

VOTE
APRIL 19
BREAK THE MACHINE

BERNIE OR BUST?
SOME DELEGATES
ARE MORE SUPER
THAN OTHERS

TWO-PARTY SYSTEM
IN SHAMBLES, LESSER
EVILS ON THE ROPES

THE BATTLE OF NEW YORK

TUESDAY, APRIL 19, 2016

#BattleOfNewYork #NotMeUs



Cover art: Nona Hildebrand, w/Zak Greene & Jb. Photo: Tod Seelle

IT ALL COMES DOWN TO TUESDAY

Long after the media has recycled its last cliché about humble, corn-fed Iowans, flinty New Hampshireites and pious, god-fearing South Carolinians, the presidential primaries come to New York every four years as an afterthought.

But not this time.

The 2016 presidential primaries were supposed to be coronations for Hillary Clinton and Jeb Bush (remember him?) Instead, they have become prolonged battles that have revealed deep fissures within both the Democratic and Republican parties. On April 19, New York voters will play a crucial role in shaping the outcome of both races.

On the Republican side, Donald Trump is seeking a commanding victory in his home state in the hopes of putting his openly racist campaign back on track for a first-ballot victory at the Republican convention in July. In the Democratic race, former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton finds herself battling to win her adopted home state against Bernie Sanders. The Vermont senator has won

seven straight primaries and caucuses by double-digit margins but still trails Clinton by 214 pledged delegates thanks to her dominance in the Deep South earlier in the primary season. About 1,650 delegates remain to be allocated in the Democratic race.

When Sanders, a self-proclaimed democratic socialist, launched his presidential campaign last May, he stood at 3 percent in the national polls and was widely depicted as a fringe candidate who stood little chance against the Clinton machine. Sanders supporters didn't get the memo, especially the young. Instead of taking their cues from traditional media sources, they communicated across social media, shared memes and studied old YouTube videos that revealed striking contrasts between the two candidates over the past 30 years. Those differences exist both in their political views and their willingness to lead the fight for progressive causes before those issues became popular.

Continued on back

TRANSIT WORKERS ENDORSE SANDERS, CANDIDATE STANDS WITH LABOR

Nearly 40,000 Verizon workers walked off the job April 13 in the largest strike in the US in five years. They were soon joined at a Brooklyn picket line by Bernie Sanders.

"Today, you are standing up not just for justice for Verizon workers," Sanders told striking members of Communications Workers of America. "You're standing up for millions of Americans who don't have a union."

Verizon's profits have totaled \$39 billion over the past three years and its CEO takes home \$18 million a year. However, the company is demanding that its workers agree to the offshoring of more of their jobs to low-wage countries and health care costs for retired employees.

CWA had already endorsed Bernie Sanders in December. In a bold move days before the April 19 Democratic primary, Transport Workers Union Local 100 gave their endorsement as well to Sanders who insists that his self-described "political revolution" requires a fighting labor movement.

"In Bernie Sanders, we see a kindred spirit," TWU Local 100 President John Samuelsen said to an enthusiastic crowd of about 300 transit workers. "Bernie Sanders has been fighting against the 'powers that be' in this country on behalf of all American workers his entire life."

On the following day, fast-food workers in hundreds of U.S. cities walked off their jobs to press their demand for a \$15 per wage and the right to form a union.

BY JUSTIN MOLITO
Labor for Bernie

CORONATION OR ELECTION YOU DECIDE!

Five years ago we learned to occupy Wall Street, to speak less to power and more truth to each other. When Eric Garner cried out, "I can't breathe" in his final moments — we knew exactly what he meant. With the entire political, economic and media establishment united, this vote is a referendum on them. And the chance of a lifetime for us.

This is the new movement: interactive, young and not mediated by established power. Occupy Wall Street is not a demand, but a direct challenge. Black Lives Matter is not a request, but a statement of intention. We are not protesting power, we are exercising it.

After Obama, Clinton and decades of lesser-evil, fear won't make us accept a broken status quo. It's not just Trump or Cruz here in America: almost every country in the world has a fear-based movement that promises to restore the

hierarchy of old. When Clinton says things won't get better, that we won't get health-care or that war is permanent — even with no declared enemies — there is no reason in the world to accept this.

And for once, there's actually a choice. For the first time in living memory, the New York Democratic primary is the decisive ballot in a presidential election. And here's the truth: the Republicans are a farce and Clinton is weak. The future is unwritten.

When Bernie Sanders echoed Occupy Wall Street, called for racial justice and spoke of peace as if it were possible, it means he heard us.

This is how we meet him back, and speak to each other.

