

NORTH AMERICAN EDITION

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ALOVE SUPREME

"Deep Democratic Awakening"

WE THE PEOPLE of the global Occupy movement embody and enact a deep democratic awakening with genuine joy and fierce determination. Our movement—leaderless and leaderful -is a soulful expression of a moral outrage at the ugly corporate greed that pushes our society and world to the brink of catastrophe. We are aware that our actions have inaugurated a radical enlightenment in a moment of undeniable distrust and disgust with oligarchic economies, corrupt politicians, arbitrary rule of law and corporate media weapons of mass distraction. And we intend to sustain our momentum by nurturing our bonds of trust, fortifying our bodies, hearts and minds and sticking together through hell or high water in order to create a better world through a deep democratic revolution.

e refuse to be mere echoes must be open-minded, flexible, fluid, of the vicious lies that sup- inclusive, transparent, courageous, port an illegitimate status self-critical, compassionate and quo. Our deep democratic awakening visionary. We must recast old notions

of empire, class, race, gender, religion, sexual orientation and nature into new ways of thinking and being. Our movement is a precious, sublime, messy and funky form of incubation. Again like jazz, we must embody and enact a loving embrace of the art of our collaborative creations. We must embody a universal embrace of all those in the human family, and sentient beings, and consolidate an unstoppable fortitude in the face of systems of oppression and structures of domination. We will suffer, shudder and struggle together with smiles on our faces and a love supreme in our souls. Just as justice is what love looks like in public and tenderness is what love feels like in private, deep democratic revolution is what justice



GENERAL STRIKE IN OAKLAND: On November 2, days after Mayor Quan's police brutalized non-violent occupiers with tear gas, thousands marched on the Port of Oakland to bring shipping in Northern California to a standstill. PHOTO: AP/Kent Porter, Santa Rosa Press Democrat



Another **A**merican Way

ISSUE 5

hen I went looking for Occupy Johnson City, Tennessee, the spiky profile of pickets and placards struck my eye first, and then the people underneath them, but it did not look like a global uprising per se, just an orderly crowd in a parking lot. But a crowd, there's a sight, in a town where people mostly drivethru or drive on. I saw some American flags and a sign that said "God Hates Banks" and figured this had to be it. From across the street I heard one person say a few words at a time, repeated by the crowd in the unmistakable "from this day forward..." cadence of a wedding or a swearing-in, and again I wasn't sure I was in the right place. As it turned out, the call and response was the people's microphone, famously re-invented in New York to subvert the ban on amplifiers. Here in Tennessee it sounds like people taking vows. Repeat as one: men in UMW jackets, farmers in their town clothes, college kids, retired schoolteachers, young couples pushing strollers, the wilderness guide in a kilt, the homeless man with the sign in Latin. Really the temptation was to ask any given person, what is the story? Because there is one.

This is Appalachia, home of the forested Cumberland and Wildwood Flower and NASCAR and 18% unemployment and bless your heart. Home of mountaintop removal, wherein coal companies find it profitable to tear the earth's own flesh from its bones and leave the stunned, uprooted living to contemplate drinking poison, in the literal sense. Birthplace of the Blair Mountain rebellion, where underpaid labor ran up against big capital in an insurrection unlike any other this country has known. That was in 1921, and by many accounts the approval rating of big capital here has not improved. Just this month, a dispassionate Wall Street analysis ranked us the fifth-poorest region in the land. The people's microphone in this context sounds like a tent revival. It took twice as long to say anything, but induced full participation, which is also very southern, come to think of it. At length we agreed to march ourselves down State of Franklin Street, and as we stretched across block after block of stopped traffic, people in their pickups and dingedup station wagons and gas-conscious sedans honked and cheered to see our "tax greed" signs, and did not advise us to get a job or a haircut. The orthodox objections have grown ridiculous. Every system on earth has its limits. We have never been here before, not right here exactly, you and me together in the golden and gritty places all at once, on deadline, no fooling around this time, no longer walking politely around the dire colossus, the so-called American Way of consecrated corporate profits and crushed public compassion. There is another American way. This is the right place, we found it. On State of Franklin we yelled until our throats hurt that we were the 99% because that's just it. We are. **BY BARBARA KINGSOLVER**

takes the form of we everyday people raising our individual and collective voices to tell the painful truths about unjust systems and unfair structures that yield unnecessary social misery. The past thirty years of a top-down, one-sided class war on precious poor and working people—with the greatest transfer of wealth from bottom to top in human history—have taught us that we either fight together in the name of truth and justice or we lose our livelihoods and sacred honor. In this sense, the movement is already victorious: our organizing and mobilizing have shifted public discourses toward truth and justice-towards a focus on corporate greed, wealth inequality, escalating poverty, obscene levels of unemployment, the role of big money in politics, and abusive military and police power. But we have work ahead of us yet.

The full-scale bankruptcy of the neoliberal order—of deregulated markets, unaccountable oligarchs, bribed politicians—is now an established fact of life and history. Its age is coming to an end. Our deep democratic enlightenment must break us out of our narrow intellectual frameworks and our parochial cultural habitus. Like the inventors of jazz, we



looks like in practice. Revolution may scare some people because of its connotation of violence. And this is understandable in light of many past revolutions, such as the American revolutions against monarchy in 1776 or against slavery in 1861. But the revolution in our time-against oligarchy and plutocracy—need not be an ugly and violent one. The rich legacies of Martin Luther King and Nelson Mandela, and recent revolutions in Tunisia and Egypt, have taught us that we can deal with our social catastrophes

with social compassion and that we can transform unjust societies with courageous visions and nonviolent strategies. If we equip ourselves with truthful systemic analyses of power in our minds, moral commitments of steel in our backs and a genuine joy in serving others in our hearts, then our dream of a nascent justice spread across the globe may be no mere illusion.

