A water protector stands her ground near the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation in North Dakota.
SHUT IT DOWN!

The Indypendent is a terrible, terrible newspaper, way worse than the failing New York Times. It not only says mean things about me all the time, but every month it writes about greedy unions, lazy tenant groups, Black Lives Matter, and professional protesters. They can’t write a kind word for America’s hardworking CEOs? Its beautiful oil and gas companies, impeccable police and gorgeous landlords like me? Sad!

I could put this paper out of business on Day One, but why should I bother? I’ve declared bankruptcy four times, so I know if you don’t have the money to pay your bills, you’re in serious trouble.

The Indy doesn’t have millions of dollars like my friends at Breitbart and Fox who are telling the world how great I am. It relies on contributions from readers like you to cover their budget just like Bernie trying to run for president on $27 donations — Pathetic!!

They’ve crawled along for 16 years, but not anymore. This year, readers like you who are in shock over my awesome victory won’t send them money. Then, they will be gone. Poof! No more Indy. Won’t be able to pay its rent or keep the lights on or pay its mealy staff. No more dough to say terrible, terrible things about me.

Now I’m not one to gloat. In fact, people tell me all the time how humble I am. But if The Indy is severely hobbled by lack of reader support or even went out of business, I say that’s a wonderful thing. Who needs their “facts”? Facts are stupid. And what the hell is social justice? Solidarity? Why should anyone want to write about that? Here’s a real news story: My steaks are delicious! The most succulent cuts of flash frozen Angus Beef you’ll find anywhere. Why don’t they write an article about that?

If you want real news, follow me on Twitter! Don’t waste your time with these losers.

Think about it this way: For $100 you can help The Indy print 1000 copies. For the same amount you can buy a brass Make America Great Again Christmas Ornament finished in 24-karat gold. Give $50 and you’ll sponsor 500 editions of The Indy. Or else, you can purchase a gift set of my cologne, Success By Trump. So what do you say folks? Inhale my musky essence, gaze upon my shiny holiday bric-a-brac or support an independent newspaper? I trust your decision will be in line with the winning spirit of Christmas.

Your Totally Awesome President-Elect,

Donald J. Trump

FOR DISSENTING VIEWS (YES, THEY ARE STILL ALLOWED, AT LEAST FOR NOW) ON WHETHER TO SUPPORT THE INDY DURING ITS ANNUAL YEAR-END FUND DRIVE, SEE PAGE 23 AND THE BACK PAGE.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Summary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>The Standing Rock Vision</td>
<td>Peter Rugh</td>
<td>At the dawn of the Trump-era, there are many lessons to be learned from the Standing Rock water protectors and the veterans who came to their defense.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Selling Out Our Children</td>
<td>Leonie Haimson</td>
<td>Trump’s pick for Secretary of Education is a billionaire who wants to do for America what she did for Michigan — dismantle its public schools.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Here Comes Trump</td>
<td>Indypendent Staff</td>
<td>From the richest cabinet in presidential history to Seattle’s neighborhood action councils, catch up on the latest news of Trump’s transition to power.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>The Rise of the Far Right</td>
<td>Linda Martín Alcoff &amp; José Martín</td>
<td>In the United States and around the globe the politics of hate are becoming hipsterized and respectable. Time to organize and fight back.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>In Immigrant Communities, Knowledge is Power</td>
<td>Renée Feltz</td>
<td>Advocates are holding teach-ins across New York City to help undocumented immigrants know their rights and prepare for the threat of Trump.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Trouble on Campus</td>
<td>Astha Rajvanshi</td>
<td>Long-time African American studies professor, Mark Naison, ran afoul of administrators at Fordham University for his anti-racist Facebook posts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Immigrants at Sea</td>
<td>Leanne Tory-Murphy</td>
<td>West African migrants are fleeing war and dictatorship in droves, but when they reach European cities like Palermo, Italy their struggles are far from over.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Brick-by-Brick</td>
<td>Nicholas Powers</td>
<td>Trump was elected on the promise of a wall but walls already abound all around us as well as inside ourselves. Time to tear them down.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>The Life and Contradictions of El Comandante</td>
<td>Steven Wishnia</td>
<td>A look at the life and legacy of the man who founded a socialist state on a tiny island in the backyard of the most powerful capitalist country on earth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Cook’s Rebellion</td>
<td>Peter Rugh</td>
<td>In today’s busy-busy culture there are few things more radical than cooking a simple meal for friends and loved ones. Indy readers share their recipes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Celebrating LGBTQ Culture</td>
<td>Gena Hymowech</td>
<td>A new exhibition presents a sweeping assemblage of contributions to film, art and theater from gay gothamites throughout modern history.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Blue in the Moonlight</td>
<td>Mark Read</td>
<td>Barry Jenkins’ Moonlight is an unflinching look at young black men whose lives are profoundly shaped by external forces that brutally limit their agency.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Reverend Billy’s Revelations</td>
<td></td>
<td>This month the good reverend tackles reader’s questions regarding holiday shopping, seasonal affective disorder, and false prophets.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Building from the Ground Up</td>
<td>Indypendent Staff</td>
<td>The Indypendent is in the process of doubling its print circulation with the help of volunteers like these.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>We’re Appealing to You</td>
<td></td>
<td>Free people need a free press, help keep us going.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
STANDING ROCK NATION

By Peter Rugh

It was approaching midnight on Friday, Dec. 2, when Halim Nurdin decided to take a break from his political science paper. The subject of his essay: democracy and inequality. The 24-year-old former Marine corporal, who holds a history degree at Long Island University, began scanning social media to see what his friends were up to when an item in his Facebook feed caught his eye.

Less than 24 hours later Nurdin stepped off an airplane in Fargo, N.D. The following evening, his rented Chevrolet Cruiser rolled into the Standing Rock Sioux reservation. The first snowflakes of a blizzard were beginning to fall, but the fires lit up the sky.

Members of the Standing Rock Sioux and their supporters have worked to prevent a multibillion-dollar consortium, Energy Transfer Partners, from installing an oil pipeline on their land. Part of a 1,172-mile project intended to carry crude from the Great Plains to Mississippi River ports in Illinois, the Dakota Access Pipeline was slated to travel through burial grounds the Sioux hold sacred. It would also have passed beneath the Missouri River — the reservation’s only source of drinking water. What began over the summer as a small protest camp established by the tribe to impede construction blossomed over the fall into a tent city with 15,000 inhabitants.

“Visually, it was just astounding how enormous it was,” recalled longtime activist Nancy Romer, a retired professor of psychology at Brooklyn College who visited the encampments in November. “There were all these teepees and yurts and tents and RVs and school buses.” A half-dozen camps sprouted up, dozens of kitchens and schools, supply and medical tents. Tens of thousands of people travelled through Standing Rock.

“It was a liberated zone built by people who shared politics,” said Romer.

Nurdin was part of a deployment of veterans to the reservation that weekend. About 2,000 were expected to turn up; more than 5,000 arrived. Many, including Nurdin, had never attended a protest in their lives, but decided to take part as work on the pipeline was near.

“The road leading into the reservation was backed up for miles,” Nurdin said. “My expectation was that on Monday we would form a line in front of the protesters, but it turned out our presence alone did more than enough.”

The vets’ arrival at Standing Rock proved to be the final push needed in the protracted battle for public trust between Energy Transfer and its opponents.

In September, a video shot by Democracy Now! of security guards siccing German shepherds on peaceful demonstrators — water protectors, as the Sioux called themselves — went viral. Later, when Americans by the million were traveling for Thanksgiving, the video of security guards beating and arresting peaceful protesters, destroying bones in her arm.

Such acts of brutality harkened back the 1960s, with its images of Alabama police attacking civil rights demonstrators with clubs, dogs, and fire hoses: uniformed men treating people like dirt to be washed from the face of the earth. It was as if the results of the presidential election were manifesting themselves even before Donald Trump took office.

“We took an oath to defend America from foreign and domestic threats,” Nurdin said. “People have a right to peaceful assembly and freedom of speech, and they were being brutalized, being told to shut up. Shooting water at people in freezing temperatures, throwing stun-grenades and tear gas canisters at them — that’s a domestic threat.”

On Sunday, Dec. 4, as more veterans streamed into Standing Rock, word came down that the Army Corps of Engineers had denied Energy Transfer a permit to drill beneath the Missouri. Celebrations erupted in the camps.

“What happened at Standing Rock was to me one of the most profound manifestations of people struggling for their rights, for sovereignty and for the earth that I have ever seen,” said Tarak Kauff, who served in the Army’s airborne infantry from 1959 to 1962.

Yet throughout the rest of the nation, a different story has unfurled in recent months, perhaps the greatest victory the forces of ignorance, bigotry, fear, misogyny and violence in America have scored in decades. The rise of barbarism from beyond Standing Rock could nullify its accomplishments, if the lessons learned within the encampments go unheeded.

VALUES

The good news, you might say, is that Donald Trump has finally stripped away the last vestiges of respectability from American politics. America is the champion high-school quarterback who can’t read; its presumed sense of predestined glory and “exceptionalism” all hollow posturing.