New York's media cartel is so discredited that thousands have contributed financially to create this special-edition

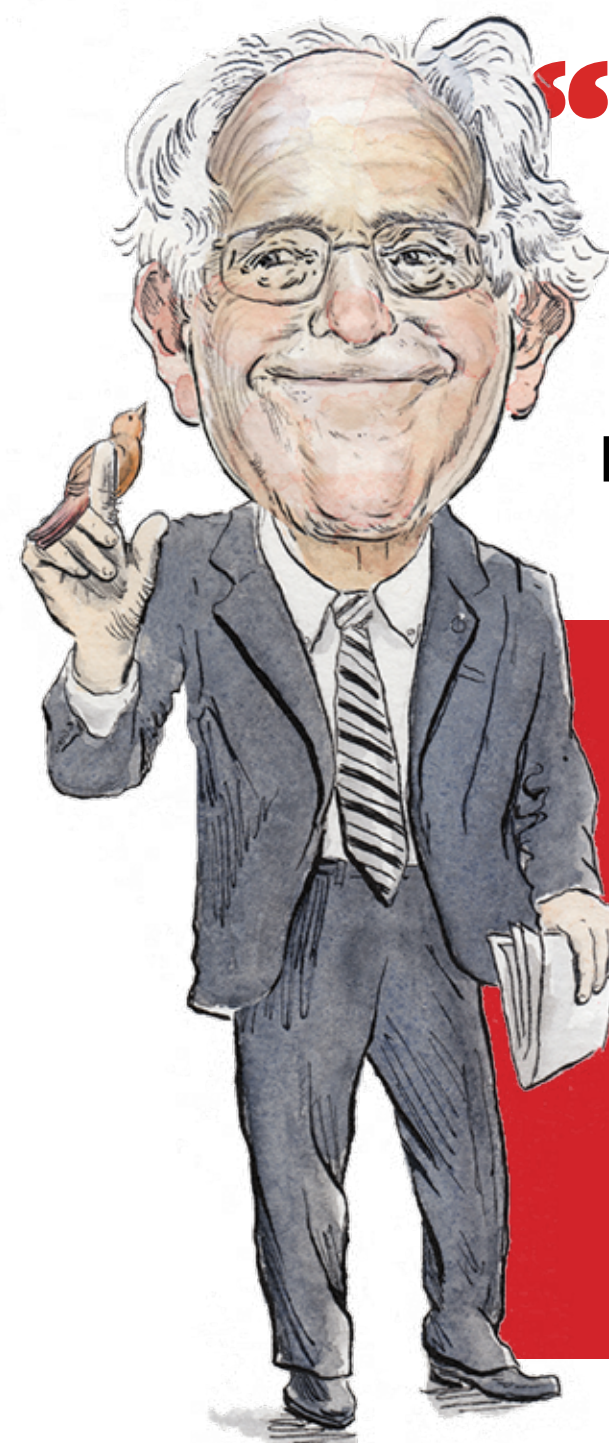
newspaper before the primary, in just the past few days. Operation Battle of New York can't replace "the media." But we can, in this moment, see each other.

Our problems are global and so are the voices of this project. This is not an argument that Sanders will save the day in all the ways Obama didn't. As Sanders said, he can't do it alone — so here we are. Millions of people are needed to seize this moment, and not just at the ballot box.

The Democratic National Committee chair said openly that the superdelegate system is designed to protect the party's leadership from the grassroots. We will see about that.

We're not just fighting for delegates — we are fighting for our lives.

THE EDITORS



THE POINT IS CHANGE CAN COME ABOUT, BUT IT ONLY COMES ABOUT WHEN MILLIONS OF PEOPLE ARE ACTIVELY INVOLVED IN POLITICAL STRUGGLE. THE BILLIONAIRES MAY HAVE THE MONEY, BUT WE HAVE THE PEOPLE.

VOTE TUESDAY, APRIL 19

POLL SITES OPEN 6:00 A.M. TO 9:00 P.M.

You must be a registered member of the Democratic Party to vote in this primary.

If you are not sure of your poll site, you can find it by

- Visiting <https://voterlookup.elections.state.ny.us>
- For New York City residents, call 866.VOTE.NYC

If you are unable to vote on April 19, you may absentee vote in person until Monday, April 18 at your local county board of elections.

Zoe Matthiessen



Ashley Williams disrupts a Hillary Clinton fundraiser at a private home in Charleston, South Carolina. When Williams asked why the candidate had used the term "super predator" to describe young blacks, she was escorted out of the \$500 per-person gala.

Bernie Sanders: An Authentic Fighter

The American Empire is in decline. Our market-driven culture is in decay. The criminal justice system has failed us. And the political system is collapsing due to the weight of corrupt lobbyists and greedy capitalists. Only organized power of courageous and compassionate people can turn around these catastrophic realities. Social movements in the streets and jails over against the Establishment in both decrepit political parties are fundamental. And prophetic politicians -- always with their faults and blind spots -- who tell the truth about Wall Street, white supremacy, empire, patriarchy and

homophobia, deserve our critical support. Yet even more important is the issue of integrity.

Brother Bernie and Brother Trump are authentic human beings in stark contrast to their donor-driven opponents. Yet only Bernie has authenticity and integrity, whereas Trump is for real but not for right. Trump's attacks on precious Mexican brothers and sisters are unconscionable. And Trump's unpatriotic complicity with the plutocratic corruption of our political system for over 30 years calls into question his integrity, including his commitment to "make America great again."

My endorsement of Brother Bernie in the primaries is not an affirmation of the neo liberal Democratic Party or a downplaying of the immorality of the ugly Israeli occupation of Palestinians. I do so because he is a long-distance runner with integrity in the struggle for justice for over 50 years. Now is the time for his prophetic voice to be heard across our crisis-ridden country, even as we push him with integrity toward a more comprehensive vision of freedom for all.

