The Indypendent

No One Is Illegal
IMMIGRATION SPECIAL SECTION STARTS P8

LeftForum 2013

Speeches by:
Noam Chomsky
Vice President of Bolivia
Alvaro Garcia Linera

Mobilizing for Economic Transformation

Saturday Night Event:
Oliver Stone
and a thousand speakers

Hundreds of panels,
films and a book fair;
come see the
Indypendent’s table
on the main floor

Left Forum brings together organizers, intellectuals and the public from across the globe to share ideas for understanding and transforming the world

Pace University, NYC, June 7-9. Register online or at the door. www.leftforum.org
The Indypendent

The Indypendent is a New York-based free newspaper published 13 times a year on Mondays for our print and online audience of more than 100,000 readers. It is produced by a network of volunteers who report, write, edit, and design; take photos, distribute, and provide website management. Since 2000, more than 700 journalists, artists and media activists have participated in this project. Winner of more than 50 New York Community Media Alliance awards, The Indypendent is funded by subscriptions, reader donations, merchandize sales, benefits and advertising. We accept submissions that look at news and culture through a critical lens, exploring how systems of power — economic, political and social — affect society.

How to submit:

Send your submission or event information to volunteering@indypendent.org.

SUBMIT YOUR EVENTS AT:

indyevents@gmail.com

UPCOMING EVENTS

THU, MAY 2 • 7:30pm
Co-sponsor: School of the Americas Watch & Code Pink

Rally: Free Bradley Manning: June 1 is the International Day of Action to Support Bradley Manning! Join the Bradley Manning Support Network and others at Fort Meade to protest his detention and court martial, scheduled for June 3. Buses are being organized from NYC and will leave at 7:30am from 1270 Broadway; see website for ticket details.

Fort Meade, Maryland

Roece Road and US 175

bradleymanning.org

MON, MAY 20 • 7:30pm
Quebec Student uprising reflects on Montreal

An interactive discussion and slideshow on the 2012 Quebec student uprising by Stefan Christoff, author of the recent booklet Le fond de l’air est rouge.

Sliding scale: $6/$10/$15

MONAY MAY 6

Event: Jeremy Scahill at the New World Brewery

DISCUSSION: Global Capitalism—A Movement to unite and organize.

Workshops and panels discussing strategies to reenergize the labor movement.

May 17: Brecht Forum

9am-4pm • $25/$15 low income

SAT MAY 18

Event: Jeremy Scahill at New World Brewery

PRESENTATION: AGAINST GUN VIOLENCE. A Benefit for The Community Church of New York

The Community Church of New York

212-242-4201 • brechtforum.org

SUBMIT YOUR EVENTS AT:

indyevents@gmail.com

A FREE PAPER FOR FREE PEOPLE

Email: contact@indypendent.org
BY ALEX VITALE

The opportunities for a sustained look into the NYPD’s inner workings have always been an insular and opaque institution, it has become doubly so since 9/11 expanded its intelligence and anti-terrorism framework. That is one of the many reasons that the federal trial (Floyd v. City of New York) on the Department’s stop-and-frisk practices has taken on such import. Normally closed off from journalists, academics, the public and even the City Council committees charged with its oversight, it is only through litigation that we have been able to peer through the NYPD’s blue walls at some of its inner workings.

The trial has not been a pleasant one, but it has been instructive. Since the trial began on March 18, we’ve been treated to a series of revelations about the callous attitudes of officers on the streets and the willful manipulation of statistics by the brass (see sidebar).

While revelations of misconduct by individual officers and failed policies by police leadership are not new, it is rare to see them uncovered in such a systematic and sustained way. In the past, only major scandals have created this kind of opportunity. In 1970 the Knapp Commission, created by Mayor John Lindsay, investigated allegations of widespread corruption made by them, uncovered in such a systematic and sustained way. In the past, only major scandals have created this kind of opportunity. In 1970 the Knapp Commission, created by Mayor John Lindsay, investigated allegations of widespread corruption made by Det. Frank Serpico and Sgt. David Durk. A long investigation followed by extensive and dramatic hearings uncovered a broad practice of pay-offs within the detective

ranks to overlook vice operations. These hearings led to a major reorganization of the Detective Bureau and the creation of internal ant-corruption measures that remain in place today.

The Mollen Commission, appointed by Mayor David Dinkins in 1992, uncovered corruption in Harlem’s 30th Precinct. A group of officers were found to have been engaged in the systematic theft of money and drugs, as well as in the reselling of those drugs. Since then the department has avoided any major outside inspections.

In the wake of the beating and torture of Abner Louima in 1997, Mayor Rudy Giuliani created the Task Force on Police/Community Relations. The Task Force had no investigative power, and their recommendations were sarcastically dismissed by the mayor.

Since then there have been no real public investigations of the NYPD. Local District Attorneys have the authority to investigate corrupt or illegal practices, and the Civilian Complaint Review Board can investigate individual cases of misconduct toward the public, but neither of these bodies looks at individual cases of misconduct towards the police. The New York Times, which has not ended up in an arrest or a summons.

In part it is this lack of public accountability that has driven calls for the creation of an Inspector General with the power to forcefully and fully investigate the NYPD’s operations.

STOP & FRISK

Among the first witnesses called to testify were NYPD whistleblower Pedro Serrano and Adyl Palanco, who secretly recorded supervisors demanding that officers issue 20 summonses, conduct five stop-and-frisks — known as “250s” — and make one arrest per month.

“We were handcuffing kids for no reason,” Palanco testified about his time working in the South Bronx’s 41st Precinct.

Serrano, who worked in South Bronx’s 40th Precinct, recorded a superior telling him to find “the right people at the right time, the right location.” When pressed by Serrano to clarify who these “right people” were, he said, “I told you at roll call, and I have no problem telling you this, male blacks 14 to 20, 21.”

Palanco and Serrano described a culture of intimidation in which superiors retaliated against officers who failed to meet quotas or spoke out about quotas. Palanco testified that supervisors would make sure he met quotas by riding with him in the police car and identifying people to stop, or calling him to respond to incidents he didn’t observe. Sometimes they would tell him to make up quotas by handcuffing kids, and they would call for us to — obviously, we were not there to come either issue the summons, the 250, or even arrest the person,” he testified.

NEW YORK TIMES

FLOYD EVIDES THE FACTS

In 2001, the NYPD’s Office of Management Analysis and Planning commissioned a study by the RAND Corporation to evaluate if the department’s execution of stop-and-frisk was driven by racial bias.

Testimony at the trial suggests that the NYPD pressured the report’s authors to take the edge off some of their original language. Terry Riley, who oversaw the project on behalf of the NYPD, testified that the terms of their contract the RAND Corporation had agreed to take the NYPD’s concerns “into consideration.”