Trump demonstrates unequivocally that there is no inherent dignity in any office, including the highest in the land. Contrast Trump’s celebrity feuds, his shameless self-promotion, his talk of “grabbing pussy” and his racial incitement with the displays of resolve witnessed at Standing Rock. A people pushed to the brink of extinction by “Manifest Destiny” held their heads high and refused to back down as all manner of state-sanctioned violence bore down on them. They demonstrated that persistent, collective acts of peaceful dissent can overcome concussion grenades, rubber bullets, schutzthund packs, tear gas, mace and the wealthiest corporations in history.

For decades the political right billed itself as the party of patriotism, family and faith. The left recoiled from these notions given how they manifested themselves — endless wars, bombed abortion clinics, scandal-tarred evangelists like Jim Bakker. Now, the “party of values” has elected an American Père Ubu (French playwright Alfred Jarry’s embodiment of all that is gross, greedy, and piggish) as an instrument of climate change, compelled them commit the offense. They also cited a lack of oversight on the part of the federal nuclear and energy regulatory commissions, which have dismissed safety concerns surrounding AIM.

Stolar said he is confident Judge McCarthy’s decision will be overruled upon appeal. Meanwhile, workers continue to install the pipeline and efforts are under way by Sane Energy Project and allied environmental groups to raise $60,000 in bail funds needed to secure the release of all 12 activists arrested on Dec. 8.

The contest over AIM is part of a broader effort on the part of environmentalists nationally to stop a new generation of pipelines from perpetuating America’s reliance on fossil fuels. In an email to supporters, Sane Energy’s Kim Foszczek (pictured above) described such infrastructure as part of a “multi-pronged war on our democracy, health and safety.”

Pipeline opponents, drawing inspiration from successful efforts to halt the Dakota Access Pipeline in Standing Rock, N.D., have pledge to continue impeding AIM.

— INDYPENDENT STAFF
its evangelical god. In so doing, it has presented an opening for progressives to conquer and re-plenish moral high ground long ago ceded to the Republicans who have desecrated it.

Veterans for years have been frequent pawns in the GOP’s patriot games. “Hearing the word ‘veteran,’ the first thing that comes to my mind, and I think a lot of people’s minds, is sacrifice, selflessness, giving to your country, fighting for freedom,” says Halim Nurdin. But at Standing Rock, taking a cue from the camp’s indigenous leadership, a new vanguard flipped the script. Veterans demonstrated a way in which the left can answer the GOP’s “values” by reinterpreting them.

“Resistance at Standing Rock was primarily nonviolent and done in the spirit of prayer because they recognize that everything is sacred,” says Tarak Kauff. Kauff was arrested for blocking pipeline construction at Standing Rock in October and traveled there again for the mass veterans mobilization. In the wee hours of Dec. 5, the tent where he and around 30 other veterans were sleeping caved in during a snowstorm, exposing them to snow and gale-force winds. They sought shelter in a nearby medical tent. Later in the day, they were among the droves of protectors who took refuge from the storm in the nearby Standing Rock casino. There, a ceremony took place involving 500 former military personnel.

“At one point, all the Native veterans, there were about 80 to 100, they came around and were shaking our hands and hugging us in the spirit of oneness and brotherhood and sisterhood,” Kauff said. “They realized that going forward, if they don’t forgive, then bitterness and hatred will poison them. They’re not going to forget the theft, the broken treaties, the genocide. They

BIG CHILL: Temperatures plummeted below zero at Standing Rock by early December.

RALLYING POINT: As many as 15,000 people have gathered at Standing Rock to demand that construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline be halted.

Continued on page 16

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In this rich dialogue on surveillance, empire, and power, Arundhati Roy and John Cusack describe meeting NSA whistleblower Ed Snowden in Moscow.*

THINGS THAT CAN AND CANNOT BE SAID

Essays and Conversations

Arundhati Roy and John Cusack

* Roy and Cusack discuss the nature of the state, empire, and surveillance in an era of perpetual war, the meaning of flags and patriotism, the role of foundations and NGOs in limiting dissent, and the ways in which capital but not people can freely cross borders. Out now at haymarketbooks.org.
The Independent

The Michigan State Board of Education, told the place it with a for-profit model,” John Austin, president of and then never paid the fine. According to the most

this even after the commission told them that was illegal $10,000 limit on individual contributions. The group did

$870,000 through its national office to avoid the state’s election-violation fine in state history — for laundering

Ohio Elections Commission fined a DeVos-founded group candidates, is the Alliance for School Choice. In 2006, the

501(c)(3), which is not allowed to support political can-

scribes as a conservative 501(c)(4) dark-money group. Her

American Federation for Children, which PR Watch de-

We expect a return on our investment.”

We do expect something in return. We expect to foster
government and respect for traditional American virtues.

a conservative governing philosophy consisting of limited

1998. “Now I simply concede the point. They are right.

argues for the abolition of child-labor laws.

and parochial schools.

The couple’s primary education organization is the American Federation for Children, which PR Watch de-

scribes as a conservative 501(c)(4) dark-money group. Her 501(c)(3), which is not allowed to support political can-
didates, party committees, PACs, and super PACs. They also

finance far-right groups that promote climate-change de-

nial, oppose marriage equality, and want to cripple labor
unions, such as Michigan’s Mackinac Center for Public Policy. Another group they support, the Acton Institute,

argues for the abolition of child-labor laws.

“I have decided to stop taking offense at the sugges-
tion that we are buying influence,” Betsy DeVos said in 1998. “Now I simply concede the point. They are right.

We do expect something in return. We expect to foster a conservative governing philosophy consisting of limited
government and respect for traditional American virtues.

We expect a return on our investment.”

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**POST-ELECTION BRIEFS**

By Independent Staff

**ELECTORAL COLLEGE REVOLT**
A Change.org petition that called on “conscientious” members of the Electoral College to reject Donald Trump had collected 4.7 million signatures as The Indy went to press this month. At least 20 red-state electors were reportedly considering ignoring their state’s support for Trump — more than half the 37 votes needed to force the Republican-controlled House of Representatives to decide the election (For more on the history of the electoral college, see page 9).

**MASS PROTESTS SLATED FOR INAUGURAL WEEKEND**
Organizers expect 200,000 people to attend a Jan. 21 march for women’s rights in Washington, D.C., during inaugural weekend. March organizers are urging “any person, regardless of gender or gender identity, who believes women’s rights are human rights” to join them. WomensMarch.com offers further information.

**AN EMBARRASSMENT OF RICHES**
Retired generals and business executives. With $9.5 billion in financial assets among them, the total wealth of the 13 men and four women Trump has nominated to the cabinet-level appointees from 60 to 51. Republicans currently hold a 52-48 majority in the Senate.

**ELLISON’S DNC BID GAINS SUPPORT**
Rep. Keith Ellison (D-MN), co-chair of the Congressional Progressive Caucus and the first Muslim elected to Congress, continued his drive this month to head the Democratic National Committee (DNC). Ellison, an early supporter of Sen. Bernie Sanders’ presidential bid, advocates a grassroots-based approach to party organizing. He has backing from the AFL-CIO, the nation’s largest labor federation, as well as Senate Minority Leader Chuck Schumer. The White House is lobbying for Labor Secretary Tom Perez to receive the post. The choice will be made in late February by 447 party insiders who serve on the DNC.

**DSA MEMBERSHIPS SURGE**
The Democrats aren’t the only game in town. The Democratic Socialists of America report registering 3,000 new dues-paying members since Nov. 8, six times more than in any previous one-month-period in the organization’s history.

**SEATTLEITES FORM NEIGHBORHOOD ACTION COUNCILS TO OPPOSE TRUMP**
Seattle residents have formed a citywide network of neighborhood action councils in anticipation of Trump’s presidency. The councils “are autonomous communities of resistance, formed to provide immediate services and protection for politically targeted communities,” according to the Neighborhood Action Coalition. The groups plan to be a line of defense against Trump’s plans for mass deportations.

**MAGA PENCE: THE GIFT THAT KEEPS GIVING**
The women’s health care provider Planned Parenthood has received more than 315,000 donations since election day, 82,000 under the name Mike Pence. While in Congress in 2011, the vice president-elect led efforts to defund Planned Parenthood for providing abortions.

**SIGNAL SIGN-UPS SOAR**
Downloads of the encrypted instant messaging service Signal have shot up 400 percent in the wake of the election, according to the San Francisco-based nonprofit. Signal does not store users’ messages online and scrambles transmissions on the web in order to safeguard users’ privacy. For further information, see whispersystems.org.

**NEIGHBORHOOD GRANTS**
From community gardening and tenant organizing to school recycling drives and art projects, Citizens Committee for New York City awards grants of up to $3,000 to grassroots groups working on community-building projects across NYC.