BY DR. CORNEL WEST



	H	B
Total raised in direct contributions	\$159.9m	\$13
Total contributions received	\$222.6m	\$13
Percentage of contributions from people giving \$200 or more	69%	15%
Individual donors who have given the maximum \$2,700 contribution	27,445	1,00
Bundlers who have raised \$100,000 or more	357	0
Amount raised for candidate SuperPACs	\$55.77m	\$23
Amount received from fossil fuel industry or individuals with ties to it	\$4.5m	\$54
Amount received from drug companies or individuals with ties to them	\$2.04m	\$45

“ If they want political warfare, we must expand the field of battle, and we must be on the offensive. Let us wage a moral and political war against the billionaires and corporate leaders, on Wall Street and elsewhere, whose policies and greed are destroying the middle class of America. Let us wage a moral and political war against the gross wealth and income inequality in America, the worst in the industrialized world, which is tearing this country and our economy apart. Let us wage a moral and political war against a dysfunctional health care system and fight for a Medicare-for-all single-payer system. Let us wage a moral and political war against war itself, so that we can cut military spending and use that money for human needs. Finally, let's understand that when we stand together, we will always win. When men and women stand together for justice, we win. When black, white and Hispanic people stand together for justice, we win. When straight and gay people stand together for justice, we win. When young and old stand together for justice, we win. When working families stand together, we win.”

#NOTMEUS

We live in an age of commanded individuality. Each is told that she is unique and encouraged to cultivate this uniqueness. We hear all the time that everyone is different, and we learn to insist on what makes us unlike anyone else.

Simultaneously, mainstream pundits blame millennials for being special snowflakes. Young people are depicted as self-centered and fragile. They are instructed to be independent and strong, to take responsibility and stop relying on others to do things for them.

This media and political tendency to blame millennials for pursuing a "politics of me" deflects attention from the underlying economic reality facing the 99%. More and more people feel like their only option is doing-it-themselves and going-it-alone. So not only is the insinuation that the present generation is a "me generation" false (high percentages of millennials embrace socialism), but it blames the products of the failed experiment with tax cuts and intensified market competition for the system that produced them.

The struggles of individualism, of "making it on your own", run deep in many working class Americans, who cling to self-reliance, know that other people are likely to fail or betray them, and can't rely on experts or institutions. They try to raise children when school budgets and social services have been cut. Some struggle with illness and bat-

Our individualism is based on an illusion that is no longer sustainable. In each other, we can find a better way.

tle with addiction. Others overcome dysfunctional families and past relationships. Mental health care is too expensive. Many can tell heroic tales of self-sufficiency, turning inward as they manage feelings of betrayal, accept flexibility and flux, and cope with the sense of being utterly alone.

All see themselves as fighting to survive in a context where the odds are stacked against them. Betrayed by schools, the labor market, and the government, the working class holds on to the only person they can count on, themselves.

At the same time that social mobility has never been more stagnant, the individual is still offered up as the most significant determinant of success or failure. In competitive labor markets, one has to distinguish oneself to get hired or to maintain the fantasy of something like a fair competition. For every winner, there are thousands upon thousands of losers -- and even winners can't relax, they have to keep on because the competition never lets up.

Rather than a locus for creativity, difference, agency, and responsibility, the individual today is the overburdened remainder of dismantled institutions. The structures and institutions that were supposed to help people develop their capacities have been demolished, overrun by the market.

The idea that collectivity is impossible is the flipside to this commanded individuality. We are all so different, so singularized in our experiences and ambitions, that we can't cohere in the common struggle. But the truth is that no one person can accomplish anything alone, not economically and certainly not politically. Building something, particularly something better, is a collective process.

In the past five years, it has become clear in the US that more people are pushing against commanded individuality. In 2011, Occupy Wall Street pushed against the machine here in New York. Now we can see -- that wall is cracking.

Right now, people cohering in the common struggle. They are re-energizing unions, political organizations, and movements, recognizing the strength that comes from the many. They are pushing back against the influence of corporations and Super PACs in electoral politics.

They are demonstrating, collectively and everywhere, the truth of the slogan from Bernie Sanders' campaign: not me, us.

BY JODI DE AN
Author of "Crowds and Party"

DREAMING WITH EL VIEJITO



The raid woke me up.

In 2007, my house got raided by Sheriff Joe Arpaio's deputies, who go to work sites in Arizona, take workers' papers and go house to house to arrest them. My uncle was detained for months, and his friends were deported. Then, while I was a student at Arizona State University, a law stripped in-state tuition

from undocumented students and took away all my financial aid.

When the Dream Act was introduced in 2009, it was something we could fight for. But we were stuck advocating reform in a two-party system where each side kept blaming the other but never addressed the human need to change the system. The establishment Democrats tried to shut the Dreamers down. We challenged them.

We pressured Obama to stop deporting Dreamers and allow us to work. I was the first Dreamer hired as a congressional aide. I saw the influence the big companies have; the legal bribery. I left that job in 2013 to stop ICE from deporting my mother.

When my brother told me about Bernie, I realized that somebody actually elected was talking about the deep corruption of the political system, how normalized it is.

Now, I see Bernie reaching out, bringing communities together. I'm not a citizen and can't vote, but with Bernie, I can keep pushing the envelope.

