

Union for Radical Political Economics

OCCUPIED!

URPE supports Occupy Wall Street : A Report from New York

People participating in Occupy Wall Street shared their experience at the URPE “War on the Working Class” conference in Brooklyn on Saturday October 1, and a group of 9 people also attended Sunday’s Membership Meeting. URPE members applauded the activists and the discussion turned to ways in which we could cooperate in working for our shared goals. It is clear that the activists will succeed in continuing the occupation for a long time, and also that the fledgling movement will grow. Already there have been occupations in 45 states, and increasing numbers of people are openly challenging “the system.” Two of the popular chants are: “They got bailed out, we got sold out” and “We are the 99%.”

The activists are eager to discuss their own perspectives and are open to a wide range of ideas. There is a general recognition that the economic system has failed to provide for the people and that the political system does not provide for their representation. Several URPE members have already visited “Liberty Park” where informal discussions are continually taking place. The occupants come from a wide variety of backgrounds. Young people who have never held regular jobs mix with students from both public and private universities and are joined by unemployed people from “Main Street” to “Wall Street.” There is a daily “General Assembly” each evening at 7 where decisions are made by consensus with scrupulous attention to democratic procedure, including a policy for preferential

recognition of speakers from groups who are under-represented in traditional discussions. (This resembles URPE’s own “affirmative action” policy for recognition based on gender and race/ethnicity/nationality, but includes preference for GLBT people.)

URPE members also participated in the New York October 5th demonstration of 20,000 people which brought more than 30 trade unions, many community organizations and students walking out from several universities to march in solidarity with Occupy Wall Street. It is hard to describe the ways in which the possibility of a broad-based, unified movement in opposition to “the system” generated a welcome sense of optimism about the future, in place of the despondency which has been an all too common a response to the increasing attacks we have been experiencing for a long, long time. On a small scale, the participation of Occupy Wall Street people in Sunday’s URPE Membership meeting was a terrific experience for URPE members, and the activists were delighted to be greeted with such enthusiastic support.

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URPE

The **Union for Radical Political Economics (URPE)** is a membership organization of academics and activists who share an interest in a radical analysis of political and economic topics. Since its founding in 1968, URPE's members have used this analysis to advance various progressive political and social agendas. URPE publishes the *Review of Radical Political Economics*, runs a set of presentations at the academic professional meetings of the Allied Social Science Associations, sponsors a resource/speakers bureau called Economy Connection, and holds a Summer Conference on political and economic topics at a family-friendly summer camp. Its members are active in a wide array of professional and activist projects.

The URPE Newsletter

The **URPE Newsletter** is published quarterly by the Union for Radical Political Economics. The Newsletter is a place for URPE members to publish shorter articles and speeches as well as make announcements of upcoming events that might be of interest to members. Articles and announcements can be sent to the Newsletter Editor in the body of an e-mail message, or as an attached file; send to franceskboyes@gmail.com.

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The URPE Newsletter is a good place to publish advertisements for new books! Rates are \$300 per full page (7.5 inches wide by 9.3 inches high); \$160 for a half page, and \$85 for a quarter page. Exchange ads are also considered. Please write or call the National Office for more information on this.

Deadlines for submission to Newsletter are January 7 for winter issue; April 7 for spring issue; June 20 for summer issue, and October 7 for fall issue.

Announcements

RRPE Editorial Board Election Results

Your votes are in! Seventy-five members voted to fill eleven positions on the RRPE Editorial Board from a slate of thirteen candidates. Those elected for the 2011-2014 term are: Brigitte Bechtold, Firat Demir, William Dugger, Don Goldstein, Jon Goldstein, Fadhel Kaboub, Tim Koechlin, Minqi Li, Andrew Mearman, Shaianne Osterrieck, and Bruce Pietrykowski.

Our sincere thanks to retiring board member Richard Cornwall, who brought such breadth and depth of knowledge to the ranks of reviewers. Richard is a true philosopher.

Hazel Dayton Gunn, Managing Editor

URPE Conference: Brooklyn, NY *The War on the Working Class* October 1 & 2, 2011

Thanks go out to all of the presenters, speakers, attendees, volunteers, and the staff of St. Francis College for helping to make the URPE 2011 Brooklyn conference a success.

On behalf of the URPE Steering Committee, I would like to thank everyone in attendance for being patient throughout the day as we all had to deal with the fire alarm fiasco. The conditions were not ideal; however, many people were still able to share ideas, learn something new, and make connections to individuals and groups that share their common interests and goals.

For audio and video of selected presentations, go to the URPE website, www.urpe.org.

In Solidarity,
Frances Boyes
(for the URPE Steering Committee)

URPE at ASSA Chicago 2012

URPE will be sponsoring the following events in Chicago for the annual ASSA conference.

The URPE cocktail reception will be Friday, January 6th at 6 p.m. at the Palmer House Hilton in the Wilson Room.

The URPE membership meeting is Saturday, January 7th at 4:45 p.m. at the Palmer House Hilton in the Indiana Room.

For a complete schedule of URPE sessions at the 2012 ASSA, please see page 8.

Editor's note

This issue of the URPE newsletter is dedicated to information and analysis about the Occupy Movement. The pieces printed are what were submitted as of November 1st. Recognizing that this is a rapidly changing movement with new events happening daily, what is printed on the pages of this issue can only reflect the thought and involvement of URPE members to a certain point. URPE, as an organization, is a "big tent" with many perspectives encouraged and shared. Nothing printed reflects any official position of URPE, as that would be impossible to establish. The purpose of this issue is to capture the activities of URPE and its diverse membership in this exciting time. Please feel free to respond to the pieces in this issue, as well as submit your own contributions related to the Occupy Movement for print in our next issue. All submissions should be emailed to franceskboyes@gmail.com by April 7, 2012.

My hope is that everyone reading this newsletter is as encouraged and inspired as the contributors (including myself) are.

Hasta la victoria siempre!
Frances Boyes, newsletter editor

On Radicals and Economists

by Julio Huato

(reposted from his blog, which can be read at: juliohuato.wordpress.com)

* Presentation at the membership meeting of URPE, October 2, 2011.

It will sound strange, but economists as a crowd are — just like the rest of us — human beings crushed by the existing social order. Since their role as the secular priests of capitalism is to rationalize the status quo, then they are crushed twice. Not that they will get much sympathy from us for it, but they are crushed by the social order and — on top of that — they are crushed by the crippling belief that markets embedded on a ground of social inequality constitute the best of all possible worlds. Economists suffer the fate of a person who not only believes in gravity, but who also believes that his body is so heavy that, over time, he'll suck himself inwards and turn into a black hole. Needless to say, it will not be easy to persuade this fellow that gravity can be defied and that, with the assistance of certain props (e.g. an airplane), he could even fly.

Like the rest of us, the economists are full of... false consciousness. It is worse in their case, because they are very actively and joyfully producing and reproducing all that...false consciousness. But we know that false consciousness is not a bunch of illusions lodged in our heads for no particular reason, but illusions and confusions that the existing social order fosters, reinforces, and turns into a crusty objectified social reality — again, because it justifies the social order and thus helps to perpetuate it. As these illusions and confusions harden as social objects, we cannot dispel them by simply changing our minds individually. Instead, we need to uproot them through collective action, by overthrowing the social order and building a new one.

Needless to say, the emancipation of the economists will be the work of the economists themselves. But given their peculiar — complicit, in fact — situation they will need much help from the rest of us. More like tough love, but tough love is a form of help. Yet, one may ask: Is that a good use of our conscious time (and what is a human being's ultimate scarce resource, but the conscious part of our brief stay on earth)? So, should we

spend our dear short lives trying to help the economists liberate themselves? Well, let us think like mainstream economists, i.e. selfishly. What is in it for us, who radically reject the status quo as antithetical to the preservation and development of our humanity?

Personally, I have spent a serious chunk of my life studying the ideas, the mode of thinking, and the behavior of this strange sub-species, so you won't be surprised with my answer: Yes, I believe it is worth the time of at least some of us. By way of an analogy, let me explain to you why there is much in it for us and what we can obtain as a result.

But, before I do that, I shall connect my remarks with other things discussed in this conference (URPE 2011 Brooklyn Conference). Yesterday, David Howell recited the famous Keynes' quip about the imagination of politicians being trapped by the ideas of deceased "academic scribblers." We know that ideas become a material force when they grip the minds of people. That the ideas of dead and living economists have become a material force is hardly controversial here. Today, Chris Rude alluded to the significant role that economists play in the management of the state, central banks, international organizations, etc. The analyses that back up the policy proposals under consideration by town councils, congresses, governments, and international organizations are invariably couched in the language of economic benefits and costs. Large portions of the public itself channel the prejudices of dead economists.

