

RADICAL TEACHER

A SOCIALIST, FEMINIST, AND ANTI-RACIST JOURNAL ON THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF TEACHING

Political Education—Occupy Wall Street’s First Year

by Jackie DiSalvo



FREE UNIVERSITY, SEPTEMBER 18-22, NEW YORK CITY. PHOTO BY LEONARD VOGT

While Occupy Wall Street (OWS) is easily identified with direct action in the streets, equal recognition should be given to the vast amount of political education that took place. This article will give an overview of that and briefly assess its emphases and absences. First of all, consistent with its horizontalism, OWS had education provided both by academics and public intellectuals, and by self-educated activists. Secondly, as seen in the accompanying list of educational events, there was a lot of it, especially while we occupied Liberty Plaza (Zucotti) in October and November. I count over three hundred events: lectures, panels, workshops, and trainings during the period for which I reviewed records from October 2011 through September 2012. In addition, there were at least six all-day conferences. This review only includes events produced by OWS Working Groups and listed on nycga.net and the closely aligned Free University. I do not include all the others associated with Occupy, the almost daily Think Tank discussions on various topics, or all of the fifty-two daily talks and performances which occurred beginning in March as the Cultural Occupation of Liberty Square (COOLS) or myriad other cultural events: performances, poetry readings, theater, films, and art exhibits.

Many events were sponsored by the Empowerment and Education Working group, with at times as many as four a day and later by Occupy University. Others were presented by Working Groups such as Alternative Economy, Alternative Banking, Occupy the SEC, Alternative Currency, Labor Outreach, Immigrant Workers Justice, Sustainability, Environmental Solidarity, Earth Summit, Healthcare for the 99%, Tech Ops, Activist Legal, People of Color Caucus, Media Justice, Global Justice, Direct Action, Arts & Culture, Occupy Museums, Fiber Arts, Non-Violent Communication, Trade Justice, Food Justice, Meditation, Religious Support, Outreach, Council of Elders, Media, Politics & Electoral Reform, and the Free University. Several were cosponsored by other progressive organizations.

The specific topics reflected the politics of OWS; hence, the largest number were on the economy, finance, and the 1%: Wall Street corruption, bailouts, banks, financial crisis, regulation, money, white collar crime, corporate rights, predatory lending, derivatives, regulation, the SEC, the Federal Reserve, national debt, the Volker rule, the NYC fiscal crisis, tax inequality, free trade and the Trans-Pacific Partnership, the Robin Hood (financial transaction) tax, Goldman Sachs, radical economics, capitalism, and economic alternatives such as squatting, cooperatives, credit unions, and participatory budgeting. Increasingly a focus developed on debt: student, mortgage, credit card, municipal, debt and punishment, democracy and debt, the morality of paying back student debt. There were parallel sessions on the relations between the 99% and the 1%: austerity, economic and political inequality, inequality and the law, democracy, elections, corporate versus human rights, campaign financing, money and politics, and amending the constitution. Considerable attention was given to labor issues and history: work, labor law, strikes, general strike, immigrant and domestic workers, the triangle fire, union democracy, jobs, unions

and racism, a community-farm worker alliance, and free lancers. Some consideration was given to race relations: civil rights, racist behaviors and attitudes, healing internalized racism, whiteness, students of color, the Black Panthers, Islamophobia, indigenous people, immigrants, and immigration law and deportation, as well as talks by Angela Davis, Harry Belafonte, Cornel West, and others. Discussions also took place on related issues of repression: the stop and frisk policy, excessive police force, the prison-industrial complex, mass incarceration, as well as issues particularly relevant to activists, such as knowing your rights, people's justice training, jail support, a legal support system, and anti-repression training.

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The very few historical presentations dealt with precursors to OWS such as the general strike and the history of May Day. Eventually an interest in environmental issues developed with programs on sustainability, coal, fracking, nuclear power, mountain top removal, permaculture, eco-socialism, food justice, tar sands, the Spectra pipeline, alternative energy, green jobs, a green economy, and the relationship of capitalism and ecology. Specific concerns of the 99% were examined: health care, the hospital crisis, housing, foreclosures, media justice, public education, The City University of New York (CUNY), the education bubble. Some programs treated international issues: South Korea, Egypt, Tunisia, Papua New Guinea, Panama, Palestine, Guatemala, El Salvador, Greece, Yemen, Bahrain, Nicaragua, the Middle East, North Africa, and Columbia as well as migration, colonial trade, and deconstructing empire.