We are prisoners of a bloodstained, tear-soaked hope. This means we are free to imagine and create a more deeply democratic world than we have yet witnessed in history.

BY CORNEL WEST

Through

Then New York City's mayor October 26 when hundreds left Lib-ordered an assault this art S ordered an assault this the story played like a script only the police had fired on peaceful occupi-1% could write: Michael Bloomberg, ers the night before. Marching to a Wall Street media baron worth \$18 the sound of staccato drumbeats and billion, who spent \$50 million of his own money and rewrote the law to win a third term in office, sent in a thousand cops to trash a library, close a kitchen, shut down an occupation many of those that came before; and arrest hundreds in the name of

"unsanitary" conditions in the park. But the tactics behind the scenes are more complicated.

Occupy Wall Street, 18 mayors held a conference call to "discuss" the national movement. In the days that followed, police attacks on Seattle, Portland, Denver, Atlanta, Salt Lake and other cities went into effect. Careful public relations strategies were crafted to spin the legality of the assaults against peaceful democratic assemblies. Federal agencies, including the FBI and the Department of Homeland Security, served as consultants.

Nine weeks into the occupation, we know this: every time the forces of order have confused themselves with the rule of law, the movement has expanded. Numbers have multiplied. Four young women pepper sprayed without cause brought thousands more into the streets. After 700 arrests labor and students led 30,000 people

into the streets. As New York occupier Noah Fischer put it: "Every week is a turning point.' It's helpful to remember the last

big turning point-the night of

erty Square, outraged by the tear week on Liberty Square, gas and rubber bullets that Oakland bagpipes toward City Hall, the chant resounded — "New York is Oakland and Oakland is New York!"

At first the march looked like surrounded by flashing lights, with police escorts violently pushing people from the streets back up on the sidewalks, the crowd circled City Hall Preceding the NYPD's raid on Park. Then, while circling it a second time, something unexpected happened: the group dispersed, bodies dashed through traffic toward Foley Square and, moments later, rejoined to form a 500-person mass surging uncontained up a side street.

> People streamed through police lines that hurriedly assembled to block them at Broadway and overtook the avenue. They used the people's mic to announce NYPD movements and to coordinate directions of the march. For the next two hours, occupation euphoria swept lower Manhattan: it was on the asphalt in the

lanes between stalled sedans and taxis where marchers walked, danced and cheered. On the sidewalks outside of bars and restaurants, diners looked up into a sea of exhilarated faces.

The evaporation of fear wasn't all on the Brooklyn Bridge, organized that changed that night. People who had been barricaded and brutalized realized their power to control the streets. It was the recognition that the

Continued on back

WE ARE DREAMERS.

The true dreamers are those who think things can go on indefinitely the way they are. We are not dreamers. We are awakening from a dream which is turning into a nightmare. We are not destroying anything. We are only witnessing how the system is destroying itself. To be engaged in fighting for freedom, you have first to free yourself from the chains of ruling ideology. When you criticize capitalism, don't allow yourself to be blackmailed that you are against democracy.

THE CHANGE IS POSSIBLE.

Slavoj Žižek Liberty Square, NYC October 2011



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POVERTY & RICHES

ifty million Americans live in poverty, as do a quarter of this nation's children. The new poor are the former middle class. Despite reams of indicting evidence, the media arm of the 1% attempts to spin statistics in a way that diverts responsibility from Wall Street elites and onto the negative habits of poor people.

After the recession hit in late 2007, the number of people living in poverty climbed to 46 million, up from 37 million in 2006. The sharp rise in poverty had nothing to do with drug and alcohol use among people in need; it was a result of unchecked and unregulated greed.

Former labor secretary Robert Reich succinctly explained this blame-the-poor rationale: lower-income people, he said, are regarded as "somehow different, either because they're assumed to be Latin Americans or African Americans, or they are just assumed to be somewhat different." But Reich also noted that no one in this economy is invincible.

"If you are just a typical American, your chance of falling into poverty sometime during your 30 or 40 years of working life is almost one in three, and the poverty rate keeps on going up," he explained.

In their defense of the 1%, critics have maligned the Wall Street occupiers as promoting a "socialist" agenda, suggesting that they want government to seize the assets of the rich and distribute them among the poor. Not so, for me. I have nothing against the rich; I just hate unfairness. Besides, wasn't it socialism when we bailed out the banks? The financially insecure are not "mobs," nor are they calling for special entitlements for the poor. As William Stack, one of the occupiers, recently explained:

"It is not a crime to demand that our money be spent on meeting people's needs, not for massive corporate bailouts. The real criminals are in the boardrooms and executive offices on Wall Street, not the people marching for jobs, health care and a moratorium on foreclosures

Hundreds of Wall Street occupiers have been arrested for protesting, but not one banker has been sent to jail for their crimes.

Money may determine who has the power, but not the truth. The truth is on the side of the occupiers. My grandmother, Big Mama, always used to remind me that the truth does not move. And neither should the occupiers.

BY TAVIS SMILEY

THE PRIVATIZATION OF CONTROL

PRISONS

There are more than 125,000 inmates in privately owned American prisons. The birth of the "prison-industrial complex" can be traced to the early 1980s, when tougher sentencing, prison overcrowding and the "War on Drugs" led lawmakers to embrace privatization. In 1984, the Corrections Corporation of America (CCA) was contracted to manage a facility in Tennessee—the first time any level of government handed complete operation of a jail to a private firm.

CCA and its largest competitor, GEO Group, together made more than \$2.9 billion in 2010. They collect a daily rate per inmate and routinely lobby Congress for stiffer sentencing laws. While the number of people in state-operated prisons has risen 16 percent since 2000, the number in private facilities has more than doubled.

Investors like Merrill Lynch, American Express and Allstate reap a lucrative return buying prison bonds that finance these private facilities. Though touted as cost-saving, there's evidence that they're more expensive than public prisons. Private prisons often refuse inmates with expensive medical conditions. Their smaller staffs and scant training also enable more violence.