Charles Darwin showed that all vegetable soil was poop from worms, i.e. that all vegetable soil had gone through the digestive system of worms at least once. Similarly, all economic policies that we now see crystallized into hardened and oppressive social conditions, all economic policies that the powers-that-be implement, often with catastrophic consequences for the rest of us, are the intellectual poop defecated by a certain sub-species of human worms.

I am not saying this just to offend the worms gratuitously: without worms agriculture and the food on our tables would not be what they are. No, I am saying it to reinforce David Howell's point yesterday about the momentous importance, the consequential nature, the life-wrecking character that the ideas of economists have in the real world.

But saying bad things about the economists is not particularly controversial at a URPE meeting. The next thing I will say may well be. I'll say that the ideas of the economists would not be as consequential, as practically important, in fact as harmful as they are, if they simply were a bunch of absurdities without connection to the society we live in. No, the ideas of the economists — insofar as they have become a material force that shapes up or, more clearly, messes up our lives — have a certain connection to the society we live in. Therefore, when we take a tabula rasa approach to rejecting economics, we slight this connection at our own peril.

As an analogy to this, think of the production of weapons. Military production is as constrained by the laws of physics, by technological possibilities, as the production of civil goods. Therefore, to produce a modern drone or a piece of radioactive artillery, we need a certain mastery of physical laws, a measure of control over physical processes of incredibly subtlety and complexity, just like we need them to produce a truck to carry wheat or a CAT scanner for medical uses. In fact, because our social order is antagonistic, because social conflict is oozed by our social order, the development of means of destruction leads the development of means of production. In terms of sheer innovation, the production of goods lags behind the production of bads. To a not insignificant extent, civil production progresses by its late adoption of technologies originally developed for military purposes.

I am not saying anything novel here. Radicals in the past have noticed this: In *Grundrisse*, Marx says that, in the history of capitalism, “war developed before peace”; not only that the productive forces of capitalism were an adaptation of destructive forces that had been developed first to meet the needs of war-making, to enable primitive capital accumulation, but that the very social structures that characterized capitalism had been tried and tested first in the organization of the military. So, not only — Marx noted in the *Grundrisse* —

mechanization developed first in war-making before grabbing and revolutionizing “the interior of bourgeois society,” but so did wage labor.

To repeat: the development of the forces of production under capitalism is largely a byproduct of the development of the forces of destruction. Now, socialists are not trying to develop the forces of production of civil goods from scratch. We cannot go back in time and prevent what already happened. Instead, what we are trying to do is appropriate, take over, and then refit or transform the human powers that now exist to meet our purposes, which are the purposes of building the most peaceful, cooperative, and free society we can possibly build.

I think you all see where I am going: The economists, especially those occupied with the development of theoretical economics, lead in the production of intellectual weaponry under the guise of social science. However, the production of socially destructive ideas abides by the same epistemological laws that regulate the production of constructive ideas. To be less cryptic, I shall refer to the mathematical language in which a large chunk of modern theoretical economics is now recast. This is what I view as the most encompassing trend in the field with regards to its abstract theoretical structure. To be clear: I am referring here not to economics as it appears to us in undergraduate textbooks, but theoretical economics as it is being developed at the cutting-edge, a work that percolates into applied or policy-oriented fields like macroeconomics (let alone textbooks) with a several-year delay.

In its latest reincarnation, these destructive ideas are being recast in the framework of measure theory, the mathematical theory of measure spaces and measurable sets. Set theory, particularly the theory of convex sets, as well as real analysis (the analysis of relations among variables whose values are real numbers) and optimization, which used to be among the most general frameworks used by the economists a couple of generations ago (e.g. in the development of general equilibrium analysis and its derivations), have been completely absorbed as pieces within the broader mathematical framework of measure theory.

The study of stochastic processes, which underpins much of the empirical research in macroeconomics and finance economics, used to stand separate from — if not at odds with — abstract economic theory. But as things have turned out, the mathematics of stochastic processes, which resulted from the development of axiomatic probability theory, is precisely measure theory. In the language of measure theory, random variables (a generalization of the notion of a variable to account explicitly for the shifting limits of one's cognition) are instances of measurable functions over a peculiar algebraic space, while probabilities are measures, i.e. a generalization of the intuitive geometric notion of length.

But, aside from probabilities, the concept of measure is so general — and the mathematical results established in the field are so intellectually potent — that virtually every conceivable notion in economics (e.g. space, time, quantities, prices, etc.) can be all elegantly subsumed under it. With the help of measure theory, probability theory being — again — one of its special cases, the whole mathematical paraphernalia that economists use today has now been placed within this new, unified mega-framework.

This is another one of Hegel's historical ironies. Although the rudiments of measure theory began with the work of Borel and Lebesgue in early 20th century's France, Soviet mathematicians elevated it to higher levels of rigor and generality. (Let me remind you here that, originally, the soviets — like Occupy Wall Street today — were emergent, vibrant civic structures that plain workers and soldiers in political motion during the 1905 Russian revolution forged to collectively direct the course of history.) Building on those rudiments, and on the work of Russian mathematicians (e.g. Andrei Markov), the Soviet academic Andrei Kolmogorov developed the modern axiomatic edifice of probability theory, on which he built his analysis of stochastic processes. Kolmogorov himself, as well as Vladimir Smirnov and a bunch of lesser known Soviet mathematicians, built a spectacular edifice that, paradoxically, by this Hegelian historical twist, got appropriated by, among others, Western economic theorists, who then used it in the development of modern finance and macroeconomics.

The development of financial derivatives (nothing but pieces in the structure of capitalist private ownership over the productive wealth of our global

society), spanning gigantic markets in which trillions of dollars change hands in a given day, hinged on methods of asset valuation that would have been unthinkable without these mathematical developments. Now, turn around and look at the catastrophic effects that the deployment of these (Warren Buffett dixit) “financial weapons of mass destruction” unleashed on us!

I could suggest here a few of the multiple ways in which, I believe, the apparatus of measure theory and critically re-engineered insights from modern economic theory could be redeployed to illuminate and confront challenges facing the historical construction of socialism. But that is a topic better left for another conversation.

I shall close my remarks now by saying that, in my view, the ultimate task of radical economists is, well, the expropriation of the expropriators. But just like a thief who steals a car does not as a result become a mechanical engineer, we cannot limit ourselves to a superficial understanding and uncritical adoption of the “models” and “tricks” of mainstream theoretical economics. I am not advocating for any sort of facile eclecticism — that would be not only useless, but in fact dangerous. No. Our work is much more challenging: We need to grasp and understand the material as we make it our own. We need to engage it, digest it critically, discard the elements of ideological rationalization lodged in it, and refit whatever useful is left to serve our purposes. We need a true critical synthesis guided by the need to overthrow the social order and replace it with a society where the development of each is premise of the development of all. The synthesis will be a richer radical understanding of social life. And we ourselves will emerge changed: a more formidable revolutionary force. □

An Insidious Threat to the Occupy Movement

By Ismael Hossein-zadeh

[This essay was also posted on a number of Websites and online magazines, including huffingtonpost.com, globalresearch.ca, counterpunch.org, and opednews.com]

The threat I am referring to is not that of being pepper-sprayed, arrested, beaten or imprisoned. It is a different type of threat: a stealthy challenger that while pretending to advance the goals of the Occupy Movement tends to undermine it from within—more or less like the proverbial elephant in the room. I am referring to the threat of pre-emption, or cooptation, posed by the Democratic Party and union officials. In light of their unsavory record of undermining the revolutionary energy of social movements, projections of sympathy for the anti-Wall Street protesters by the White House, the Democratic Party officials and union leaders can be viewed only with suspicion.

Expressing sympathy for the protesters, President Obama recently stated: "I think people are frustrated, and the protesters are giving voice to a more broad-based frustration about how our financial system works." At the same time he also defended the decision to bail out banks and other Wall Street speculators, arguing that the decision was necessitated by the need to salvage our financial system. It is obvious that, as usual, the president is talking from both sides of his mouth.