Frequent activist training took place. There were sessions on grassroots organizing, nonviolent direct action as well as in skills such as de-escalation, facilitation, crowd funding, making media, surviving disasters, live streaming and net technology, including Word press, creating newsletters and mailing lists, and social media. People also learned medical techniques: first aid, herbal remedies, holistic body care, and alternative medicine, as well as growing sprouts, preparing for evacuation, bartering, pedal power, and drawing. Some workshops focused on personal matters: sexuality (belly dancing, alternatives to monogamy), spirituality (meditation), and overdose prevention. Culture was a matter for some, but not much, analysis on politics and art, dealing with museums, community radio, theater of the oppressed, and the politics of hip hop and workshops on music, art, screen printing, fiber arts, knitting, and revolutionary games.

Beyond single programs, Occupy University planned whole courses: Radical Economics 101, debt, radical pedagogy, and labor. The Direct Action group taught street tactics in a weekly Summer Disobedience School in which

people immediately practiced what they had learned at various corporate targets. Moreover, there were at least four one-to-three day conferences. A two-day Forum on the Commons examined everything from theories on the loss and creation of the commons to struggles over ownership of water, seeds, health care, education; from art and copyright to public goods, alternative energy, solidarity economics, eco-socialism, alternative banking, alternative economies and the Rio+20 UN Conference on Sustainable Development. A Making Worlds Collective continues to pursue the theme of sustainability. In another two-day teach-in on "Winning the Crisis" academics, activists, artists, and organizers talked about debt, cultural paradigms, and movement building from Occupy to Venezuela. A three-day conference brought together representatives of OWS with members of the Union of Radical Political Economists. On May Day a remarkable Free University took over Madison Square Park for ninety inspiring classes with such notable academics as David Harvey, Francis Fox Piven, Wayne Koestenbaum, Andrew Ross, Ann Snitow, and David Graeber, as well as poetry and play readings, poetry and protest song writing, workshops in ESL, debate skills, radical figure drawing, "occupied algebra" and "radical recess" all day. The day was so successful that the Free University was repeated and extended to four days in September 2012 with too many topics to list here. In addition, a substantial amount of internal education took place within working groups. It is impossible to calculate all the knowledge shared in the unceasing conversations that took place, first in Liberty Plaza, then in many other venues.

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In assessing this array of events I am conscious of its contrasts with my own political education back in the 60s and 70s. In that era many of us were just discovering the poverty of *The Other America*, the brutality of Jim Crow segregation, the nature of class society, and the complex and subtle processes through which women were rendered second-class citizens. Most of my learning came in what we called "the shadow university" at the University of Wisconsin: speakers, self-taught study groups on labor history, literature and politics, imperialism, etc., polemics and conversations on the left, especially in Students for a Democratic Society, the consciousness-raising groups in the early stages of the feminist movement and later study groups of a Marxist collective.

In contrast, through its understanding of the role of the ruling class, the 1%, and labor as central to the 99%, Occupy started at a higher level of analysis and quickly developed sophistication in the main areas indicated above. However, what was not studied is as interesting as what

was. Whereas the interests of Vietnam-era activists were impelled by war and imperialism, OWS, despite its location in an international movement precipitated by situations in North Africa and the Middle East, kept its eyes steadily fixed on the domestic crisis. Although the United States was still at war, and there was an Antiwar Working Group, there was almost no discussion of Iraq or Afghanistan, war or militarism, except for two sessions on the arms trade and the narco-military state. It was quite a while before a Global Justice Working Group began to hold anti-imperialist programs.

Women's issues were also strangely neglected except for a few talks on women in the Philippines, Iran, and Palestine. A few programs treated gender binary, gender and sexuality, and queers and economic justice, but almost nothing on feminist ideas or the feminist movement except one discussion of horizontalism and feminism, and one on challenging male supremacy.

Much of my own development was provoked by the strategic issues raised initially by Students for a Democratic Society as it wrestled with the historical gaps, political backwardness, and anti-communism we had inherited from McCarthyism. We struggled to figure out what kind of a movement was necessary to transcend the conservatism of the U.S. working class, and our campus-based movement's estrangement from it. Eventually our anticommunist legacy was challenged which led to serious study of Marx, Lenin, and Mao, revolutionary theory, and the history of the left.

In contrast, Occupy undertook precious little exploration of political theory (except one study group on anarchism), the history of political movements, or the strategic questions arising from them, except for discussions on "Mistakes Movements Make" and "How Movements Get Undermined." The ideological crisis provoked by the fall of Russian and Chinese communism and the global dissolution of communist parties meant there was little interest in socialism, the USSR, China or Cuba, guerilla movements, radical political parties, or Marxism (although some Marxist ideas underlay parts of the more analytical symposium on the commons).