The NYPD did bring up concerns about early drafts, and some of the department’s comments led to changes to the final report. In the first draft, the authors wrote of “disturbing evidence of unequal treatment across race groups.” After the NYPD raised objections, that phrase was altered to say that there was “some evidence” of such unequal treatment. In another early draft, RAND asked, “Is the value of one arrest worth the cost of nine stops of innocent pedestrians?” Following further comments by the police department, the words “innocent pedestrians” appeared in the final draft as “suspects who committed no crime.”

— Alina Mogilnyskaya

By Diego Ibanez

S
ome say you can’t create a crisis just as much as you can’t predict the solution. When my friends and I arrived on the corner of 123rd St. and Rockaway Beach Blvd., less than 48 hours after Hurricane Sandy ravaged the peninsula of Queens, buildings were still on fire. A man told me that his whole house had just burned down and that his family had nowhere to go. I took a picture of him in front of his burned-down block and shared it with the network of activists I was working with. Food had begun to rot and water was running out — a sense of panic was in the air. That night, from within the flooded storefront we had occupied and transformed into a guerrilla distribution hub, we had our first community meeting.

When you feed people you get invited to their table, and once you’re at their table, you get invited into their lives. Every night we turned off the generators that powered the lights, locked the doors and huddled in a circle. We passed around the flashlight as if it were a microphone. “Even though I’ve lost everything, I’ve never felt better in my life,” said Mama Rose, the block’s matriarch. Most nights we cried together, but at the end of each meeting we chanted, “You are not alone!”

At first we started with a simple kitchen, then a distribution hub and then a demand: a just recovery process — one that helped recover from all forms of crisis, water related or otherwise.

In the second week we realized that we needed a medical clinic. Using our network, we called for doctors, nurses and social workers. Volunteers flocked to our hubs and we needed more space. Across the street we moved farther and farther east and bed, rig up the generators and sanitize everything. Soon doctors and nurses were filling prescriptions and treating patients inside the fur coat store. The role of private and public property was challenged.

A week later, the lights went on. Things were going to be okay after all. In some ways, that was the happiest day for everyone. But I sensed a disconnect as people detached from the community, plugged back into the system and switched on their TVs. The fairy tale of a post-capitalist community was over. It was time for us to restructure our organizing.

The next day he gave us the keys. It took us 14 hours to clean up the whole store, repair doors, install lights, shelves, curtains and beds, rip up the generators and sanitize everything. Soon doctors and nurses were filling prescriptions and treating patients inside the fur coat store. The role of private and public property was challenged.

A week later, the lights went on. Things were going to be okay after all. In some ways, that was the happiest day for everyone. But I sensed a disconnect as people detached from the community, plugged back into the system and switched on their TVs. The fairy tale of a post-capitalist community was over. It was time for us to restructure our organizing.

The FORGOTTEN ZONE

We began moving farther and farther east along the peninsula until I arrived in Far Rockaway — the forgotten zone. With a young population and a high crime rate, Far Rockaway is no stranger to crisis. In a sense, it’s been dealing with a continuous series of crises for the past half century, since Robert Moses dumped thousands of poor people displaced by urban renewal projects into public housing on this remote spit of land. Recovery in Far Rockaway looked different. We found youth that dropped out of high school, many who didn’t know how to read. Unemployment seemed to be on everyone’s mind. Younger kids had missed weeks of school due to flooding or relocation and were saddled with thick make-up packets.

Using a small Pentecostal church as our base, we grew ties with the migrant Latino community and started an after-school program. The plan was to pull from outside volunteers, like the thousands on our lists, to tutor older teens. However, when the room filled with younger kids, the older teens who would otherwise be on the streets themselves became the mentors.

In addition to receiving help with their homework, kids ate dinner and participated in lessons put on by Occupy Sandy volunteers, which focused on topics such as climate change, democratic decision-making and art. At one point the kids sang Bob Dylan’s song “George Jackson”:

Prison guards, they cursed him
As they watched him from above
But they were frightened of his power
They were scared of his love

A young girl wanted to know why they were scared of his love.

“He was trapped in a cage for so many years,” I explained. “But his mind was free with the love of knowledge. Some people don’t want us to have that kind of freedom, that’s why we gotta fight for it.”

At supper, the kids held hands and gave thanks for one thing in their lives. Many gave thanks for the after-school program and then we raised our arms and yelled “Fuerza!”

ALL TOGETHER: Members of the Far Rockaway community and Occupy Sandy discuss ideas for starting worker-run businesses.

‘EVERYTHING’S POLITICAL’

In addition to youth education, we focused on building political power for the long-term recovery. “Everything’s political,” we said. “Even the storm.” We established a political education program called Wildfire, comprised of community members who emerged as natural organizers throughout the early recovery struggle.

In some ways, it was one community encountering another. Occupy Sandy emerged from a network of Occupy Wall Street participants who had dispersed to work on a variety of projects. In going to the Rockaways, we were reading outside of ourselves and into communities most affected by the capitalist system we had been protesting only a year before. Our role was not very different from the one played by the international community after the 1994 Zapatista insurrection in the southern Mexican state of Chiapas: thousands went there to bear witness, a network-style tactic the U.S. military dubbed a “netwar.”

But in other ways, our role wasn’t to bear witness at all. It was to expand the network itself, and help ignite a group that would begin solving other kinds of structural issues in their communities long after the storm receded. At a Wildfire retreat in upstate New York in early April, we mapped where this network-style tactic the U.S. military dubbed a “netwar.”

Continued on page 19

CONNECTING THE DOTS: Rockaways residents joined the 40,000 people who rallied in Washington, D.C. on Feb. 17 to call for more aggressive government action to halt climate change.

WORKER-RUN COOPERATIVES

In the upstairs of a small church, a packed room held the faces of the dispossessed. Black and English-speaking on one side, Brown and Spanish-speaking on the other.

“Why should you wait for jobs to come...
The War on Teachers Harms Children Too

Editor’s Note: The culture of high stakes standardized testing has become increasingly pervasive in public schools over the past decade. Thanks to federal legislation like No Child Left Behind and Race to the Top, the future of teachers’ jobs and of whole schools can ride on whether students fill in the bubbles on their answer sheets correctly. Now, students and parents across the country — in places like Florida, Illinois, Colorado and Washington State — are rejecting the exams. In April, hundreds of New York City students refused to sit for a battery of standardized tests. Thousands more across the state also opted out. One of their most vocal supporters has been Fordham professor Mark Naison, who reflects on the testing regime and the opposition it has sparked in this short essay.

BY MARK NAISON

When I first got involved in education activism four years ago, I did so because elected officials in New York and around the nation were blaming public school teachers for problems that were not of their making. Under the mantle of “school reform,” they were trying to subject them to numbers-based “accountability” protocols that would squeeze the life out of teaching.