**APPLCIATIONS DUE JANUARY 23, 2017**

LEARN MORE AND GET STARTED:
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As in the House, slave-economy states—— INDYPENDENT STAFF

FEBRUARY 2017

The Indian

January 2017

RACISM

alt-right's assault on “political cor-

tures, and because eliminating whites

gues that only separatism can guarantee white survival. The

The reason it is so important for pure

American student waited patiently nearby
to ask a question, I found myself in a debate with a young

As an African-American

What has come to be called the alt-right is younger and

The reason it is so important for pure

“PC” is most often associated with the use of names and
terms that various denigrated groups have chosen for them-

women rather than “girls,” African-American rather than “colored.” To reject

political correctness is a way of saying that white straight

men don’t need to “beg for validation” or even listen to the

preferences or views of anyone else any longer, and that ig-

noring the critical analyses of U.S. history and foreign policy

that have emerged since the public airwaves became more
diverse is simply a way of championing individual freedom.

It’s impossible to know how influential the alt-right re-

d ally is, since it’s so easy to inflate the numbers of clicks on a

website. What we do know is that white-nationalist ultra-

conservative movements are growing in many countries

and come in multiple forms. What some call “suit Nazis,” such

as France’s National Front and Hungary’s Jobbik parties,

overlap with the alt-right, but they are generally wealthier

and operate in mainstream venues, holding elected office in

many European countries, as well as running think tanks,

philosophy majors).  These differences with the older far right are superficial. The

alt-right is another reactive and violent backlash to ra-

cism. Oddly enough, it won’t be just whites, or “pure” white

Anglos, who defend the forces of white nationalism.

The best-case scenario would be if the varied far-right groups

continue to bicker. In this case, we may “only” be up against a slew of disconnected attacks, and we may be able to use

the disagreements among right-wing forces to waylay some

reactionary legislation. The worst case scenario would be if the

alt-right, suit Nazis, old-school white nationalists, and other far-right forces coalesce, in which case it may no longer be hyperbole to say that we are fighting fascism.

So what is to be done? There is no question that the left

must take up a people’s defense against both concrete ha-

rassment and the ideological vilification of targeted groups.

As far-right forces have been recently integrated into the
department of Homeland Security, the process of co-opting in less repugnant forms is likely to continue.

Today, the Electoral College’s place in our dem-

ocracy tends to be forgotten, an arcane formality from

the days of yore. We’ve tended not to notice it unless it is in contradiction with the popular

vote, as was the case in 1876, 1888, 2000 and

now. In this respect, Trump’s victory is a kind of

slave-masters’ revenge.

Along with the rise of white nationalism, there have been

recently more tech-savvy than the more established ultra-conserva-

tive organizations, and more focused on developing an

tional presence than on building rural militias. The term

alt-right is itself controversial, but it helpfully indicates the way

in which white nationalism has been democratized. It has in-

creasingly characterized blatant racism and misogyny as edgy and courageous, as fighting the good fight against a over-

thought, control, and “political correctness” — much like the “men’s rights” movements to which it is linked.

These differences with the older far right are superficial. The

alt-right is another reactive and violent backlash to ra-

cial progress, just as the Ku Klux Klan was to Reconstruction

and the civil rights movement. Like other far-right

organizations, the alt-right would eliminate the most intelligent

culture, as if it were ever “pure.” But Taylor’s claim reveals the white su-

premacy behind white nationalism.

The reason it is so important for pure whites to survive is always given in

comparative terms: Because European

an values are superior to Muslim val-

ues, and because eliminating whites

would eliminate the most intelligent and

productive race on earth.

Alt-right leader Richard Spencer, head of the National Policy Institute,

makes this racial comparison clear.

“White people are not meant to be biddable subjects by a brown back-

grounded by slavery,” he recently said. The

alt-right’s assault on “political cor-

rectness” is a maneuver to ignore the

viewpoints of other groups. Being

THE RACIST ROOTS OF THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE

Although the United States is a relatively new na-

tion, it actually follows the oldest existing constitu-

tion still in use today. While some take such a fact

evidence of the firm bedrock our democracy

rests on, it also means we can remind ourselves

where certain procedures originate.

This is especially the case after the presidential

election we just witnessed, in which a man who

lost the popular vote by more than 2.8 million

votes will become president.

Way back during the hot summer of 1787, the

Constitutional Convention was under way in

Philadelphia and the delegates from Virginia had a

problem. It was the most populous state in the new

nation but approximately 40 percent of its inhabit-

ants were enslaved.

Any democracy, this thing that tens of thousands

of people had only just recently fought and died for,

that relied on a popular vote alone to determine its

leaders. The southern states would subordinate the interests of slave-

masters in Virginia and other southern states to

those of free voters in the north. Enslaved persons,

after all, were not considered human let alone
citizens with voting privileges.

At the insistence of Virginia’s James Madison

a compromise was worked out among the 55 del-

egates in Independence Hall. Each state would be
given 3 electoral votes originally needed to capture an

electoral college. This would have granted two representatives in the Senate while in

the lower House of Representatives, representation

was slotted in proportion to each state’s population.

Slaves would be counted as three-fifths of a person.

The Electoral College too, “was an integral part of

today’s democratic system,” says a national security expert.

Today, as in the House, slave-economy states

were given disproportionate representation in the

Electoral College.

This worked out well for Virginia as 12 of the

46 electoral votes originally needed to capture an

electoral college majority went to the state, and its

plantation aristocrats, Madison among them, held

the presidency for 32 of America’s first 36 years.

Today, the Electoral College’s place in our dem-

ocracy tends to be forgotten, an arcane formality from

the days of yore. We’ve tended not to notice it unless it is in contradiction with the popular

vote, as was the case in 1876, 1888, 2000 and

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slave-masters’ revenge.

INDY STAFF

5

RACISM

THE FUTURE OF WHITE SUPREMACY


By Linda Martín Alcoff & José Martín

A

bout a month before the election, I (Linda)
gave a talk at Nassau Community College on

the topic of white identity. During the recep-

tion afterward, I was approached by a serious-
faced young man, who identified himself as the

president of the college philosophy club. He asked if I would

consider doing a public debate with leading white nationalist

Jared Taylor. He turned out to be an avid consumer of so-
called “alt-right” websites, and had formed the belief that

African-Americans and Latinos were simply less intelligent

than white people.

As an African-American

What has come to be called the alt-right is younger and

more tech-savvy than the more established ultra-conserva-

tive organizations, and more focused on developing an

tional presence than on building rural militias. The term

alt-right is itself controversial, but it helpfully indicates the way

in which white nationalism has been democratized. It has in-

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“The Racist Roots of the Electoral College

— INDYPENDENT STAFF

— INDYPENDENT STAFF

Image 758x596 to 810x1044
unnecessary deaths per year. This is a life-and-death struggle.

But we also need to go on the offensive, to build the spheres of meaningful political and civic engagement, from labor unions to neighborhood organizations to progressive religious communities to national networks. Progressive political groups of all sorts can help build and protect civil society, but they will now have to take security culture very seriously in regard to membership lists and online activity. We should also work to force existing mainstream organizations to take a stand, to drop their apolitical alibis, and actively defend democracy.

We have to combat fascism. Occupy Wall Street and Black Lives Matter are two powerful recent social movements that were created by young people who rejected the idea that they were powerless, even in the face of the power of Wall Street and a racist state. Our situation is not hopeless.

Linda Martín Alcoff’s most recent book is The Future of Whiteness, Polity Press, 2015. Here website is www.alcoff.com. José Martín is an anti fascist and copwatch organizer, researcher and media commentator. Follow him on twitter @salokitty.

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**ANTI-RACIST ORGS**

Here are some newly emerging radical groups doing broad-based organizing to check out.

**SHOWING UP FOR RACIAL JUSTICE (SURJ)**

showingupforracialjustice.org

Through community organizing, mobilizing, and education, SURJ moves white people to act as part of a multi-racial majority for justice with passion and accountability.

**COSECHA — ACTION NETWORK**

actionnetwork.org/groups/cosecha

A new nonviolent movement fighting for the humane and permanent protection of immigrants in this country.

**IF NOT NOW**

ifnotnowmovement.org

Fighting for a vibrant, liberated Jewish community that supports freedom and dignity for all Israelis and Palestinians.

**THE PEOPLE’S INSTITUTE FOR SURVIVAL AND BEYOND**

pisab.org

Focuses on understanding what racism is, where it comes from, how it functions, why it persists and how it can be undone.

**CATALYST PROJECT**

collectiveliberation.org

Organizes, trains and mentors white people to take collective action to end racism, war and empire, and to support efforts to build power in working-class communities of color.

**TORCH NETWORK**

torchantifa.org

The Torch Network is a network of militant antifascists across (but not limited to) the United States.

Don’t forget there are also many local groups doing important work too.

Recommended read: Rules for Revolutionaries: How Big Organizing Can Change Everything by Becky Bond and Zack Exley.
**CIVIL SOCIETY**

**KNOW YOUR RIGHTS**

**TEACH-INS TURN IMMIGRANT ANXIETY INTO ACTION**

By Renée Feltz

On a rainy night in early December, law students, lawyers, advocates and immigrants pack a lecture hall at Columbia Law School for an immigrant-rights teach-in. Next to a sign-up sheet at the door are three urns of coffee. None are decaf.

At the front of the room stands Professor Rose Can-son Villazor, a seasoned legal advocate for immigrants and the first of many speakers from university and community-based legal services agencies.