One reason for the poverty of theoretical, historical, and strategic study and debate is the dominant role initially played by a group of anarchists who brought certain principles to OWS, partly from European movements: an emphasis on horizontalism, autonomy, consensus, utopian ideas of prefiguration, diversity of tactics, and the concomitant rejection of socialism and Marxism. These anarchists claimed ownership of OWS although Marxists, like myself, were also involved in its founding. Promoting their viewpoint in *Tidal*, the OWS theoretical journal, and dominating the discourse of assemblies, they often tended to treat these political principles as beyond debate or even discussion. Also repudiating any strategy directed at the government, anarchists eschewed reform demands to be met through legislation. That plus a blanket dismissal of all forms of electoral activity, party organization, and socialism rendered most previous radical history irrelevant. For various reasons, instead of debating these assumptions, Marxists allowed this suppression throughout

year one by holding their disagreements in abeyance primarily for the sake of unity in a dynamic, but still unconsolidated, movement. Consequently, as in the 50s this self-censorship enabled a new form of anticommunism to prevail unchallenged. While this spared Occupy the sectarianism that often plagued earlier movements, it also produced an evasion of strategic questions and an inability to learn anything from the past.

At the same time, anarchists' emphasis on autonomous political and economic self-organization resulted in the advocacy and discussion of strategies of "solidarity economics," including cooperatives, squatting, bartering, debt refusal, and alternative economies and currencies without much critical analysis or study of their history or viability. For example, the forum on the commons, which discussed such strategies, did not discuss socialism. The espousal of self-reliance and mutual aid, as opposed to government services, led to trainings ranging from growing sprouts and using pedal power for energy to bartering and re-organizing birth and baby care. Given the rejection of campaigns to influence legislation, and other strategies, the primary tactic remaining was to go into the streets and denounce the system, hence the continual training in the tactics of direct action.

However, as OWS moves into its second year, new political tendencies are evolving within it which seek to face and understand its strategic shortcomings, such as its lack of racial and class diversity, and the relation of that to its refusal to organize around the concrete reforms workers and the poor so desperately need. New emphases in education are bound to result.

Political Education Events—Occupy Wall Street's First Year

Em and Ed = Empowerment & Education; POC = People of Color Caucus; (...) = Working Groups

Repeated Trainings: Direct Democracy, Facilitation, Direct Action, Legal Rights, Non-Violent Communication, Anti-Repression, Speaking About OWS, De-Escalation (Security), Non-Violence, Medical, Information Technology Livestreaming, Using Social Media, Word Press (Tech Ops)

OCTOBER

Behind the Wall: Crises, Regulations and Derivatives

Occupy Walmart: Walmart Workers Demand Respect

Debt, Enslavement & Capital Punishment, Sylvia Federici

History of Radicalism: Reclaiming the American Revolution

Bailouts and the American Casino Film

The True Cost of Coal (Environmental Solidarity)

Open Forum: Community/Farmworker Alliance NYC

Healing Internalized Racism (POC)

Grow Your Own Sprouts (Sustainability)

Student Loan Debt Abolition, George Caffentzis

Labor and Education at CUNY (Occupy CUNY)

Capitalism & Ecological Crisis, Fred Magdoff & John Bellamy Foster

ESL (Em & Ed)

Theater of the Oppressed Workshop (POC)

Gasland, Director Josh Fox and Sean Lennon (Environmental Solidarity)

Surviving Poisonous People in Decentralized Groups, Video & Workshop

Teach-In on Healthcare (Healthcare for the 99%)

Given the rejection of campaigns to influence legislation, and other strategies, the primary tactic remaining was to go into the streets and denounce the system, hence the continual training in the tactics of direct action.

Participatory Budgeting in NYC, Josh Lerner, Participatory Budgeting Project, Vincent Villano, Voices Heard (Alternative Economics) Giving Banks a "Haircut," Mike Konczal, Roosevelt Institute

Revisioning Money, Arthur Brock: Alternative Currency Expert, Metacurrency Project, Charles Eisenstein, author, Sacred Economy (Occupy the SEC)

Community Radio, the Culture of Impunity, & the Narco-Military State: Postcards from "Post" War Guatemala, Lisa Maya Knauer

Conversation on Power & Privilege (POC)

Whiteness and the 99%: Workshop for White Folks, Monica Dennis & Rachael Ibriham, Anti-racist Activists

US Housing Policy vs. Housing as a Human Right, Peter Marcuse & Tom Angotti (Em & Ed)

Foreclosure, William Black

OWS meets Japanese Anti-Nukers in Conversation with Jonathan Schell

Mountaintop Removal (Environmental Solidarity)

Credit Unions, Elizabeth Friedrich, National Federation of Community Development Credit Unions,

Peter Bray, NYC Financial Network Action Consortium

Human Rights Not Corporate Rights, Shannon Biggs, Community Rights project, Global Exchange CA, Ben Price, Community Environment Legal Defense Fund (Em & Ed)