I saw the best teachers I knew — those who were my former students and those with whom I worked on Bronx community history projects — feel as though they had become demonized and marginalized by people who had little real-life understanding of what their job entailed. Since they lacked the power to speak freely about what was happening to them, I felt it was my duty to speak on their behalf.

Four years later, there is still just as much pain and rage among the nation’s teachers. Now that I am publicly identified as a “teachers advocate,” I probably get four or five emails or Facebook messages a week from teachers around the nation describing the fear, stress, humiliation and erosion of professional autonomy they experience as the test-driven policies that are being imposed with breakneck speed in public schools are good for children. The two weeks of testing that the children of New York State endured in April comes perilously close reaching abusive proportions. A society that loves and values its children should not accept this as the norm.

Mark Naison is a Professor of African-American Studies and History at Fordham University and Director of Fordham’s Urban Studies Program. An earlier version of this article appeared on the author’s blog, withabrooklynaccent.blogspot.com. For more about United Opt Out, see unitedoptout.com.
Will We Learn Anything From the Boston Bombings?

By Will Travers

I grew up in Massachusetts — mere minutes away from where the Boston Marathon starts, depending on how fast you drive. Although I live in New York now, my parents are still there and I called my mother on the day of the Boston bombings, April 15, to see how she was. She didn’t know anyone in the marathon this year, but nonetheless broke into tears on the phone.

She spoke about how this Patriots’ Day had started so well — as a public holiday in the city of Boston, many people had the day off from work and many more had been watching the marathon, in person along the route or at home on TV. For some reason my mother was focusing on the weather before the bombs went off, and although she’s usually not one to lack an opinion, in this case all she kept saying was, “It was such a beautiful day…”

I understand how she feels. I understand how something like this can make someone struggle for words to explain — or even process — what’s happened. This is the closest thing like this has ever been to her front door.

It was also a beautiful day in another part of the world: Afghanistan’s rural Uruzgan province, about a hundred miles northeast of Kandahar. The sun came up there the way of the world: Afghanistan’s rural Uruzgan province, about a hundred miles northeast of Kandahar. The sun came up there the way it did in Boston, only about eight and a half hours earlier. Instead of a marathon, there was a wedding to be held — two people, two families, and a celebration of the two becoming one. In their lives, there couldn’t have existed a more beautiful day.

U.S. Air Force planes bombed the wedding party that day, killing 30 people and injuring over a hundred. In the words of one of the village residents speaking to the BBC, “There are no Taliban or al Qaeda or Arabs here. These people were all civilians, women, and children.” In the jubilation immediately following the wedding ceremony, some of the guests had apparently been firing their weapons into the air. Potentially, the bullets for anti-aircraft artillery fire, the Pentagon admitted, “At least one bomb was errant. We don’t know where it fell.”

Why am I juxtaposing these two incidents? Is it because they happened on the same day? Well, no. In truth they didn’t. The bombing of this particular wedding happened in July 2002. After the bombings in Boston an article about the wedding attack from the UK’s Daily Mail began circulating on social media, with people insinuating that it had happened on the same day. The byline of that article has since been amended to prominently feature a date, but by not mentioning one earlier I misled the reader, and I myself had been momentarily misled. The truth is, yes, this actually happened; it just happened 11 years ago.

Does that make it any more palatable? Given a moment in which we feel wounded as a nation, the posting of an old story masquerading as something new has the requisite power to shock people into making the connection that needs to be made: namely, between the violence we visit upon people in foreign lands and the violence that comes back to visit us at home. Violence begets violence, as Martin Luther King began teaching in the 1950s. In an era when important news stories so often get lost amid celebrity pregnancies and partisan inanities, I found it quite refreshing to fall victim to such a minor Internet hoax. Ultimately I couldn’t really be all that offended by a story that’s actually newsworthy miraculously getting a second life.

In the Boston Marathon bombings, three people died and, to date, over 260 are known to have been injured — some having limbs blown off in the attack. Initially, speculation was rife about who was responsible. Now that one Tsarnaev brother is dead and the other facing trial, we’re beginning to get a picture of how the crime was committed. Just as it became clear who killed the 30 people at that wedding. And fully understanding my complicity in the actions of my government, my heart goes out to everyone who was touched by that violence, in Afghanistan no less than in Boston.

The question for us now is whether or not we’ll fall into the same trap we fell into after 9/11. Will we slash civil liberties at home by making scapegoats of innocent people, simply because of their religion or where they happen to have been born? Will we continue inflicting terror abroad, perpetuating the cycle of violence in a misguided attempt to keep our own country safe? Or will we finally be smart enough to say: Okay, we get it now. Living in a place where bombs go off in public is hell. We’re sorry, Kabul. We’re sorry, Karachi. We’re sorry, Baghdad (where 30-plus people actually were killed in cities across Iraq on the day of the Boston bombings). What’s happening where you live is largely our fault, and we promise to do whatever we can to make things better. If you think it will help we’ll fund reconstruction efforts, strengthen civil society, and build up the social services that can cut off local support for terrorist organizations. Whatever we do, though, we’ll definitely stop bombing you, flying our drones overhead, terrorizing your people, and destabilizing your society. Not because it’s wrong, though it most certainly is. And not because it undermines our own supposed goals, though it most certainly does, making our country more, not less, likely to be attacked. But because after Boston, we now have some idea of what it’s like.

Will Travers heads the NYC-based band non-profit Lokakshi, which works to promote peace and social justice through collective action. An earlier version of this article originally appeared at WagingNonviolence.org.
The Democratic Party Eats Itself

By Eric Laursen

When Barack Obama sent Congress his proposed annual budget on April 10, he became the first Democratic president to advocate cutting Social Security benefits. It was a momentous turning point for the Democratic Party, now controlled by a business and professional elite convinced that to survive as a brand, the party must serve as executioner of the social contract that created that brand to begin with.

But the story actually began earlier this year, when the Obama administration and congressional Democrats agreed to a deal that rescued the vast majority of the Bush tax cuts from imminent expiration and made them permanent. In return, they got a temporary extension of unemployment benefits, a two-month delay of sequestration and extension of child care and tuition tax credits. All quite nice, but small potatoes and nothing that Washington couldn’t easily scuttle at some point in the near future.

The Republicans, by contrast, got something of inestimable value, something they had been fighting for a decade to consummate. Crucially, only nine of the 77 members of the House Progressive Caucus voted against the bill, encouraging the White House that it could go further and making clear to voters from working households that their ability to hold their alleged champions in line is fading.