"Let me begin by talking about president-elect Donald Trump," she says, quietly everyone but a few interjectors.

The next three hours are a crash course on who Trump’s administration will likely target first for deportation, and how to protect and support their rights.

Similar gatherings have drawn crowds throughout New York City, where more than a third of residents are foreign-born. The week before, nearly 700 people attended a similar event at New York University School of Law.

"Right now there is a lot of fear," says Alina Das, codirector of Columbia Law’s Immigration Rights Clinic. "Our primary focus is to educate those who will be directly affected, and turn their anxiety into action."

On the same rainy night, another teach-in at the Community Church of New York in midtown Manhattan attracts mostly immigrant students, couples, and families, who sit in scattered clumps among the pews. A young Latina hands out cards on which they can write legal questions and pass them back to be answered from the pulpit/podium, allowing them to remain anonymous.

Tania Mattos, a Bolivian immigrant and education and outreach coordinator for the immigrant legal-services group UnLocal, notes that anyone with questions about their immigration status can schedule a free legal consultation with the city’s Action NYC program. Then she reads the first card: "If Trump revokes DACA, when will deportations begin?"

President Barack Obama’s executive order known as DACA, or Deferred Adjudication for Childhood Arrivals, has given work permits and a temporary reprieve for deportations to nearly 800,000 young undocumented immigrants who were brought to the United States as children.

On the campaign trail, Trump vowed to repeal DACA in his first 100 days. It is unclear whether ending the program would immediately revoke recipients’ legal status, or just present them from renewing it when it expires. Those who have not yet submitted applications are now encouraged to hold on to them in order to avoid submitting their name and address to the federal government as part of paying a $465 fee to do so.

Many colleges say they will bar immigration agents from tracking down undocumented students on campus without a warrant, and will refuse to turn over their information without a court-ordered subpoena. Columbia University’s provost said the school may expand financial aid for those who lose their DACA status and can no longer legally work.

Later, Mattos hands another card that asked how she stayed positive. "I spent most of my life without DACA," she responds. "I know I will survive, and I have faith in community organizing."

Back at the law school teach-in, two participants volunteer for a role-playing exercise in which "Anna," an undocumented immigrant, arrives in her apartment to discover she has been robbed, then debates with her friend whether to report it.

"You should feel safe reporting a crime in New York City," advises Evelyn Garcia, a neighborhood organizer with the Mayor’s Office of Immigration Affairs. She clicks to the next slide in her PowerPoint presentation and reads Executive Order 41 on Confidentiality, which instructs city workers — other than law-enforcement officers — not to disclose a person’s immigration status unless they have been authorized to do so by that person, they are required by law to do so, the information is needed to determine eligibility for a public benefit or the person is suspected of illegal activity.

When pressed, Garcia explains that even if police are not covered by the order, the New York Police Department says it does not report immigrants to federal authorities.

"New York is basically a sanctuary city," someone comments, while others remain skeptical.

Since Trump’s election, Mayor Bill de Blasio has vowed not to cooperate with federal agents seeking data gathered from residents who are immigrants. This data includes names and addresses collected from those issued a municipal ID card.

At any teach-in now, as well as during the Obama administration, when deportations reached a record high, one group is always identified as the most likely to be deported: immigrants with criminal records, even if the offenses are decades old. While Trump estimates there are 2-3 million such people, the Immigration Policy Institute counts about 20,000.

In New York City, many immigrants of color have been targeted by the NYPD’s stop-and-frisk and broken windows policies. They were arrested for minor offenses and advised to plead guilty, with damning consequences.

Conor Gleason, an immigration attorney with the Bronx Defenders, observes another role-playing exercise in which "Bob" has been a law-abiding permanent resident for many years. At age 20 he pled guilty to a crime, but did not serve time in jail. Concerned about what Trump will do, he is considering applying for citizenship.

"People should not apply for naturalization if they have a past offense," Gleason advises, explaining that the citizenship services arm of the Department of Homeland Security could turn over his information to the "scary" part that handles enforcement and removal.

As the teach-in at the church winds down, the mood is both somber and defiant, as UnLocal executive director Michele Lampach draws attention to the bigger picture.

"Immigration has a big impact on people’s lives," she says, "but it can’t control everything."

She advises people who may face deportation to prepare by creating a safety plan: Gather all of your immigration-related documents, financial and medical records, and an emergency contact list. If you are a parent, make arrangements for who will care for your children. DACA recipients who may lose their work permit are encouraged to make financial plans.

Both gatherings also feature advice on how to respond when police or federal agents come to your home. You have the right to refuse them entry without a warrant signed by a judge, with the correct address — including the apartment number. Ask them to slide the warrant under your door. If you are detained, you have the right to remain silent and can respond in several ways, such as, "I want to use my right to remain silent" or "I want to speak to a lawyer."

Legal advocates say these workshops will be replicated and adjusted as Trump’s immigration-enforcement policies take shape, so that people have accurate information and resources.

"We are not hopeful about what is to come," Lampach admits, "We want to be ready in case the worst-case scenario happens."

A video of the NYU teach-in is online at law.nyc.edu/immigration/legal-aid-society/community-resources/videos.

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**HUNDREDS TURN OUT AT GATHERINGS THROUGHOUT NYC.**

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**IMMIGRANT RESOURCES**

**ACTION NYC**

800-354-0365
Multilingual hotline for general information and referrals to free immigration legal services.

**IMMIGRANT DEFENSE PROJECT CRIMINAL-IMMIGRATION HELPLINE**

212-725-6422
Offers advice on immigration consequences of criminal charges and convictions.

**THE BRONX DEFENDERS**

347-778-1266 (legal emergency hotline)
Walk-ins welcome 9am–6pm at client-reception office (360 East 181st St., Bronx).

**THE BROOKLYN DEFENDER SERVICES**

718-254-0700
Offers free legal representation to low-income New York City residents in deportation proceedings via the New York Immigration Family Unity Project.

**LEGAL AID SOCIETY IMMIGRATION UNIT**

212-577-3300
212-577-3456 (detention hotline, Wed–Fri, 1–5pm Accepts collect calls from detention.)

Represents detained and non-detained before the New York Immigration Court.

**UNLOCAL**

646-216-8210
Offers free or low-cost legal consultations for immigrants.

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**— Renée Feltz**
BRONX PROFESSOR TARGETED FOR ANTI-RACIST ORGANIZING

By Astha Rajvanshi

Just days after the election, Mark Naison, Professor of African American Studies at Fordham University and Director of the Bronx African American History Project, met with his students of color on campus.

"It wasn’t just the fear of what Trump might do, it was also people feeling ready to take things in their own hands and take things out on minorities," said Dr. Naison, a rare white professor in the field of African American studies who has taught at Fordham for 30 years and authored numerous books including an oral history of the Bronx.

The number of bias attacks and hate crimes has surged nationally since the election. Within the first 10 days following the Nov. 8 vote, the Southern Poverty Law Center counted 867 cases of hateful harassment or intimidation. In schools and on college campuses the growing list of incidents includes swastika signs blooming in public spaces, white students telling minority students to "go to the back of the bus," and chants of "build a wall!"

Inside Fordham, a white supremacy flier was found hanging on a wall in the school’s economics department.

But incidents of bias are nothing new at the university, where just 5.3 percent of the school’s 15,000 students are black, just 13.6 percent hispanic. Bias incidents have been increasing over time. In the 2015-2016 school year, there were three anti-Semitic bias crimes reported. One of them included a swastika carved into a door on the school’s satellite campus at Lincoln Center in Manhattan.

In an attempt to address the fears of his students, Naison floated the idea of starting a ‘Rapid Response Unit’ (RRU) with current and former students. "Knowing the history of the campus, I thought it was important to be a resource to people who are still on campus so they have someone to talk to," said Morenike Lambert, a 2008 graduate and a former student of Naison.

In situations like these you need to be brave, problem solve and stand in solidarity with all students to create a safe space for everyone," said Ann Leiberman, another of Dr. Naison’s former pupils. She noted that her experience of racial bias on campus wasn’t always overt but often occurred in the form of microaggressions. Frequently events she and other minority students organized on campus were called "too political or we were asked to change the wording on fliers."

She and Lambert were among the 15 current and former students who came together at Dr. Naison’s residence in November to discuss how to set up the RRU.

However, the Fordham administration intervened swiftly after Dr. Naison’s efforts to organize the RRU began. Shortly after Thanksgiving, Naison received an email from the Vice President of Student Affairs containing screenshots of Naison’s Facebook posts discussing the RRUs.

"The letter said, ‘We’re really disturbed to hear that you’ve started a Rapid Response Unit when there are official university channels.”’ Naison recalled. "Why is Fordham telling me this when I’m trying to protect my students? Are they using my personal Facebook posts across professional communications? That crosses a line that I cannot accept, especially at a time of left-wing watch lists," he continued.

Lambert was equally alarmed. "He’s not doing anything wrong so I don’t see why there should be any input from Fordham about why he’s doing something to make people feel safe,” she said.

"If they’re so concerned with our efforts, then they should take institutional racism on campus more seriously,” Leiberman added.