On the same day (October 6th) that the president projected sympathy for the protesters, Vice President Biden also expressed similar sentiments. Comparing the Wall Street protests with the Tea Party, he stated: —The Tea Party started, why? TARP. They thought it was unfair – we were bailing out the big guy.¶ The vice president's reference to the Tea Party is by no means fortuitous; there are clear indications the Democrats are trying to utilize the Occupy movement the way the Republicans do the Tea Party. —The mushrooming protests could be the start of a populist movement on the left that counterbalances the surge of the Tea Party on the right, and closes what some Democrats fear is an enthusiasm gap, ¶ reported the New York Times on Friday, October 7th.

Projections of sympathy for the Occupy movement have not been limited to the White House. Many officials of the Democratic Party have either

personally appeared at the Zuccotti Park to express support or sent statements of support for the protesters. Likewise, a number of union leaders joined a large protest rally held in New York City's Foley Square on October 5th to show sympathy for the protesters.

Then there are the liberal political pundits and media outlets such as the New York Times that are also trying to build bridges between the Democratic Party and the Occupy movement in an effort to channel the protesters' energy to the party's electoral machine. For example, the New York Times' columnist Paul Krugman recently wrote: —And there are real political opportunities here. Not, of course, for today's Republicans. . . . But Democrats are being given what amounts to a second chance. The Obama administration squandered a lot of potential good will early on by adopting banker-friendly policies. . . . Now, however, Mr. Obama's party has a chance for a do-over.¶

On the face of it there is nothing wrong with the Democratic Party officials or union leaders expressing support for the protesters. In light of their actual economic policies, however, that support can be characterized only as hypocritical. The Democrats are as much responsible for the economic problems that have triggered the protests as their Republican counterparts. The Obama administration has played an especially destructive role in pursuing a devastating neoliberal austerity agenda in term of bailing out the Wall Street gamblers, extending the Bush tax breaks for the wealthy, expanding the US wars of choice—and then cutting vital social spending to pay for the financial resources thus usurped.

Equally blameworthy are union bureaucrats who have enabled the White House and the Congress in the implementation of such brutal austerity programs. Hollow posturing aside, the AFL-CIO has opposed neither the neoliberal austerity policies at home nor the imperialist wars of aggression abroad. Well-paid union officials have not even seriously challenged factory closures; nor have they earnestly resisted brutal cuts in workers' wages and benefits.

In projecting sympathy for the Occupy Movement, the Democrats are essentially trying to have their cake and eat it too! Their efforts to express support for the protests can be interpreted only as opportunistic and utilitarian: to identify themselves

continued on page 22...

URPE at ASSA *Chicago 2012*

January 6, 8:00 am

Palmer House Hilton, Kimball Room

**What Does Fieldwork Bring to Economics?
Challenges and Insights of Fieldwork (B4)**

Presiding: Jennifer Cohen
(University of Massachusetts-Amherst)

*The Crucial Contribution of Fieldwork to
Economics: Evidence from Research in Nepal, India
and South Africa*

Smita Ramnarain (U of Massachusetts-Amherst)
Amit Basole (U of Massachusetts-Amherst)
Jennifer Cohen (U of Massachusetts-Amherst)

*Across the Divide: Can Feminist Methodologies
be Taken Seriously by Economists?*

Jacqueline Morse (U of Massachusetts-Amherst)
Smita Ramnarain (U of Massachusetts-Amherst)

*The Role of Qualitative Fieldwork Methodologies
in Economics: An Application to Research on Migration
and Remittances*

Lynda Pickbourn (Keene State College)

*Building an Investment Model from Field Work:
Implications for Post-Keynesian Theory*

Armagan Gezici (Keene State College)

Discussants:

Özgür Orhangazi (Roosevelt University)
June Lapidus (Roosevelt University)

Palmer House Hilton, Indiana Room

**Aspects of Inequality in Economic
Relationships (D3)**

Presiding: Jeannette Wicks-Lim
(University of Massachusetts-Amherst)

Reconsidering Clientelism

Peter Dorman (Evergreen State University)

*Reconstructing Marx's Theory of Labor Subsumption
Part II: Formal Subsumption and Commodification of
Labor Power*

Gilbert Skillman (Wesleyan University)

Morally Arbitrary Economic Advantage

Frank Thompson (University of Michigan)

*Globalisation and Inequality: A Dynamic General
Equilibrium Model of Unequal Exchange*

Roberto Veneziani (Queen Mary University)
Naoki Yoshihara (Hitotsubashi University)

Discussants:

Arjun Jayadev (University of Massachusetts-Boston)
Naoki Yoshihara (Hitotsubashi University)
Peter Skott (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)
Amitava Dutt (Notre Dame University)

January 6, 10:15 am

Palmer House Hilton, Indiana Room

**Heterodox Microfoundations of
Macroeconomic Issues (B5)**

Presiding: Tae-Hee Jo (SUNY Buffalo State College)

*The Productivity of the Public Sector:
A Classical View*

Carlo D'Ippoliti (Sapienza University of Rome)
Marcella Corsi (Sapienza University of Rome)

*Labor Discipline as Price Stabilizing Mechanism
in Recession*

Gyun Cheol Gu (University of Missouri-Kansas City)

*The Regional Benefits of the Employer of Last Resort
Program: An Input Output Approach*

Michael Murray (Bemidji State University)

*A Basic Microeconomic Model: Foundations for a
New Economics Education*

Gustavo Vargas Sánchez (Universidad Nacional
Autónoma de México)

Discussants:

Frederic Lee (University of Missouri-Kansas City)
Sirisha Naidu (Wright State University)

Palmer House Hilton, Kimball Room
Heterodox Monetary Theory (E1)

Presiding: James Devine
(Loyola Marymount University)

The Circulation of Bank Capital and the General Rate of Interest

Daniel Saros (Valparaiso University)

Proportionality, the Two-Price Theory, and Monetary Circulation

Mark Lautzenheiser (Earlham College)
Yavuz Yasar (University of Denver)

Monetary Expression of Labour Time in Monetary Circuit Approach

Hyun-Woong Park (U of Massachusetts-Amherst)

The New "Voodoo Economics": Fetishism and the Public/Private Divide

Ann Davis (Marist College)

Discussants:

Fred Moseley (Mount Holyoke College)
Mario Seccareccia (University of Ottawa)
Daniel Saros (Valparaiso University)
James Devine (Loyola Marymount University)

January 6, 12:30 pm

Palmer House Hilton, Wabash

David Gordon Memorial Lecture (J0)

Presiding: Fred Moseley (Mount Holyoke College)

The Political Economy of Human Capital
Nancy Folbre (U of Massachusetts-Amherst)

Discussant:

Elissa Braunstein (Colorado State University)

January 6, 2:30 pm

Palmer House Hilton, Kimball Room

Heterodox International Economics (F5)

Presiding: Mehrene Larudee
(AlQuds-Bard Honors College)

Uneven Growth and Development in the World Political Economy 1950-2010

Phillip O'Hara (Curtin University)

Neoliberalism and Ethnic Conflict

Robert Prasch (Middlebury College)

Institutional Differences and the Direction of Bilateral FDI Flows: Are South-South Flows Any Different Than the Rest?

Firat Demir (University of Oklahoma)

Chengo Hu (University of Oklahoma)

Xiaokai Li (University of Oklahoma)

Fair Trade and Justice: An Examination of Fair Trade and Its Effect on Indigenous Women and Globalization

Tamara Stenn (Keene State College)

The Lessons of the Eurozone Sovereign Debt Crisis

Esther Jeffers (University of Paris 8)

Discussants:

Pascal Petit (Centre d'Economie de Paris Nord)
Omar Dahi (Hampshire College)
Mehrene Larudee (AlQuds-Bard Honors College)

Palmer House Hilton, Indiana Room

The End of the Chinese Model: Economic Crisis, Climate Change, and Class Struggle (P3)

Presiding: Steve Cohn (Knox College)

Lessons from the Chinese Rural Collectives: Reevaluating Maoist Socialism

Zhun Xu (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)

Class Power and China's Productivity Miracle: Applying the Labor Extraction Model to China's Industrial Sector

Chiara Piovani (University of Denver)

Financial Restructuring, State Capitalism, and the Potential for Macroeconomic Crises in China

Satya Gabriel (Mount Holyoke College)

Climate Change and the Limits to China's Economic Growth

Minqi Li (University of Utah)

Discussants:

Satya Gabriel (Mount Holyoke College)

Zhaochang Peng (Rollins College)

Steve Cohn (Knox College)

Ellen Houston (Marymount Manhattan College)

January 7, 8:00 am

Palmer House Hilton, Indiana Room

**Exploitation and Class, Thirty Years after
"A General Theory" (D3)**

Presiding Frank Thompson (University of Michigan)