BY ERIKA ANDIOLA
National Latino Press Secretary for Bernie Sanders

As told to Jed Brandt

Millions Are Hungry for a Different Kind of Politics

I am definitely endorsing the political revolution.

We need to think very seriously, particularly as folks of color and progressives, about building either a new party or a new movement that can either hold the Democratic Party accountable or provide a meaningful alternative.

We don't have a real democracy today. Our politicians are pretending to serve two masters: The people who elect them and then the people who fund them. Unfortunately for millions of people who cast their votes every year, they rightfully wonder whether their politicians are responding more to the people who fund their campaigns -- including large pharmaceutical companies, big banks, payday lenders, private prison companies -- than the people who have elected them.

People are divided along racial lines in order to advance the interests of a privileged few. That is really the story of American democracy since its founding: How the privileged few have used race to drive a wedge between poor and working people in order to advance their own interests. Certainly this

was the case with slavery. Certainly the case with Jim Crow, [which] emerged in large part in response to a multiracial populist movement for economic justice. Those who were in favor of racial hierarchy and wanted to continue to exploit the lower classes found that they could defeat this populist movement by disenfranchising African-Americans and persuading poor and working class whites that they ought to preserve their racial supremacy in our political system and abandon their Black allies. After the civil rights movement, we saw similar dynamics emerging again.

Many people of color don't know or fully understand how this system of mass incarceration was constructed, why, and the devastating consequences for our communities. The Clintons had an important role. They escalated the drug war and the "get tough" movement far beyond what the Republicans had done, while at the same time dismantling the federal social safety net and transferring billions of dollars away from child welfare and housing into a prison-building boom unlike anything the world had ever seen.



Photo: Occupied Wall Street Journal. See also: historyisaweapon.org

The election of Bill Clinton marked the turning point for the Democratic Party, where the Democratic Party decided that, in order to win over white swing voters -- those who had defected from the party in the wake of the civil rights movement -- they were going to have to begin proving to that segment that they could be tougher than the Republicans had been. I think that's a part of our political history that is painful for the Black community to face. But it's necessary.

I think the Bernie Sanders campaign has demonstrated that there are millions of people out there who are hungry for a different kind of politics, and who want their politicians to be treating the American voters as though they matter. Democracy itself is a quest to ensure that every person, every human being is treated as though their life matters, their voice matters, their vote matters. What we've seen is that we haven't gotten there yet...I'm actually certain it will take a political revolution for us to get there.

BY MICHELLE ALEXANDER
Author of "The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness"

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CLINTON'S ONE TRUTH

Amid all the accusations that Hillary Clinton is not an honest or authentic politician, that she's an endless shape-shifter who says whatever works to get her to the next primary, it's important not to lose sight of the one truth she's been telling, and will continue to tell, the voters: things will not get better. Ever. At first, I thought this was just an electoral ploy against Sanders: don't listen to the guy promising the moon. No such thing as a free lunch and all that. But it goes deeper. The American ruling class has been trying to figure out for years, if not decades, how to manage decline, how to get Americans

to get used to diminished expectations, how to adapt to the notion that life for the next generation will be worse than for the previous generation, and now, how to accept low to zero growth rates as the new economic normal. Clinton's campaign message isn't just for Bernie voters; it's for everyone. Expect little, deserve less, ask for nothing. When the leading candidate of the more left of the two parties is saying that — and getting the majority of its voters to embrace that message — the work of the American ruling class is done.

BY COREY ROBIN



Photo: Jed Brandt

This revolution is not being televised. It's literally in your hands. Tens of thousands overflow into the streets around Washington Square, and the corporate media keeps reminding us why we stopped watching a long time ago. **Consider:** 1,600 people backed Operation Battle of New York in less than two weeks. Journalists, artists, thinkers and volunteers came together printing 200,000 copies of this single sheet of paper, passed hand-to-hand across the city and state. For this primary vote, this humble newspaper is the media. Help us reach our goal, and we'll be seeing you at the Democratic National Convention for The Battle of Philadelphia.

indiegogo.com/projects/Operation-Battle-Of-New-York

THE BATTLE OF NEW YORK

Why It Matters to the Black Community

We do need to put forth a Black agenda — nobody should be exempt from answering to one. However, we have an immediate need to dislodge the local Democratic machines who have been stewards of Black New York's decline.

The time is now to demonstrate what we already know. The state needs to work for the people: ridding ourselves of the existing leadership is the very next step.

In the 1960s through the 1990s, our community was alive, though certainly in a fragile state. I'd estimate that most of the Black homeowners and small business owners in Brooklyn during that time were civil servants — possibilities only created by labor, Black protest and power movements.

In that era, crime plagued all of New York City, not just where Black folks lived. As a child I would look at the rows of the Ingersoll and Farragut high-rise housing projects across Fort Greene and the Brooklyn Navy Yard. All they represented to me was violence and chaos, and I wished that they would just disappear.

Nobody is more under siege from Black crime than Black folks. And it is from this position that we accept the false choice of governance that the state gives: neglect or assault. It is in this context that "tough on crime" policymakers aggrandize themselves as underappreciated saviors of the Black community.

Let's be clear: white suburbanites disproportionately patrolling Black neighbors as policemen or serving as firemen or sanitation workers isn't charitable work: it's fiscal policy for white America. Local white communities, through heroism and myth, have normalized this paradigm. The net result is high Black unemployment and high crime.