Naison has handed responsibility for the Fordham RRU over to current and former students, but he continues to participate in their discussions.

Despite the university’s attempts to stail their efforts, Lambert believes the RRU will equip minority students with the language to articulate why something is problematic, and enable them to respond to incidents of bias in the future.

"These are the kind of things we’re going to see with Trump — what can they get away with? My view is let them get away with nothing,” Naison said.

The voice of Brooklyn For Peace is needed now more urgently than ever.

With your membership, your participation in our activities, and your financial support, we are determined to resist!

Visit brooklynpeace.org, check us out on Facebook, sign up for our mailing list or call us!
Tortured for ransom money

Amas was sent to a prison near Tripoli, Libya. He estimated about 1,000 people were held there, men, women and children, from Burkina Faso, Mali, Bangladesh, Ivory Coast, Nigeria, Cameroon, Niger and other countries. He counted 800 and a small pile of dead once a day. “Some people die or go missing, and you don’t see a corpse. One day you hear them speaking, and then the next day you hear nothing. … Every day they have to bring this big pipe, you put dirt in it and throw it in the sea. … Every day they have to bring this big pipe, you put dirt in it and throw it in the sea.” The prison guards have them call their families while they are being beaten to ask for money.

“Then you’ll say, ‘They’ll give you a work permit’ and stop, and they’ll give you some money.”

Said Foday: “They don’t give you the money, they make you work. They make you tell them what’s going on, instead of avoiding us and taking away our strength or going to the police, and so on. They beat you to death. They beat you the way you want to go home and tell the police, the way you want to go home and say it. They beat you and afterwards, they put you in a wheelchair and have a bright white bandage on your head. They beat you because they know you’re going to die.”

Foday was put in a wheelchair and was told that he “don’t have heat in Africa.”

The prison guards have them steal food from other inmates, giving it to them for money. Some inmates are forced to work. Some are forced to do nothing. Again the guards close the street, again they close the street. Again they are doing what “we want, there is no problem now. Everything is okay now.”

Demanding their rights

In mid-November, a group of migrants living at one of the reception centers in Palermo issued an open letter, published on the online news site Liveuw.com, that described the conditions they were enduring, from the long wait for documents to the lack of heat and hot water in the center. The letter said: “In our country, we have to work hard to make ends meet, throughout the year, we don’t have the same. We can’t rest once a year like they canitions to the lack of heat and hot water in the
center. They were given phones and directed to call international centers once they were out on the sea. Foday’s boat was picked up four hours after it left Libya, but he was told that they “don’t have heating in Africa.”

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The future

“Foday is a young radio presenter from the Gambia who

In the crossing, many migrants are subject to exploitation and abuse. They are often forced to work without pay or to work for very low wages. Some are forced to work in dangerous conditions, such as on ships without appropriate safety equipment. Many migrants are also subject to violence and虐待. They may be subjected to physical and psychological abuse, and may be forced to work under extreme conditions.

There is overwhelming frustration with Italian policies and practices, and many migrants are angry and frustrated. They feel that their rights are not respected, and that they are being treated unfairly. Many migrants are also angry at the lack of opportunities for integration, and feel that they are not being given the chance to build a better life in Europe.

There is a growing movement of migrants and refugees to demand better rights and conditions. Many migrants and refugees are organizing themselves, and are calling for the right to work, education, health care, and other basic human rights. They are also calling for the end of forced labor and exploitation, and for the right to work without fear of exploitation or abuse.

There is also a growing movement of solidarity with migrants and refugees. Many people are coming to the aid of migrants and refugees, and are calling for the end of exploitation and abuse. They are also calling for the end of forced labor and exploitation, and for the right to work without fear of exploitation or abuse.

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HOW TO TOPPLE A WALL WITH A HEARTBEAT

By Nicholas Powers

He won with a metaphor. I pressed my hands against the air as if touching a surface. “He won with the image of a wall.” They looked at me, waiting for words to strike like a flint on reality, to spark a flash and make everything briefly visible.

“We’re scared.” I walked to the stage’s edge. The audience was sparse but a classic New York crowd. A mix of everyone. A trio of Indian friends sat behind a Latino family. On the other side, a Caribbean couple cuddled next to Muslim women. Students sat side by side with tourists. They came to the Nuyorican Café for a poetry slam. Its high brick walls and theater lights cast us in an otherworldly glow, as if we held service in a grungy art temple.

“A year ago he was a joke,” I said. “But as he rose, he spread what we took for granted as basic human decency and now this creature from the Black Lagoon we’re scared.” I walked to the stage’s edge. The audience was sparse but a classic New York crowd. A mix of worldly glow, as if we held service in a grungy art temple.

“I don’t think about him much,” he shrugged. “I know who worked the store. But did they care that he could be deported? Or put on a Muslim registry?”

“My office is lined with articles, my college degree and Ph.D. On the shelf are books and class hand-outs. All of it is useless. All of it like a wall of privilege that left me cut off from the real world.

“We are the most incompetent, liberal elite ever,” I said to no one, said to the world, said as if to apologize. I had taught college for a decade and was used to the prestige. But I was just a token minority in the academy, who jumped at the chance for status and security. Now I felt stupid, empty and small.

“Liberal comedians could not stop Trump,” I plucked an article off the wall and tossed it. “Liberal professors...” I heard a knock on the door. “In here, bro, in here.”

“Must’ve been an intelligent conversation,” he said with a smile. He had shaggy hair, a long nose and deep perceptive eyes. He’d drop random Bill Maher lines in with a smile. He had shaggy hair, a long nose and deep perceptive eyes. He’d drop random Bill Maher lines in with a smile. He had shaggy hair, a long nose and deep perceptive eyes. He’d drop random Bill Maher lines in with a smile. He had shaggy hair, a long nose and deep perceptive eyes. He’d drop random Bill Maher lines in with a smile.

“Are you scared about Trump?” I asked Abdah. He smirked, put my coffee and egg roll in a bag, then stepped to think. The bodega bell rang, neighbors came in, waved hi. Everyone knew Abdah and the Yemeni crew who worked the store. But did they care that he could be deported? Or put on a Muslim registry?

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The two Muslim women finished. I pointed to them and the one who wore the hijab touched it and said, “This is a good wall. I feel protected by it. Even when people stare, it protects me.”

Her friend looked around and touched her cheek. “My makeup is a good wall. I don’t want people to see me without it.”

The Caribbean lady, who sat with her boyfriend, leaned over to high-five, mouthing, “Neither do I.”

Her boyfriend said, “My bad wall is my self-image. It blocks me, I think, from being more, from growing … I don’t know what I’m saying.” His girlfriend put her arm around him. I let him know it was okay and pointed to the Indian man in the back. “When I go home,” he said, “I like that my language is my wall, I feel good inside it. But when I am outside of it, I speak outside myself, if that makes sense.”

More people came in and felt the intense openness and quietly sat down. One after another, the workshop group talked about the walls they needed, the walls they hated, the walls they were given as children and that seemed to grow up with them, always too high to scale. Their voices shone in the air.

The girl who wore the hijab asked to read her poem. I invited her to the stage. She faced the audience, now a fully packed hall, mesmerized by the alchemy of art. She touched her hijab and looked at me. “It’s about … how a good wall can become bad.”
I mourn Fidel Castro because the Cuban revolution he led demonstrated that people could overthrow the tyranny of the rich, even in a small country dominated by a much more powerful one. I mourn Fidel Castro, who died on Nov. 25 at the age of 90, despite the authoritarian side of his almost 50 years as Cuban leader after the revolution of 1959. He impressed numerous political dissidents, as well as gay men in the 1960s and 1970s before the laws liberalized. Writers were censored.

The sad paradox of revolution is that the harsher the struggle, the more hardline the government that emerges is likely to be. Castro’s authoritarian side has to be kept in context: Cuba was the only leftist government in Latin America and the Caribbean in the 20th century that was not violently overthrown by the Unit ed States for daring to defy the dominion of the dollar. That wasn’t for lack of trying. Aside from the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion and the CIA’s repeated attempts to assassinate Castro through means like trying to slip him poisoned cigars, the U.S. government also backed a terrorist campaign that murdered more than 40 student teachers in Cuba’s countryside. The reason Che Guevara looks so angry in the photograph seen on millions of T-shirts was the last remaining revolutionary leader from an era that plagued Cuba after it expropriated plantations and servicing Coalition” announced plans to privatize 56 million acres of Native lands for oil and gas exploration. While the land held by the Bureau of Indian Affairs amounts to just 2 percent of the U.S., it contains one-fifth of the nation’s estimated oil reserves, an amount valued at $1.5 trillion. Furthermore, Trump has vowed to put the Dakota Access Pipeline back on the path to comple tion once he’s in office.

It will take a Standing Rock nation to hold him back.

STANDING ROCK
Continued from page 5

Remember “love trumps hate”? The slogan made its rounds during the Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia last summer, popping up on placards as if strategically placed there so that Hillary Clinton could use it in her acceptance speech and echo the masses. Trump supporters cynically folded the signs to read “love Trump.”

“How love actually trumps hate”

“I don’t want anyone to forget. But they realize if you carry animosity in your heart, it eats you up. We have to do what’s necessary even if it’s at the cost of our lives, but we don’t need to do it with hatred.”