Class, Exploitation and the Shmoo

Erik Olin Wright (U of Wisconsin – Madison)

The Facets of Exploitation

Marc Fleurbaey (Princeton University)

*Exploitation as the Unequal Exchange of Labour:
An Axiomatic Approach*

Naoki Yoshihara (Hitotsubashi University)

Roberto Veneziani (Queen Mary U of London)

Discussants:

John Roemer (Yale University)

Gil Skillman (Wesleyan University)

Roberto Veneziani (Queen Mary U of London)

January 7, 10:15 am

Palmer House Hilton, Kimball Room

**Political Economy of Revolutionary
Middle East (O5)**

Presiding: Cyrus Bina (U of Minnesota-Morris)

*The Arab Spring, Neoliberalism and the Rocky Road
to Democracy in Turkey: A Tale of Two Modernization
Experiments.*

Firat Demir (University of Oklahoma)

Post-Neoliberal Economic Policies for Tunisia

Fadhel Kaboub (Denison University)

*Can a Small Country be Economically Independent?
Options for a Palestinian State in a Changed Arab World*
Mehrene Larudee (Al-Quds-Bard Honors College)

*From Welfare to Predatory States: The Political
Economy of Development in Syria and the Arab
Middle East*

Omar S Dahi (Hampshire College)

Discussants:

Cyrus Bina (University of Minnesota-Morris)

Yavuz Yasar (University of Denver)

Basam Yousif (Indiana State University)

Palmer House Hilton, Indiana Room
URPE/IAFFE Joint Session

**Unintended Consequences? Unexpected
Gendered Impacts of Economic Policies,
Growth and Measures (B5)**

Presiding: Linda Lucas (University of South Florida)

*Comercio Justo and Justice: An Examination of Fair
Trade and its Impact on Women and the Family*
Tamara Stenn (Keene State College)

*Is Female Labour Force a Buffer Stock? An Analysis
of Female Labor Trajectories in Argentina*

Corina Rodríguez Enríquez (National Council for
Scientific and Technical Research)

*A Stimulus for Affirmative Action?: Impact of ARRA
Infrastructure Spending on Women in the Construction
Industry*

Jeannette Wicks-Lim (U of Massachusetts-Amherst)

*Equivalence Scales and the Relative Well-Being of
Parents: A Sensitivity Analysis*

Tami Ohler (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)

Discussants:

Linda Lucas (University of South Florida)

Laurie Nisonoff (Hampshire College)

January 7, 2:30 pm

Palmer House Hilton, Kimball Room
URPE/IAFFE Joint Session

**Gender Disparities in Debt, Health Outcomes
and Poverty (B5)**

Presiding: Elaine McCrate (University of Vermont)

Female Mortality Disadvantage in India: A Regional Analysis

Sanjukta Chaudhuri (U of Wisconsin–Eau Claire)

Gender Differences in Consumer Debt Stress

Ida Mirzaie (The Ohio State University)

Lucia Dunn (The Ohio State University)

Evidence of Health Outcomes Disparities Between Men and Women in the U.S.

Catherine Lynde (U of Massachusetts-Boston)

The Gendered Nature of Multidimensional Poverty in the EU

Angela Cipollone (LUISS Guido Carli)

Carlo D'Ippoliti (Sapienza University of Rome)

Marcella Corsi (Sapienza University of Rome)

Discussants:

Elaine McCrate (University of Vermont)

Farida Khan (University of Wisconsin-Parkside)

Palmer House Hilton, Indiana Room

Climate and Energy Policy (Q5)

Presiding: Kristen Sheeran (Economics for Equity and the Environment Network)

Integrating Co-Pollutants into Climate Policy Design

James Boyce (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)

Biases in the Economic Evaluation of Climate Change

Leila Davis (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)

Peter Skott (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)

The Economic Implications of Downscaling Climate Impacts to the Local And Regional Level

Michael Hanemann (Arizona State University)

U.S. Climate and Energy Policy: 2012 and beyond

Rachel Cleetus (Union of Concerned Scientists)

Discussants:

Kristen Sheeran (Economics for Equity and the Environment Network)

Rachel Cleetus (Union of Concerned Scientists)

Michael Hanemann (Arizona State University)

James Boyce (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)

January 8, 8:00 am

Palmer House Hilton, Indiana Room

URPE/IAFFE Joint Session

Asset Ownership, the Intra-Household Distribution of Wealth and Household Decision-Making in Ecuador, Ghana and India (O5)

Presiding: Carmen Diana Deere

(University of Florida)

The Impact of Wealth and Asset Ownership on Household Decision-Making in Ecuador

Carmen Diana Deere (University of Florida)

Jennifer Twyman (University of Florida)

Women's Decision-Making Role and Asset Ownership in Ghana

Abena Oduro (University of Ghana)

William Baah-Boateng (University of Ghana)

Louis Boakye-Yiadom (University of Ghana)

Effective vs. Nominal Ownership: Evidence from Karnataka

Hema Swaminathan (Indian Institute of Management Bangalore)

Suchitra Jy (Indian Institute of Management Bangalore)

Rahul Lahoti (Indian Institute of Management Bangalore)

The Gender-Asset Gap and Household Decision-Making: Lessons from Ghana, Ecuador, India and Uganda

Cheryl Doss (Yale University)

Discussants:

Kathleen Beegle (The World Bank)

Carmen Diana Deere (University of Florida)

January 8, 10:15 am

Palmer House Hilton, Wabash

URPE–AEA Joint Session

Economics and Ethics (A1)

Presiding: Ann Davis (Marist College)

How the Fundamental Assumptions of Mainstream Economics Undermine Community

Stephen Marglin (Harvard University)

Where Positive Meets Normative: Economics, Economists, and the Matter of Harm

George DeMartino (University of Denver)

The Economy is Reasonably Ethical, But Samuelsonian Economics is Not

Deirdre McCloskey (University of Illinois-Chicago)

Discussants:

Thomas Leonard (Princeton University)

Jonathan Feinstein (Yale University)

William Lazonick (U of Massachusetts-Lowell)

Palmer House Hilton, Indiana Room
URPE/NEA Joint Session

From Subprime Lending to Foreclosures: America's Invisible Crisis of Race and Inequality (R3)

Presiding: Gary Dymksi
(University of California-Riverside)

Race, Power, and the Subprime/Foreclosure Crisis: A Meso Analysis

Gary Dymksi (University of California-Riverside)

Jesus Hernandez (University of California-Davis)

Lisa Mohanty (Trident University International)

Impacts of Foreclosure on Racial Inequalities in Homeownership and Wealth

Vanessa Estrada (University of California-Riverside)

Explaining the Trajectory of Foreclosures in Southern California Latino Neighborhoods

Emily Molena (U of California-Santa Barbara)

Deirdre Pfeiffer (Arizona State University)

Paul Ong (University of California-Los Angeles)

Predatory Mortgage Lending, Race, and Dodd-Frank

Sandra Phillips (Syracuse University)

Subprime Lending, Foreclosures, and Race: An Invisible National Crisis?

John Powell (Ohio State University)

Christy Rogers (Ohio State University)

Discussants:

William Darity, Jr. (Duke University)

Arthur Paris (Syracuse University)

January 8, 1:00 pm

Palmer House Hilton, Indiana Room

Growth and Instability (D3)

Presiding: Rudiger Von Arnim (University of Utah)

Growth and Instability: Analytical Issues and Heterodox Macroeconomic Models

Amitava Dutt (University of Notre Dame)

Debt-Equity Cycles and Goodwin Dynamics in the US Economy

Codrina Rada Von Arnim (University of Utah)

Bank Profitability, Leverage and Financial Instability

Soon Ryoo (Adelphi University)

Inequality, Financial Instability and Economic Growth

Peter Skott (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)

Discussants:

Leila Davis (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)

Yun Kim (Trinity College)

Leopoldo Gomez Ramirez (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)

Rudiger Von Arnim (University of Utah)

URPE 2012 Summer Conference

August 10-13, 2012

*Political Economy
of the 99%:
Today and Tomorrow*

For more details, workshop submissions,
and registration information, please visit

www.urpe.org

Update on Economy Connection, URPE's Resource/Speakers Bureau

by Ruthie Indeck, Coordinator (201-792-7459 or soapbox@urpe.org)

Seniors Fight Back

"You're smarter than the average," Renee Toback told an audience of seniors living at a NYC residence, as they replied with a chorus of "No!" to her question: "Is Social Security going to disappear?" They might not be camping out on Wall St., but they were certainly eager to learn about the economy and explore ways to exercise their political power.