MILITARY

Despite exorbitant costs and recurring scandals, the U.S. military could not meet its deployment needs without private contractors. At the height of the Iraq war it was estimated that 100,000 contractors worked alongside 150,000 GIs. "We literally could not go to war today without [these contractors]," Col. Kevin Farrell, chief of the military history program at West Point, recently said.

While the average base military salary ranges from \$16,000 to \$40,000, a private contractor doing the same job for Xe Services (the mercenary outfit formerly known as Blackwater), Raytheon or KBR, Inc. earns \$150,000 to \$200,000. Essentially shadow armies run by veterans, they are typically exempt from local statutes and international laws of war, such as the Geneva Conventions. They enjoy immunity from punishment for prisoner-abuse and torture.

In 2007, Blackwater personnel opened fire on unarmed Iraqi civilians, killing 17. Though an FBI investigation found that the majority of the killings were "unjustified and violated deadly-force rules," none of the contractors involved were charged with a crime.

Mohamed Bouazizi, a 26-year-old produce

vendor, sets himself on fire in response to years of

petty police harassment in Sidi Bouzid, Tunisia. His

self-immolation sparks a wave of protests against

Ali is forced from power and flees the country.

17 DEC/TUNISIA

BY JENNIFER SACKS



DEFENDING DEMOCRACY: Military personnel and veterans have appeared in uniform at occupations across the country, often in response to heavy-handed policing.

The War Comes Home

black National Guardsmen showed up in uniform at Lib-erty Square shortly after Oak-get into with nowhere to go and no one to turn to. He said he had committed to six years of part-time duty in order to go land police had hospitalized a U.S. to school part-time, and noted the irony Marine and Iraq war veteran in the of being forced to pay into the military crackdown on Occupy Oakland. He health care system while Congress votes allowed people to take his photo, and nearly every year to raise its own salaries. quite a few made it a point to personally Separate from this, a viral YouTube thank him and shake his hand.

against military regulations for active- of cops with flex cuffs on their belts at duty troops to attend demonstrations in the massive Times Square demonstrauniform—although standing in a park tion in mid-October. surrounded by tents in the middle of "This is not a war zone," Thomas yells a cold rainy afternoon perhaps didn't in the video. "It doesn't make you tough count. Active-duty personnel who to hurt these unarmed people. These are attended Afghanistan and Iraq war pro- U.S. citizens.' tests made it a point not to appear in uniform because of these rules.

"I support this movement one-hun- protestors." dred percent," the Guardsman told me.

He was bothered by what he described men and women identify—and stand as government's "imbalanced" approach boldly—with the 99%, the more power to fiscal issues, namely massive tax cuts this movement gains. A thoughtful solfor the 1% and a slash in social service dier, a soldier with a conscience, is the funding for the 99%. Shelters for home- 1%'s worst nightmare. less teenagers faced cuts, and he feared what kind of trouble these kids would

video shows uniformed U.S. Marine This is remarkable because it is Sgt. Shamar Thomas shouting at dozens

The Marine's intervention likely prevented the arrest of dozens of peaceful

The more that America's military

BY PHAM BINH



demand for a spokesperson, Occupy Occupy Los Angeles set up tents figure out Shelby's demands.

easy, even under the best conditions. in this accomplishment. So the Idahoans who've joined **Occupy Occupy Tucson** began their **Boise** have developed an outlet: a griev- encampment on October 15 at Armory ance booth, designed to collect evidence Park, just two blocks from the city's of the injustices stated in the Declara- financial district. Each night theretion of the Occupation. There, people are after, police entered the park at the able to articulate their reasons for join- 10:30 p.m. curfew with a pad of citaing the movement, vent their frustra- tions; though they carried more than tions and tell personal stories.

wrought by those financial and corpo- one was forced to pack up and leave. Detroit is the result." Since the occupation Agosto Park. of Grand Circus Park began on October



WE ARE THE DEMANDS

VOTE EVERY DAY

LAW IS NOT THE SAME AS ORDER

DEMOCRATIC ASSEMBLY

IS OUR BASIC RIGHT

AMERICA WILL BE BEAUTIFUL

IT'S UP TO YOU & ALL OF US

OCCUPATION IS PARTICIPATION



sing door-to-door canvassing and social networking, the people of Cairo organize a mass rotest on Police Day demanding an end to harassment, repression and torture. What follows is an 18-day uprising against President Hosni Mubarak's dictatorship. Hundreds of thousands of Egyptians stream into Tahrir Square after the regime blocks internet traffic and sends thugs to attack protesters, swinging world opinion against Mubarak. On Feb. 11, the regime falls, inspiring an Arab Spring of pro-democracy activism from : Yemen to Bahrain to Syria.





B/WISCONSIN & OHIO

More than 20,000 Wisconsinites protest Gov. Scott Walker's austerity budget and his attack on collective bargaining. Carrying : signs and Egyptian flags, protesters draw a parallel between their struggles. In the weeks-long rebellion, hundreds of thousands occupy the state capitol Madison; hundreds of students are arrested. In Columbus, Ohio, nearly 4,000 protest against similar attacks on the public sector and workers' rights.

Embracing participatory democracy, they reject traditional parties and the rule of finance capital that imploded the country's economy. **25 MAY / GREECE** Tens of thousands gather in Athens after plans are announced

police violence.

15 MAY /SPAIN

THE UNITED STATES OF OCCUPATION

in parks and plazas and public spaces across the nation, people outraged at financial crimes and political skulduggery have slept and eaten and talked and cared for one another—a new American civic space has been created. In every

In response to Mayor Michael Hancock's provide for homeless Detroiters.

