Chris McCallion is a little on edge. He and other workers at the Strand Bookstore had contacted reporters hours earlier on March 15, going public with the rank-and-file anger about the owner’s new contract demands, which include an inferior wage tier for new workers, higher healthcare premiums and fewer days off. Store management has received a handful of media calls already, and McCallion, an employee since 2010, expects he’ll take some heat for speaking out.

The Strand, on the corner of Broadway and 12th Street and founded in 1927, is a book-lovers bookstorate. In an age when even corporate monoliths like Borders have imploded and Barnes & Noble relies on the Nook to keep its doors open, the Strand, with its legendary 88 miles of books, remains the place where you can trip over new translations of Tolstoy or volumes on the Spanish Civil War. It is a retail establishment with a mostly full-time workforce, about 150 of whom are unionized (plus nearly 50 non-union managers and probationary workers) and have healthcare benefits. This renowned institution, which owns the building and takes in rent money, is still thriving, according to an interview with co-owner Nancy Bass Wyden in The Daily Beast.

McCallion is part of a shop-floor organization that has grown frustrated with the company’s demands for deep employee benefits cuts and workplace restructuring ever since Nancy Bass Wyden started to take over more day-to-day business duties from her father and co-owner Fred Bass, who is 83. In addition to the contract demands, which would constitute a wage cut, management is treated with dignity, and not how someone’s performance is being assessed. More important, this offensive is a result of Bass Wyden taking over more day-to-day business operations. “It’s been a colder shoulder than we’re used to in previous negotiations,” said one union source.

This transition doesn’t just affect labor issues. Workers believe that management has chosen to work in a sector known for inferior wages and benefits rather than taking a job in civil service or manufacturing.

“We want to fight the idea that you should just accept the fact that ‘I work in a high-turnover job, so I don’t deserve rights,’” McCallion said. “It’s a question of being treated with dignity, and not how someone’s profit supersedes an ability to make a wage commensurate to the cost of living.”

The union is currently finalizing a proposal to show to members. It still contains a two-tiered wage system, and a union source says he is confident the membership will not vote for a deal that contains such a proviso. If a vote is held, it will take place in early April. According to union sources, the company has said it needs its worker givebacks due to recent financial constraints.

The union has asked to see the company’s financial records, and management has refused to provide them (as a privately held company, it has no legal obligation to do so). It is clear to some that the management offensive is a result of Bass Wyden taking on the day-to-day business operations. “It’s been a colder shoulder than we’re used to in previous negotiations,” said one union source.

IN A BIND: Chris McCallion is one of the many Strand workers who are opposed to the creation of an inferior wage and benefit tier for new workers. They are organizing with other retail worker groups, including Occupy Your Workplace.

There are “fewer union meetings,” McCallion said, noting that “people don’t have a lot of interest in union matters.” On top of that, the workers are unsettled by the fact that they have few other career options. As McCallion explained, many people take jobs at the Strand to bide their time. People with master’s degrees wait for a real academic job. Writers and musicians work in retail to pay the bills until something better comes along. “There really isn’t that much better out there,” McCallion said, pointing to jobless figures and stagnant wages brought on by the 2008 economic collapse.

Retail, or “no-collar,” labor campaigns often face a skeptical public. During the Industrial Workers of the World organizing drive at Starbucks, people scoffed that these workers got medical benefits, so they shouldn’t complain. Retail workers are seen as having

ed from the bargaining unit, he explained, laid-off supervisors from Barnes & Noble and Borders are brought in, chilling the relationship between management and labor. “They are afraid for their jobs,” McCallion said of the supervisors. “So they take a purely disciplinary approach.”

What’s left is a young retail workforce alienated from the union, UAW Local 2179.

By Ari Paul

BOOK WORKERS DEFEND THEIR JOBS AND A MANHATTAN INSTITUTION

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2
With temperatures breaking 70 at Union Square to welcome the arrival of spring, OWS held several protests in the days that followed and is pointing toward May 1 as a major day of protest in conjunction with labor unions and immigrant rights groups. For more, see occupywallst.org.

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Getting Schooled

BY ARI PAUL

It started as an act of political theater during the early days of the Occupy Wall Street (OWS) encampment at Zuccotti Park. Public school teachers and adjunct lecturers hosted a “grade-in,” a public display of the endless work educators do after 3:30 p.m. and on weekends. These teachers, who came from various groups opposed to Mayor Michael Bloomberg’s assault on public education and frustrated with the bureaucratry of the United Federation of Teachers (UFT), saw a unifying theme in their frustration.

“Our problems stem from the fact that we have no power, no voice in the classrooms,” said Kelley Wolcott, an eighth-grade English teacher in Red Hook, Brooklyn. And so Occupy the DOE (Department of Education) was born.

Wolcott, a member of the UFT reform group Teachers Unite, ticked off the threats facing New York City public education: the cap on the number of charter schools has been lifted, budget cuts have caused class sizes to increase, the layoffs of several hundred school aides, school closings and a new tenure system that put the burden of proof on the teacher. To top it all off, eight of the 13 seats of the main DOE decision-making body, the Panel for Educational Policy (PEP), are appointed by the mayor, making protests against City Hall policy a vain endeavor. Yet, because Bloomberg has the support of most of New York City’s directives, he is still able to spread the idea that all the problems are caused not by his near-complete control, but rather by pesky union contract terms.

The choice to bring the Occupy name into this new approach is not just because of its Zuccotti Park roots, but because Bloomberg’s education policy is a blatant attempt to corporatize what should be a public good. Mayoral control of schools came to the city in 2002, replacing the system of local district boards, and the Bloomberg administration has used its power to bring the private-sector model of management to schools. A school’s success or failure, a multi-faceted and subjective judgment, is measured using a strictly quantitative method. (Think of Bloomberg’s rigid health-code grading system for restaurants applied to educating children.) Wolcott notes that this turns principals from pedagogical leaders into mere test supervisors who pressure teachers to produce good numbers by sidelining students who need more help because they could jeopardize test scores, while the rest learn to simply correctly answer standardized exam questions rather than think critically.

“This only leads you to one method of education,” she said. “It’s this data craze. It’s not even quasi-scientific. The value-added model always ensures failure.”