No greater boost came to this colonial fiscal arrangement between white suburbia and urban Black America than the 1994 crime bill signed into

SANDERS & REPARATIONS

Bernie Sanders promises that, if elected, he would give a presidential apology as well as much-needed restorative justice for the disenfranchised, including the Black community.

"There's nothing that anybody can do to undo the deaths and misery, how many people we don't even know who died on the way over here in the ships. But the United States has to make an attempt to 'wipe the slate clean' by acknowledging the truth," Sanders said at a campaign appearance in Philadelphia. No candidate or president, including Obama, has ever offered an apology for slavery.

In many ways Sanders' statement continues a thrust of thinking about economic justice. It goes a long way in furthering a dialogue about reparations.

"As everybody in this room knows, what we're seeing in many African-American communities, outrageously high levels of unemployment, inadequate education, inadequate healthcare," he said. "What we have got to do as a nation is invest in those communities who need that... investment the most. Communities with long-term structural issues should become the communities that receive the highest priority for federal assistance. Let us make sure that in every way, federal funding goes to those communities who need it the most. In most cases, though, those areas are inhabited by Blacks."

BY KAZEMBE BALAGUN

law by Bill Clinton — with almost unanimous support from the Congressional Black Caucus.

The crime bill had a context. Amid a massive deindustrialization, spurred by NAFTA, this bill provided 100,000 new officers and \$10 billion in funding to create a police industry. This is the legacy with which we have to grapple during this primary.

Both candidates for the Democratic nomination to be president supported this bill, but it was Hillary Clinton that was its outspoken proponent.

Fundamentally, this election is about trust. We already know who the Clintons are: they are pragmatic managers of global capitalism. Their track re-

cord of betraying the public trust started in Arkansas with their concessions to the chicken industry, then continued with NAFTA once Bill Clinton was in the White House.

We've seen the costs to this strategy. We're living them right now — stagnant wages, an increasing wealth gap, costly education and unaffordable health care. The New York primary presents an opportunity to disrupt the Democratic political machine by voting for the insurgent candidate — Bernie Sanders.

BY BLANDON CASENAVE

A TALE OF TWO ELECTION RALLIES

San Juan to Sunset Park

The first Bernie Sanders rally to hit New York was different from the very beginning. Although Sanders is a Brooklyn native, his opening salvo was a charged open air gathering in the heart of the South Bronx.

Before Sanders took the stage, the first speaker was Residente, Puerto Rico's reggaeton superstar and outspoken social activist, who spoke about the history of the island, the world's oldest colony and the most impoverished territory of the United States. He reminded the audience that despite the active courting of the "Puerto Rican vote," residents on the island are not even able to vote for the president of the U.S. It was no simple pitch for a new politician, but a serious talk about the condition of the people.

As Residente put it, "The U.S. gets more out of Puerto Rico economically than Puerto Rico receives from the U.S. We are currently living an unprecedented economic crisis and we have the highest rates of poverty and unemployment of any other place in the U.S." Meanwhile, Washington imposes

its will to resolve the island's fiscal crisis without any input from the Puerto Rican people.

While communities of color in the city are dealing with high rates of poverty, police harassment, and hyper-gentrification, Puerto Rico is experiencing its biggest financial crisis in the country's history, pitting big banks and hedge fund managers against the needs of the island's residents..

This crisis is leading to the shut down of schools and local businesses, university cuts, water shortages. The island itself has become unlivable for many, sparking the largest exodus of Puerto Ricans to the U.S. since the 1950s. But this time, instead of farmers and families on the planes to the U.S., you have high tech pharmaceutical workers and Ph.D candidates.

It was an entirely different scene on April 9 when Hillary Clinton held her "Latino" rally at Industry City, an upscale market catering to "creative professionals" at the gentrifying edge of Sunset Park in Brooklyn. The only things "Latino" about the event were the local politicians, a popular bachata singer opening with some romantic songs and

Latin-themed backup dancers performing for the largely white crowd.

After Hillary Clinton was introduced and lauded as a champion of women's rights and the rights of Latinos, I got up on a press box and told her that Latina mothers couldn't afford to live in the neighborhood anymore. I called her out for receiving campaign donations from Goldman Sachs, an original gangster of the foreclosure crisis, and supporting the Wall Street bailout. I reminded her that "Industry City is not Sunset Park, this is not the community." Then I was pushed by a staff person and escorted out to the street. The cost of speaking truth to power in this city.

On April 19, we will speak with the power of truth. As Residente says in a love song to Latin America, *tú no puedes comprar la lluvia, tú no puedes comprar el sol, tu no puedes comprar mi alegría, tu no puedes comprar mi dolor.*

BY LENINA NADAL
@leninatweets

COMMUNITY UNDER SIEGE: MUSLIMS IN BROOKLYN

The Years of Fear Have to End

For the last 16 years, I have organized working class South Asian (mostly Muslim) communities for immigration, labor, educational, racial and global justice. When 9/11 happened, I was already organizing with immigrant detainees inside detention centers, so I witnessed firsthand when hundreds of such immigrants disappeared from their homes, workplaces, and streets and into the county jails and detention centers. People were torn away from their families and their communities. Entire neighborhoods, such as Brooklyn's Pakistani community in Midwood, began to resemble ghost towns when many of their businesses were shuttered amidst discriminatory investigations.