Now, it’s happening again, via the president’s budget. This time, the deal is for another $680 billion in revenues over 10 years, to be accomplished by limiting tax breaks. This is calculated to please Washington—Wall Street deficit hawks by raising Obama’s 10-year deficit reduction total to $4.3 trillion. One ingredient is especially troubling—the “chained CPI,” a revised Consumer Price Index that would be used to calculate— the “chained CPI,” a revised Consumer

The chained CPI erodes the principle that Social Security should provide an adequate income for the elderly. From now on, this will be something not to be honored, but finessed—a game that Washington today is all too prepared to play. As Salon.com’s Blake Zeff reminds us,

The first cut to popular, essential programs is always the most difficult; once it’s been done, and that too is in the water, there’s the concern that future reductions could be more easily achieved. That’s why the symbolism of a Democratic president attaching his name to—and owning—the cuts is so controversial and worrying for liberals. How hard would it be for Republicans to push future cuts through, when this is now a mainstream Democratic policy?

Obama is proposing to surrender the Democratic Party’s birthright—its stewardship of Social Security, the capstone of the New Deal and the foundation of working Americans’ party loyalty, or what remains of it.

Calling For Greater Sacrifice From Those Who Can Least Afford It

The People’s Pen-

Social Security is going to be saved in some form of collective support against the innate violence of capitalism.

If Social Security is going to be saved from the chained CPI and any number of other destructive gimmicks, the tool that does the job will not be lawmakers’ ability to forge creative compromises, but the power of our imaginations to conceive of something better—something that puts a scare into those lawmakers. As Che Guevara said, “Be reasonable. Demand the impossible.” Otherwise, all we’ll ever get is another bad deal.

Eric Laursen is author of The People’s Pension: The Struggle to Defend Social Security Since Reagan (AK Press). An earlier version of this article originally appeared at firedoglake.com.

$10 - All Proceeds Go To The Indypendent

DANCE PARTY

DJ STYLUS DJ SHAKEY

SATURDAY

MAY 4

9 PM - 3 AM

STARR ST STUDIOS

207 STARR ST

BUSHWICK*

*L TO JEFFERSON OR JM TO MYRTLE

THE INDYPENDENT MAY 1 – MAY 31, 2013

SOCIAL SECURITY
IMMIGRATION REFORM

Shaping the U.S. of the 21st Century

By Juan González

At stake in the immigration reform battle is what America will look like in the 21st century. It will decide who is in the country legitimately, and who will be legitimately allowed to come into the country over the next several decades. It’s not the first kind of battle of its kind. The most recent immigration reform bill, passed in 1986, wasn’t fully comprehensive. And before that, there were huge immigration battles in the 1960s, in the 1920s and even further back in the 1880s.

The devil is always in the details when it comes to legislation. The bipartisan group working on the Senate bill — dubbed the “Gang of Eight” and comprising Democratic Senators Michael Bennet, Dick Durbin, Robert Menendez and Chuck Schumer, and as well as Republicans Jeff Flake, Lindsey Graham, John McCain and Marco Rubio — released their proposal on April 17. But no matter what we know so far about the proposal of the Gang of Eight, there will be a separate bill adopted in the House of Representatives. It will undoubtedly be far weaker than what the Gang of Eight came up with in the Senate, and those bills will then have to be reconciled and then signed into law by the president.

This is only the beginning of what will be a long process that will go on through the spring and summer and probably into the fall. What we now know about this so-called Senate compromise bill is that it’s going to be heavy on border security. It will delay the process by which those who are undocumented in the country will be able to establish their legal status, and even citizenship, a minimum of 10 years. So in the first few years of the bill there will be beefed-up border security, more requirements and more spending by the government, which already spends by the government, which already

FEAR OF THE FOREIGNER

The United States is a nation of immigrants, but federal immigration laws have frequently been marked by a deep aversion toward new arrivals.

1882 - THE IMMIGRATION ACT - The first comprehensive federal immigration law called for the return of convicts, “idiots,” “lunatics” and persons unable to care for themselves to their countries of origin. The new federal system was funded by a tax of fifty cents on each immigrant. In the same year, Congress approved the Chinese Exclusion Act, which effectively ended Chinese immigration to the United States for 80 years.

1891 - THE IMMIGRATION ACT - The 1891 Immigration Act amended the 1882 act to also exclude immigrants considered to be polygamists, to have contagious diseases, and those “likely to become a public charge.” It also called for the deportation of persons who fit these categories within one year of their entry. A congressional report at the time concluded that, “at least 50 percent of the criminals, insane and paupers of our largest cities ... are of foreign birth.”

1917 - IMMIGRATION ACT - This law introduced for the first time a post-entry criminal conduct basis for deportation. It called for otherwise legal residents to be deported if they committed “a crime involving moral turpitude” within five years of their arrival. The Supreme Court upheld this language in 1951, ruling that it is not “void for vagueness” and it remains in use.

1921 - EMERGENCY QUOTA ACT - This was the first immigration law that established a quota system based on nationality. It limited immigrants who could be admitted from any country to 3 percent of the number of persons from that country living in the United States based on the 1910 census.

1952 - THE IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY ACT - Passed at the height of the McCarthy Era, this measure organized immigration into the United States and included harsh provisions that limited judicial review of deportation cases and eliminated many statutes of limitation for deportation. It was co-authored by Rep. Francis Walter, who argued that “thousands of criminals and subversives are running the streets, a continuing threat to the safety of our people.” The House and Senate passed the bill overwhelmingly, but President Truman vetoed it as “unconstitutionally severe.” His veto was overridden.

1965 - THE IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY ACT - This measure kind of minimum wages will you be subject to? The same thing will apply for the farm workers.

Right now there are about 8,500,000 people allowed into the country every year under professional, skilled or scientific visas, the H-1B workers. The business community and Silicon Valley want to eliminate all caps on these visas and bring in as many highly educated people as possible. They want to change American immigration from “Give me your poor, your hungry, your huddled masses yearning to be free,” to “Give me your well-educated, those who can afford to pay either to come to a graduate school in the United States to get a quick visa into the country for permanent status or who can just basically pay their way into the country,” and so, “Give me your affluent and your well-educated.” If the proposed Senate bill is passed, they may get their wish: the bill lifts the current cap on H-1B visas to 110,000, and that number is permitted to rise to as high as 180,000 in future years; it also increases the number of STEM field exemptions from the cap to 25,000. The numbers that are decided on in the final bill will have a real impact on what future immigration flow into the country will look like.

There are also small side issues, such as the several thousand children that are now in foster care because their parent were deported. They are American citizens. When the final bill is signed, will their parents be allowed to come back into the country to reunite with them?

This immigration bill is not only about undocumented immigrants, but also about these other questions. The bill that ultimately passed into law will determine the future composition of the United States in the 21st century.

This article was adapted from an April 11 appearance by the author on Democracy Now (democracynow.org).