Armed with charts on productivity, inequality of income and wealth, and tax and deficit rates over time, Renee began her Sept. 7 talk with a discussion of the Social Security non-crisis, and then moved on to the deficit, inequality, taxes, creation of demand, interest rates, and the politics of attacking New Deal programs. She concluded with suggestions on how to fight back.

The Social Security system is not in crisis, Renee said – it currently has a surplus. Mainstream conservative predictions of failure are based on conservative assumptions, and many predictions about what will be happening 75 years from now, or even a few years from now, are as likely to be accurate as predicting the weather. Shortfalls that may arise in the future can be fixed by such measures as lifting the cap on the level of income that is taxed. She responded to politically-motivated anguish about Social Security being financed by government IOUs – money that has already been spent – by noting that the "IOUs" are more commonly known as bonds or treasury bills, which are considered safe by lenders around the world. When the government, or anyone, borrows money, this money is generally spent or invested – that's why it was borrowed in the first place!

Moving on to deficits, Renee demonstrated that our current deficit is lower as a percentage of GDP than some earlier deficits, especially the deficit incurred during World War II. As a percentage of GDP, the US is 35th on the list of countries in deficit. It is not a cause for hysteria at this time, and austerity measures will make it worse.

What we should be worrying about, Renee said, pointing to her chart, is growing inequality of income and wealth. We should raise taxes on the rich. Demand will not be created by giving more money to the rich; they can't spend all the money they have already! The rest of us create demand through consumption, but currently most of us don't have much money to spend. That leaves government, which could generate demand by spending money on a long list of infrastructure and social service needs. When

asked why Obama's stimulus didn't work, Renee said that it did work to some degree, but it was too little and too short.

Renee responded to the argument that government borrowing would raise interest rates, which are now so low that she couldn't even see them because of all the 000's before the numbers. Why, then, do politicians want to destroy New Deal programs? She suggested a few reasons: scaring people into subservience and weakening labor's power to resist, and preserving a climate in which large companies can buy up failing smaller companies. Profits are doing well, Renee noted.

In response to questions about what people can do, Renee recommended several courses of action: "Don't fall for it!"; educate people and talk to your friends; visit and write to your political representatives; vote, and march. Renee ended by quoting a woman she met at a protest march: "I've been marching since the New Deal, so stop complaining and move!"

Fixing the Broken Economy

Renee Toback also spoke to members of Northwest Bronx for Change on September 17. The topic was: "The Budget Deficit Crisis: The Inconvenient Truths They Don't Want to Talk About When It Comes to: Jobs, Taxes, Balancing the Budget, the Recession, and Unemployment." A comment on the NwBx website: "Our September 17th NwBxFC General Meeting turned into an economic version of the popular Discovery Channel show as progressive educator/economist Renee Toback debunked several of the conservative myths that the media is so fond of repeating endlessly." Members of NwBx were first introduced to Renee when she and Eric Laursen spoke at a March 2010 MoveOn.Org event on corporate political and economic power.

A Radical Political Economist's View of OWS: Chris Rude on KPFA

On October 1, Chris Rude took a break from the URPE Brooklyn Conference to be interviewed by Kris Welch of Pacifica's KPFA Berkeley. Kris was looking for a radical political economist's viewpoint on Occupy Wall Street.

Chris began by placing the Occupation in the context of the ongoing economic crisis. He noted that the

economy is in its most serious crisis since the 1930s, and that as soon as the banking crisis was stabilized (though not solved) through massive intervention by the Fed, a new crisis phase emerged: a fiscal crisis of the state – a crisis of sovereign debt. In the US, banks are profitable again, largely because of foreign investments, but are not lending domestically; the domestic economy remains frozen. The two outstanding features of the current crisis, Chris said, are persistent unemployment and a foreclosure crisis, which feed one another and keep the economy at a standstill. Bipartisan government policies of austerity have made the situation worse. Chris does not think the powers that be have any solutions to the crisis.

Chris went on to enthusiastically describe Occupy Wall Street, to some extent an outgrowth of an earlier struggle over the mayor's budget which culminated in an encampment near City Hall called Bloombergville. Chris has been particularly struck by the self-organization of OWS. And not only are other organizations, like unions, supporting OWS, but the occupiers are sending people to support other movements, such as joining teachers in a picket line. Chris finds people at Liberty Plaza to be eager for knowledge – he has spoken there a few times. Chris worked on Wall Street for a number of years and is struck by the increased security in the area, and by “how scared they are by ragtag demonstrators.” Chris is inspired by OWS and feels that their presence is having a profound political effect that overrides any lack of specific demands.

During the interview Kris Welch talked about the URPE conference taking place in Brooklyn and listed some of the workshops. Chris talked about our website, and some of URPE's regular activities. You can listen to the interview at <http://www.kpfa.org/archive/id/73830>.

Could Wall St. and Climate Change Be Connected?

“I was listening to AM news radio reporting on the Wall St. demonstrations and the announcer seemed genuinely perplexed that there could be a connection between the ‘Wall Street-ification’ of the U.S. and climate change,” Eco-Logic (WBAI) host Ken Gale said, while introducing the topic of his Oct. 4 show featuring talks by Brian Tokar and Chris Williams. “The two authors analyze the connections between economics/economic systems and climate change, energy sources and social movements.” The two talks were recorded at URPE's 2011 Left Forum Panel “Capitalism, Climate Change and Social Conflicts.” Their use on the radio was suggested by EC.

Brian began by talking about the disconnect between how climate change is discussed in the mainstream press and what's really happening in climate science. The popular press debates whether climate change is real and if so, whether it is caused by greenhouse gasses. Brian says that among scientists, that debate was over 30 years ago; now they talk about the severity of climate change, how quickly it's developing, and the implications for humanity. “When we look at what's really being said by the climate scientists today, it makes an increasingly compelling case for the inherent incompatibility of capitalism with the continued thriving of life on earth, particularly human civilizations.” Brian went on to talk about the December 2009 Copenhagen conference, which many had anticipated would take further steps toward reducing greenhouse gasses. Instead, the US led a backward march from legally-binding rules to voluntary compliance and coercive backroom processes. Developing countries were asked to submit greenhouse gas reduction pledges in order to be eligible for US aid. Brian then presented scenarios of the effects of varying degrees of temperature change. Brian concluded by proposing some real solutions: a drastic reduction in energy use, and an economy that is not capitalist – one that allows us to reduce consumption while improving the quality of life.

With an augmented sense of urgency from Japan's disaster, and inspired by Wisconsin's spirited activism, Chris Williams painted a picture of what a better world might look like and explored how to get there. He talked about physical changes (no radiation or toxic chemicals, more jobs and infrastructure repairs, food rather than guns) as well as lifestyle changes (working less, more choices about work, less pollution, goods that would last, more decision-making power). Chris gave a scathing critique of current energy policies – “clean” coal, “safe” nuclear power, offshore drilling, hydrofracking – and noted that we can't explain recent US wars without talking about the need to control oil. To fight these policies, we need a movement for labor, social and ecological justice based on the twin pillars of renewable energy and jobs, Chris said, quoting the Wisconsin slogan “I am the union!” Chris agreed with Brian about the need for a new economic system based on cooperation, production for need not profit, and democratic decision making about production. He wants a world where people have time for arts and culture, can eat the food and drink the water, and can live sustainably.

After the two recordings, Chris gave a live update, expressing hopeful feelings about a new unity among labor, students and community members based on current OWS activities.

You can listen to Brian, Chris and Younes Abouyoub at www.urpe.org/conf/lf/LFproceed11.html.

URPE Members Participate in #Occupy Wall St.

Many URPE/EC members and others from the general URPE community have signed themselves up to do teach-ins and forums at various Occupations.

Economics Forums at Occupy Boston's Free School University have featured URPE folks and some of their talks are online. See these pages:

<http://dollarsandsense.org/blog/> (scroll down)

<http://wiki.occupyboston.org/wiki/FSU>

<http://www.occupyboston.org/>

<https://www.facebook.com/groups/OccupyBostonFSU>

If you are in the Boston area and want to sign up for a teach-in, email Christ Sturr: sturr@dollarsandsense.org

EC has received requests for speakers in Chicago and Albuquerque. More in the next issue if these develop.