And why is this happening? Partly, it is because of the widely held belief that private-sector practices, which may work well for producing a variety of consumer goods, are a cure-all for the government’s institutional problems. But more troubling, many believe, is that the support of hedge-fund managers and other financiers for charter schools is proof that they are investing now for a pay-out later (a 2010 New York Times story notes that hedge fund managers are among charter advocacy groups’ most loyal, and lucrative, supporters). Wolcott couldn’t say for certain what the market value of the $1 million student city public school system was, but, he guesses, “It’s well into the billions.”

The OWS movement has been as much about confronting corporate control as it has been about deviating from traditional methods of reform and creating new types of resistance. For Occupy the DOE, that has entailed bringing its activists to PEP meetings to protest not only its policies but also its inherently anti-democratic processes. And while the UFT has advocated for more community input into education oversight, it still supports mayoral control. In fact, when the State Legislature reauthorized mayoral control in 2009, UFT President Michael Mulgrew said, “this legislation will provide the transparency and accountability, as well as parent participation, which will allow our school system’s progress to continue.”

Occupy the DOE, on the other hand, wants to end mayoral control outright. Bloomberg supporters point to the problems of the old board of education, which was rife with corruption and institutional failure, and the movement acknowledges this. But its members believe that the city can create an elected decision-making body that ensures equal input from parents, students and teachers. The movement, along with the UFT, supports legislation currently pending in Albany that would allow Community Education Councils to veto charter schools being located in public school buildings, a practice called co-location. These councils replaced district school boards after the implementation of mayoral control.

The movement combined protests with courting sympathetic lawmakers who may become more empowered to help if popular opinion sways against the Bloomberg administration.

“Messaging is key. Most of this is a war of perception because the other side is very good at framing,” Wolcott said.

Occupy the DOE, with its focus on the 1%’s stake in so-called education reform, points out something the mainstream debate about education ignores. While it is easy to blame the right wing for this assault on education workers and the public good, the mess was created by liberals. Bloomberg, a Republican by convenience, has been elected three times by liberal voters. Diane Ravitch, the founder of the charter school movement who has since radically changed her position, told me in an interview several years ago that President Barack Obama is farther to the right in terms of education than George W. Bush was.

Davis Guggenheim, the director of the pro-charter schools film Waiting for ‘Superman,’ also directed Al Gore’s environmentalist documentary An Inconvenient Truth and a 17-minute Obama re-election campaign film. There are also groups like Democrats for Education Reform, whose board of directors includes several financiers. While liberals tend to support unions, collective bargaining in education is the one thing it is safe for them to pick on.

There have been some victories, Wolcott said. For one thing, protests at PEP meetings have focused media attention on the issues, and teacher involvement has forced the UFT leadership to get more involved. “It’s interesting to see how we are shifting the conversation in many ways,” she said. “We can influence public opinion and get traction on ending certain policies, like closures and co-locations.”

Indeed, last month a Quinncopi University poll showed that voters trusted the UFT more than City Hall. Certainly, some activists believe that Bloomberg’s education policy lost popularity after public outrage led to the resignation of Schools Chancellor Cathie Black. As president of a newspaper company, Black once joked that the best way to deal with school overcrowding was more birth control.

But just as educational progress cannot be measured with cold, quantitative data, neither can the progress of this offshoot of OWS. If anything, according to Wolcott, the popularity of OWS tactics has invited more people in different communities to speak out about the privatization of education.

“Our presence has at least given people an alternative space to air their grievances,” she said. “There’s a real discontent that’s building.”

As this newspaper went to press March 22, Occupy the DOE planned a protest outside the offices of the New York Post for, according to a statement, “publishing The Teacher Data Reports of some 1,800 fourth through eighth grade teachers, with no knowledge of their many flaws from inaccuracies in different curricula to statistics irrevocably irrelevant sample sizes and the massive opposition to their focus on high stakes standardized testing as the only means of assessing teachers and students.”
If I Had A Hammer:
WOMEN IN NONTRADITIONAL JOBS SEE UNEVEN GAINS

By Jane LaTour

Women are part of almost every blue-collar workplace. They’re behind the scenes, alongside the men. They’re installing fiber optics for a telecom company, fixing Con Edison equipment in the “manholes,” behind the stage providing sound and lighting for Broadway shows, and on construction sites around the city. Almost five decades after the Civil Rights Act of 1964 with its Title VII provisions for equal employment opportunity, and subsequent struggles through which women won the right to apply for any program for the skilled trades — to become carpenters, electricians, painters and plumbers or join the labor force — they’re on the job. But their numbers are low, and consequently they remain invisible. And that’s a problem.

As long as women make up a statistically insignificant proportion of the blue-collar workforce, they’re all too often viewed as what groundbreaking carpenter Irene Soloway called “the creature with two heads.” As long as they are a tiny minority on any job, harassment and discrimination will continue. In the late 1960s and 1970s, the pioneers challenged stereotypes and broke barriers on the far frontier of feminism.

Yet the persistence of discrimination leads directly to problems of recruitment and retention — posing a Catch-22 for women working in skilled blue-collar jobs. For Women’s History Month, I surveyed some of the women working in these jobs and some who paved the way for others. These firsthand reports tell us what improvements have been made and what still needs to change in order to extend the gains of the women’s movement to the working class.

FEMALE FIREFIGHTERS

While the New York City Fire Department has made great strides since the days of litigating, demonstrating and other forms of outright opposition to females in the ranks, there are currently only 28 female firefighters in a force of more than 11,000. The good news is that more than 2,600 women have applied to take the test to become a firefighter, according to Regina Wilson, president of United Women Firefighters.

Firefighter JoAnn Jacobs was among the first group of 40 women to enter the department in 1982, and she has recruited, mentored and trained women in preparation for prior tests. “I think that the presence of women firefighters on TV shows and in commercials makes a difference,” she said. “It’s a visual cue to women. You only need one for a woman to see something that gets her thinking. I can do that, too. They’ve grown up seeing this. Young women are so much more physical and strong. And then their husbands and boyfriends are encouraging them. Men see women doing kick boxing and other things that are outside the conventional female stereotypes.

Women have stepped out of the traditional roles and images and these things are all making a difference.”

Then again, stereotypes endure, as Eileen Sullivan, a pioneering tractor-trailer driver, can attest. “This woman cab driver assured me that she was qualified to drive because she was a laid-off tractor-trailer driver. I assured her I would be fine with her driving but was disappointed that she felt the need to point it out — until she mentioned how many women refused to drive with her and would order another cab,” she said.