Adapted from "Deportation Nation: A Timeline Of Immigrant Criminalization" by Renée Feltz and Stokely Baksh, Deportation Nation.org.
Dreaming Out Loud

PHOTOS AND TEXT BY MICHAEL GOULD-WARTOFFSKY

The New York State Youth Leadership Council is an organization of, by and for undocumented youth. Like their counterparts in other states, its members have broken through the fear that has gripped immigrant communities in recent years by “coming out” in public as “undocumented and unafraid.” In the process, they have wrought a movement that has helped put immigration reform back on the map and forced both major parties to express support for the DREAM Act — federal legislation that would make it easier for undocumented youth, known as “Dreamers,” to attend college and earn a path to citizenship. During March, the YLC celebrated its fourth annual “Coming Out of the Shadows Month.” NYC events included a series of “UndocuMics,” writing workshops, and a Coming Out Rally (see photos below) in Union Square on March 28.

DIANA EUSEBIO

Diana Eusebio came to this country when she was six, along with her two older brothers and her father, soon after the death of her mother in Mexico. She grew up in Florida, until Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) and its Secure Communities program tore her family apart: “My brother was stopped in Florida for driving without a license. And, because of Secure Communities, he was sent to an ICE immigration facility, and he was deported.”

After her brother’s deportation, Diana moved to New York, where she enrolled in the Hostos Lincoln Academy of Science in the Bronx and quickly joined the undocumented student movement. Diana cites her older brother as her inspiration for coming out, telling her story and sharing her struggles as an undocumented immigrant. “He didn’t have the chance to come out to tell his story,” she says, so “I am the one advocating for my family. I am telling my story, their story, our story, because he didn’t have the chance to.”

LEYDI BAUTISTA LA VOZ

Leydi Bautista La Voz left her hometown in the state of Puebla, Mexico when she was eight. “I am proud of my roots, no matter what,” she says. Together with her mother and two brothers, she came to this country without papers. From her very first day at school, she felt she was targeted for being an immigrant. “It was very painful. I knew I didn’t belong here.” But Leydi, now 20 and a mother of two, has not let her undocumented status keep her back. Alongside the New York State Youth Leadership Council, she also works with the National Latina Institute for Reproductive Health. Pointing to her two young boys, Josue and Henry, Leydi insists, “They are the reason I want to say, ‘It’s enough. It’s time.’ I deserve to have the right to go to college so I can give a better future to them. Yes, I am a young mom, but that doesn’t make me garbage. I am worth it.”

NERIEL DAVID PONCÉ

Neriel David Poncé immigrated to this country from the Philippines when he was only 5 years old. “My family came here, they worked their asses off,” he recounts, adding, “I don’t want to see them go.” Neriel (pictured right, holding sign) didn’t learn about his own legal status until it came time to apply for college. He speaks of “the heartbreaking moment” for students like him, “when they find out they don’t have any means to pay for college, or any help from the government.”

Neriel is now in his senior year of high school. He hopes to continue his studies, and has been accepted to SUNY, CUNY, and private schools alike — but, he says, “I can’t afford any of this.” In spite of his personal struggles, Neriel aspires to be “a voice to others out there. To reach out to them. To find hope, and to fight for this cause.” To this end, he has helped organize a group called Revolutionizing Asian-American Immigrant Stories on the East Coast (or RAISE), a youth-led group that aims to empower undocumented Asian students “to share their struggles and find a voice amid the culture of silence.” What we need now, he says, is “for the students to be heard.”

PERCY LUJAN

Percy Lujan arrived in the US at the age of 11, along with his family, in search of “better economic opportunities” than they had found in the wake of the U.S.-backed dictatorship in Peru. “I knew from the get-go that I was undocumented,” he remembers. Unlike most undocumented youth in New York, however, Percy was eventually able to win a full scholarship to Lehman College, in the Bronx. “Most of the smart people that we see in college are very lucky,” he says. “Many of the smart people we know are working...as dishwashers or busboys...as housekeepers or babysitters.”

When Percy got to Lehman, he helped found a campus group that advocates for undocumented students, as he came to realize that “rights are not granted to us... We have to fight for them.” He vows to continue this fight once he gets legal status: “I don’t think my struggles are unique...I think they are part of a bigger movement for justice. I won’t stop until everyone has liberty and justice.”

For more about the New York State Youth Leadership Council, see www.nysylc.org.
NYC IMMIGRANT RIGHTS STRUGGLES SINCE 9/11

Text by Michael Gould-Wartofsky
Graphic by Mikiel Torkela

2001

2002

2003

2004

2005

2006

2007

2008

2009

2010

2011

2012

2013

FRIENDS & NEIGHBORS

FIGHTING FOR A PLACE TO CALL HOME

The anti-detention movement, which has put a stop to the special registration program in 2003, and provisions for the invasion of Iraq, the Department of Homeland Security announced Operation Liberty, authorizing the detention of asylum seekers and the immigration of immigrants from Iraq and 33 other countries.

Meanwhile, legislation in New York City and New Jersey, and the Department of Corrections was implemented to investigate the immigration status of arrestees and to disclose their immigration status to ICE. Following a mass arrest, the mayor is forced to revise the order later that year but leaves plenty of its most harmful provisions in place.

The Secure Communities Initiative, in which primarily Muslim countries are apprehended, is a “stop and frisk” of all Muslims in the city. The New York City Police Department, Domestic Workers United once the first Euro-District Workers Bill of Rights,ICE stepped up its deportation efforts for this largely immigrant workforce in NYC. The Restaurant Opportunities Center organized toward right to work and millions of dollars in unpaid wages. The NY City Immigration Co-op, working to win a living wage and a safer workplace, is just one of the many organizations that have emerged to demand equal access to the general education, including in-state tuition and tuition assistance for those who cannot afford to go to college. Healing has been working around the issue since 2001, but the broadening of the TLC makes a new chapter in the history of the movement. Beginning in 2001, the Dems advance at the state and local level, with the promise that it will make small affordable and affordable to the “billionaire.” But this effort is located in the national bloc in the Senate. In 2000, Democrats from both sides of the aisle supported the passage of the Antiterrorism and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005 (H.R. 4111), which includes a path to legalizing the status quo of exclusion and exploitation.

The anti-immigrant right rallies around the Border Protection, Alien Registration, and Anti-Terrorism Act of 2005, which includes a path to legalization of immigrants and their supporters. Some immigrant rights advocates ally with business interests and rally around the Border Protection, Alien Registration, and Anti-Terrorism Act of 2005, which includes a path to legalization of immigrants and their supporters.

The anti-immigrant right rallies around the Border Protection, Alien Registration, and Anti-Terrorism Act of 2005, which includes a path to legalization of immigrants and their supporters. Some immigrant rights advocates rally around the Border Protection, Alien Registration, and Anti-Terrorism Act of 2005, which includes a path to legalization of immigrants and their supporters.