Paths to More Democratic Government (Em & Ed)

Queers in a Time of Economic Crisis, Queers for Economic Justice, Sylvia Rivera Law Project (Em & Ed)

Media Justice, Betty Yu, Center for Media Justice & Carlos Pareja, People's Production House

Inequality Before The Law, Carl Dix, October 22nd Coalition to Stop Police Brutality & Campaign to End the New Jim Crow, Christine Harrington, Professor of Politics and Law, NYU (Em & Ed)

The Occupation of Wall Street, Discussion with Raymond Lotta and Andy Zee

Legacy of the Triangle Fire, Then and NOW (Em & Ed)

Making Media, Building Our Movement, Una, Ora, & Shreya Media Educators & Allied Media Conference

Radical Politics, U. S. Imperialism and Youth Activism in El Salvador, Margarito Nolasco, National Youth Secretary FMLN, Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) (Em & Ed)

Predatory Lending in Multifamily Homes, Tenant Organizers, Urban Homesteading Board, The U.S. Occupying Movement & the Movement in Other Countries, David Kauf (Em & Ed)

Eco-socialism, Joel Kovel, The Enemy of Nature, founder Eco-socialist Horizons (Em & Ed)

Voices Against Social Injustice: Troy Davis, Rosa Clemente, Green Party, NYU, Troy Davis Collective

Racial Micro-Aggression: How Little Things Add Up (POC)

"Books Not Bars," Film, Prison Industrial Complex, NYU Center For Multi-cultural Education

Beyond the Gender Binary, LGBTQ & the Anarchist College

Civil Rights & OWS: Film & Discussion w/ Harry Belafonte

How to Start a Cooperative Food Business, Green Worker Cooperatives (Alternative Economy)

Lessons of the Greek Revolt, Neni Panourgia, Greek Anthropologist & Historian of Greek Left (Em & Ed)

Teach-in on Demand for Jobs For All (Demands WG)

Nightmare on Wall Street: Capitalism and Ecological Crisis (Environmental Solidarity)

Behind the Wall: Teach-in on Derivatives, Crises, Regulations, Alexis (Occupy the SEC)

What is wrong with Capitalism? Alex Callinicos, An Anti-Capitalist Manifesto & Bonfire of Illusions: The Twin Crises of the Liberal World (Em & Ed)

Angela Davis (POC)

Foreclosures, William Black (Em & Ed)

General strike, Jack Heyman, Longshoreman, Oakland, CA (Em & Ed)

Urban Squatting and a Vision for Restructuring Governance, Frank Morales, Organizing 4 Occupation

Challenging Corporate Power & Restoring Democracy, John Bonifaz, Free Speech For People (Em & Ed)

Yemen uprising and the Arab Spring, Yemeni



FREE UNIVERSITY, SEPTEMBER 18-22 FRANCES FOX PIVEN TEACHING PHOTO BY LEONARD VOGT

activist Ibrahim Mothana (Em & Ed)

Inequality, Exploitation and the Politics of Crisis, Aaron Major, Soc., U of Albany, SUNY

Hip Hop & Social Change, Sujatha Fernandes, Soc., Queens Col & GC, & Rebel Diaz Arts Collective (Em & Ed)

Drawing Workshop (Arts & Culture)

The 2008 to 20?? Financial Crisis, Max Fraad Wolff, Economics, New School (Em & Ed)

NOVEMBER

Economic, Political and Governmental Implications of OWS, Lily Shapiro, Peter Cunningham, George Shulman, Peter Rajsingh, & Shankar Prasad (Em & Ed)

Start an Operative Green Construction or Weatherization Business, Green Worker Cooperatives (Alternative Economy)

U.S. Military & Economic Violence in Nicaragua, Uriel Antonio Carazo Garcia

To an America Beyond Capitalism, Gar Alperovitz, Pol. Economy, U Md, co-founder

Democracy Collaborative, *America Beyond Capitalism* (Em & Ed)

The Emerging New Economy or an Economy of "Plenitude," Juliet Schor (Em & Ed)

Occupy the Financial System, Elizabeth Friedrich, National Federal Community Development Credit Unions, Linda Levy, LES Credit Union, Kevin McQueen, Community Development Finance Lab, Annie McShiras, Responsible Endowments Coalition Credit Unions (Alternative Economy)

What's Wrong with Wall Street? Cathy O'Neil, Academic, Hedge Fund, Internet Startups (Em & Ed)

W. Papua Independence, Octovianus Mote, W. Papuan Leader, Bureau Chief, Kompas Newspaper, Eben Kirksey, CUNY GC, *Freedom in Entangled Worlds: W. Papua and the Global Architecture of Power* (POC)