Tile setter Angela Olzewski offers another perspective — about life inside her former union, Local 7, Bricklayers. “The union’s public relations apparatus regularly exploited my intelligence, aptitude and skills,” Olzewski recalled. “I appeared in union videos, newsletters and performed installation demonstrations. Ironically, at the same time, my union appointed me to their Women’s Task Force in 2001, I was also begging my employer, the local, and my apprentice coordinator to be trained in the higher skill sets of my craft. In my former union, women are nothing more than a novelty and are not taken seriously.”

Veronica Session has been a carpenter for 23 years. A member of Local 926 of the New York District Council of Carpenters, she served as a shop steward, ran for citywide union office, volunteers with Habitat for Humanity and is an advocate for tradeswomen.

“We have to navigate this industry with an overwhelming burden that a male doesn’t have to contend with,” she said. “Yet our motivation for being there is exactly the same, that is, to earn a living, support our families, and build a better future. We just happen to be female. Research, statistics and common sense tell us the reason for the low number of women working in the industry. The numbers are even lower if you only note the women who are actively working versus those who are just keeping up their union book. The numbers are shameful because of the hostile environment.”

SIGNS OF HOPE

Yet there are green shoots and some signs of improvement. In 1985, Elly Spicer joined the United Brotherhood of Carpenters in New York City. She now serves as the director of the Labor Technical College for the District Council of Carpenters. “Currently, there are 951 male and 130 female apprentices,” she said. “I think there’ve been changes in attitudes toward women — it isn’t such a big deal. What hasn’t changed are the numbers of women coming and staying. I think we could have made a significant difference if the economy hadn’t bottomed out. But this apprenticeship program took in a significant number of women — from 15 to 18 percent female. But when the economy is bad, opportunities are limited — for men and women.”

Francine Jacobsohn, who heads the Equality Works Project for Legal Momentum, said, “There are lots of exciting things going on, along with the same old, same old.”

She pointed to the National Task Force on Tradeswomen’s Issues, which came out of last year’s Tradeswomen’s Conference in California. This spring, the U.S. Department of Labor’s Office of Apprenticeship and the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs are planning to issue proposals to revise equal opportunity regulations for Registered Apprenticeship programs and federal and federally assisted construction contractors. “Our goal is to unite regional and national expertise and action to update the regulations — and make sure the regulations are implemented and enforced,” Jacobsohn said. “It’s critical that the government have a clear understanding of the challenges women and people of color face in these programs so that appropriate changes can be made to the laws.”

No discussion of good news is complete without noting that New York City is home to three women who are directing apprenticeship programs. In addition to Spicer, Leah Rambo heads up the program for Local 28, Sheet Metal Workers, and Wendy Webb is the co-coordinator of Local 79 Mason Tenders’ program. “Elly Spicer is director of the largest apprenticeship program in the state,” Jacobsohn said. “She also helped co-found one of the most active and successful union women’s committees in the country.”

Women have made enormous strides in the workforce, especially professional women. New York City is backing a $2 billion research campus in partnership with Cornell University on Roosevelt Island. This is great for engineers — including female engineers. Nationally, girls are participating in robotics competitions in large numbers and enrolling in engineering colleges. In upstate New York, the Rochester Institute of Technology has established impressive mentoring programs for females. Meanwhile, New York City’s vocational schools — bastions of gender division that funnel boys into carpentry programs while teaching girls low-paying clerical skills — are being dismantled and de-funded. The fight for equal employment opportunity and good jobs for everyone is far from over.

How Feminism Liberates Men

BY NICHOLAS POWERS

“The question rang in my head. How does it feel to be a problem? As a man who learned feminist theory, it’s an inevitable question. Just walking in the Brooklyn neighborhood of Bedford-Stuyvesant, I see teenage girls prowl the sidewalks, girls or boys on the corner shouting ‘bitch’ and ‘pussy’ to show off. Or I see Black women in hip-hop magazines, oiled and wearing bikinis, while fashion magazines show men in suits. Or I hear my friend telling me how she was raped and saw her attacker on the subway and he casually talked to her as if she was nothing.

And seeing this ideology is liberating. I can separate women from the imagery of hood-rats, chicken heads, tip drills or jump offs. And I can damp the ignitable pride of machismo that gets young men killed. But it also leaves me one feeling estranged among people who are blindly hurting themselves. Returning home, I looked on my shelf for a book called "Women, Black Women and Feminism." I bought it in college during a ravenous time of reading and saw its yellowed pages my old notes. Her writing led me to Gloria Anzaldúa and Toni Morrison, Margaret Mead and the SCUM Manifesto. Each book was like a microscope and I saw in my behavior, sexist ideas that I inherited from history and society. But recognizing sexist tendencies was only the first step. The next was placing the experiences of others under the same lens.

My mother was qualified for jobs, but not hired. I saw a photo of a woman who died in hotel, trying to give herself an abortion because they weren’t legal yet. During The Killers, Ronald Reagan called a woman "bitch" and everyone howled with laughter. I began to see the pattern of gender violence. The more I recognized sexism the more guilt I felt. My unexamined privileges became as bright as neon. In my last year of college, it got to a fever pitch. I carried around a Ken doll and would point to the absent genitalia and say, “This is how all men should be.”

Guilt is a rite of passage for a male feminist but so is transforming that guilt into wonder. Feminism values create a world of emotional transparency. I glimpsed this world at antiracism protests where men and women fought against police, calling each other “sister” and “brother.” But it wasn’t until Burning Man in 2002 that I experienced true gender equality. In the sun-blasted Nevada desert, 30,000 people built a city on the principles of radical self-expression and de commodified immediate experience. Many women walked around nude, toless or in elaborate costumes and for the most part, men did not leer or stalk.

In that free space, women walked with a confidence and power because they weren’t selling themselves to a male gaze but expressing desire in their own language. Surveying the magazines at an airport newsstand my flight back to New York, I was struck by how the female body was used like a sponge to wash down cars or watches or male celebrities.

Feminism does not need male guilt; it needs male desire for freedom. Whole dimensions of the male psyche open up when sexist power dynamics are shut off. And it is a world worth fighting for. When my friend called me back and asked how I was doing, I told her my bag was filled with chalk and I was writing anti-sexual harassment slogans on the sidewalk. “What are you going to write?” she asked. I said, “Imagine a white man called you a nigger. That’s how a woman feels when you call her a bitch.” After a long pause she said, “Not bad. It’s a start.”