The anti-immigrant right rallies around the Border Protection, Alien Registration, and Anti-Terrorism Act of 2005, which includes a path to legalization of immigrants and their supporters. Some immigrant rights advocates ally with business interests and rally around the Border Protection, Alien Registration, and Anti-Terrorism Act of 2005, which includes a path to legalization of immigrants and their supporters.

The anti-immigrant right rallies around the Border Protection, Alien Registration, and Anti-Terrorism Act of 2005, which includes a path to legalization of immigrants and their supporters. Some immigrant rights advocates ally with business interests and rally around the Border Protection, Alien Registration, and Anti-Terrorism Act of 2005, which includes a path to legalization of immigrants and their supporters.

The anti-immigrant right rallies around the Border Protection, Alien Registration, and Anti-Terrorism Act of 2005, which includes a path to legalization of immigrants and their supporters. Some immigrant rights advocates rally around the Border Protection, Alien Registration, and Anti-Terrorism Act of 2005, which includes a path to legalization of immigrants and their supporters.

The anti-immigrant right rallies around the Border Protection, Alien Registration, and Anti-Terrorism Act of 2005, which includes a path to legalization of immigrants and their supporters. Some immigrant rights advocates ally with business interests and rally around the Border Protection, Alien Registration, and Anti-Terrorism Act of 2005, which includes a path to legalization of immigrants and their supporters. Some immigrant rights advocates rally around the Border Protection, Alien Registration, and Anti-Terrorism Act of 2005, which includes a path to legalization of immigrants and their supporters.
By Marti Kirkner

BERGENFIELD, New Jersey — Raynaldo gets up every morning at 6:00 a.m. to catch a bus going 12 miles from West New York, N.J. to an alleyway behind a police station in Bergenfield. By 7:30 a.m. he finds himself alongside other recent immigrants from Guatemala and Mexico hoping to find a job for the day. Work has been hard to find since the collapse of the housing market in 2007. But the United Patriots of America has not.

Every Saturday morning for the past seven years, the UPA — which models itself after the same name at the national level — has been holding rallies in Dumont, a neighboring borough just across the street from the hiring site where Raynaldo and others gather. As many as 15 UPA members regularly assemble at these rallies. They wave U.S. and Arizona flags, carry signs that scapegoat immigrants for the country’s economic woes, and record videos of immigrants seeking work and the employers who hire them. Local police routinely drive through the hiring site in unmarked cars to try to find standing outside the city-designated hiring site.

“I don’t like the protesters because they always see us as not producing value, but we produce a lot of value for this country economically,” says Raynaldo. “If there were no day laborers, or no immigrants then the country economy would go down.”

“The image I have is of what America looked like in the 1960s in the South,” says Jean Gratien, an immigrant from Rwanda who volunteers with a group that provides English lessons, coffee and sandwiches to the day laborers.

CHANGING DEMOGRAPHICS

Bergenfield is a suburb of 26,000 people located ten miles outside New York City. While the majority of borough’s residents. Rapidly growing Asian and Hispanic populations have helped reverse decades of population decline in Bergenfield and the surrounding area while stoking the concerns of some locals about Bergen County’s changing complexion.

“You have a lot of the population that is really aging,” explains Bonnie Strain, a resident in Dumont. “A lot of these workers — the ones I spoke to the other day — are busy doing additions, updating in people’s houses.”

The tense stand-off that has been unfolding in Bergenfield for much of the past decade is emblematic of national trends that have made smaller communities like this one central to the struggle over the future of the United States’ 11 million undocumented immigrants.

Since the 1990s, new immigrants, often following jobs in construction and the food industry, have been settling in growing numbers in suburban cities and rural towns, as well as across the South and Southwest. The wave of undocumented migrants that had experienced sharp increases of new immigrants over the past two decades.

In the same way that angry whites initiated local battles against mandatory school busing in the 1970s that provided fodder for a larger post-civil rights era backlash, this wave of local anti-immigrant initiatives had an outsized impact as Washington-based politicians raced to stay ahead of public support for stricter, more punitive policies.

The меня on so many workers who were accustomed to living alongside people who looked and spoke like they did.

When longtime anti-immigrant groups like the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) used the post-9/11 backlash against foreigners to launch attacks on immigrants, their nativist rhetoric fell on fertile ground. In late 2005, House Republicans pushed legislation, known as the Sensenbrenner Bill, that would mandate a felony — as opposed to a civil violation — to reside in the U.S. as an undocumented immigrant or to hire or assist one. The draconian measure sparked a massive response from immigrant communities across the nation. In the spring of 2006, a rolling series of protests that culminated on May Day saw an estimated 3 to 5 million people take to the streets in over 160 cities and towns in the largest series of mass demonstrations in U.S. history.

NATIVISM GOES LOCAL

The Sensenbrenner Bill was dropped, but the mass mobilizations of 2006 soon turned out to be a high water mark for the immigrant rights movement. A surge in military-style workplace and predicate home raids conducted under the aegis of the Department of Homeland Security drove many undocumented immigrants back into the shadows. As author Juan Gonzalez writes in Harvest of Empire: A History of Latinos in America, it was “the most extensive government campaign of roundups and deportations since the days of Operation Wetback in the 1950s. Nearly 900,000 people were deported by ICE from 2006 to 2008 — nearly three times the number removed from 2001 to 2003.”

Following the defeat of the Sensenbrenner Bill in 2006, and with the onset of the Great Recession, conservative towns and cities throughout the country — with the support of the Bush administration — began to activate 287(g), a program that trains and deploys local police officers to act as immigration agents and create an immigration dragnet. Later, the Obama administration would implement a 50-state roll out of Secure Communities, a program that relies on biometric identification technology that allows local police to check the fingerprints of anyone stopped.

Southern Poverty Law Center, “most of the country. They shape the terms of the current debate over immigration reform in Congress.

“I think it is important to recognize that protests and attacks on day laborers and the attempts, both legislative and grassroots, to limit their access to paying jobs is part of a larger effort to limit the ability for all immigrants, both documented and undocumented, to seek work,” says Aaron Flanagan of the Center for New Community. “It is a material manifestation of the doctrine of self-deportation, or attrition through enforcement.”

SOLIDARITY IN ACTION

In 2007, a coalition of anti-racist, pro-immigrant and socialist groups from New Jersey and New York began to hold counter-protests against the UPA. At the time, spirited rallies of as many as 100 people took place.

“When there are organizations that want to defend the rights of immigrants it gives me a great feeling that we are not alone, that there are people who are not racist, who are on our side. It is a great motivation to continue and persevere,” says Raynaldo.

Unfortunately, the momentum to support the day laborers has waned over the years while the UPA has continued its weekly protests. On March 2, nine members of the Independent Workers’ Movement, a New York City-based network of day laborers, domestic workers and street vendors, joined over 30 day laborers in Bergenfield in a live protest against the continued presence of UPA.