Grassroots Organizing For Human Rights

Healthcare as a Human Right, A People's Budget & Movement Building Strategies, James Haslam, Kate Kanelstein and Matt McGrath, Vermont Workers Center (Education & Healthcare for the 99%)

Tar Sands = Game Over for the Planet (Environmental Solidarity)

Global Revolutions: U.S., M. East & N. Africa, Esra Abdel Fattah (2008 Egyptian general strike), Jamel Bettaieb, (Tunisian labor activist), Mahboubeh Abbasgholizadeh, (Iranian Women's Rights Activist) (PR)

Jonathan Lethem, *Chronic City & The Fortress of Solitude* & Lynn Nottage, playwright

The National Debt: Fact & Fiction (Em & Ed)

Dialogue—El Barrio & OWS, Movement for Justice in El Barrio (Outreach)

Building a Movement, John Sellers, Ruckus Society (Direct Action)

Inside the Global Arms Trade, Andrew Feinstein, Former MP, ANC & Open Society Fellow (Em & Ed)

Americans for Financial Reform Conference: The Volcker Rule (Occupy the SEC)

Open Source Democracy, & Program or be Programmed, Douglas Rushkoff, *Life Inc.* (People's Library)

NYC Fiscal Crises, Kimberly Phillips-Fein, Gallatin School & Joshua Freeman, History, CUNY GC, (Em & Ed)

Federal Reserve Awareness Day: Call In, David Korten, *Agenda for a New Economy* & Harrison Schultz, OWS (Outreach)

Good Jobs Not Giveaways (Em & Ed)

Squatting and Homesteading, Frank Morales (Em & Ed)

Parents & Students of Color in NYC Public Schools, NYC Coalition for Educational Justice

Opioid Overdose Prevention, Michael Duncan, PA, and Nicole Krempasky, CNP (Safer Spaces)

The Waltons: Not Paying Their Fair Share, Tammy Yancey, leader, Our Walmart (Em & Ed)

What Organized Labor Can Learn from the Occupy Movement, Steve Early (Em & Ed)

Portraits of the Solidarity Economy, Film (Alternative Economy)

Challenging Islamophobia, Dina Ahmed & Donna Nevel, Women Against Islamophobia and Racism (WAIR)

Radical Economics 101, (weekly) Susan Lerner, Common Cause (Em & Ed, Money in Politics, & Occupy University)

Teach-in (Health Care for the 99%)

Audio and Print Walking Tour of Wall Street (Arts & Culture)

Economics for the 99%, Paddy Quick, Union for Radical Pol. Economics (URPE), St. Francis College

People's Justice Training 4 Trainers, Facilitating Know Your Rights Trainings for your Community (Activist Legal)

Resist Empire, Reclaim Our World, Recreate Solidarity (POC)

South Asia Solidarity Initiative, War Resisters League

Historical Antecedents of OWS, George Katsiafias, books on 1968, European social movements (Em & Ed)

Permaculture, Anthony Faust (Sustainability)

Stand with Indigenous people, Film, *Crying Earth Rise Up* Music, Epitaneo Collective, "No Longer Compromising Mother Earth," Debra White Plume (Lakota), Owe Aku, Intl. Justice Project, TransCanada-USA Pipeline

Occupy Together—Decolonize the 99%

Occupy Seoul, Curtis Ellis—American Jobs Alliance, Sukjong Hong, Nodutol for Korean Community Development, Korean Americans for Fair Trade

Ana Maria Quispe, Food Justice Organizer vs. Peru Free Trade Agreement, Christina Schiavoni, U.S. Food Sovereignty Network, Adam Weissman, Global Justice for Animals & the Environment, (Solidarity & Trade Justice)

Student Debt and Free Education, Andrew Ross, Scholar and Activist, NYU

Stories from the Global 99%: Fil-Am Women Share Stories from Mass Movement & Trip to Philippines

Joint Earth Summit (Sustainability & Environmental Solidarity)

Electronic Voting & Communication Systems Workshop (Tech Ops)

A More Humane Approach for Those in Distress, Winddancer, Psychoanalyst (Em &Ed)

Education Revolution, Jay Kim & Karen Gargamelli, Common Law

Organizing 4 Occupation to Take Over Vacant Spaces, Frank Morales

Plarn Workshop: Transform Plastic Garbage Bags into Yarn (Fiber Arts)

Kundalini Yoga (Meditation)

Policing Wall Street? Alexis, Former Wall Street Worker (Solidarity & Occupy the SEC)

DECEMBER

Ancestral Healing Workshop, Doña Leova, Healer & Community Leader, Nahuatl Indian Tradition

Immigrants are the 99%! Detentions, Deportations & Wage Theft (Labor Outreach & Immigrant Worker Justice)