Denver elected the movement's first on the steps of City Hall, where their leader. Her name is Shelby, and she proximity to Skid Row has been both is a 3-year-old border collie dog. a blessing and a curse. Within days, Because Shelby can "bleed, breed, and Skid Row residents started showing up show emotion," Occupy Denver reaf- for food and water. Thefts and violence firms that she is "more of a 'person' soon followed. But since working with than a corporation." Occupiers also local advocacy groups like LA-CAN demanded that "U.S. law be followed (Los Angeles Community Action Netas it concerns providing an adequate work), starting an Occupy the Hood interpreter," so it's up to the mayor to affinity group and instituting a policy of inclusive self-policing, security has Camping out with strangers is never improved. Many at the camp take pride

\$1,000 in fines each, determined Tus-While Occupy Wall Street sits in conans continued to hold the park. On the belly of the financial beast, Occupy the evening of November 3, Tuscon Detroit symbolizes the devastation police rousted the encampment. Everyrate elites: "Wall Street is the source of They walked a few blocks up South the problem," occupiers there say, "and Stone Ave. and reoccupied at Veinte De

14, the camp has risen to the challenge encampment on October 11, but the lawsuit which would ask for injunc- ing eviction attempt. of building a political movement in a city protesters returned and several hun- tion relief against any future attempt to In Albany, Governor Andrew disobedience ritual, occupiers walk from a victory when a U.S. district judge and other police could learn from," said arrest occupiers across the nation, they blighted by vacant homes, buildings, lots dred people are now sleeping in Dewey evict the occupiers from Dewey Square. Cuomo has repeatedly asked Mayor the city-controlled Academy Park to the issued a temporary restraining order occupier David Swanson. "I've watched are quickly learning that while you can and schools by deploying its resources to Square. With a unanimous mandate In light of recent crackdowns, they filed Jerry Jennings to clear the encampment state-controlled Lafayette Park to violate against a curfew the police were trying a police officer refuse the U.S. Chamber arrest bodies, you can't arrest an idea.



FOR SOME STRANGE REASON: No matter how many people get arrested, fear is not on the agenda. PHOTO: Adrian Kinloch

Police trashed Occupy Boston's working group prepared a preemptive won an injunction against any upcom- the city police department have refused. The Albany district attorney has merce. "Thus far the police have been cold to show solidarity with the move-

Why We Fight

you're reading this and still asking what Wall as soon as the ink was dry. Street ever did to you, try this:

You were robbed. In the biggest heist in the nistory of robberies.

It doesn't matter that you're young or old, spent the last three years getting fleeced.

The national news media has passed off the crash of 2008 and the bailouts that followed as a happens every now and then.

that rescued us all from the abyss.

happen was a mass heist, carried out in four steps: The theft started when banks created a vast

Protests against austerity and unemployment erupt in 58 Spanish cities,

beginning the 15-M Movement. More than 1,000 indignados occupy

the central square, Puerta del Sol; in the weeks that follow, hundreds

of thousands gather in public spaces, holding mass assemblies and

to dramatically cut public spending and raise taxes in exchange

for a €110 billion bailout. Sustained strikes and demonstrations,

many of them organized on Facebook, rage across the country;

the aganaktismenoi, or indignants, are met with tear gas and

peaceful sit-ins to demand greater say in the political process.

you're marching at Occupy sites in lower creating huge volumes of home loans. As recently unions all across America plummeted. Which is After the crash, the banks were given access to Quebec or Rapid City, South Dakota or any because they worried about collecting on them. Minneapolis might have woken up in September of the federal reserve with the implicit understand

home loans from the Countrywides of the world so fund or a Mississippi carpenters' union to In 2009, barely a year after taxpayers rescued they could be pooled and chopped up and resold unload their exploding product, they scur- them from imploding, bailout babies like Goldto suckers in Europe, the Middle East, China and ried back and forth with delight, high-fiving man Sachs (\$16.2 billion in 2009 compensation) Republican or Democrat—if you're an American here at home as AAA-rated investments. This is each other in those skyscraper offices you and Morgan Stanley (\$10.7 billion) were doling and own a home, collect a pension, pay taxes or not unlike buying a truckload of oregano, dividing might now be looking up at from your perch in out record compensation pools—a trend that has have a savings account, vou've almost certainly the shipment into ten-thousand Ziploc bags, then Liberty Square. touring rock concerts around the world and selling it off as high-grade weed.

logical response to a fluky historical accident—a the loans were, the smartest of them then went two equally corrupted presidential administra- been created and a quarter of a million families "thousand-year flood" economic mishap that just out on the market and placed massive bets against tions, one Democrat, one Republican—doubled are still losing their homes every three months. those loans

leaders buckled down and made tough decisions in seconds (and even their chief bookie, AIG, col- had sold them lapsed), the banks turned to dishwashers, janitors, ers—to pay off their bets.

Countrywide and New Century with the aim of collapsed, retirement funds for state workers and seen the inside of a prison.

biggest heist in the history of robberies."

"You were robbed. In the

could find with those deadly mortgages. Every But the banks' very first move was to restore their Next, banks bought back all of those junk-rated time they struck a deal with a Chinese wealth own exorbitant salaries.

alone. Instead of forcing our criminal financiers pensation at \$135 billion, both all-time highs. Because the banks themselves knew how dicey to pay victims back, our government—through down on the theft by forcing the same retired The bailouts did not help us. Instead, they helped And if you watched chin-stroking TV docu- Finally, when the deadly home loans blew schoolteachers to reach into their pockets a sec- the people who put us out of our homes and on dramas like "Too Big to Fail," what you learned up, creating a global tsunami of losses in which ond time, spending tax money to pay off the bets to the streets. is that at crunch-time our banking and regulatory centuries-old companies worth billions vanished the bankers made against those investments they There are a thousand reasons to occupy Wall