Exodus from Williamsburg

DEBORAH FELDMAN’S MEMOIR SHOCKS ULTRA-ORTHODOX SECT

BY ROSIE GOLDENSOHN

ROG: In your book, you detail how you managed to secretly read English books as a kid, even though they were prohibited. How did you get your support network at Sarah Lawrence?
DF: I was doing research for the book once a week and I remember waiting for the bus and looking across the street and seeing that tiny little Mapleton library branch. It was a little red brick building. Just on impulse I walked in and that’s sort of where it started. I went to the children’s section and read Roald Dahl’s Matilda. I bought borrowing books and bringing them home when I finally got old enough to have a library card, and then I started working and buying books at Barnes & Noble.

RG: So when you were growing up, I’m curious about how you thought the world worked. DF: I didn’t really know there was a world, and if there was, it was like another planet. I thought people looked at my costume and thought I was a freakish kid. Others even felt like an Other among most Jews, because even among most Jews, Satmar is like this freakish thing that we don’t know about or associate with, so I always felt like I had no place anywhere outside the Satmar community.

RG: You applied to Sarah Lawrence secretly, telling your husband you were taking business classes. Do other Satmar women go to college?
DF: They just don’t. They leave school at 15 or 16, they might have some kind of part-time job for a year and then they get married and have children. I got my support network at Sarah Lawrence. They really saved my life.

RG: Some people are upset about your book. DF: I recently caught up with Feldman between publicity appearances.

RG: What I think we have to do in response, what I was getting this dose of feminism coming from a place that had never even allowed me to think that might exist. So here I am feeling validated, overjoyed, even passionate about this literature.

RG: And I remember sitting there and feeling this enormous conflict. I’ve not yet managed to have that conflict lift. I read and I think, ‘How can I reconcile my respect for difference, diversity, and my desire to advocate for women’s rights?’ So this is what I’ve been completely struggling with.

RG: So when you were growing up, it’s curious about how you thought the world worked.
DF: I didn’t really know there was a world, and if there was, it was like another planet. I thought people looked at my costume and thought I was a freakish kid. Others even felt like an Other among most Jews, because even among most Jews, Satmar is like this freakish thing that we don’t know about or associate with, so I always felt like I had no place anywhere outside the Satmar community.

RG: You applied to Sarah Lawrence secretly, telling your husband you were taking business classes. Do other Satmar women go to college?
DF: They just don’t. They leave school at 15 or 16, they might have some kind of part-time job for a year and then they get married and have children.

RG: Some people are upset about your book.
DF: I’ve been getting all these emails from people who are not Orthodox, but are mad at me for embarrassing Judaism by speaking out about my past. We’re all supposed to support Jews, but if we’re gay or if we’re women or in any way oppressed, we should keep quiet about that.

RG: What I think we have to do in response, just in the way I think Islam has attempted to do, is separate out fundamentalism. It’s not part of the religion or the culture. It’s just fundamentalism.

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By Ann Schneider

Every time I’m involved in a custody case, I wonder why the woman doesn’t gladly give the kid over to the father. Let him have the temper tantrums, the fuss, the pickiness at mealtime and the daily fight to get them out of bed. Not to mention the chronic exhaustion, constant worry, self-imposed guilt and sexual denial that go along with having a child. “But what kind of mother would give up her child?” they say to me, implicitly answering their own question.

Why should a woman’s identity be so intimately tied to her status as a mother? And why would any rational person assume the punishments of motherhood in exchange for the blandishments they receive? Elizabeth Warren has written that, in the United States, there is no surer path to poverty and economic insecurity than to bear a child. A 2004 report by the Community Services Society found that a single parent in New York City needs to earn $49,874 to cover the minimum expenses of rent, food, utilities, clothes, transportation and child care for two children. Even excluding college, the cost of raising a child to age 18 is more than $298,400.

I’ve never thought the world needed more children that look like me and hog the disproportionate resources that Americans are alleviating. There are plenty of children in our foster care system who desperately need individual, permanent attention. Former comrades have disappointed me when they become parents. Suddenly the scope of their concern shrinks from all the world’s children to their own child above all.

Without European-style social supports, the financial and emotional costs of child-rearing virtually always fall on women. MacArthur fellow Nancy Folbre explores the sacrifices made by their caregivers are never counted and seldom recognized. It’s lovely sentiment. But here in the backward United States, the obligation to feed a family falls solely on the individual parents. Healthcare must be earned, lest we lose our incentive to work at a dead-end job. Children are an expensive luxury for those that can afford them; and for those already here, the sacrifices made by their caregivers are never counted and seldom recognized. It’s enough to make a feminist’s blood boil.

The new pro-natalism so popular in Tribeca, Fort Greene and Park Slope seems to carry no articulated critique of the nuclear family, nor of its constrictions to women’s development. I know that young fathers today participate much more in child-rearing than previous generations, but it is almost always the woman who is the stay-at-home parent, judging from who I see pushing the baby carriage.

Meanwhile, every element of the legal profession is obsessed with domestic violence and individual batters, while ignoring the systemic causes of women’s poverty and degradation. Feminism has been robbed of its revolutionary potential, even while it’s given lip service by every judge on the bench in New York City.

Until it becomes possible to be a mother in the United States without doing violence to one’s self, I’ll boycott the institution.

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Love Without Boundaries
A REVOLUTIONARY RELATIONSHIP

BY NICOLAS POPOVICS

This essay is a celebration of a woman who taught me that the words I grew up thinking about love and sex were not the only words I knew. In her presence, I learned that a love that is free, unapologetic, and vulnerable is possible.

We met at a party, a night of carefree laughter and dancing. As the night wore on, we found ourselves drawn to each other, our spirits ignited by the energy of the crowd. We talked about our experiences, our passions, our dreams. In that moment, I knew that she was someone special.

However, it wasn't until later, as we continued to spend time together, that I realized how much she meant to me. We shared our deepest thoughts, our fears, and our hopes. She became my confidante, my partner in crime, my equal. Our love was like a wild fire, uncontainable and unapologetic.

But as time went on, I began to realize that our love was not without its challenges. As we grew more comfortable with each other, we found ourselves facing obstacles that threatened to tear us apart. We had disagreements, we had moments of doubt. But through it all, we held each other tightly, determined to weather the storm.

In the end, our love was a testament to the power of resilience. It showed us that even in the face of adversity, love can be a force for good, a source of strength and comfort. And so we continued to love each other, unapologetically and unconditionally, through the ups and downs of life.