Such events bolster the morale of embattled day laborers. They also send a message to area residents that immigrant bashing is misguided and not worthy of their support, which is why these kinds of visible solidarity actions need to become much more common.

Day laborers in Bergenfield have also begun meeting with IWM and are organizing to finally end the harassment they face from UPA.

The counter-mobilization against immigrant rights feeds off fear and ignorance and is centered in state and local areas outside of urban strongholds like New York, Los Angeles and Chicago. This often unfamil- iar terrain, the home turf of anti-immigrant forces, is where immigrant rights support- ers need to be going on the offensive and contesting right-wing narratives. Only by changing hearts and minds at the grassroots level and isolating far-right nativists can we begin to shift the political establishment’s fixation away from punishment and toward a more humane approach to immigration reform.

Marti Kirkner is a member of the Independent Workers’ Movement.
A Day Laborer Says, ‘We Deserve the Chance to Become Full Members of the Society We Contribute to Every Day’

By Roberto Meneses

I am an undocumented day laborer in Queens who has worked in this country for almost 20 years. I do hard, dangerous jobs on construction sites such as demolition or carrying out the trash, when I can get any work at all. I have known many men who have been killed in workplace accidents or who have become gravely ill from breathing in dust due to a lack of adequate protective equipment.

We deserve the chance to become full members of the society we contribute to every day. For the past decade, I have heard much in the media about a possible immigration reform law. But, I have learned not to believe it.

In the early 2000s, there was talk of the United States and Mexico reaching a comprehensive deal to legalize all undocumented immigrants in return for a free trade deal that would allow private investment in Pemex, Mexico’s state-owned oil company. Those talks fell apart after 9/11.

During his 2004 re-election campaign, President George W. Bush once again raised hopes of immigration reform to woo the Latino vote, but it was an empty promise.

In 2006, we went out into the streets by the millions and our demands continued to be ignored. President Barack Obama won the Hispanic vote in 2008 by promising that in his first 100 days as president, he would put forth comprehensive immigration reform. Once in office, he said he was too busy dealing with the economic crisis to work on immigration reform.

Today, in Obama’s second term as President, the House of Representatives failed to pass a comprehensive immigration reform bill. In 2014, President Obama once again promised immigration reform in his State of the Union address, but he failed to deliver.

The distrust that I feel comes from observing two successive presidential administrations, one Republican and the other Democrat. They speak from both sides of their mouth. From one side they spew words of legalization, but on the other side they generate more anti-immigration laws, increase deportations, build detention centers and jails, and pour more investments into the policing the border.

A Day Laborer Says, ‘We Deserve the Chance to Become Full Members of the Society We Contribute to Every Day’

By Roberto Meneses

I am an undocumented day laborer in Queens who has worked in this country for almost 20 years. I do hard, dangerous jobs on construction sites such as demolition or carrying out the trash, when I can get any work at all. I have known many men who have been killed in workplace accidents or who have become gravely ill from breathing in dust due to a lack of adequate protective equipment.

We deserve the chance to become full members of the society we contribute to every day. For the past decade, I have heard much in the media about a possible immigration reform law. But, I have learned not to believe it.

In the early 2000s, there was talk of the United States and Mexico reaching a comprehensive deal to legalize all undocumented immigrants in return for a free trade deal that would allow private investment in Pemex, Mexico’s state-owned oil company. Those talks fell apart after 9/11.

During his 2004 re-election campaign, President George W. Bush once again raised hopes of immigration reform to woo the Latino vote, but it was an empty promise.

In 2006, we went out into the streets by the millions and our demands continued to be ignored. President Barack Obama won the Hispanic vote in 2008 by promising that in his first 100 days as president, he would put forth comprehensive immigration reform. Once in office, he said he was too busy dealing with the economic crisis to work on immigration reform.

Today, in Obama’s second term as President, the House of Representatives failed to pass a comprehensive immigration reform bill. In 2014, President Obama once again promised immigration reform in his State of the Union address, but he failed to deliver.

The distrust that I feel comes from observing two successive presidential administrations, one Republican and the other Democrat. They speak from both sides of their mouth. From one side they spew words of legalization, but on the other side they generate more anti-immigration laws, increase deportations, build detention centers and jails, and pour more investments into the policing the border.

I am over 45 years old, as are many of the people I work with in construction. And it appears increasingly likely that we will not live long enough to be legalized. This is unjust. After almost two decades in this country, there are a couple of things I have learned: Firstly, don’t trust the politicians, and secondly, it will only be through our own ability to organize and collectively fight for our rights that we will see improvements in our lives.

Roberto Meneses is the president of Day Laborers United (Jornaleros Unidos). Translation by Gustavo Medina.
Speakers:
Bill Fletcher, Jr.
John Bellamy Foster
Nancy Holmstrom
Peter Kuznick
Catherine Mulder
Tadzio Müller
Donna Murch
Leo Panitch
Christian Parenti
Michael Spourdalakis
Jill Stein
Immanuel Wallerstein
...and one thousand more

Speakers by:
Noam Chomsky
Vice President of Bolivia
Alvaro García Linera

Saturday Night Event:
Oliver Stone
Hundreds of panels, films and a book fair; come see the Indypendent’s table on the main floor

Left Forum brings together organizers, intellectuals and the public from across the globe to share ideas for understanding and transforming the world.

Pace University, NYC
June 7–9
Register online or at the door
www.lefforum.org
212-817-2002
IT’S 2037 — A QUARTER CENTURY AFTER HURRICANE SANDY. NEW YORK CITY IS BATTERED BY STORMS AND RIVEN BY SOCIAL CONFLICT AS A POWERFUL BUT FLAWED MASS MOVEMENT SEARCHES FOR SOLUTIONS TO A CLIMATE CRISIS IT DID NOT CREATE.

“IT’S THE END OF THE WORLD,” they yelled and raised their hands as the music reached into their bodies, driving them with the fear and rage they felt since hearing about the storm. Muhammad saw couples grope and kiss, break apart and latch limbs with new partners. A man thrust a bottle of rum to his mouth and Muhammad gulped the spirit that hit his gut like a sunrise.

“Happy End of the World buddy,” he bellowed. Muhammad gave him a wobbly salute, stepped out of the dancing and picked up the scattered flyers on the ground. Walking away from the street party, he read the pamphlets that repeated the headline on every news site — SUPERSTORM TO HIT CITY. More flyers like the white color painting. He saw again the past slid in his mind like a water balloon. Memories of his first supermarket, Muhammad felt like he was floating through an old-school screen, a temperature-scale map of the earth turned from blue and green to yellow and red. It looked like the planet was catching fire, like it was a hot coal burning.

He remembered flipping through textbooks, diving into science, seeing the wind that blew on his face as the exhalte of plants and trees, seeing it driven across the planet in a jet stream, seeing it knot into giant whirlpools in the sky that landed on earth in hurricanes that ripped apart homes. And the warmer the planet, he saw, the more violent the storms. A genealogy of disaster stretched before him — Hurricane Katrina and Sandy and then in 2020 was Hurricane Oscar, the first Category Three storm to hit New York.