This level of highly orchestrated, institutional tem, the need for jobs and a living wage, gross That is all lies. It is not what happened. What did firemen, teachers — they turned to us, the taxpay- crime is unrivaled in American history. Follow- wealth inequality. But if you need just one reason ing the Savings and Loan Crisis in the 1980s our to join this movement, it is this: Many of the banks' best customers for these government referred more than 1,100 cases for Himalayan mountain range of debt, lending fraudulent oregano-loans were institutional inves- prosecution; today, after a massive industry-wide helped finish the job. trillions of dollars to unscrupulous lenders like tors like state pension funds; when the mortgages mortgage scam, not one Wall Street executive has

Manhattan or Joliet, Illinois or Outremont, as 20 years ago, banks didn't make risky loans why retired schoolteachers from Los Angeles to billions in bailouts and zero-percent loans from of a hundred other places across the continent, But in this case, banks never intended to hold on 2008 to find their life savings had lost 40% in value. ing that after we rescued them, they would kickyou surely came with your own reasons. But if to the loans; the loans were designed to be sold off Wall Street bankers nailed everyone they start the economy and put people back to work.

continued to this day, as Wall Street's annual reve-But Wall Street doesn't shoulder the blame nues soared past \$417 billion last year, with com-

Three years into this "recovery," few jobs have

Street—unending war, a failing health care sys-

You were robbed, and your government BY MATT TAIBBI

U.S., Occupy Wall Street spreads from coast to coast.

7 SEPT /OCCUPY WALL ST.

ccupy Wall Street begins as 2,000 people respond to the Canadian magazin Adbusters' call for an end to corporate influence in the political process. After police block them from Wall Street, then One Chase Manhattan Plaza, a few dozen occupiers regroup at Zuccotti Park several blocks north of the New York Stock Exchange. They rename it Liberty Square as an homage to the Egyptian uprising that began in Tahrir Square in January.





29 SEPT DECLARATION

<code>`hrouah</code> a consensus-based process, the New York General Assembly approves the Declaration of the Occupation, a founding document that speaks to the "feeling" of mass injustice" that brought people together. Calling out illegal foreclosures, exorbitant student debt and the outsourcing of labor, the document of grievances is delivered "at a time when corporations, which place profit over people, selfinterest over justice, and oppression over equality, run our governments." In San Francisco, protesters attempt to occupy Citibank, Chase and Charles Schwab; the Transport Workers Union urges members to join the movement.

5 OCT/LABOR MOVES

On a day of solidarity billed as "Occupy Together," a crowd of 30,000including members of the transit, communication, teacher and health care unions—joins a student walkout at Foley Square in lower Manhattan. Occupations spread to dozens of U.S. cities as protesters camp in Los Angeles near City Hall, in Chicago outside the Federal Reserve Bank, and demonstrate from Memphis to Minneapolis, Baltimore to Austin.







emocracy is not simply speaking truth to power, to ask, politely or not, for reforms great and small. Sometimes you have to do it yourself. The 1% is just beginning to understand that the reason Occupy The 1% is just beginning to understand that the reason Occupy Wall Street makes no demands is because we aren't talking to them. The 99% are speaking and listening to each other. 4,167 people have been arrested since the occupations began; millions more are reimagining the world we want to live in. Police forces have been deployed by Republican and Democratic politicians alike to break a movement that was first ignored and then mocked in what passes for the news. It's not just America. This is a living democratic movement that is global in scale and growing in real time. That this beautiful thing is met with state violence says everything we need to know about the perpetrators. It also means we're on to something. Their attacks are based on an understanding of power that's dying, if not already dead. Mubarak is Berlusconi is Bloomberg is Quan is Walker is pepper spray is

ncampment at Legislative Plaza.

their threat to evict the occupation.

down the Port of Oakland.

arrests on November 16.

to enforce on the Occupy Nashville of Commerce's request to arrest us as we blocked the Chamber's doors."

In the middle of the night on On November 6, thousands from October 25, some 500 riot police university, non-profit and community surrounded Occupy Oakland's Oscar groups nationwide joined Occupy DC Grant Park, tore down the encampment to protest the Keystone XL pipeline and arrested at least 105 people. That project. Forming an unbroken chain afternoon, more than a thousand around the White House, demonstrapeople marched back to the camp and tors called on President Obama to though the police once more met them reject TransCanada's contentious plan with force—tear gas, rubber bullets to send polluting tar sand crude oil and flash grenades—the occupiers from Alberta to the Gulf of Mexico. took back the park and immediately The project has been postponed.

called for a city-wide general strike. At Occupy Austin, as elsewhere On the same night, across the bay in across the country, protesters have San Francisco, police backed down on relocated private funds through bank actions. The occupation's Bank Action Around the world people poured Committee has overseen transfers from into the streets in solidarity with Bank of America, Wells Fargo and Chase Occupy Oakland. One week later on to local credit unions. Texan credit November 2, instructors held teach-ins, unions reported 47,000 people had dozens of businesses closed voluntarily joined and \$326 million was moved in and demonstrators took to the streets October—four times the usual growth for the general strike, periodically clash- rate. Nationwide, the Credit Union ing with police and eventually shutting National Association reports 650,000 people have joined credit unions and In southern California, **Occupy** have added \$4.5 billion in new savings **San Diego** has been subject to multiple accounts in the past month.

violent raids. An early morning raid on As of this writing, there have been October 29 led to dozens of arrests, but demonstrations in nearly 1,000 cities the occupation regrouped and retook worldwide. There have also been multhe plaza. They faced a fourth wave of tiple coordinated and violent evictions. But still, we press on. From Anchor-**Occupy DC** is keeping the heat on at age to Orlando, encampments are Capitol Hill, with actions at "super-com- being created by people who likely mittee" hearings, an occupation of Gen- never imagined they would sleep in eral Atomics (a defense contractor that a park in winter. Even Antarctica has specializes in drone aircraft) and the peri- been "occupied," thanks to researchers from their general assembly, the legal it on November 15, and the next day near the State Capitol, but Jennings and the newly imposed curfew and get odic shut-down of the Chamber of Com- at McMurdo Station who braved the Each night at 11 p.m., in a kind of civil dismissed each case. Tennesseeans scored a model that Oakland and New York ment. And though police continue to



EDITORIAL WE ARE FREE PEOPLE

broken politics bound to the past and we make no demands of them because free people constitute governments, not the other way around. We don't know how this is going to end, but the beginning is near.