“We’re fueled by love, compassion, community. We’re not going to win this battle intellectually. We’re going to win it on heart-power.”

As our political leaders falter, the left’s ability to muster strength from outside the corridors of power will become more important than ever. Movements long silenced — feminism, Black Lives Matter, immigrant rights, climate justice — have converging, rightly seeing in Trump a threat to their very existence. And yet we must avoid the tendency to see protest as an end in itself, rather than a means of achieving power.

A lack of organization rendered Occupy Wall Street incapable of sustaining itself once repression, notes Nancy Romer: “There would be 10-hour meetings that didn’t serve anyone except people who could sit for 10-hour meetings.” At Standing Rock, by contrast, all activities were oriented toward achieving the protectors’ political goals. “The camps were highly structured,” Romer says. “There were very clear orders when you entered the camps. Security told you, ‘No drinks, no alcohol, no violence.’ Infiltrators were surrounded by security and forced to leave the camp.

Amid the constant threat of state violence, clear leadership on the part of tribal elders helped maintain discipline and decorum — two more values the left must reclaim from the right to steel itself for the days ahead. Short-lived autonomous zones aren’t going to be enough against the multiple threats of Trumpism. Shortly after the Army Corps of Engineers denied Energy Transfer Partners permission to transgress on Sioux grounds, members of Trump’s “Native American Affairs Coalition” announced plans to privatize 56 million acres of Native lands for oil
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AMPLIFIED LOCAL VOICES

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THE RADICAL ACT OF COOKING

By Peter Rugh

There are few things I find sadder than watching someone eat fast food alone. It’s a lonesome, melancholy sight. Don’t get me wrong; I too have been that sorry SOB on the Q train, chomping a greasy slice of pizza under the Transit Authority poster reminding riders they’re not in a dining car. I’ve been that soft-hearted fool in the holiday season. Plus, it doesn’t hurt that this is a no-beef beef stew in which the sunchokes undulate with an added nutty undertone. My favorite way to prepare them is in a ‘no-beef beef stew’ in which the sunchokes replace the beef medallions. It’s perfect for the holiday season. Plus, it doesn’t hurt that this is a one-pot meal.

STEPS:
- Bring a few tablespoons cooking oil to medium heat in a heavy soup pot. Add onion, garlic, herbs and bay leaf. When the onions are transparent, add sunchokes and other vegetables. Season with salt and pepper to taste. Sauté for a few minutes longer.
- Turn the heat up to high. Add wine and bring it to a boil. Add vinegar, 1/2 cup all-purpose flour, 1/2 cup sugar, 1/2 cup shortening and water. Blend in shortening.
- Preheat oven to 425°. Blend flour, salt and sugar. Blend in shortening. When very crumbly, add 2 tbsp. of water. Knead the mixture with your hands, and shape into a disc.
- Roll out to an even thickness, a few inches larger than a basic 9” x 1-¼” pie pan. Place into pan and flute edges. Place in oven for 8 minutes or until meringue is slightly browned.

RECIPES FOR RADICALS

SUNCHOKE STEW

Brewing up a pot of sunchoke stew is one way to honor the original inhabitants of the Northeastern United States. Sunchokes, also known as Jerusalem Artichokes, are perennial plants native to this region. They rise to eight feet into the air, with bright yellow flowers at the ends of their stems and an edible tuber that grows in the earth. Sunchokes were a staple of Native American tribes before the introduction of the potato.

The tubers possess a luscious creamy-yet-firm texture when cooked, with an added nutty undertone. My favorite way to prepare them is in a ‘no-beef beef stew’ in which the sunchokes replace the beef medallions. It’s perfect for the holiday season. Plus, it doesn’t hurt that this is a one-pot meal.

INGREDIENTS:
- 1 pound sunchokes, scrubbed clean and chopped into one inch morsels
- 1 onion, chopped
- 8 garlic cloves, roughly diced
- 1 cup each of chopped celery, carrot, mushroom
- 2 tbsp dried herbs — sage, thyme, parsley, rosemary, oregano or a combination
- 1 bay leaf
- 1 tbsp paprika
- 1 bay leaf
- 1 cup each of chopped celery, carrot, mushroom
- 8 garlic cloves, roughly diced
- 1 onion, chopped
- 1 pound sunchokes, scrubbed clean

MY ABUELA’S COQUITO

I make this recipe every year around the holidays. It’s my version of the coquito (Puerto Rican eggnog) my abuela makes. My abuela is the woman who politicized me early on. Not because she knew of Fran Fanon or Ella Baker, she doesn’t, but because she knew her name, shared her struggle and built a life based on love and self-determination. She survived devastating emotional and physical violence at the hands of an alcoholic who forced her to flee with her children from Puerto Rico to the United States.

She had nothing and built everything. She taught me to love and see others. She affirmed that doing for others would help me to survive. She taught me to love myself and to love and see others. She confirmed that doing so authentically, even when it was hard, would give me strength. That it affirms our power. She taught me there are people who would try to take that power and that I would have to fight to maintain it. She loved my brown skin and also understood the struggles I would bring. She prepared me for it with love. Her name is Rita, my abuela, and I love her eternally.

My memories of my abuela’s coquito are dear to me. In the same way it gave her a piece of her beloved Puerto Rico, it gives me a piece of the love and support she had always given me.

INGREDIENTS:
- 2 cups coconut cream or, for a lighter version, coconut milk
- 1 cup all-purpose flour
- 1 cup sugar
- 1/2 cup shortening
- 1 tablespoon ground nutmeg
- 1 teaspoon ground cloves

CHOCOLATE CREAM PIE

My mom learned to make this pie when she was a girl. She taught my sisters and me to make it when we were kids. Every year on the night before Christmas, our family has “Pie Night” and everyone staffs a station in the pie-making process. This one has three basic steps: crust, filling, and a meringue for the top.

STEP 1: CRUST

INGREDIENTS:
- 1 cup all-purpose flour
- 3/4 cup cold butter
- 1/4 cup cold water

STEP 2: FILLING

INGREDIENTS:
- 1 cup sugar
- 2 1/2 cups milk
- 4 egg yolks
- 1/2 cup cocoa
- 1/2 tsp salt

STEP 3: MERINGUE TOPPING

INGREDIENTS:
- 1 cup sugar
- 2 tbsp water

Add vegetable stock and let simmer until vegetables are tender. Add more stock to thin or cook longer to reduce to desired thickness. Serve with noodles, rice, or crusty bread and butter!

— FRANK CETERA

Frank Cetera lives in Syracuse, New York where he is a member of Green Party politics, the Community Development Credit Union and permaculture landscaping the city. Frank’s a foodie with a love for cooking at home using ingredients from the backyard garden at Bitternut Homestead Collective on Disco Street.

— BEATRIZ BECKFORD

Beatriz Beckford is a radical momma, a campaign director at MomsRising and founder of the National Black Food & Justice Alliance. Learn more at BlackFoodJustice.org.

— MOLLY KICK

Molly Kick grew up on a farm in Austin Township, Ill., and now lives in Brooklyn. Her proudest achievements are winning $300 in a dance contest and parallel parking a U-Haul truck.

PIE CRUST

STEPS:
- Roll out to an even thickness, a few inches larger than a basic 9” x 1-¼” pie pan. Place into pan and flute edges.
- Preheat oven to 425°.
- Blend flour, salt and sugar.
- Blend in shortening. When very crumbly, add 2 tbsp. of water.
- Knead the mixture with your hands, and shape into a disc.
- Roll out to an even thickness, a few inches larger than a basic 9” x 1-¼” pie pan. Place into pan and flute edges.
- Use a fork to poke holes in the crust, so it does not bubble while baking.
- Bake for 12-15 minutes and let rest.

MERINGUE TOPPING

STEPS:
- Beat egg whites until thick. You should be able to form “peaks.”
- Add sugar and beat again until mixture stands on its own and has a glossy shine.
- Spread meringue over pie, out to the crust.
- Using a spoon, form decorative “peaks” in the meringue.
- Place in oven for 8 minutes or until meringue is slightly browned.

— MOLLY KICK

Molly Kick grew up on a farm in Austin Township, Ill., and now lives in Brooklyn. Her proudest achievements are winning $300 in a dance contest and parallel parking a U-Haul truck.

FOOD
lending a hand. I don’t want to give the impression that either were master home cooks, making every meal from scratch. The smell of Old El Paso brand taco seasoning and those crunchy corn shells heating in the oven still makes my stomach growl with sentimental hunger.

As much as I enviued friends whose parents allowed them to eat microwave ramen in front of the television, I now understand that those meals we shared were crucial in helping us tough it through the hardships that came our way from beyond the dining table. If I was suspended from school or my dad lost his job or we were in the midst of packing our bags to move to another city, pausing, having a conversation and sharing sustenance kept us both same and together as a family, which amounted to the same thing.

The dinners we each contributed to were the most rewarding. I learned meals can be a labor of love, cooked collaboratively and shared equally; that mashed potatoes taste best when given a little less in return for ingredients that are healthier and tastier. Most important, we can cook with and share with each other’s nerves. We eat in peace.