In NYC the URPE presence has been a combination of people signing up on their own, and a small group (Julio Huato, Paddy Quick, Chris Rude, Sara Burke and me) thinking about ways to involve URPE. This group has begun to schedule some open forums and teach-ins, and to look for ways to make URPE resources accessible to OWS. For past and future NYC events, at Liberty Plaza and Washington Square Park, you can look through these two calendars.:

<http://www.occupywallst.org/>

<http://www.nycga.net/events/>

NYC archived Listserv post on getting involved:

<http://greenhouse.economics.utah.edu/pipermail/urpe-announcements/attachments/20111024/9d522c5f/attachment.txt>

URPE steering committee member Jenny Brown and other reporters at Labor Notes have been covering OWS, particularly its connection to labor.

It would be great to hear from participants in other parts of the country!

See Sara Burke's article in this newsletter for an in-depth discussion of OWS.

Resource Questions:

Who Creates Jobs?

A woman working with a Queens commu-

nity organization loosely affiliated with MoveOn.Org contacted EC with a general request for more fact sheets and short, clear informational pieces for use by activists. She also had a specific request: a fact sheet on whether rich people create jobs. This would be used to combat the current bombardment of mainstream arguments that rich people and their companies won't create jobs without an assurance that their taxes will be low. A number of people responded to my listserv request for input, and several of us have been collecting information on job creation. The original question has given rise to a number of others: has anybody been creating jobs, either during the recession or during the past few decades; which sectors create more jobs and what is the net job creation; how do technological advancements and increases in productivity affect job creation; how much do taxes really affect investment decisions; how does the "race to the bottom" affect which countries attract investment. (Warren Buffet confirmed what we already knew – that profit is the determining factor in investment decisions – but tax breaks are one part of a package that lures companies to other countries.). This project is in progress.

Economics Resources for Children

A teacher from Bank Street School wanted economics resources for teaching children in elementary and middle school, and suggestions on integrating progressive economic concepts into classes on various commonly-taught subjects. This inspired an update of Economy Connection's "High School" page. The page contains links to websites, reading lists and publications that can be used for students in grades 1-12, and some of these resources can also be used for popular education purposes. A few weeks later a man working on children's curricula for Occupy Wall St. was looking for additional resources, and we exchanged links. Please send additions to this page to soapbox@urpe.org.

HS page: http://www.urpe.org/ec/high_school.htm

Resources from the URPE Brooklyn Conference

We are collecting supporting materials from panels that took place at the October 1 URPE Conference in Brooklyn, "The War on the Working Class." This page is in progress. If you participated and have papers (pdf format please), web links, recordings, etc., please send them to soapbox@urpe.org.

The Role of URPE...

Dear URPE members,

Over the last years URPE has been launching a number of projects. The goal is always to increase URPE's usefulness to the process of developing and promoting political economy. And the Occupy Wall Street and other "Occupy" events of the last months, which can be expected, with ups and downs, to deepen in the future, make URPE's work more important (and arguably more satisfying) than ever.

URPE was set up to be as participatory an organization as its members would make it. We on the Steering Committee (SC) would like to get more feedback from "the URPE grass roots" on what URPE should be doing, on what would help URPE members and others in teaching, and in working for and fighting for social economic justice.

We heard from a number of our members at our Brooklyn Conference and yearly business meeting the weekend of October 1-2. Two meetings coming up in the next 3 months will bring together other URPE members, namely the membership meeting at the ICAPE conference in November and next year's business meeting at the URPE at ASSA meetings in January.

To get as many clearly formulated ideas as possible on what URPE could and should be doing to develop and promote political economy (and not simply have a meeting where ideas are thrown out and float off into space) we invite URPE members to:

- * Present them at any future URPE business or membership meeting.

- * Write up their ideas at any time in a few paragraphs and send them to the National Office (urpe@labornet.org).

The SC will review all proposals. It will then do 4 things to make this an ongoing process of putting ideas into action.

- * The SC will post all proposed ideas of the Web site, and encourage all URPE members to look at and consider them.

- * The SC will spend part of its twice yearly steering committee meeting reviewing proposals made.

- * The SC will enter into dialogue with the authors of all ideas to discuss whether their ideas can be put into effect on the basis of our existing resources, or with the additional input of the authors and others who could be brought into different projects.

- * The SC will report at future business meetings on each and every proposal made, and on whether or not it can be put into effect.

The new activism that we are seeing today makes it ever more important for URPE to be an organization which promotes and develops radical political economy. URPE members are encouraged to share their ideas on how URPE can best do so.

This then is a call to begin now to share your ideas on what URPE can and should do. If you have any questions about this, please feel to contact Al Campbell directly at Al@economics.utah.edu.

The URPE Steering Committee

Reports from Occupy Wall Street

URPE Supports Occupy Wall Street

October 23, 2011

Paddy Quick

Member, URPE Steering Committee

paddyquick@aol.com

The initiative of a small group of New Yorkers served as a catalyst which ignited a wave of protests in New York and across the US. The level of militancy in the US is far lower than that of the protestors in Europe and elsewhere, but they too have been encouraged by Occupy Wall Street (OWS). The Great Recession led to an acceleration of decades of attacks on the US working class, but at last we are beginning to protest.

The OWS activists are mostly starting from scratch to build a new movement. There are, of course, many organizations, from the Democratic Party to Workers World, who are looking to add members from among the occupants of Liberty Park/Zuccotti Park. But the movements of earlier decades left few significant mass organizations, and the organizations that do exist played no role in the start of OWS. The overwhelming impression that comes across when listening and talking to the OWS people is their insistence on the importance of the participation by each and every individual in decision-making, rather than on finding ways to participate in current organizations. The General Assemblies that take place every evening at 7 p.m. are structured to be models of democratic participation that aim at decision-making by consensus. People can register agreement by waving fingers upright in the air, or dissent by waving fingers downward. (This allows for discussion to continue without being disrupted by either applause or "boos.") Extreme disagreement, which means a person's unwillingness to continue to be a member of Occupy Wall Street if a proposal is adopted, is shown by crossing one's arms.

The Park itself is fairly small and very crowded at times, particularly at the end of the workday. There is always a lot going on, in addition to the many one-on-one conversations. Anyone can draw people into a crowd to listen to an unscheduled talk by calling out "Mic [microphone] Alert." This is a signal for people to serve as collective substitutes for the loud-speakers which are banned by New York City. The speaker calls out a short phrase, e.g. "Wall Street today," and those who can hear

what s/he says repeat it loudly, "WALL STREET TODAY," and so the rest of the talk continues. Thus those who are not close by can "hear" the speaker. It is a low-tech solution to a big-government regulation. There are many talks given every day, including some by URPE members. The quality of the talks and discussions is often higher than those that take place in "traditional" colleges. There are also speeches by people who could be described as "eccentric," but this is not only expected but welcomed as an indication of the openness of OWS to new ideas. At the same time, some ideas are not welcome. When Geraldo Rivera came to visit, his words were drowned out by chants of "Fox News Lies."

The goals of OWS cannot be summarized in a single phrase. The media often characterize the protestors as opposed to "corporate greed," but this is only a part of what motivates people. The one concept that seems to unite people is a commitment to democratic decision-making. But the activists are not simply registering their opposition to being "co-opted" by one organization or another, let alone becoming a support group for the Democratic Party. They are asserting the importance of new ways of restructuring not only production but also gender relations, and proclaiming the possibility of a new society. Some see the need for minor reforms, some for major reforms and others for revolution. Collectively, they are committed to democratic discussion. This is very frustrating to the ever-present media folks who are reduced to selecting quotations from the many interviews they carry out with individuals and trying to present them as "representative" of the ideas of OWS. The mainstream media are also enamored of the "celebrities" who visit Liberty/Zuccotti Park. While OWS welcomes everyone who comes to the park, it does not assume that the ideas of the well-known are more important than those of others.

The movement is new. It is hard now to remember that Occupy Wall Street began only on September 17, 2011. The organizational tasks within OWS are enormous but people are coping well with them. Supporters email in orders for pizza deliveries to the well-organized food station in the center of the park. Spanish-English translation is available and a library (for both adults and children) functions well. But sanitation is a prob-

lem, and local restaurants which provide facilities are concerned. When Michael Bloomberg (Mayor of NYC and, incidentally, the 13th richest person in the United States) asserted that the need for improved sanitation in the park required the successive “clearing out” of sections of the park, OWS organized a systematic clean-up that impressed even jaded New Yorkers, and Bloomberg had to back down. The incidents of police brutality and mass arrests have, overall, led to an increase in support for OWS, while the New York City police are reportedly divided between those who support and those who oppose OWS. The park itself is a “privately-owned public park,” established as part of a 1968 deal on zoning regulations in return for a relaxation of regulations for a new office building, and named Liberty Park Plaza. (Its name was changed to Zuccotti Park in 2006.) This means that, unlike city-owned parks, it must be open to the public 24 hours a day, although some “regulations” (unspecified) are allowed.