THE TAXES **CORPORATIONS DON'T PAY**

hile most Americans relinquish 40 percent of their income to taxes, the most powerful corporations in the world pay next to nothing once credits and deductions are factored next to nothing once credits and deductions are factored in. In fact, twelve of the largest Fortune 500 companies-including Wells Fargo, Exxon Mobil, General Electric and Verizon-paid an effective tax rate of negative 1.4 percent on \$175 billion in profits during the years 2008 to 2010.

In that period, 300 of the nation's most profitable companies paid an 18 percent average tax rate, 78 paid zero, and 30 had a tax rate of less than zero despite pocketing \$160 billion in pretax profits, according to Citizens for Tax Justice. The New York Times reported this year that GE paid no taxes on the \$5.1 billion it earned domestically in 2010; instead it reaped a \$3.2 billion tax benefit.

How's this for contrast: the number of IRS hours devoted to auditing corporations worth more than \$250 million has declined by 33 percent since 2005, while hours auditing businesses worth less than \$10 million increased by 30 percent. Meanwhile, Rachel Porcaro, a single mom of two making \$10 an hour cutting hair in Seattle, was audited by the IRS for making too little money. Her \$18,992 income was so low the government presumed she was stashing cash somewhere.

BY CHRIS "99%"

THE COLLEGE DEBT TRAP

he cost of attending a public university in the U.S. has more than doubled in the past two decades, and tuition at public institutions has risen an average of 5 percent a year since 2006. So it's no surprise that student-loan debt has surpassed credit-card debt: American graduates owe \$24,000 on average and more than \$800 billion collectively. Two-thirds of college students now graduate with debt; one in five defaults. Unlike business, mortgage, credit card and gambling debts, which can be negotiated in bankruptcy court, student-loan debt is exempt from consumer protections and is essentially inescapable.

Three weeks ago, President Obama announced a speeded-up plan, to take effect in 2012 rather than 2014, that will reduce the maximum required payment on student loans from 15 percent of discretionary income to 10 percent, with remaining debt to be forgiven after 20, not 25, years. For grads who can't find a job immediately after college and have no other financial support, defaulting on student loans-and spiraling into more mountains of debt, sometimes vastly exceeding initial tuition costs—poses a very real threat.

BY ANNA LEKAS MILLER

BASIC FAMILY PLANNING: A PRIVILEGE, NOT A RIGHT

n August, the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services announced that starting in one year, all birth control must be covered without a co-payment. But there's a catch: it applies only to women who have health insurance.

Nineteen million uninsured and unemployed women, disproportion ally Black and Latina, rely on disappearing and underfunded public health clinics. Planned Parenthood, for example, has already been defunded in New Jersey, Texas and Wisconsin, and several other states' public health clinics are being closed due to lobbyists' so-called "Targeted Regulation of Abortion Provider" (TRAP) laws. On November 8, Mississippi voters rejected a public ballot measure that would have legally recognized a fertilized egg as a person, effectively banning all abortions, the "morning after" pill and some contraception methods such as IUDs.

Inevitably, some women will be able to evade these restrictions, using their money and privilege to find birth control or abortions outside of their states. But for those who cannot access either affordable birth control or the almost \$500 cost of a first-trimester abortion, basic family planning is a privilege that must be bought rather than a right that is assumed.

Targeting and defunding public health clinics, privileging those who can still afford health insurance, and legally restricting abortion and contraception divides women into two classes: those who can afford to control their reproductive futures, and those who cannot.

BY ANNA LEKAS MILLEI

Following Mayor Bloomberg's announcement that the NYPD would enforce a "cleaning" of Liberty Square starting at 7 a.m., occupiers rally by the thousands in the dawn hours to protect the park. At 6:15, Bloomberg backs down. Occupiers celebrate with a rousing victory lap through the Financial District. The next day millions rally in an international day of solidarity in more than 900 cities, including Hong Kong, Athens and Rome, Nairobi and Johannesburg. In the

25 OCT/POLICE VIOLENCE

Police raid Occupy Atlanta and arrest 53. In Oakland, police fire tear gas, rubber bullets and flash-bang grenades at peaceful occupiers, racturing the skull of a two-tour Iraq War veteran. Thousands rally at he renamed Oscar Grant Plaza to protest police brutality, and retake heir encampment. Occupations in Denver, Los Angeles, Atlanta and an Francisco all successfully resist eviction by local police.



2 NOV / GENERAL STRIKE

Building for a general strike, Oakland occupiers call to "Liberate Oakland, Shut Down the 1%." Teachers and students strike. With a bike bloc trailblazing the way, thousands march to the nation's fifth largest port, climbing on signs and big rigs. The Port of Oakland issues a statement calling the port "effectively shut down." Thousands march in solidarity across the country.

15 NOV/THE 1% ATTACKS

Hours after the Portland and Oakland encampments are again raided, NYPD, including officers from the Counter-Terrorism Bureau, stage a federally coordinated raid on Liberty Square at 1 a.m. Sporting riot gear and brandishing pepper spray and a 'sound cannon', about 1,000 cops descend on the park and toss books, laptops and tents into dumpsters, forcibly clearing the encampment. Bridges and subways are shut down is lower Manhattan is deemed a "frozen zone." More than 200 are arrested. Oakland Mayor Jean Quan admits later that day that she was on a conference call strategizing with mayors of 18 cities, while an official from the DOJ indicated that each action was coordinated with help from the DHS and the FBI along with other federal agencies.



THINGS YOU CAN DO NOW

OCCUPY!