Constitution (Constitution)

Collaborative Groups Training, Starhawk (Direct Action)

Democracy Makes Unions Stronger (Labor Outreach)

Deconstructing Empire, Building for the Long Haul, Starhawk & Lisa Fithian (Direct Action)

Healing Communities: Teach-In & Ritual with Starhawk (Direct Action)

Role of Religious Practices in Keeping the Health of Your Background (Religious Support)

Case Against the Pope: Accountability for Rape and Sexual Violence (Religious Support)

De-escalation, Mediation & Community Watch Training (Direct Action)

An Occupy Green Economy, Earth Summit

Mobile ThinkThink @ Whitehall Ferry

JANUARY

Gender/Sexuality 101 Workshop (POC)

Training, People's News Wire and How to Use NYCGA.net! (Tech Ops)

Consciousness of Transformation, Pachamama Alliance (Sustainability)

Strategies for Change & Dealing with Police Violence, Allan Nairn, Journalist & Activist

Education Bubble (Em & Ed, Think Tank, Occupy Student Debt Campaign & Occupy University)

Film, *The Inconvenient Truth Behind Waiting for Superman*, & NYC Educators & Parents (Occupy Brooklyn)

Connection to Nature—The 5 Core Routines of Awareness (Council of Elders)

Horizontal Pedagogy Workshop, Regularly (Occupy University)

Labor Movement & Occupy Wall Street, John Samuelson, President Transport Workers Union, Tammy Kim, Urban Justice Center, Mario Dartayet-Rodriguez, Organizing Director DC 37, and Amy Muldoon, CWA (Labor Outreach)

Knitting Lessons, Evaluations & Repairs (Fiber Arts)

Occupation with Art and Ideas, Modern Political Movements, Historian Jonathan Soffer, NY Poly

Environment, Occupy & Renewable Energy, Ken Gale, EcoLogic, WBAI

Laws vs. Liberties Forum (Activist Legal)

Traditional Peace Principles & OWS (Council of Elders)

Herbal Medicine Training (Medics)

Occupy Town Square Washington Square Teach-Ins

FEBRUARY

Papua New Guinea, Eben Kirksey, Anthropologist CUNY GC (Global Justice) (Em & Ed)

Social Media Workshop (Media)

Concepts of Solidarity, Tactics & Action Agreements (Direct Action)

Free Trade, Murder, & Resistance in Panama & Colombia, Ruth Santana & Adam Weissman, Global Justice for Animals & Env., Ricardo Prado, Colombia activist, Curtis Ellis, American Jobs Alliance, Christina Schiavoni, U.S. Food Sovereignty Alliance, Leandra Requena, Peruvians in Action (Trade Justice)

Occupy Town Square Teach-In (Anti-Racism Allies)

The Volcker Rule (Occupy the SEC)

ThinkTank: Definitions of Violence

Making Worlds: A Weekend Forum on the Commons (Em & Ed)

Reading Group on Spatial Occupation / Arts & Culture Residency Project, Weekly

Think Tank: Solidarity & Tactics

Think Tank: What is Work?

New York's Hospital Crisis (Health Care for the 99%)

Public Campaign Financing for NY State, Jesse Layman, Citizen Action (Politics & Electoral Reform)

Financial Transaction Tax (FTT) (LGBTQ)

Apartheid in Israel/Palestine, Omar Barghouti & Noura Erakat (Solidarity & Global Justice)

Solidarity in Action: Witnessing Apartheid, Supporting the BDS Call, Premilla Nadasen, Jasbir Puar, & Riham Barghouti (Solidarity & Global Justice)



FREE UNIVERSITY, SEPTEMBER 18-22. SUSAN O'MALLEY TEACHING PHOTO BY JOSEPH ENTIN

Think Tank: Why You Can't Shop Your Way to the Revolution

Occupy Town Square Tomkins Square Teach-Ins

MARCH

Migration, Race, & the Carceral State, Mizue Aizeki (Organizer, Documentaries), Kenyon Farrow (Writer, Activist), Pooja Gehi (Social Justice Lawyer), Mae Ngai (Columbia U) (Solidarity & POC)

Arizona's Anti-Immigrant Law, Tucson Teachers Speak Out! Film *Precious Knowledge*, Maria Federico Brummer, Mex-Am Studies Teacher, Sean Arce, Tucson's Mexican-Am Studies

May Day and the General Strike, Weekly Teach-Ins till May Day: Jeremy Brecher, Manny Ness, Paddy Quick, Barbara Bowen, Stanley Aronowitz (Occupy University)

COOLS, Cultural Occupation of Liberty Square, Every Noon, over 52 talks & performances
COOLS, De-Escalation Security, Brendan Burke (Security)