The October 5 march brought together major New York City unions in support of Occupy Wall Street. The marchers included many more African-American and Latino people than were typical of the OWS occupants. The signs they carried were typically pre-printed, unlike the varied and creative hand-lettered signs that abound in Liberty Park. The “cultural” gap between their participation and that of the OWS occupants was significant. Unions in the US, despite significant limitations, provide vastly more opportunities for democratic participation than our major political parties. But there is a strong affinity between OWS and union members, and regular discussions take place between them. On Thursday, October 27, for example, Wal-Mart workers are scheduled to talk about their struggles. Other demonstrations have also originated in OWS such as the October 15 occupation of Times Square and the Saturday student-focused protests in Washington Square. There have also been significant demonstrations at the businesses and homes of prominent corporate executives.

The protests are spreading, and, perhaps of even more significance, so is the legitimacy of protest. On October 21, Parents Support Occupy Wall Street organized a sleep-over in the Park. The same day saw a national set of demonstrations by Afterschool Alliance in support of after-school programs. About 70 elementary school students, with their teachers and parents, stood in front of Brooklyn’s Borough Hall chanting “Lights Out Afterschool,” while passers-by applauded them as yet

another group of demonstrators.

Fall is here and it is getting colder. The city has banned the installation of tents in the park, so people are sleeping under tarps. The city is hoping that it will not be necessary to remove the occupants of Liberty Park by force and that instead the winter will bring an end the occupation. But cold weather cannot stop the movement. Meantime, as OWS-inspired protests grow around the country, so too do the challenges of coordinating this mass movement to confront the centralized power of the state. The creativity of the protestors in their use of 21st century technology promises new approaches. Meantime, the OWS people and the millions who are joining them can be counted upon to find their own ways to continue the movement they have ignited. □

Occupy Wall Street: A Gift for the Economy

Thursday 27 October 2011
by: Stephen Healy and Boone Shear
(as published on truth-out.org)

The early characterization of the Occupy Wall Street (OWS) movement as a group of rudderless kids with no real chance of success was fantastically misplaced. The 99 percent continues to occupy more cities, more headlines and more of our collective imagination.

The 99 percent includes people everywhere who want their basic needs met, environmentalists who want clean energy and conservation, communities that want justice for social exclusions and oppression, teachers who want more investment in education, working people wanting jobs with fair wages, students faced with dwindling job prospects who want their debt forgiven. And, of course, people want an end to the reckless corporate behavior and criminality -from "robo-signed" foreclosures to investor fraud, from corporate personhood to out-of-control CEO compensation - that for sake of expedience is referred to as greed, though other "deadly sins" such as gluttony may do just as well.

The diversity of the movement and its purported lack of focus has been a point of dismissal for its detractors and a source of vexation for some of its supporters, who worry that incoherency will lead to downfall.

However, we view the political heterogeneity

differently. The issues are manifold, but taken together they present a quite cohesive "demand": a desire for a new society and a new economy that values people, caring and community. People want to live in commitment to and in common with each other.

In this sense, we agree with Naomi Klein's assertion at a recent talk at OWS that what is needed is a change to "the underlying values that govern our society." This project to re-evaluate our values means changing our ideas about how we make, exchange, distribute and consume stuff; it means precisely changing our economic values.

It is difficult to learn how to speak of new values, let alone embrace and practice them; it takes time. It is also hard for people stuck in the old values to hear what you are saying, and, yet, this is the task before the movement: perhaps this is why when OWS speaks, much of the media mainstream cannot hear them. And perhaps this is why some within the movement are unwilling or unable to imagine doing more than demanding policy reforms (however important these might be).

To those who adhere to the old values, new values may appear quixotic, or even naive, propositions. And we may experience a gripping, emotional attachment to long-held beliefs that make them difficult to relinquish. In our economy individual self-interest, not social commitment, is understood to drive behavior. In this sense, self-interest is the value. In market capitalism, people are supposed to compete against each other for jobs and resources, supposed to produce and buy stuff for the cheapest price and supposed to make decisions that make them the most money.

These beliefs bleed into other areas of our lives. At home, in school, at work and even sometimes at church, people are encouraged to act in their own individual self-interest.

To be sure, this taken-for-granted central value has long been the subject of debate, even a sense of underlying unease. Adam Smith may have argued for its virtues in "Wealth of Nations," but he also argued against it in "Theory of Moral Sentiments." And so it goes. For some, self-interest is believed to be good. It motivates hard work and innovation, balances supply and demand. Acting on our self-interest allows the economy to be the proverbial tide that lifts all boats. In this view, we need to do as much as possible to allow people to follow their "natural" inclinations; we should deregulate the economy, create new free markets and lower taxes. For others, this self-interest can

quickly morph into untrammelled greed. It leads to an imbalanced economy, social and environmental degradation and political corruption. In this view, the economy needs to be carefully monitored and regulated; taxes should be raised to redistribute wealth, and policies should be legislated that protect people and the environment. People and political parties disagree about economic policy, but across the whole political spectrum, the pursuit of individual, self-interest is presumed to be what motivates people in the economy itself.

But this is only one possibility among many. From the perspective of anthropologists, who specialize in exploring the incredible variation that people and societies display, our current set of economic relationships and values are NOT natural; the economy is not the expression of some innate human nature. For example, in his classic work, "The Gift," Marcel Mauss analyzed societies that exchange goods through reciprocal ties, rather than market exchanges. In gift economies, Mauss argues, economic actions are more than just profit-seeking behaviors. People are motivated to give, to receive and to give again, in order to deepen social ties, redistribute wealth and affirm a wide range of cultural values. The economy is a vehicle for ethical behavior and social commitment, as much as self-interest.

Contemporary anthropologist David Graeber stresses a more salient insight in Mauss's work: even in a society presumed to be dominated by market capitalism, people are compelled to act ethically toward each other. If we pause for a moment, we can see this fundamental truism all around us: in the self-sacrifices of undervalued and underpaid teachers to their students; in the efforts of community organizers to raise up the voices and interests of the disenfranchised; in community potlucks that strengthen social ties by sharing resources; in the countless hours of unvalued child-care provided by mothers and other caregivers; and in pervasive, everyday-acts of kindness that help us to manage our lives. We might even consider the philanthropy of the very wealthy, if we choose to, as gestures of commitment to each other. We might conclude from the above that self-interest doesn't rule our lives. People are motivated by and value both self-interest and social commitment.

But here is the rub. Ethical values and actions beyond self-interest are understood in our present society to be extra-economic; they are supposed to

take place outside the formal economy. It is precisely for this reason that they are frequently dismissed as mere sentimentality. How then do we move ethical values and social commitment to the very core of our economic values? Is this even possible?

Fortunately, this is a question that already has an answer. And we don't have to go back in time or across the globe to find it. Massachusetts, where we live, abounds with efforts, enterprises and initiatives that merge the ethical with the "economic."

For example, the Alliance to Develop Power (ADP) in Springfield is a grassroots community organizing group that fights for social justice and the interests of its members. But in contrast to organizations that concentrate on policy changes, ADP brings an interesting twist to its politics. It engages in campaigns and initiatives that lead to the creation of institutions that it owns and controls. ADP currently operates four affordable housing complexes as well as a maintenance, landscaping and weatherization company. These enterprises are owned by, employ, and are governed by ADP members; decisions are made by them, profits come to them and they decide how to reinvest the profits. Coming up: an urban agriculture project, community-controlled radio and more cooperatively owned businesses. By building institutions that allow the community to control profits, ADP members are able to make decisions that balance the needs of the individual, the community and the environment.

The Worcester Energy Barn Raisers formed three years ago to help people and community organizations weatherize their homes. The group builds capacity by sharing know-how on the techniques that allow buildings to become more energy efficient. The work is all volunteer. The core volunteer members bring their labor to each project where volunteers from the neighborhood and community join them. While there are material costs associated, this is an instance of a mutual aid economy that works to deepen social relationships and build community. After a day of working side by side and exchanging skills and resources, barn raisings conclude with a shared meal; reflective conversation; and often new relationships, allies and possibilities.