- Visit occupytogether.org to connect locally.
- Occupation is participation. Join an affinity group or working group.
- Go to occupywallst.org and takethesquare.net to follow the global effort supporting the movement.

2 SPREAD THE WORD

- Be a digital media maven; promote the Occupy movement across social networks
- Submit your photo to wearethe99percent.tumblr.com
- Promote local events through Twitter using the following hashtags: #ows #occupy #occupytogether #occupywallst and #occupywallstreet

DONATE

Follow and respond to **#needsoftheoccupiers** on Twitter

Stop by your local occupation and drop off cardboard, markers, cloth, tarps, tents, generators, water, prepared food, non-perishable food (please include halal, kosher, vegan and foods for a variety of needs), and quality warm clothes.

OCCUPY YOUR LIFE

- Occupy your occupation! Whether you clean houses, sit behind a desk, teach in a classroom, work in a kitchen, play an instrument, speak a second language, are a whiz with budgets, can pull projects together and make things happen, make videos, walk dogs, anything... your skills are needed at your local occupation square!
- Send personal letters, phone calls and emails to friends and family.
- Learn how to do something new. Don't be afraid to challenge yourself.

5 EDUCATE YOURSELF AND OTHERS



if you like us and want to see more, please donate



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Submissions are open and encouraged. We are always on the lookout for people who want to help. Write us a note, ask us a question or tell us a story at occupymedia@gmail.com

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Enacting the Impossible

he direct democratic process adopted by Occupy Wall Street has deep roots in American radical history. It was widely employed in the civil rights movement and by the Students for a Democratic Society. But its current form has developed from within movements like feminism and even spiritual traditions (both Quaker and Native American) as much as anarchism. The reason direct, consensus-based democracy has been so firmly embraced by and identified with anarchism is because it embodies what is perhaps anarchism's most fundamental principle: that in the same way human beings treated like children will tend to act like children, the way to encourage human beings to act like mature and responsible adults is to treat them as if they already are. Consensus is not a unanimous voting system; a "block" is not a No vote, but a veto. Think of it as the intervention of a High Court that declares a proposal to be in violation of fundamental ethical principles—except in this case the judge's robes belong to anyone with the courage to throw them on. That participants know they can instantly stop a deliberation dead in its tracks if they feel it a matter of principle, not only means they rarely do it. It also means that a compromise on minor points becomes easier. The process toward creative synthesis is really the essence of the thing.

So Real It Hurts

at Occupy Wall Street from a com- act. And that is why we did it. munity meeting with some South Asian friends, we were handed a sheet of paper with a working draft of the Declaration of the Occupation.

The night before, I'd heard the Declaration read aloud at the General Assembly and turned to my friend, Sonny, after noting the line that hit me in the stomach: "As one people, formerly divided by the color of our skin, gender, sexual orientation, religion, or lack thereof, political party and cultural background..." Initially we'd shrugged it off as a rhetorical flourish. Then we realized this was about to become the Declaration of the movement, sent out to the world as a defining document of the occupation. The proposed text ignored people from countries that have been colonized and communities right here where democratic participation is anything but a given. It was not something I could founding document, we said, was not something get behind. But I couldn't walk away from the

document, or from this movement, either. So our radical South Asian contingent stood

n a Thursday night when I showed up ration was a serious act. We knew it was a serious

It is intimidating to speak in front of hundreds of people, but it is even more intense to speak in front of hundreds of people with whom you feel aligned-and to whom you are saying something that they don't necessarily want to hear. We told the General Assembly that we wanted a small change made to the language, but that this change represented a larger ethical concern. To erase a history of oppression in this

We did a course on history and the Declaration of Independence and colonialism and slavery. It was real. It was hard. It hurt. But people listened.

that we could allow to happen. We proposed that they cut out the line, and after debate they but a victory for the movement. As I biked home accepted our change. We withdrew our block.

in front of a white man and explain privilege to him. It hurts. It makes you tired. Sometimes it makes you want to cry. Sometimes it is exhilarating. Every single time it is hard. Every single time, I get angry that I have to do this; that this is my job, that it shouldn't be my job. Every single time, I am proud of myself that I've been able to say these things because I used to not be able to, and because some days I just don't want to.

In that small circle following the assembly we did a crash course on white privilege, struc-

tural racism and oppression. We did a course on history and the Declaration of Independence and colonialism and slavery. It was real. It was hard. It hurt. But people listened. Sitting there on a street corner in the Financial District at 11:30 p.m., talking with 20 mostly white men, it all felt worth it. Explaining the way that women of color like me experience the world—and the power relations, inequalities and oppressions that govern that

world-felt for me like a victory. A victory not only for myself and others who feel the way I do, that night over the Brooklyn Bridge, the world seemed somehow, just a little bit more, in that moment, to be mine. It seemed somehow like the world that could be all of ours.

In the end, it matters less how a final decision is reached—by a call for blocks or a majority show of hands-provided everyone is able to play a part in helping to shape and reshape it.

We may never be able to prove, through logic, that direct democracy, freedom and a society based on principles of human solidarity are possible. We can only demonstrate it through action. In parks and squares across America, people have begun to witness it as they have started to participate. Americans grow up being taught that freedom and democracy are our ultimate values, and that our love of freedom and democracy is what defines us as a people—even as, in subtle but constant ways, we're taught that genuine freedom and democracy can never truly exist.

With the spread of the occupation, hundreds of assemblies, big and small, now operate by consensus across America. Decisions are made democratically, without voting, by general assent.

According to conventional wisdom this shouldn't be possible, but it is happening—in much the same way that other inexplicable phenomena like love, revolution or life itself (from the perspective of, say, particle physics) happen.