“I have access to food can put our morals low on,” as Bertolt Brecht put it. As Matt Phillips reported in *The Indy* circa 1971. We went on a tear for dinner and eating with others is a radical act. We are fond of trapping our meat in the limits of absurdity, serving up a couple drops of sweat.

“Food is the first thing, morals follow,” as Bertrolt Brecht put it. Those of us fortunate enough to have access to food can put our morals where our mouths are. We can support local, sustainable farms and fisheries. State it can sometimes be a little bit colder than eating flavorless Monsanto grub, but maybe we can try eating a little less in return for ingredients that are healthier and tastier. Most important, we can cook with and share with others. The flavors on our tongues will act as a balm against alienation.

A cousin of mine is an executive chef for Manhattan neighborhood network 537 W. 59th St. St. Agnes Library 444 Amsterdam Ave. 96th St. Library 112 E. 96th St. SAVOY BAKERY 170 E. 110TH ST.

THE INDYPENDENT
Gay Gotham: Art and Underground Culture in New York
MUSEUM OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK
THROUGH FEBRUARY 26
SUGGESTED ADMISSION: $14

By Gena Hymowech

Gay Gotham, the new retrospective at the Museum of the City of New York, provides a good overview of queer art in the last century, but is far from comprehensive. Let’s not assign complete blame to the museum, however. Obviously, there isn’t enough room for everyone, or everyone who matters. But certain omissions are galling.

Keith Haring and Nan Goldin, so much a part of the queer 1980s New York art scene, are barely included. Robert Rauschenberg and Jasper Johns, legendary artists who were also romantic partners, do not get their own spaces. Meanwhile, Harmony Hammond, an artist whose work is far less important and far less interesting, gets a wall.

I could go on. A queer theater compilation without the two Charleses (Ludlam and Busch)? Without The Normal Heart, A Chorus Line, The Boys in the Band? A clip from Tony Kushner’s Angels in America and Voyage to Lesbos by The Five Lesbian Brothers, featuring a pre-Fun Home Lisa Kron. The Lesbos clip, about a gay woman marrying a guy to be “cured” of homosexuality, is a loving kiss-off to the 1960s, while Angels is one of the best examples of AIDS art ever, though the clip chosen could be confusing to those unfamiliar with the work.

The museum features helpful guides to places and neighborhoods. Something that might surprise the viewer is that Greenwich Village’s Julius bar was not always a gay bar, and in 1966 there was actually a “sip-in” to gain the right for queer people to be served. Another revelation, because so much of queer history is whitewashed, is the role Harlem played: The Gumby Book Studio was a vital destination; lesbian Gladys Bentley a well-known star.

And then there is the exhibition’s title. Whoever came up with it has forgotten that there are a couple of other letters in LGBTQ besides G.

Not to say the exhibit isn’t worth seeing. It’s entertaining, highlights criminally underrated artists and showcases amazing power couples, like Bill T. Jones and Arnie Zane, Greer Lankton and Paul Monroe, Larry Rivers and Frank O’Hara, and Robert Mapplethorpe and Sam Wagstaff.

There was no LinkedIn, OkCupid or Patreon back then — artists created their own communities and romantic pairings without the internet, in a time when their very existence was frowned upon by the majority. Many likely don’t understand how much of mainstream culture was made by these outsiders. West Side Story is but one example. That tribute to heterosexual love was created by four queer men, Leonard Bernstein, Jerome Robbins, Arthur Laurents and Stephen Sondheim. Yes, it was based on Romeo and Juliet, but there are other interpretations that can be made.

The exhibit also examines theater, with clips from Tony Kushner’s Angels in America and Voyage to Lesbos by The Five Lesbian Brothers, featuring a pre-Fun Home Lisa Kron. The Lesbos clip, about a gay woman marrying a guy to be “cured” of homosexuality, is a loving kiss-off to the 1960s, while Angels is one of the best examples of AIDS art ever, though the clip chosen could be confusing to those unfamiliar with the work.

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You would not expect to find queerness in a 1932 movie, but Call Her Savage slipped some shout-outs in there, with talk of Greenwich Village and a scene with two panies, characters that epitomized effeminacy. Vito Russo called the scene “possibly the first representation of a gay bar in a commercial American film.” There’s also Harry Rose singing about frankfurter sandwiches, so interpret that as you will.

George Platt Lynes’ work, especially John Leopart and R.X. McCarthy #375, his 1932 photo of a nude black man posing erotically with a nude white man, is the very definition of groundbreaking. Greer Lankton is probably better known, though also a cult figure. The trans artist succumbed to an overdose, but not before creating dolls of Andy Warhol and Vogue editor Diana Vreeland. Lankton’s recreation of Warhol can be read as either a tribute or a joke, seeing as how he is sitting on top of a pile of money.

As you enter the exhibition, you are greeted with Max Ewing’s Gallery of Extraordinary Portraits. A 1928 precursor to Instagram, the installation features pictures of his friends and celebrities in a facsimile of a walk-in closet. I am shocked that such an important relic has never before gotten the attention it deserves. It would have been nice to know the subjects of these pictures, but maybe that is lost to history.

Gay Gotham is showing at an interesting — some would say terrible — time for queer culture. In the last couple of years, there has been a loss of important, purely queer spaces and publications — lesbian bars Cattyshack in Brooklyn and Meow Mix in the East Village; the websites AfterEllen (which I wrote for), TechnoDyke and PrideParenting (which I was an editor for); bookstores A Different Light and Oscar Wilde Books; and print mags Girlfriends, On Our Backs, HX, HX for Her and The New York Blade.

One might conclude that if queer spaces and publications are not succeeding it might simply mean they are not needed, but I believe we will always want to communicate with each other, to see ourselves reflected, to have spaces that are only ours, to take part in connections that will inform our art. “Gay Gotham” shows not only how important these kinds of spaces once were, but why they must be preserved for future generations at any cost.
Moonlight
Directed by Barry Jenkins
111 Minutes, Rated R
Theaters Citywide

By Mark Read

Barry Jenkins is certainly not the first filmmaker to take on the subjects of urban poverty, drug violence and black masculinity. There is a long and illustrious history of films that have examined the bleak realities of life under the humiliating and emasculating condition of multi-generational poverty, of black lives cut short or permanently scarred by unending cycles of gang violence, of the stubborn dignity of the women and men who struggle through seemingly insurmountable odds. My personal favorite among these is Menace II Society, by Allen and Albert Hughes, which still rings true more than 20 years later. Many others — John Singleton’s Boyz in the Hood, Spike Lee’s Clockers, and F. Gary Gray’s Straight Outta Compton — have spoken truthfully to the ongoing racist violence of poverty and its violent consequences, particularly for young black men.

Barry Jenkins’ film Moonlight is unlike any of these films. The film looks and feels entirely and utterly new, not even vaguely referencing those previous films in whose tradition it sits. While the milieu of Moonlight shares some things in common with these treatments — we know that this world is perilous and violent — we know that with these treatments — we know that the only thing that’s gotten worse. His difference is more evident now. To the alpha boys at his high school he is a sissified “jaggor,” for which he is mercilessly bullied. He is sullen and withdrawn within a world that is hostile to his very existence. His only friend is Kevin (Jharrel Jerome), who has adjusted into his own social role — the jokester/clown — more easily than Chiron. Their intimate encounter in the film is treated in much the same way as other important moments: unsentimental and emotionally true. The ensuing betrayal and Chiron’s violent response, which lands him in prison, is the central tragedy of the film.

The consequences of Chiron’s adolescent violence are a stark reminder of what the school-to-prison pipeline looks like, the foreseeing of possibility that marks the lives of black men in this society. The film’s third act finds Chiron (now played by Trevante Rhodes) in Atlanta, nearly unrecognizable as a drug dealer, Juan’s “sissified “faggot,” for whom the school-to-prison pipeline has adjusted into his own social role — the jokester/clown — more easily than Chiron. Their intimate encounter in the film is treated in much the same way as other important moments: unsentimental and emotionally true. The ensuing betrayal and Chiron’s violent response, which lands him in prison, is the central tragedy of the film.

The harrowing emotional power of this third act stems from how true the film remains to the specificity of its characters and their stories. It is an unflinching look at black men whose lives are profoundly shaped by external forces that simply and brutally limit their agency. I felt sadness, shame and outrage as the film came to its tender conclusion, but more than any of these, I felt a kind of gratitude for being invited to bear witness to these lives.
Dear Reverend Billy,

I am a woman. I’ve always felt that my queerness was the very foundation of my politics. But since the election, some progressives have claimed that the Democrats’ defeat was the result of focusing on identity politics, that going forward we have to focus solely on economic issues and dial down on “lesser” issues. I feel as if these folks want me to closet my identity politics. I find this attitude very upsetting — and a bit of betrayal.

— Bru in Hell’s Kitchen

Dear Bru,

We’re working through a time of confusion, when some of best strategists are flummoxed. If there is a return to sexual angst, embrace it. Let your disease entertain you.