In the end, our love was a reminder of the power of love to change the world. It was a reminder that even in the darkest of times, there is always hope, always love. And so we continue to fight for love, for freedom, for a world where love knows no bounds.
Sex Workers in the Shadows

By Allison Burtch

I

t a string of wealthy businessmen or polic-

ian's were to disappear, chances are the
New York Police Department would take it

seriously. But when 911 calls are made re-
garding sex workers, little is done. At least
that was what Melissa Barthelemy’s parents
experienced when they reported her missing
in 2009. After calling her Bronx apartment for
two days and receiving no answer, her
parents contacted the NYPD. According to
the Daily News, the senator who answered the
phone hung up.

In December 2010, while searching for
Shannon Gilbert, police found Barthelemy’s body,
along with the bodies of Maureen Brainard-Barnes, Megan Waterman and Amber Lynn Costello, near Ocean Parkway at Gilgo Beach on Long Island. Five other unidentified bodies were eventually found on Long Island: three adult women, one tod-
der and a man wearing women’s clothing. The remains of Jessica Taylor were found in
March 2011. Gilbert’s body was later found on
Long Island in December 2011. On Feb. 17, a decomposed body was found in
Manorville on Long Island. Police say it had
been there for five years. On March 21, an-
other body was found, bringing the count
to twelve. Of the twelve bodies that have been recovered, only five have been identified.

The identified victims were all sex work-
ers. Their disappearances had drawn little
attention until someone mentioned “serial killer,” a term now glamorized by shows
like Dexter and Law & Order: Special Vici-
tims Unit. The stigma associated with sex work and its illegal status make it very
dangerous for the workers themselves. According to 2010 FBI data, women ac-
counted for a shocking 70 percent of the
1,398 known vic-
tims of serial killers since 1985. Compar-
atively, only 22 percent of homicide victims were women. Sex workers are 40
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Walking Away from the Black Church

By Ai Eldo

F

inding my way out of the Black Baptist
church that I attended while growing
up was like escaping a long hazing rit-
ual. It was where people told magical stories,
dressed in wild clothing and smelled like
the perfume section in Macy’s. One Sunday I sat
next to a worshipper who gave me a black
eye as she danced for the Lord — shouting
from somewhere or another. The pastor dressed
like a panhandler’s fashion show. My pastor
used a gold microphone and wore orange al-
ligator shoes. My pastor a Hummer, I was done.” Another
friend of mine said, “After my church bought
a string of wealthy businessmen or polic-
ian’s were to disappear, chances are the
New York Police Department would take it

seriously. But when 911 calls are made re-
garding sex workers, little is done. At least
that was what Melissa Barthelemy’s parents
experienced when they reported her missing
in 2009. After calling her Bronx apartment for
two days and receiving no answer, her
parents contacted the NYPD. According to
the Daily News, the senator who answered the
phone hung up.

In December 2010, while searching for
Shannon Gilbert, police found Barthelemy’s body,
along with the bodies of Maureen Brainard-Barnes, Megan Waterman and Amber Lynn Costello, near Ocean Parkway at Gilgo Beach on Long Island. Five other unidentified bodies were eventually found on Long Island: three adult women, one tod-
der and a man wearing women’s clothing. The remains of Jessica Taylor were found in
March 2011. Gilbert’s body was later found on
Long Island in December 2011. On Feb. 17, a decomposed body was found in
Manorville on Long Island. Police say it had
been there for five years. On March 21, an-
other body was found, bringing the count
to twelve. Of the twelve bodies that have been recovered, only five have been identified.

The identified victims were all sex work-
ers. Their disappearances had drawn little
attention until someone mentioned “serial killer,” a term now glamorized by shows
like Dexter and Law & Order: Special Vici-
tims Unit. The stigma associated with sex work and its illegal status make it very
dangerous for the workers themselves. According to 2010 FBI data, women ac-
counted for a shocking 70 percent of the
1,398 known vic-
tims of serial killers since 1985. Compar-
atively, only 22 percent of homicide victims were women. Sex workers are 40
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*For Manhattan Residents ONLY
By Matt Kennard

LONDON—When Soraya Morayef, a budding Egyptian art curator, walked into Townhouse gallery in Cairo in the aftermath of the ousting of Hosni Mubarak, she expected the usual brush-off. Her friends had previously pitched exhibitions of their passion: graffiti and stencil-based work, or what is now given the catch-all term “street art.” Every time, they had been turned away.

But not now. “When I approached them I really didn’t think they would do it,” she says. “I had no credentials, I had no background. But now there is this increasing new interest in graffiti and street art, that’s why they eventually took me.”

Morayef was the beneficiary of a sea-change in the Egyptian art world since the country’s revolution sparked an explosion of paint and posters scrawled on walls in cities around the country. “The revolution has massively impacted the art scene in Egypt, it’s now a lot more diverse and there’s a lot of work inspired or based on the revolution,” says Morayef.

The same pattern has been seen across the Arab world as people have shaken their chains over the past year. Now, Western intelligence officers no longer have to gauge the temperature of the “Arab street” through clandestine interviews: they just have to look at the walls around the cities and analyze the Arab street art. In Arabic, it is called el-fann midan — literally translated, “art in the square.” The mixed experiences of euphoria, mourning and loss have been creatively rendered all over the cities of the Levant.

“Art has played a major role in the Egyptian revolution, for the most part because street art and graffiti as in a Western form simply didn’t exist, now it’s everywhere,” said Omar Ozalp, co-owner of the Artistic Baboon gallery on the outskirts of Cairo. “More important, each one carries a message, be it political or social, which for once has the Egyptian population thinking.”

The other co-owner of the gallery, Adam Maroud, adds: “Corner after corner after corner was suddenly embellished with a battle cry in rushed lettering or a perfect stencil of pop-cultural satiric and it was beautiful and stirring to watch it sprout up like a new bloom.”

And it’s not just the Middle East. Art has flourished around the world over the past year — from Haiti to Chile to China — as people have fought back against totalitarian governments and tried to make sense of broken societies using brushes as well as bricks. For many young people, street art has become the perfect “crime” when living in a closed dictatorship with no free press. If you do not get caught in the act, there is no way for the authorities to track you down most of the time.

“I think the creative output during this unfinished revolution is an integral part in its continuation and the direction it’s bound to take,” says Ganzeer, the most prominent street artist in Egypt, who was arrested for making posters at the height of the protests.