When none of these investigations produced solid leads, law enforcement agencies instead shifted toward "dialogue" with the local communities. This approach led to the establishment of an elaborate network of surveillance. When surveillance still failed to yield results, law enforcement then justified the invasive strategy by targeting and entrapping young and vulnerable Muslims.

In one case, an FBI informant was paid \$100,000 to manipulate Shahawar Matin Siraj, a worker at a Brooklyn Islamic bookstore who was found to have a well below-average IQ of 79. As a direct result of the FBI investigation, Siraj is now serving 30 years in prison. Another young man named Ahmed Ferhani, who had a demonstrated history of volatile behavior, self-harm, and bipolar disorder, was similarly entrapped by undercover NYPD officers. He eventually resigned himself to a 10-year plea deal for his role in an alleged terror plot. The consequential trauma that haunts Ferhani and his family recently led to his suicide attempt in the Attica prison where he is serving his sentence.

A lot of attention has rightfully been given to the resurgence of anti-Muslim and anti-immigrant rhetoric among Republican leaders. However, less attention has been given to the discriminatory policies that have already been implemented by the Obama administration. Over the last six months, South Asian and Muslim migrants, in tandem with Central American refugees, have been leading hun-

der strikes in at least 11 detention centers across the United States. Many of them have traveled across over a dozen countries by foot, or via perilous land and sea conditions seeking safety, only to end up suffering in detention centers, having their asylum applications denied, and even being deported back to dangers they had escaped.

The threats posed by hateful, right-wing rhetoric from the Republican candidates is apparent. But it is the sweet-talking status quo of the Democratic party establishment that carries out the same wars and neoliberal economics at home and abroad that have sowed the seeds of these right-wing movements. We cannot pin our hopes on saviors, whether in the form of elected officials or media-appointed activists. The years of fear have to end. We won't accept an intolerable status quo, or settle for promises. The change is coming.

BY FAHD AHMED
@desisrisingup



Photo: Sophia Becchieri

WORKING LIFE

Single Mom, Single Payer

I am a 42-year-old, hardworking single mama with a daughter who is 13.

With every paycheck, I lose 22 percent of my pre-tax earnings to pay for health insurance. This is on top of nearly a quarter of my income that goes to standard tax withholdings and another 10 percent that is garnished to pay the fees on my ever-increasing student debt, which I incurred so that I would have a better chance at a good job.

The only hope I have for stopping this economic abuse is if Bernie Sanders is elected and single-payer health care becomes the law of the land.

The Sanders single-payer plan calls for a new payroll tax of 2.2 percent on workers and 6.2 percent on employers to guarantee free universal coverage for everyone. Hillary Clinton has vowed a Medicare-For-All single-payer system will "never, ever come to pass". She uses Republican talking points to deride the Sanders plan, noting that a worker making \$50,000 a year would have to cough up \$1,100 in new taxes.

That's true enough. But what do you call the 22

percent of my income that is siphoned away each month by my private health insurance provider? Let's not forget that an unseemly amount of that money goes to bureaucratic paper pushing, marketing and advertising, shareholder dividends and the multi-million dollar salaries of top executives. And I still have to pay every time I see a doctor.

If I paid 2.2 percent instead of 22 percent of my earnings for health insurance, I could have a full complement of groceries in our home throughout the month — not just the two weeks my daughter is with me. I could get her the braces she needs and be able to visit family out of state. I would have free time to help out at my daughter's school and be able to do things that I cannot currently imagine.

When working parents like myself insist on a fair, humane health care system that we all pay into and all benefit from, we're not misguided idealists. We're speaking from the reality of our own lives.

BY PRISCILLA GRIM

LESSER EVILS, AND NOT SO

A Vote for Hillary Clinton Could Be a Vote for Trump

Many Democrats will tell you that there has never been a more menacing or evil presidential candidate than Donald Trump. With a consensus now emerging that the real estate mogul is the likely GOP nominee, it would hence stand to reason that the most important factor for many Democrats in choosing their own nominee is electability: meaning, who has the best chance of defeating the GOP Satan in the general election?

In light of this threat, can Democrats really afford to take such a risky gamble by nominating Hillary Clinton? Sanders' margin over Trump is generally very comfortable, while Clinton's is smaller. Clinton's average lead over Trump is just 2.8 percent, while Sanders' lead is a full 6 points.

Then there's the data about how each candidate is perceived. Put simply, Hillary Clinton is an extremely unpopular political figure. By contrast, even after enduring months of attacks from the Clinton camp and its large number of media surrogates, Sanders remains a popular figure.

A Gallup poll reported that "29 percent of Americans offer a positive observation about Clinton while 51 percent express something negative." As Gallup rather starkly put it: "Unfortunately for Clinton, the negative associations currently outnumber the positive ones by a sizable margin, and even among Democrats, the negatives are fairly high."

Polls show that the more the public gets to see of both candidates, the more popular Sanders becomes, and the more unpopular Clinton becomes.

Then there's the particular climate of the electorate. While it's undoubtedly true that racism and ethno-nationalism are significant factors in Trump's appeal, also quite significant is a pervasive, long-standing contempt for the political establishment, combined with enduring rage at Wall Street and corporate America, which — along with the bipartisan agenda of neoliberal globalization and free trade — have spawned intense economic suffering and deprivation among a huge number of Americans, and people around the world.