The memories became vivid and more torrential, like someone was pouring them into his head. In 2020, Hurricane Oscar churned the sky, clouds like bowling balls smashed into the city; rain nee-dled his face when he poked his head outside. After the storm he waded in the dark rivers flowing through the streets. He climbed a submerged car and sat on the roof, which was just above the water. Sitting on top he listened to birds chirping in the silence as if it was after the biblical flood. And then people emerged, shocked and weeping at their destroyed city.

For weeks after the storm, hundreds of bodies were found, home-less people stranded in the street, elderly stranded in the homes and those too brave or too foolish to stay inside.

Long lines stretched around supermarkets, Muhammad remembered his mom getting into a tug-of-war with another woman over a basket of groceries. At the height of the panic, he got a text from friends — SAVE THE CITY, SAVE THE PLANET: MASS MEETING ON CAMPUS. When he arrived, he saw hundreds of people in the auditorium: activists, environmentalists, doctors, nurses, a few retired cops and firefighters. They created a com-mand structure, broke into groups and fanned out across the city to coordinate food and gas delivery and erect cell phone charging sta-tions, and everyone wore a green arm band.

The movement didn’t have a name — just action. Muhammad remembered the beautiful joy at bringing food to people aban-doned by the city, by FEMA, and the people went when he and the others came with groceries. New York was without power for two weeks and the last night of dark.
ness, he climbed the stairs of a tall apartment building, knocking on doors. In one he heard a soft moan, knocked louder but nothing, then another moan. He slammed the door until it broke open, went in and saw a skeletal old man on the floor, his face gaunt, eyes wide and swirling with yellow, bleeding silently for food and water. Muhammad called 911 for help, cradled the man’s head, opened a can of soup and fed him. The man turned and moved out of it like lava. They shouted that it played into ruling-class aesthetics. She shot back, “And violent political rhetoric is the aesthetic of the future ruling class.” Muhammad grew with the movement. He remembered when it got real activists, elected politicians couldn’t handle it. A tax was levied on Wall Street to fund climate change “proofing” the city. The thousands of new employees with unimagined added organizational muscle. A carbon tax was levied on industries and that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant and blamed the ruling class. The Free Earth Movement, the more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid. The more they squeezed the rich, the more jobs. Each new election meant that money was used to green the energy grid.
So how is our merry band of self-righteous fascists?

“We're not fascists,” he grumbled, “We're not scapegoating an ethnic group, we're not targeting people; we are trying to destroy a system.”

“And the people in that system,” she asked, one eyebrow raised, “What happens to them?”

Shouting rang in the street, they looked up and through the billowing cloth they saw a few hundred people marching by, arms upraised, making the scissor-like motion as they chanted, “Cut, cut, cut.”

“A marcher jogged to the art insta-llation, peeked in as Muham-
mad raised his arms and made the cutting gesture. The Free Earther nodded, making the scissor-like motion as they chanted, ‘Cut, cut, cut.’

Looking through the billowing cloth, they saw a few hundred people marching by, arms upraised, making the scissor-like motion as they chanted ‘Cut, cut, cut.’

“What do you want to say to her?”

“That I'm sorry,” Muhammad felt every weight inside snap, every unnamable force gush out, “I'm sorry for treating her mother so bad, I'm sorry for letting our family fall apart.” Ooni held him as he talked then mumbled and fell asleep. He reeked of rum. His face twisted into one of the seats in the tugboat as it went to The Wall. His gut bobbed up and down as the boat heaved through choppy waves. He dialed his daughter's number, hung up, dialed again and hung up again. Ahead was the Verazzano Surge Wall, rising above him like series of smaller sea walls that come down like giant teeth and its individual walls screens to see the long surge barrier close, its individual walls come down like giant teeth and its swinging gates snap shut. The last of the large ships passed through, already Rocking on breaking waves when the lights cut out and night fell like a curtain over the city.

Continued on page 19

LABOR STUDIES

Master's Degree and Certificate Programs

It's not about profit margins. It's about people.

INFO SESSION DATES

May 14th • June 12th

6:15 - 7:30pm at The Murphy Institute, 25 West 43rd Street, 18th Floor, New York City

CUNY The Murphy Institute School of Professional Studies

212.642.2055 sps.cuny.edu/laborchange

THE INDEPENDENT MAY 1 – MAY 31, 2013
CELEBRATING 20 years
SERVING MANHATTAN

Is it really Free? The answer is simply “yes.” Manhattan Neighborhood Network has been serving the Manhattan community with FREE access to video equipment for over 15 years. We only thrive if Manhattan Residents use our FREE equipment.

Don’t know how to use it? We also have FREE Final Cut Studio Classes. All you have to do is bring in proof that you live in Manhattan!

MNN
537 West 59th Street | www.mnn.org | 212-757-2670 x312 | Facebook + Twitter

*For Manhattan Residents ONLY
The Storm
Continued from page 17

BREAKDOWN
“What the fuck happened,” they shouted back and forth on the intercom. Muhammad watched as the tugboats lit the harbor with their lights. The bright beams slipped over The Wall, which was wide open as the power failure stalled the gates. Dark hills of sea water poured in and pounded the wetlands and sprayed the buildings of lower Manhattan. In the blackout, New York looked like a series of dark cathedrals.

RADIO FEVER
“Cut, cut, cut,” the man repeated on the radio. Ooni turned it off and leaned out of her window. Next door, a couple put their radio on the windowsill and cranked up the volume, “Cut, cut, cut.” A police car shot through the street below, lights spinning, then another, then four of them all at once, lights spinning, and a police car shot through the street.

WAVES
Rain hammered them. Steering the tugboat through sliding hills of sea water, Muhammad yanked the tugboat through sliding hills of sea water. Muhammad yanked the tugboat through sliding hills of sea water, Muhammad yanked the tugboat through sliding hills of sea water.

And then darkness hit. Muhammad spun as the cold weight of water filled him. Flashing against the blackness he saw his daughter, wearing his hat, holding a walkie-talkie and ordering him to breathe. “I can’t, I can’t breathe honey — he thought.

THE FIRE NEXT TIME
The day after the storm, Ooni watched candles waver in windows; in the shadows people passed, faces lit by flashlights as they pointed at buildings.

Diego Ibanez is an organizer with Occupy Sandy.
Heroic WikiLeaks whistle-blower faces life in prison

RALLY FOR BRADLEY MANNING!
SATURDAY, JUNE 1, 1pm @ FORT MEADE (Main Gate), MD
Buses from New York City, Washington DC & Baltimore
www.bradleymanning.org  #savebradley  510.488.3559