-6am	
5:30				Laura Flanders Show Host: Laura Flaunders 5:30-6am				
6:00	City Watch 6-6:30am	WBAI Evening News 6-6:30am				Everything Old is New Again rebdcst Host: Dave Kenny 6-8am	High Praize Host: Daulton Anderson 6-7am	
6:30	City/State Rewind 6-6:30am							
7:00	Wake Up Call Host: Julianna Forlano 7-8am						Any Saturday Host: David Rothenberg 8-10am	Dreamleapers Host: Harriet Cole 8-9am
8:00	Democracy Now 8-9am							
9:00	Law & Disorder Host: Begosian, Smith 9-10am	Law of The Land Host: Gloria Brown-Marshall 9-10am	Guns and Butter Host: Bonnie Faulkner 9-10am	Equal Rights & Justice Host: Mimi Rosenberg 9-10am	Aware Show Host: Lisa Garr 9-10am	On the Count Host: Rob 10-11am	Here of A Sunday Morning Host: Chris Whent 9-11am	
10:00	The World of Jazz Host: Dr.Mambo 10-11:45am	Social Music Host: Sammy Figueroa 10-11:45am	Talk Back NY, We + Thee Host: John McDonagh 10-11:45am	Damn Good Music Host: Mike Sargent 10-11:45am	Morning Irsay Host: James Irsay 10-11:45am			
11:00	WBAI Arts and Culture 11:45-11:55am					Radio Free Eirann Host: McDonagh & McCourt 11-Noon	Lopate Encore Host Leonard Lopate 11-12pm	
11:45								
Noon	The Gary Null Show Host: Gary Null Noon-1pm				Interpersonal Update Host: Harriette Fraad Noon-1pm			
1:00	Leonard Lopate at Large Host: Leonard Lopate 1-2pm				Heart of Mind Host: Kathy Davis 1-2pm			
2:00	The Thom Hartmann Show Host: Thom Hartmann 2-3pm				Take Charge of Your Health Host: Corine Funari 2-3pm			
3:00	Sojourner Truth Host: Margaret Prescod 3-4pm				Jordan Journal Host: Howard Jordan 3-5pm	Science, Health & Healing Host: Dr. Majid Ali 3-4pm	Con Sabor Latino Host: Hernando Alberri, Marysol Cerdeira 3-6pm	
4:00	Vantage Point Host: Ron Daniels 4-5pm	Talk Back w/ Bob Law 4-5pm	The Positive Mind Host: Kevin 4-5pm	Talk Back: Let's Talk w/John Kane 4-5pm				
5:00	Advocating for Justice Host: Arthur Schwartz 5-6pm	Revolution Per Minute (RPM) Host: Jack Devine & Lee Ziesche 5-6pm	Max & Murphy Host: Max & Murphy 5-6pm	Driving Forces Host: Simmons & Katz 5-6pm	From the Ground Up Host: Esther Iverem 5-6pm			
6:00	WBAI Evening News by the Independent 6-6:30 pm	WBAI Evening News 6-6:30 pm				On Contact Host: Chris Hedges 6-7pm	La Voz Latina Host: Daniel Vila 6-7pm	
6:30	Counterspin Host: Jeanine Jackson 6:30-7pm	Radio Gag Host: GAG Collective 6:30-7pm	Trump Watch Host: Jesse Lent 6:30-7pm	Justice Matters Host: Bob Gangi 6:30-7pm	Economic Update Host: Richard D. Wolff 6:30-7pm			
7:00	Building Bridges Host: Rosenberg & Nash 7-8pm	First Voices Radio Host: Tiokasin Ghosthorse 7-8pm	Off the Hook Host: E Goldstein 7-8pm	Joy of Resistance Host: Fran Luck 7-8pm	Global Black Experience Host: Gary Byrd 7-9pm	We Only Want the World Host: Sunsara Taylor 7-8pm	Golden Age of Radio Host: Max Schmid 7-9pm	
8:00	Housing Notebook Host: Sommer & Kilgour 8-9pm	Eco-logic / Green St. 8-9pm	Explorations Host: Michio Kaku 8-9pm	Education at the Crossroads Host: Basir M'Chawi 8-9pm	The Katie Halper Show 8-9pm			
9:00	In Other News Host: Goeff Brady 9-10pm	Out FM Host: Out FM Collective 9-10pm	Cutting Edge Host Dred Scott Keyes 9-10pm	Where We Live / Cuba In Focus Host: Sally O'Brien & Déquì Kioni-Sadiki 9-10pm	Untitled Host: Malika Lee Whitney 9-10pm	Arts Express Host: Prairie Miller 9-10pm	Everything Old Is New Again Host: Dave Kenny 9-11am	
10:00	Nightshift Host: Mike Sargent 10p-12am	Suga in my Bowl Host: Joyce Jones 10-12am	Afrobeat Radio Host: Wui Jabob 10-12am	The Sweet Spot Host: Kelly Web 10-12am	And You Don't Stop Host: Chuck. D 10-12am	Soul Central Station Re-Broadcast Host: Tony Ryan 10pm-1am	Caf Radio Cafe Host: Janet Coleman & David Dozer 11pm-1am	
11:00		A Mansion for The Rats Host: Anne M Hendrixon 12-1am	What's the Frequency Kenneth Host: Paul Fisher 12-1am	Radio Unnameable Host: Fass & Propp Midnight - 3am		Midnight Ravers Host: Wilson & Rhodes 12-2am		
Mid.	Sports Qualified Host: M Saidia M. & WBAI Sports Collective 12-2am	The Dustbin of History! Host: AnneMarie and Max 1-3am	Hour of the Wolf Host: Jim Freund 1-3am	Labbrish Host: Habte Selassie 2-5am		The After Party Host: Tony Ryan & Ray Caviano 1-3am	La Nueva Alternativa Latina Host: Alberto Gonzalez 1-3am	
1:00						Ear Massage Host: Mark Laiosa 3-5am	Latin Beat rbdcst Host: Felipe Luciano 3-5am	
2:00	Haitian All Starz Host: DJ Harry 2-4am	Soundboard Host: Reggie Johnson 3-5am	Burn Baby Burn / Clappers Host: Lister Hewan-Lowe 3-5am	All Mixed UP Host: Peter Bochan 3-5am				
3:00	How to Make it In The City Host: Ama K Yawson 4-5am							