In this climate, why would anyone assume that a candidate who is the very embodiment of establishment power, who is virtually drowning both personally and politically in Wall Street cash, has "electability" in her favor?

Despite this mountain of data, the pundit consensus in the corporate media — which has been wrong about essentially everything — is that Hillary Clinton is electable and Bernie Sanders is not. All of the relevant data compels the opposite conclusion.

Rather than data, pundits rely on highly speculative, evidence-free claims: Sanders will also become unpopular once he's the target of GOP attacks; nobody who self-identifies as a democratic socialist can win a national election; he's too old or too Jewish to win, etc. The very same supporters of Hillary Clinton were saying very similar things just eight years ago about an unknown African-American first-term senator with the name Barack Hussein Obama.

Clinton has tried to reframe her campaign as the alternative to Trump. The facts, however, show the opposite to be true. A true establishment candidate like Clinton will have a much more difficult time defeating Trump, who is attacking the establishment from the right. A candidate who attacks the establishment from the left will present a much stronger challenge to Trump.

BY GLENN GREENWALD

PRIMARY, CONT.

At this point the Brooklyn-born Sanders has won 17 contests to Clinton's 20 while amassing an army of tens of thousands of volunteers and more than two million small donors. No single event could do more to bust the Democratic race wide open than a Sanders victory in New York. To that end, his supporters are canvassing door-to-door and phone banking at a furious pace. Meanwhile, the candidate regularly speaks to large crowds as he campaigns across New York City's neighborhoods and upstate, where his fierce opposition to fracking and corporate-backed trade deals resonates with many Democratic voters.

For her part, Clinton is running a more subdued campaign while relying on name recognition and Democratic Party patronage networks she has cultivated since moving to New York in 2001.

Modern primary campaigns usually end with political conventions that are tightly scripted displays of party unity. That's not likely to be the case this year. The Republican convention in Cleveland is widely expected to be an epic debacle and the Sanders campaign has recently made it clear that it plans to fight all the way through to the Democratic convention, where the rupture between neoliberal party leaders and millions of rank-and-file voters who have moved to the left will be on full display.

Will the old order hold for now? That depends in large part on the Battle of New York.

BY JOHN TARLETON
Editor, *The Independent*

SPIRIT

Sanders & Francis

This week Bernie Sanders goes to the Vatican. He will find common cause with a faith that rejects the idolatry of capital, what Pope Francis has called "an economy that kills."

Faith takes many forms. The way we're used to hearing about it from actual and prospective presidents is in the form of decoration: "God bless America," vague skepticism about evolution, emotional appeals about abortion while slashing taxes on the rich. Bernie would be our most (openly) secular president to date, but the faith he does stand for is a welcome sign of contradiction against that decorative duplicity—the faith that we can and must share this world equitably, and that the corrupt princes of this world need not remain enthroned forever.

BY NATHAN SCHNEIDER

NEOCONS

Conflict Without End

You can tell a lot from the friends others keep. In the case of Hillary Clinton, she has marched in lock step on foreign policy with Bush-era neo-conservatives as they implemented an aggressive regime-change strategy against governments that don't toe Washington's line. That the likes of neocan archdeacon Robert Kagan is now a strong supporter bespeaks continuity for misbegotten neocan policies.

In addition to Iraq (2003) we have witnessed Honduras (2009), Libya (2011) and Ukraine (2014) not to mention her support for "moderate" Syrian rebels, whom President Obama himself called a "fantasy."

Clinton's decision to support the Bush/Cheney war on Iraq was most consequential, since it opened Pandora's box to chaos in the Middle East. Her door was closed to U.N. weapons inspectors who would have told her there were no weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. And we at Veteran Intelligence Professionals for Sanity (VIPS) warned, "The unintended consequences are likely to be catastrophic." Then-Sen. Clinton's vote for the Iraq War was no "mistake." Rather it was a calculated, cynical political move aimed at demonstrating the toughness Clinton believed she needed to show in order to get her turn as President. More regime change anyone?

BY RAY MCGOVERN

McGovern is a former Army officer and CIA analyst. He prepared the President's Daily Brief for Presidents Nixon, Ford, and Reagan. He will appear at Judson Memorial Church at 7 pm on Sunday April 17 with former U.N. weapons inspector Scott Ritter.

EMPIRE

Henry Kissinger: Tutor in War and Peace

Clinton just can't quit him. Even as she tries to outflank Bernie on his left, Hillary Clinton can't help but stutter the name of Henry Kissinger. At a February debate, Clinton thought to close her argument that she is the true progressive with this: "I was very flattered when Henry Kissinger said I ran the State Department better than anybody had run it in a long time."

Let's consider some of Kissinger's achievements during his tenure as Richard Nixon's top foreign policy-maker.

He prolonged the Vietnam War; goaded Nixon to wiretap staffers and journalists; bore responsibility for genocides in Cambodia, East Timor and Bangladesh; encouraged Pakistan's ISI to use political Islam to destabilize Afghanistan; accelerated needless civil wars in southern Africa; supported coups and death squads throughout Latin America; and ingratiated himself with the first-generation neocons, such as Dick Cheney, who would take American militarism to its next calamitous level.