Think Tank: Tactics for May Day

COOLS, Behind the Wall: Crises, Regulations & Derivatives, Alexis Goldstein (Occupy the SEC)

POS & Crowd Funding Skill Share, FundHub

Racism, Resistance & Workplace Organizing: Aijen Poo (National Domestic Workers Alliance), Teamsters, Local 814, Domestic Workers United, (Immigrant Worker Justice & POC)

Student Debt Crisis, Andrew Ross, NYU, Sarah Jaffe, AlterNet, Samir Sonti, Grad Student, Government, Cornell, (Em & Ed)

Repression & Resistance from the Panthers to OWS, Film, *Cointelpro 101*, Laura Whitehorn, former political prisoner, Bob Boyle, attorney, Cisco Torres, former Black Panther, Lamis Deek, Muslim Defense Committee, NLG-NYC, Andy Stepanian, defendant SHAC 7 case (Activist Legal)

COOLS, How I Keep Journalists from Killing Dissidents, Stéphane Koch, IT & Communication (Arts & Culture)

Elizabeth Friedrich & Dr. Julio Huato (Occupy the SEC)

Winning the Crisis, Brandworkers, George Caffentzis, Silvia Federici, Jim Fleming, Fran Ilich, Matthew Frye Jacobson, Monica Johnson, Ed Debtors Union, Aaron Levy, Movement for Justice in El Barrio, Tavia Nyong'o, Cheryl Payer, Amy Roberts

OWS Archival Project, Andrew Ross, William Scott, Shanté Paradigm Smalls, Jack Tchen, Gregory Wilpert (Trade Justice People Occupying Public Space (POPS), Every Noon, Union Square

Occupy Your Sexuality: Workshop Series, Stefanie Iris Weiss, *Eco-Sex: Go Green Between the Sheets* and *Make Your Love Life Sustainable* (POPS)

Precursors to OWS in NYC, Mike Wallace, Historian, & Elections – Are the Results to Be Trusted? Eric Light (POPS)

Current State of Regulation of the Finance Industry, Gerson Gibbs, Complacence Professional, FINRA, SWC (COOLS)

What Are Our Legal Supporters Doing? & Law How Can Law Help Build Occupy? Jane Moisan, lawyer

Why Do Police Sometimes Use Excessive Force? Police Captain Ray Lewis

Alternatives to Monogamy, Suzanne Sutton, Tantra Teacher and NVC trainer (POPS)

How Movements Get Undermined, Richard Greenwald, *Labor Rising: The Past and Future of Working People in America*

Mistakes Movements Make, Ben Shepard, Direct Action Designer, OWS

How to Reduce Negative Impacts and Create Positive Impacts on the Planet (POPS)

Pedal Power and Surviving Disasters (Sustainability)

Belly Dancing: Fitness, Fun and Artistic Expression, Olga El, Kandake, Dance Theater for Social Change

Horizontal Structures & Feminism, Suzahn Ebrahimian.

Making the Park Inviting & Welcoming, Mariette Papić, Consultant on Authentic Messaging, Former Staff Member Women's Health Non-profits

Creating Democracy & Challenging Corporate Rule, David Cobb, Move to Amend the Constitution (POPS)

Surviving Disasters: Nuclear War/Accidents, Epidemics, Solar flares, Electrical Outages, Alex Nicoletti, Disaster Survival & Living Off the Land Teacher (POPS)

Engaging with Regulation and Reform—Corruption, Crisis, Regulation, & Enforcement: History of Financial Crises, Structure of Wall Street, Volcker Rule & the Public's Role, Elizabeth Friedrich (POPS, Occupy the SEC)

Subversion of the Status Quo Through Play, Alec (RevGames)

Making Beneficial Mud Balls That Bioremediate Polluted Waters, DD Maucher, Masters of Succession (POPS)

Occupy Your Sexuality, Fighting Back Against the War on Women with Pleasure, creativity, and FUN

Green Sex: How to Defend Your Sex Life & the Environment, Stefanie Iris Weiss

Medical, Dealing with Disaster Related Burns, Broken Bones, Shock, Radiation Sickness, Frostbite, Hypothermia, Herbal & Conventional First Aid Kits, Acupressure, Vital Signs & More, Alex Nicoletti

Dealing with Police Repression Creatively, Bernardine Dohrn & Bill Ayers (POPS)

Rap Battle: People of New York vs. the NYPD, Public Forum Where the Cops Will Have to Listen to You!

A Nation of Freelancers, Historian, Richard Greenwald, How Does the Large Percent of People Who Work Freelance Create Challenges & Opportunities for People's Movements?