— Jen from FiDi

Dear Reverend Billy, I know you are not much for shopping. Neither am I. But there is so much pressure this time of year to give gifts. How do I show the people in my life I care without buying anything?

Giving has nothing at all to do with big retail. Santa is a Macy’s invention from the 1800s and has absolutely nothing to do with giving.

You owe nothing at all to the guilt-tripping “Black Friday” myth. It is not unapologetic to walk away from the whole violent mess of American commercial Christmas. It is, in fact, your gift to the Earth. The holidays cause not only mind-altering boredom, but also climate change and habitat devastation. Cast analyzing. Kafka’s protagonist woke up as a cockroach. You can too. Play with your angst, embrace it. Let your disease entertain you.

— Daria from Mott Haven

Dear Daria,

I lived in California for a long time and I suffered a seasonal depressive disorder for 71 straight seasons. In the almost mockingly wonderful sunshine I found myself seated with crossed legs at a sidewalk café, sipping a cappuccino at 2 in the afternoon, having done nothing up to that point except suffer mild existential discomfort, which actually felt fashionable. The French have a word for it.

How do you keep “whatever it is” from infecting your brain? This season is something. What I mean to say is, it is material, physical — a thing. That is your opening. Follow the path of this infection — out of your malaise.

Dramatize the symptoms of your disease. Try writing it out. Your ravings might read like a Mayo Clinic doc-blog or resemble Philip K. Dick. The point is, dark things are not necessarily para- lyzing. Kafka’s protagonist woke up as a cockroach. You can too. Play with your angst, embrace it. Let your disease entertain you.

— Indy Staff

Illustrations by Gary Martin

By Indy Staff

YOUR TRUMP CHRISTMAS SHOPPING GUIDE

Dear Reverend Billy, as the days are getting shorter I’m finding it harder to stay motivated. How do you suggest I keep this seasonal depressive disorder, or whatever it is, from infecting my soul?

— Daria from Mott Haven

By Indy Staff

Illustrations by Gary Martin

Make dinner grande again. Prove to the Mexicans who live next door that just because you strongly suspect they are murders and rapists that doesn’t mean you don’t have mucho respect for their cuisine. Each Trump Taco Bowl kit comes with packets of Trump-brand sour cream for putting the white on top.

TRUMP MASSAGE CHAIR

Feel what it’s like to have Trump’s hands all over you. (Pussy guard not included).

TRUMP WIND-UP DOLL

No strings attached. Just ask Trump what he thinks of Rosie O’Donnell and listen to him go.

TRUMP TANNING HELMET

Block out “facts” from the dishonest, lying media while receiving a soothing, full frontal dose of ultraviolet radiation. It’ll leave your face orange and your mind smug and satisfied. For just $29.99 more, we’ll include a bottle of stupendous Trump bleach.

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No strings attached. Just ask Trump what he thinks of Rosie O’Donnell and listen to him go.

TRUMP TANNING HELMET

Block out “facts” from the dishonest, lying media while receiving a soothing, full frontal dose of ultraviolet radiation. It’ll leave your face orange and your mind smug and satisfied. For just $29.99 more, we’ll include a bottle of stupendous Trump bleach.

TRUMP TACO BOWLS

Make dinner grande again. Prove to the Mexicans who live next door that just because you strongly suspect they are murders and rapists that doesn’t mean you don’t have mucho respect for their cuisine. Each Trump Taco Bowl kit comes with packets of Trump-brand sour cream for putting the white on top.

TRUMP MASSAGE CHAIR

Feel what it’s like to have Trump’s hands all over you. (Pussy guard not included).

TRUMP WIND-UP DOLL

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Thanks to foundation support we received this fall, The Indy is in the process of doubling its print circulation. We are placing outdoor news boxes around the city. We are also putting wire news racks at public libraries and other venues.

None of this would be possible without the help of volunteers who maintain the boxes and find new venues where the paper can be shared. Here are the firsthand stories of several of the unsung heroes who are helping build a grassroots media revolution.

Arun Aguiar
Canarsie, Brooklyn.

Canarsie is a working-class, mostly Caribbean and African-American neighborhood out here at the end of the L train. Last spring, I organized a Bernie Sanders field office. I was aware there would not otherwise be one in Canarsie. We connected with 200 people and built a core group of 20 who did phone banking and block-by-block canvassing.

I began distributing The Indypendent after I saw a call for help in last month’s issue. I began by approaching the three public libraries here in Canarsie about carrying The Indy. One of the libraries now accepts a stack of papers while the other two are going through the process of reviewing the paper. We also have a number of senior centers and community centers in Canarsie that I am reaching out to.

I recently attended a holiday party at a senior center where I personally placed about 60 copies of the paper into the hands of individual people. Only a couple copies were thrown in the trash or left on the table. The rest were taken home.

One person I met at the party is a retired mailman. I told him I would bring back copies of the next issue and he could be the one to go around and hand the paper out to each person. And he said, “Great, – I love that – I’ll do that!”

Placing one of the outdoor boxes by the Canarsie-Rockaway Parkway subway station might be a good idea. Most people travel to and from Canarsie by train. There are also five bus lines that drop off at that station so there’s a constant stream of people.

My goal is to achieve saturation coverage in my neighborhood. The Indy is a great educational tool for an already aware community. For those who end up reading it, I think it will add to their level of sophistication and understanding of the multitude of issues confronting them.

Pam & Chris Brown
South Slope, Brooklyn.

We run Align Brooklyn, a wellness studio that offers yoga, pilates and chiropractic services. Earlier this fall we placed one of The Indypendent’s wire racks on the sidewalk in front of our business at Fifth Avenue and 16th Street. It holds several hundred papers and I’m amazed at how quickly the papers are taken. The people coming through our business care a lot about politics and the world. They understand wellness is more than individual. It’s societal as well.

To maintain the rack, it’s just a matter of the last person working at night putting it inside the door and then we put it back out in the morning. It’s really important to expand the circulation of The Indy, especially now that we’re entering the Age of Trump. Having voices outside of corporate media may be one of the only things that can save our democracy. It’s also important for the Left to get on the same page and have a space like The Indy where a variety of left opinions can be discussed.

Any business where community is important shouldn’t hesitate to carry the paper. For us, it’s good marketing. It says who we are and what we’re about. We’re proud to be associated with The Indy and with the Left and with independent media.

Bill Koebslein
East Village.

I have been politically active since I joined the civil rights and peace movements as a teenager in the early 1960s. For many years I worked with The Brecht Forum/New York Marxist School and also work with The Theater of the Oppressed Laboratory which was founded in 1990. I think The Indypendent is a really fine paper. There’s a lack of New York City-oriented coverage — something the city definitely needs from left media. It’s in the tradition of independent, non-sectarian left media like the old Guardian weekly newspaper based here in New York whose demise was a big loss for the Left and left media when it collapsed in 1992.

I maintain a couple of Indy boxes along Second Avenue near where I live. It’s a very busy pedestrian area. The box located at Second Avenue and Fourth Street is located right in the middle of a number of theaters and restaurants as well as the Cooper Square Mutual Housing Association. It’s positioned right next to a box for AM New York and another box for the Village Voice. It’s gratifying to see the Indy box there because it’s our media. And judging by the speed by which the box gets depleted you know people appreciate it.

Lev Friedman
Park Slope, Brooklyn.

I am a retired New York City public school teacher. Back in the late ‘60s, I used to deliver an underground newspaper called The Rat to shops and stores in Brooklyn. It did a lot of coverage of the Vietnam War and the resistance to it.

These days, I’m helping The Indypendent. I monitor a couple of their new outdoor boxes on Seventh Avenue near where I live. I keep track of how the papers are moving make sure the boxes remain clean and that there’s always a display copy in the window.

Besides the boxes, I try to get The Indy out on Facebook and email. I have almost 700 friends on Facebook and a big list of names, a lot of them local, who are interested on email. When I go away for several weeks this winter, I have a friend in the neighborhood who will help with watching the boxes.

The Indy is covering so much great news—real news, as opposed to all that fake news we’ve been getting, including from The New York Times. There’s a lot of good anti-racist coverage in The Indy, which is crucial, as well as articles on climate change and the environment. Recently The Indy had an issue on the impact of Trump’s election and what he can do to us. This is important news and analysis to get into the hands of more people.

Want to get involved in helping build The Indy’s circulation? Email us at contact@inddependent.org, or call 212-905-1282. For more about how to contribute financially to our continued growth, turn the page.
We’re growing like never before — doubling our print circulation as we roll out outdoor news boxes across New York City and prepare to launch a beautiful new website early next year that will be fully mobile compatible.

With Donald Trump soon to become the next president, *The Indy* is stepping up in a big way. But will this growth be sustainable?

To continue expanding in 2017 and beyond, the support of our readers is more important than ever. We still have to cover all our regular expenses, and we have to print more papers than ever before. To stay on track heading into 2017, we have to raise $40,000 in our year-end fund drive. Will you help?

When you give to *The Indypendent*, you are supporting:

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

If you like what you see in the *Indy*, please give today! Whether you can give $27, $50, $100, $200, $500 or $1,000, it makes a big difference.

Thank you for your support.

*The Indypendent* staff & volunteers