Pull but one string from the current tangle of today's foreign policy crises, and odds are it will lead back to something Kissinger did between 1968 and 1977.

Over-reliance on Saudi oil? That's Kissinger. Blowback from using radical Islam to destabilize Soviet allies? Again, Kissinger. An unstable arms race in the Middle East? Sunni-Shia rivalry? The impasse in Israel-Palestine? The radicalization of Iran? All Kissinger.

And yet Clinton continues to call his name, hoping his light bathes her in wisdom.

Last year, reviewing Kissinger's World Order for The Washington Post, Clinton said that "Kissinger is a friend" and admitted that she "relied on

his counsel" and that he "checked in with me regularly." Kissinger's vision, she said, is her vision: "just and liberal."

Clintonism is largely an extension of Kissingerism. Both Clintons have excelled at the kind of fudging of their public-private roles that Kissinger perfected. Kissinger, the private consultant, profited from the catastrophes he created as a public figure. In Latin America, his consulting firm enriched itself on the orgy of privatization initiated by Kissinger-supported dictators. The Clintons, too, both as private philanthropists and investors, are neck deep in corruption in Latin America—corruption made worse by the free trade treaties that Hillary pushed through as senator and secretary of state.

When it comes to coups and bombing, Clinton follows Kissinger's lead. Ask Honduran indigenous rights and environmental activist Berta Cáceres. But you can't. She's dead, killed by the coup-regime that Hillary Clinton, as secretary of state, supported and legitimized. Before her murder, Cáceres had directly criticized Clinton's role in the coup. Responding to her death, the Clinton campaign denied that Clinton had any responsibility and described the candidate's role in Honduras as "active diplomacy."

Last year, Kissinger, reacting to a question about his role in overthrowing Chilean president Salvador Allende and his illegal bombing of Cambodia, pointed to Clinton's bombing in Libya and proposed bombing in Syria.

What's the difference? he asked.
None, apparently.

BY GREG GRANDIN
Author of "Kissinger's Shadow"

THE ONLY WAY TO SAVE OUR PLANET

Door-to-Door Democracy

Late afternoon, on a chilly but sunny day in Flatbush I set out to do door-to-door canvassing for Bernie Sanders with lists of registered Democratic Party voters.

It was great to be back in Flatbush, a neighborhood near Brooklyn College where I taught psychology for 42 years and ran arts-based after-school programs for Brooklyn high school students.

When someone answered the door I would say, "Hi, I'm Nancy and I am working with the Bernie Sanders for President campaign. Can I please speak with _____ (voter's name on the list)? Do you plan to vote in the upcoming April 19th New York State primary?"

And the conversation would go on from there. Usually I asked if the person had heard about Bernie and if they planned to vote for him? What have you heard about him? And then a short discussion ensued, depending on what the person had to say, concerns they had, etc. If the person said that they plan to vote for Hillary, I thanked them and moved on. No arguments here, just respect and a better use of my time.

I liked to mention in the conversations I did have that the New York primary can turn the tide on the Democratic primary race and that I think Bernie stands up for working people. Then I wove in references to getting corporate money out of politics, ending trade deals that bleed jobs out of the US, criminal justice reform, challenging the fossil fuel industry on climate change and moving to a clean energy economy. I tried

to squeeze in free college tuition and Medicare For All. But listening to and responding to the concerns and ideas of the people we meet was the most important part of the process. That's what's so fantastic about this work: you learn a great deal about what people are thinking, how they approach their political choices.

On one occasion that day I mounted the steps of a modest and well-kept home and rang the bell. An all-male crew appeared: 10, 16 and 19-year old and someone who looked like their dad. The 10-year-old spoke first saying he was for Trump. The others yelled at him, saying, "No, Trump hates us." The older three men were strong Bernie supporters. When I asked them what they liked most about Bernie they said jobs, free college tuition and support for workers.

About half of the people who were home that day were okay with having a conversation about the Democratic primary. In this mostly Caribbean neighborhood, practically everyone we spoke with who was under 40 was Bernie all the way. Older voters either didn't know much about Bernie or were voting for Hillary. Overall, Bernie's numbers were much stronger.

I have kept on going back out to canvass. I love this stuff because I truly believe that an active citizenry can shift our nation from oligarchy to social democracy—the only way to save our planet.

BY NANCY ROMER



Hundreds of volunteers mobbed the opening of the first Sanders office in Gowanus, Brooklyn.



Zoe Matthiessen

“Let me conclude by saying what no other candidate for president will tell you. And that is that no president, not Bernie Sanders, not anybody else, will be able to bring about the changes that the working families and the middle class of this country, that our children, that the seniors, our seniors deserve. No one president can do it because the powers that be, Wall Street with their endless supply of money, corporate America, the large campaign donors are so powerful that no president can do what has to be done alone. And that is why what [the presidential primary] has begun tonight is a political revolution. A political revolution that says when millions of people come together, including those who've given up on the political process, they're so dismayed and so frustrated with what goes on in Washington, with young people who before had never been involved in the political process, when young people and working people and seniors begin to stand up and say loudly and clearly, enough is enough, that our government, the government of our great country belongs to all of us and not just a handful of billionaires, when that happens we will transform this country.”

THE BATTLE OF NEW YORK

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