BY DAVID GRAEBER

POSTER ART BY FAVIANNA RODRIGUEZ FROM ISSUE #4 FOR MORE: OCCUPRINT.COM

up. My friend Hena addressed the crowd of hun- My friend Sonny looked me in the eye and said, dreds with our concern. We were told to send an email that could deal with it later. Hena persisted, and again the facilitators at the General Assembly tried to bypass our grievance and push it off. They warned us that to "block" the Decla-

"You did good." I had never needed to hear those words as much as I needed to hear them then. After the assembly, I spoke with some of the men who had written the document. Let me tell

you what it feels like as a woman of color to stand

BY MANISSA MCCLEAVE MAHARAWAL

Read the Declaration in full at nycga.org.

Issue 3 photo credits: Navid Baraty - Rick Bruner

And a very special thanks to those who contributed but cannot have their names published here, for whatever reason.

BREAKING THROUGH continued from page 1

revolt had traveled from coast to coast, and back again, like an echo taking on a life of its own.

It's hard to make sense of what has transpired so quickly. Only nine weeks ago, 21-year-old Hero Vincent from Charlotte, North Carolina, remembers climbing out of the subway at Wall Street and seeing almost no one.

"There were only four or five of us," he recalled, "so I said, 'Hey guys, where's the protest?' and they looked at each other and said, 'We're it.'" The group walked to Battery Park where they met up with some others. A couple of thousand marched. Several dozen camped that night, September 17, under the delicate canopy of honey locust trees in what was then called Zuccotti Park.

"I only thought I'd be here a week, I thought it would be over," said Hero, tall and athletic with a handsome face that has thinned visibly after the four arrests he's endured in two months. "I didn't know it would become a movement like this. It's uncontrollable. We're building history right now."

Crucially, organized labor has swung into action. When Liberty Square first faced eviction by Mayor Bloomberg, the New York State AFL-CIO sent an unprecedented call to its members: "We can't tell you exactly what will be happening when you arrive. But we can tell you this: the more people who can stand in solidarity the better."

Transit workers, domestics, teachers, retail and communications workers fresh from the picket lines of the Verizon strike have all stepped up. As George Gresham, president of the Healthcare Workers Union 1199SEIU, told a group of labor organizers: "Through the militant, the bottom, the youth - where revolutions have always started—there's enough momentum to take this to another level."

From Cairo to Athens. From California to the New York Island. The script of the 1% has been read. Now it is time to write our own. BY MICHAEL LEVITIN WITH JED BRANDT

THEN THEY'LL RAISE THEIR HANDS/SAYIN' WE'LL MEET ALL YOUR DEMANDS/BUT WE'LL SHOUT FROM THE BOW "YOUR DAYS ARE NUMBERED" — BOB DYLAN, WHEN THE SHIP COMES IN

We Are Not Alone: From Abolition to Occupation

has not vet made demands? Yet at the same time, Occupy Wall Street has accomplished something that takes other movements years. It has crystallized a sense of outrage-and made clear that this outrage is shared by tens of millions.

I think about other moments in my lifetime when it suddenly became thrillingly clear that millions of people felt the same way. One was in the late 1960s, when huge crowds poured into the streets, again and again, opposing America's war in Vietnam. It took years more to stop that



e're at a curious moment in this war, and an appalling amount of bloodshed by remarkable movement. Has there the Vietnamese. But something changed after ever been one so widespread that those demonstrations began. All of us who had vowed never to fight in Vietnam looked up and down the long lines of fellow marchers and knew we were not alone.

> Another exhilarating moment came in East Germany in the fall of 1989. Wanting the freedom to travel, to read and speak as they chose, and to be rid of constant surveillance and threats by the secret police, thousands of people began massing one Monday evening in a public square in Leipzig. Quickly the Monday demonstrations spread to other cities, and the crowds grew to tens of thousands. Within two months it became hundreds of

thousands, and the Berlin Wall came down. Don't imagine, though, that real change will

happen so quickly here. We are up against a system of deeply rooted, widening inequality that is a veritable Berlin Wall of corporate power. I think our progress, our pattern of defeats and advances, will be more like that of another movement.

Roll the clock back about 220 years. Up through the late 1700s, most people in Britain accepted slavery as unthinkingly as most Americans until now have accepted the rule of giant corporations. British ships dominated the Atlantic slave trade, and on occasion reaped hedge-fundsized returns: a single voyage by the Hawke of Liverpool in 1780 made a 147% profit. Some half million slaves toiled 12-hour days on the lucrative sugar plantations of the British West Indies. The profits from their labor built many a mansion in London's most exclusive neighborhoods, and country estates whose grandeur rivals anything in the Hamptons today. Jamaican sugar mogul William Beckford could afford to hire Mozart to give we're not alone. his son piano lessons.

Yet this was an era when the French and American Revolutions put new ideas about human equality into the air. When a brilliantly organized antislavery movement began in London in 1787, it quickly found a following. As often happens, the grassroots outpaced headquarters, and, unorganized by anyone except a couple of pamphlets suggesting the idea, by 1792 at least 400,000 people in the British Isles were refusing to eat slave-grown sugar. It was the largest consumer boycott the world had yet seen-and one of those moments when people who cared deeply about something looked around and saw they were not alone.

Sugar planters and their lobbyists were as taken by surprise as Wall Street was when people began pouring into Liberty Square in September. They fulminated, they issued counter-pamphlets, they claimed that ending slavery would throw thousands of Britons out of work. And for a time they prevailed. But in the end the antislavery activists won. They discovered the strength of their numbers through the sugar boycott, through vast petition campaigns, and, in later years, in mass meetings. In 1807 they succeeded in abolishing the British slave trade. Stimulated by news of the ongoing movement, a series of ever-larger slave revolts broke out in the British West Indies, and in 1838 British Empire slavery came to an end—a full quarter century before that happened in the United States.

In combating entrenched power of a different sort—a system with obscene profits for the 1% and hardship and a downward slide for many of the rest—I think we're now at about 1792 in this process. We have a long way to go. But we know

BY ADAM HOCHSCHILD