The move out of galleries, as artists take their work to the people, also represents a “democratization” of the creative arts. “The streets are for everybody. The gallery is for an art-seeking niche,” says Ganzeer. “It’s very wrong for the streets to be so open to the brainwashing effects of capitalist-driven advertisers and so closed off to honest art, which has been trapped into the confines of fake gallery constructs. Galleries need to exist, but it shouldn’t be the only way to be able to experience art.”

In crisis-wrecked Europe, the indignados in Spain, as well as young people in Germany, Greece and France, have also used their city walls as canvases to get their message across. Evol is a German artist who recently had a gallery show in London, but the 39-year-old’s main work is stencil windows on concrete slabs slung out on the street, turning them into drab housing estates. “Life is a reflection of the circumstances I live in,” he says. “Whatever happens to me I will try to transport into art.”

Ganzeer feels something similar: “I feel the core purpose of creative arts lies in its social relevance.”

BEYOND POST-MODERN IRONY

Street art has captured the imagination of the younger generation of artists in the West over the past decade, led by British artist Banksy. While the anonymous Bristolian has garnered much of the attention, there is now a dedicated phalanx of scribblers working alongside him — and their ranks have ballooned and “globalized” over the past year.

For many of the new generation, the period where the pursuit of money appeared to rule all forms of creativity — viz. the canonization of Jeff Koons and Damien Hirst — is over. The postmodern ironies of the Young British Artists movement have been destroyed by the immediacy of the human crises happening around the world. Young artists now feel the need to reflect on the chaos of global events through their art. They are not seeking to engage with the world retrospectively but as part of ongoing struggles hoping to bring about real, tangible change.

In this sense, it is not just the venue that has changed — from the gallery to the street — but the content, too. “Before the revolution we were falling into clichés and trying to express things between brackets,” says Khaled Hafez, a prominent Egyptian artist to the traditional gallery setting. “But since 9/11, more and more political issues are being expressed in art installation practices. The Arab Spring has really accelerated the change.”

The direct engagement with societal issues in this way is not wholly new in the art world. It relates back to the work of the Russian Constructivists, such as Aleksander Rodchenko and El Lissitzky, who wanted to make an art of constructed abstract elements that represented the movements in society and of the Bolshevik revolution. They stopped making one-off art works to produce printed material, posters, pamphlets, and placards that could be used by the Russian people. Their work was later banned under Stalin, who wanted a much more dictatorial art form that did not engage in more avant-garde abstraction.

Political artists following on from the Constructivists, include German anti-fascist artist John Heartfield, who devised a form of photomontage that became a weapon against the rise of Nazism. His work was so powerful that he was high on the Nazi hit list and had to flee Germany.

In one of his most famous montages he showed his customary salute and a giant businessman handing him money, highlighting that behind all Hitler’s socialist rhetoric, it was big business that supported his rise to power. The image wasn’t shown in an art gallery: It was on the front cover of the German weekly magazine, AIZ.

In many ways “street art” goes all the way back to the caves of Lascaux where primitive men (and women) decorated their walls with pictures of horses, stags and bison. Back then, there was no Egyptian security force or Chinese intelligence officers to imprison the artists. There are now.

TACKLING POLITICS

The latest upsurge in revolutionary street art over the past year has rudely challenged many of the sacred cows in traditional art circles, paralleling the population’s political awakening. Ideas of what constitutes art, where art is shown and who makes art have all been shaken violently.

But the fight against the gallery-based model has been largely successful over the past few years. The traditional gallery world is now playing catch-up. More traditional, gallery-based art elites in the West have pushed back over the past decade — and this is no different in Egypt.

“We should remember that the Middle East is still conservative,” says Hafez. “Street art is not gallery art, but we are in a revolution and it helped mobilize people. There was fabulous graffiti art, and personally, I think change is impending.”

Says one: “I have learned a lot from the younger generation like Ganzeer.”

Ganzeer agrees, and says he believes the traditional sectors of the art world in Egypt have shot themselves in the foot by not showing more enthusiasm for the new generation.

“I think the majority of the traditional art world have proven the inability of their art to speak or relate to society via their inability to artistically engage in the revolution,” he says. “Many may have engaged as citizens and protested just like everybody else, but few have been able to engage artistically.”

The interface of politics and art has always been a tense one, with some of the more critical artists in the art world accusing political art of being “agit-prop.” They argue that when you engage directly with politics, you are also depleting your sophistication.

But things are changing.

“There is a very reactionary strand in the art world that says that you shouldn’t make work that engages in the art world accusing political art of being “agit-prop.” They argue that when you engage directly with politics, you are also depleting your sophistication.

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Continued on page 18
Occupying Wall Street: The Inside Story of an Action that Changed America

By Writers for the 99%

Story of an Action that Changed Wall Street

Docu-psy

Wall Street

Occupying Wall Street: The Inside Story of an Action that Changed America

By Writers for the 99%

This Changes Everything

Edited by Sarah van Gelder and the staff of YES! Magazine

By Writers for the 99%

Story of an Action that Changed Wall Street

Docu-psy

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A series of insta-books have been

triumvirate of race, class and gen-

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“We are the 99%” — now famil-

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Pizza box protest signs about student debt and being laid off were ubiquitous in Zuccotti, but the white middle-class’ Great Re-

cession was already an unbear-

able depression for African-Amer-

icans and Latinos throughout the country.

Each book features powerful stories of people of color getting involved to make OWS’s declaration of beliefs more representative. For example, the People of Color working group here in New York led to organizing efforts in Harlem and the Bronx. Without their valuable organizing work, the movement would not be as strong.

FUTURE OF OCCUPY

There is little discussion on Oc-

cupy’s future in these books. Last fall, occupy had encampments in many places, but police are moving to close the movement’s remaining redoubts, including the occupation in New Haven, Conn.

Holding ground as a long-term tactic is most likely over, and Oc-
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But whether these efforts will lead to the same level of notoriety that Occupy reached last fall remains to be seen.

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Occupy is making good on its promise of an American Spring. Unions and community groups are sponsoring a series of work-

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amined Occupy as a brand in her essay in This Changes Everything. With the movement’s increasing popularity, Occupy is becoming an attitude and a brand as much as it is a movement — hopefully this broad banner will continue to galvanize action against corporate abuses.

—Bennett Baumer

Occupyers in Zuccotti Park, renamed Liberty Square during the occupation, on Oct. 5.

were the 99%. And we were power-

ful.