Evacuations: Items for a Go Bag & Other Supplies, Creating a Prearranged Safe Place, Alex Nicoletti

Occupy Town Square, Fort Greene Teach-Ins

APRIL

Training on Constituent Relationship Management System, CiviCRM, Creating a Newsletter, Mailing Lists, Profiles for Newsletter Subscription & Contacts (Tech Ops)

Is Education an Asset? (Em & Ed)

Forum: Adam Weissman, Reverend Billy Talen, 2009 Green Party Mayoral Candidate (Trade Justice)

Debt and Punishment, Nicholas Mirzoeff (Em & Ed)

ThinkTanks, Daily Political Protest in Arts Institutions: Co-optation; Is Political Art Neither Political nor Art? Pros & cons of international mobility in the arts? Role models for institutional change (Occupy Museums)

Deported from Bahrain: An Eyewitness Account, Radhika Sainath, Civil Rights Attorney, Mideast Institute, Columbia U & American Council for Freedom in Bahrain (Global Justice)

Film and discussion, May Day *Realtime*, Anthology Film Archives (Occupy University)

Is It Moral to Pay Back Student Loan Debt? George Caffentzis (Em & Ed)

Radical Economics 101, Suresh Naidu & Maliha Safri, Center for Popular Economics, Weekly, (Occupy University & Alternative Banking)

Occupy Precarity, Occupy Crisis: How Can We Overthrow the Global University and Organize the University of the Commons? Gigi Roggero (Em & Ed)

History of May Day & General Strikes, Play: *Waiting for Lefty*

MAY

May Day Free University: a Day of Seminars, Lectures, Discussions, Readings (GC GA & Em & Ed)

Occupied Algebra, Weekly, Union Square (Occupy University)

Comics & Picture-Story Symposium, Weekly, for Artists & Writers (Occupy University) Corporate Power, Diet, and Animal Agriculture, Animal Issues, OWS at Brooklyn Food Conference Great Reskilling Workshops: Urban Permaculture, Green Mapping, Holistic Body Care, Alternative Energy, Bartering, Music, Art, & Food, Horticulture Center (Sustainability)

Consequences of U.S.—Colombia Free Trade Agreement, Colombian Senator Jorge Enrique Robledo (Trade Justice)

Labor Law for the 99%, Daniel Gross, Brandworkers, Sonia Lin, Attorney, Immigration and Employment Law (Labor Alliance)

Summer Disobedience School, Saturdays, Direct Action Training: Target-Scouting, March-Pacing, Research & Messaging, Mic-Checking, Banner-Deployment, Communications Coordination, Media Documentation, and Police Liaison & Practice at Nearby Targets in Infiltrations, Interruptions, Slowdowns, and Blockades (Direct Action)

Poetry and Political Feeling, Weekly with Disobedience School No Back Room Deals for the 1%; The World Can't Afford the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) (Trade Justice)

Why a Constitutional Amendment to End Corporate Personhood? (Em & Ed)

JUNE

Film, *Koch Brothers Exposed* (Politics & Electoral Reform & End Corporate Personhood)

The Commons, Commoning & Squatting, Children's Workshop, Art, Potluck (Arts & Culture & Occupy the Land)

Pop-up Free University in Bedford-Stuyvesant Park

Occupy Town Square Staten Island Teach-Ins

JULY

Summer Disobedience Schools, Weekly Speakers: Gayatri Spivak, David Graeber, Andrew Ross

Why Egypt Matters: U.S. Lawyers and Activists from Fact-Finding Mission (Global Justice)

Non-Violent Direct Action Training to Stop the Spectra Pipeline



FREE UNIVERSITY, SEPTEMBER 18-22, 2012 NYC
PHOTO BY LEONARD VOGT

Film, *Broken on All Sides*, Mass Incarceration (Occupy Sunset Park)

Occupy Town Square Bushwick Teach-Ins

Occupy Town Square Jackson Heights Teach-Ins

AUGUST

Six Ways of Being in Debt, Richard Dienst (Em & Ed)

Resolving Conflicts within Occupy (Non-Violent Communication)

Conference, Political Economy of the 99%, Camp Epworth Occupy & Union of Radical Political Economists (URPE)

Occupy the Trans-Pacific Free Trade Agreement—NAFTA on Steroids! Conference Call (InterOccupy)

Occupy Town Square Sunset Park Teach-Ins

Occupy Town Square Astoria Teach-Ins

CrowdTangle/OccupyNetwork Demo & Training

Workshop on Grand Juries

SEPTEMBER

OWS One Year Anniversary: Three Days of Education, Celebration & Resistance

Free University: Classes, Readings, Lectures, Performances Sept. 18-22

Occupy & Feminism (Occupy University)

Social Media Summit & Affinity Group Un-Conference (Council of Elders)

Occupy the TPP: Stop the Global Corporate Coup! Direct Action Training



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