POPULIST AWAKENING

Many essays use words like “awakened” to describe what happened. Americans have opened up about their personal struggles on weare-

the99percent.tumblr.com, eliciting sympathy and, more importantly, solidarity. Thus far, OWS’s biggest influence has been on the national dialogue about gross inequality. It has successfully framed econom-
ic struggle in brief but eloquent phraseology, nay, mathematics — the 99% versus the 1%

The literary journal Ni+1 and Verso books published a compila-
tion of essays, tweets and texts (Occupy: Scenes from Occupied America) from their excellent Oc-

cupy! Gazette series. Highlights include Zilké’s excoriation “Don’t Fall in Love With Yourselves,” which starts: “We are all losers, but the true losers are down there on Wall Street.” The Occupy! Gaz-

ette’s strong point is artwork but Ni+1 has not published another edition since mid-December.

Another Occupy: Scenes from Occupied America hit is Rebecca.

Solnit’s essay on violence, anar-

chism and diversity of tactics. “The ephemerism for violence is diversity of tactics”. But diver-

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Occupyers in Zuccotti Park, renamed Liberty Square during the occupation, on Oct. 5.
The Arab Spring captivated the planet, but in Libya the New World Order had other plans.

From Star-Gazers To Navel-Gazers

By Alakananda Mookerjee

Had Nicholas Copernicus owned an iPad, or Tycho Brahe, an iPhone, they would never have discovered, respectively, that the Earth revolved around the sun, or that comets were not a meteorological phenomenon. They would have been too busy looking down to look up at the heavens, let alone ruminate about our position in the cosmos.

Human thinking has traditionally been geocentric and anthropocentric. One might have imagined that the advent of modern technology would have catapulted us to higher planes. Au contraire, it has made us more egocentric than ever. Where we once believed our blush rock to be at the center of the universe, we now rejoice in the perception that we, each one of us, are individual axes around which all matter spins.

After all, the veryuka of the Digital Age is, “What are you up to?” It pleases us to think that the 140-character twaddle we compose through pieces of software called apps. Indeed, who looks up at the sky anymore, even if it is to see rolling storms clouds gathering to pour rain? “There’s an app for that.”

The immaterial universe, as tech folks know it to be, is expanding with eyeball-popping alacrity. The volume of digital content should hit 1.8 zettabytes this year. An astronomical figure, fuelled by our compulsive need to generate more bits, will only grow bigger, faster. By comparison, the strides we have made in space exploration have been miniscule. According to a recent report in the New York Times, “If the Earth were in Orlando, and the closest star system, Alpha Centauri, were in Los Angeles, NASA’s two Voyager spacecraft, the most distant man-made objects, have traveled just one mile.”

The cramming of a galaxy of both worthwhile and worthless information into our portable doo-dads has ironically collapsed our mind’s horizons to a size no bigger than the touchscreens we wipe, because everything we need is inside them. Updating our statuses has become the central activity, which alters, nay, diminishes, our appreciation of the moment.

Our hand-held gadgets certify the very reality of our sensory experiences. Humankind has evolved from stooping and trudging with a lumbering gait, to being erect, with necks and spines held vertical. Now, with sloped tocks, we walk distractedly along sidewalks, ride up elevators, shuffle through grocery store aisles. We go through our daily grind, in essence, cut off from the outside environment.

We have a voluptuous adoration for technology. Yet, who knows? The makers of our hand-held fixtures may have triggered a devolutionary cycle that will bend us lower and lower until we crawl on all fours again.
Rivera Returns

“Diego Rivera: Murals for The Museum of Modern Art”

MUSEUM OF MODERN ART
11 W. 53 St.
Through May 24

I

If legendary Mexican muralist Diego Rivera had, like most painters, worked on canvas instead of on buildings and walls, then maybe he could have airmailed his paintings to the Museum of Modern Art for his 1931 exhibition, rather than hastily creating a brand-new collection of work. Further, if he hadn’t chosen to create his new work on portable chunks of wall — squares of iron, steel and plaster — maybe these paintings wouldn’t weigh hundreds of pounds apiece, requiring dedicated teams of laborers to transport them from gallery to gallery. And, if Rivera’s masterworks hadn’t been locked to particular sites, then maybe Man at the Crossroads, his mural at Rockefeller Center, wouldn’t have been decimated at the Rockefellers’ behest. But, this is all silly talk. It was exactly these aspects of River-
va’s work and life — the outsized heroism, the weightiness and the desire to be rooted within particular places and periods — that has kept his art relevant for the more than a half-century since his death.

“Diego Rivera: Murals for The Museum of Modern Art” brings five of the eight “portable murals” that Rivera created from 1931 to 1932 back to MoMA, along with auxiliary works and historical artifacts. Auestra Leader Zapata (1931) shows the fabled revolution-
ary general, solemnly leading a group of work-
ing men over the slain body of a plantation owner. The Uprising (1931) shows a raging wave of work-
ers fending off a line of thug-
guards; the setting is some-
what generic, but red flags in the background posit the work as a scene from a socialist rebel-

des. Meanwhile, The Rivals (1931), a colorful work on canvas (he did paint on canvas sometimes) pro-
ects the sort of airy slickness that the murals seem precisely built to avoid. A 1927 sketchbook of draw-
ings depicting home life and public celebrations in Mexico is an unex-
pected exhibition highlight.

The Uprising, Diego Rivera, 1931.

Looking at the present day, Rivera’s paintings possess a bold-
ness that also creates some vexing contextual complications — the macho hubris that makes his art so great also dates his work consider-
ably. By now, the visceral, surreal, proto-feminist paintings of Rivera’s wife, Frida Kahlo, have outpaced his husband’s murals in terms of fame and influence. Rivera was a Marxist, creating images meant to champion and galvanize popular uprisings. Through May 14

Through May 14

Museum of Modern Art
209 W. Houston St.

Film Forum
Samuel Goldwyn Films, 2012
Directed by Jon Shenk

The Island President

Directed by Jon Shenk
SAMUEL Goldwyn Films, 2012
Film Forum
209 W. Houston St.
March 18 – April 10

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he release of The Island President, Jon Shenk’s documentary profile of Mo-

hamed ‘Anni’ Nasheed, highlights one of the key David-versus-Goli-

ath narratives in recent eco-politi-

cal. As president of the Maldives, a stretch of 2,000 tiny islands in the middle of the Indian Ocean that constitute the lowest-laying nation on earth and, in his words, “a crossover between paradise and parasite,” Nasheed has become the most vocal and inspirational advocate for the containment of global warming since his election in 2008. His small island nation, in keeping with its miniscule size, was epicentrized when, in a public stunt that is at once jocular and eerie, he invites news media to an underwater cab-

et meeting. While the Maldives are striving to be the first carbon-
neutral nation wholly powered by renewable energy, the overall debate around global warming is shifting from prevention to dam-

age control.

From Kyoto to Copenhagen to Durban last December, lofty state-
ments of shared concern about the greenhouse effect kept trimming the implementation of binding measures to limit carbon emis-

sions. In “Washed Away,” the cover story of this month’s ABA Journal, Kristin Choo raises the grim and unprecedented legal question of how island nations will appeal to the international com-
munity for recognition. The Maldives, whose current situation remains precarious, hopefully The Island President will help generate the publicity and intervention to rein-

state him, so he can keep the Mal-
dives from becoming “a country of environmental refugees” and set an example for the rest of us in the process.

—KENNETH CRAB
Global Art
Continued from page 14

 Kingdom’s most prominent political artists. “You can imply, but that’s also to do with the art world being about selling work.” He adds: “Our understanding of art has become over-aestheticized and I think the only thing that can cure that, which is changing it, is the pressure of crisis in the world.” It is not just the art world that is fearful of this new army of political and artistic revolutionaries. Centers of unacceptable power over the past year have demonstrated a far deeper aversion to creative thought and production.

In Syria, in August, the most famous political cartoonist in the country, Ali Ferzat, was arrested by the secret services. “It’s a gun to the head,” he says. “We are not going to stop slapping, the thugs told him, before doing exactly that. He was stomped by the roadside. “This is just a warning,” they told him.

In China, Ai Weiwei, the iconic artist whose work has taken this form of repression in his home country, was arrested by the authorities and held incomunicado for months on spurious charges, which still stand.

While the process has accelerated over the past year because of the volume of artistic dissent, this fear is not new. In Honduras, the first two people arrested after the 2009 coup were the President Manuel Zelaya and cartoonist Allan Macdonald, who had published cartoons in support of the deposed president.

In 2003, the U.S. government asked that a tapestry version of Picasso’s anti-war masterpiece Guernica on permanent display at the United Nations, be covered up with a blue curtain when Colin Powell made his notorious error-filled speech about Iraq’s weapons of mass destruction and the need for invasion.

It seems counter-intuitive. Why would the most powerful country in the world care about a piece of art decorating a room at the United Nations? And why would the world’s newest superpower care about one man making fun of a giant that, which he disdains? “Artists, especially cartoonists, can make it easy for everyone to understand a difficult policy issue,” says a nameless Cuban artist. “In Haiti, a Brazilian cartoonist whose pictures have become an accompaniment to uprisings all over the world. “We have the ability to make fun of dictators and, of course, dictators are not fond of humor.”

There is some debate as to what the term “street art” actually means. It is an appellation that describes a genre of art rather than a term that describes what that art is or that work is done that is outside. “There is a distinction here,” says Tristram Lansdowne, among others. “The Chi- cago Tribune

TRUTH TO POWER: “Fantavis is Mubarak” reads this street portrait from Cairo.

New York-based Swoon spent part of 2011 working in a small village just outside of Port-au-Prince in Haiti and built a community center and a small house. Since the earthquake struck in January 2010, leaving a whole society traumatized, there has been one artist who has been out decorating Port-au-Prince with beautiful murals and graffiti pieces as a way of expressing his own hopes and fears for the country. “I was never a big fan of politics,” says Jerry Rosemberg, but he adds that the extent of the trauma in Haiti means he has had to engage. “I am obliged to commentate on my country because things are bad, and for me, this is the best way of giving my ideas worth and value.”

Art is his just another way of communicating a message — a cry to be heard in a dia has been a vital corollary to this move ment. Facebook and Twitter have not just allowed activists to organize, but also pro vided a key tool to disseminate pictures. They have accelerated this “democratiza tion” of art by making it much easier to cir cument the gallery, which had previously been a prerequisite to building an audience.

Especially in past year I have been us ing Twitter and Facebook to spread the art works, which has played an important role in getting them out,” says Latuff. “If I upload a single cartoon it takes 15 minutes to get sometimes 3,000 hits, depending on the issue. It’s amazing how you put up a single cartoon and it spreads like a fire.”

Moving outside of the gallery also chang es the audience. In a revolutionary situation, the aim is often to reach as many people as possible. Street art is in some way inherently political and about the people. “The people who see it have no choice in the matter — unlike those who venture into a gallery on a Sunday afternoon. Now, the wall is the gallery, and the audience has multiplied ex ponentially.”

I use the space for everyone who is living or passing in the street. When you are saying that, you are speaking to anyone passing by,” says Evol. “No one asked me to do it, so I can’t ask for a reaction in a certain way.”

Krzysztof Wodiczko is a Polish artist who teaches at Harvard University and is famous for his projections, including a swastika on the Statue of Liberty during the protests in their youths. The people who see it have no choice in the matter — unlike those who venture into a gallery on a Sunday afternoon. Now, the wall is the gallery, and the audience has multiplied ex ponentially.”

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Now, he says, “the whole cultural geogra phy of resistance benefits from mobile com munication. Even though authorities will try to control it, it will always be around with other inventions.”

Wodiczko draws a distinction between two different types of political art — the di mension that are explicit and direct and the one under the previous regime was that because it had this image of an open system, or a system with a human face, that transformed itself into more of democracy, it was in fact, very scared of dissent that may contradict this. So artists were allowed to speak, to deal with politics, as long as they were doc ing this indirectly, in a metaphoric way. Once they move into more of a direct link, or people recognize them as political activ ists, at the same time as artists, then they will be in jail or prevented from speaking or communicating.

Latuff is an example of this. He is banned from Israel because he has made cartoons critical of the government’s treatment of Palestinians. In Brazil, he has been arrested three times by the police. “I believe in what Che Guevara called internationalism, solidarity with people,” he says. “I feel that it is necessary to put this skill at the service of the social movement. The artist cannot ignore art as a tool for change. Especially not now.”

Matt Kennard is a London-based freelance journalist. His work has appeared in The Financial Times, The (UK) Guardian, Salon and The Chicago Tribune, among others.
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