The Valley Alliance of Worker Cooperatives (VAWC) is an affiliation of eight worker-cooperatives throughout Western Massachusetts's Pioneer Valley. Worker-owned enterprises behave differently from "regular" firms: employees are the

bosses; they collectively control and make their own decisions about what to do with the profits of the business. They do not outsource themselves; they live and work in the communities they serve. Their personal success, the success of their business and the success of their communities are bound together. And VAWC cooperatives contribute to a fund that helps spread the worker ownership model as well as strengthen ties among worker-owned cooperatives and the large networks of consumer cooperatives in the east coast.

The ADP, The Worcester Energy Barn Raisers and VAWC are merely three examples of a growing, new economy - in Massachusetts, the United States and the world - that enables people to bring social commitment and ethical values into their economic endeavors. We can also look to the proliferation of consumer cooperatives that allow members to democratically decide which services and products should be available for consumption, alternative financial institutions like credit unions that are structured to benefit members and the community, fair-trade networks that subject consumers and producers to ethical markets, and alternative currencies that work to promote sustainable and strong communities.

These real-world examples of economic enterprises that encourage community rather than individualism and privilege equality over exploitation, show us the better parts of ourselves. These are economic spaces where it is difficult to tell where our self-interest begins and our duty to others begins; these are economic spaces that enable us to act ethically toward each other. These structures and enterprises already exist. In some cases we simply need the desire to expand and replicate them. And when power doesn't concede, we must organize in order to take it; there is a movement afoot that can help us do just that. Let's accept the gift offered by OWS, let's accept the invitation to join the 99 percent and then reciprocate by helping to create, organize around and demand a new economy and a new world. □

The Fires Were Already Burning: An Occupy Wall Street Backstory and Entreaty to Members of URPE

Chris Rude and Sara Burke

Ever since the occupation of Wall Street took shape on September 17th, there has been much speculation as to its origins—including the notion repeated frequently that Adbusters, the Canadian marketing-meets-politics magazine founded by Estonian WWII refugee Kalle Lasn, lit the spark of Occupy Wall Street with its call for a peaceful occupation. The marketing-savvy magazine certainly helped bring attention to ideas that a lot of New York City activists—working together and in parallel since the early winter months of 2011—had been advancing based on our efforts to occupy banks, to hold action assemblies and people’s town halls, and to occupy the streets near City Hall (in an occupation called “Bloombergville”). Bloombergville activists spent three weeks in June/July on the sidewalk around the base of the Woolworth Building, at the corner of Broadway and Park Place, to protest budget cuts, public-worker layoffs and other austerity measures threatened in the 2011-12 New York City Budget. Adbusters (and social media) reflected the spark from fires that were already burning.

We learned about this smoldering discontent with inequality and corporate capitalism on a cold day in late February when we joined up with US Uncut, a direct-action movement to expose corporate tax evasion/avoidance by creatively occupying their places of business, for their first New York action. We carried a homemade sign to the targeted Bank of America. On one side the sign had graphs of the average US corporate tax rate from 1947-2010. (It moved steadily down through the decades.) The other side showed average US corporate profits during the same period. (They moved steadily up through the decades, with only a 1-quarter crash due to the financial crisis in Autumn 2008.) Everyone who had come to give Bank of America hell was fired up about citizens’ occupation of the Wisconsin state capital to demand due process and freedom of expression and to defend collective bargaining. It was during a subsequent Uncut meeting in late March to plan future actions – a meeting held in a downtown union hall – that we discovered folks in the adjacent room organizing what they were calling “action assemblies” and “peoples’ town halls” as part

of New Yorkers Against Budget Cuts. They had action assemblies percolating in all the NYC boroughs except recalcitrant, Republican-dominated Staten Island, where we live.

So we decided to see if we could light a fire on Staten Island, home to a huge number of unionized workers—firefighters, cops, teachers, nurses and public employees of all kinds—and with a punishing rate of foreclosures. Reaching out to a group of some 15 independent activists in the borough, some of whom had worked together before but never with this overall group, we found ourselves able to pull in people from the anti-war movement, rank-and-file unionists, representatives of social service agencies serving the elderly, homeless and immigrant populations, Democratic, Green Party and other political activists, students, teachers and economists (more than one!). We formed Staten Islanders for Realistic Budget Solutions (SI4RBS) and organized a People’s Town Hall in four short weeks that drew almost 400 people (from every zip code on the Island) and fed directly into Bloombergville.

Some in SI4RBS also went to meetings of the citywide May 12th Coalition, which made two crucial contributions to the movement: 1) homeless advocates’ strategy (sleeping on the streets as a form of protest), and 2) an influential report, “Pay Back Time: \$1.5 Billion Ways To Save Our City’s Budget and Make the Big Banks and Millionaires Pay Their Fair Share” (which emphasized that over \$1 billion of current subsidies, tax credits and special deals go to the big-six banks for jobs they have failed to create; it also pointed to tax loopholes for millionaires, hedge funds and private equity firms that should be eliminated for a more fair tax system; and it detailed all the ways in which the social safety net of the city could be cut, including which agencies would be affected and with heartbreaking stories from individuals). Our group’s chief economist (Chris) vetted the data in the report, presented to the group, and we agreed to endorse and promote it, along with independently researched Staten Island supplements. The experience was a crash course in the kind of “we-can-organize-ourselves, thank you very much, and don’t-need-outside-experts-or-organizers” autonomy that has blossomed in and been magnified by Occupy Wall Street.

We unfortunately missed the next chapter of this backstory. On August 2nd, with a looming debt-ceiling deadline facing Congress, we caught

a flight to Berlin in the late afternoon, just as Bloombergville and New Yorkers Against Budget Cuts were holding a General Assembly at Bowling Green's bull to plan for September 17th. When we returned to New York on September 7th, working groups were already in formation, and there was just time to hook up with the group of Spanish activists who were organizing the General Assembly's Open Forum, which takes place now at 6pm nightly. Chris spoke at the wonderfully chaotic, first Open Forum—held just before the General Assembly on September 17th—on the fiscal crisis of the state.

Chris spoke again at the Open Forum a few days later, just before URPE's October 1-2 Brooklyn conference, which helped to solidify relations and helped secure OWS participants to the conference. It was difficult to tear them away -- their thirst for economic knowledge was that great. When Sara spoke at the Open Forum about a week later, on how long-term rising inequality destabilizes economies, and the role that trade unions can play in stabilizing the economic system, the crowd of 30-40 people asked penetrating questions: how can collective bargaining be strengthened? What is the potential for organizing debtors to collectively bargain down their loans? How do institutions like central banks and the IMF work in the US and the global economies?

By the time you read this newsletter, we're sure many of you will have joined forces with the Occupy Movement in some form or at least have stopped by your local Occupation to check it out. We urge you to actively participate. It has been astounding to watch mainstream media struggle to explain where the movement comes from. The fires have been burning here and there for some time, and those involved are educating and organizing with the intent to create serious change. If our political economy is indeed radical -- penetrating to the core of how things work -- we can and should assist them. Speak at an Occupation. Organize a teach-in by joining one of its working groups. Create an open university. Write a policy brief or a working paper. Engage in hard-hitting, politically relevant economic research. Knowledge is a weapon. □

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with the rapidly spreading popular protests against the status quo, to mask the Obama administration's neoliberal devotion to Wall Street, and to harness the energy of the protesters in order to garner their vote in the 2012 elections.

If successful, this would not be the first time the Democratic Party would have derailed and dissipated social struggles for change; it has a long record of such policies of betrayal, going back all the way to the Populist Movement of the late 19th century. Barack Obama's promise of change in the 2008 elections in pursuit of garnering the grassroots' vote was only the latest of the Democrats' strategy of playing the good cop in order to contain radical energy. Two years earlier they had managed to undermine a vigorous antiwar movement by voicing the protesters' demands to end the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan if they won the majority seats in the Congress. Having thus gained the control of both houses of the Congress in the mid-term election of 2006, they shamelessly backed away from their promise to antiwar voters.

One can only hope that the Occupy Movement is armed with the knowledge of the Democratic Party's record of cooptation and betrayal of radical movements; and will therefore chart a political movement of the working people and other grassroots independent of both parties of big business.

*Ismael Hossein-zadeh is Professor Emeritus of Economics, Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa. He is the author of *The Political Economy of U.S. Militarism* (Palgrave-Macmillan 2007) and the *Soviet Non-capitalist Development: The Case of Nasser's Egypt* (Praeger Publishers 1989).*

Reflecting on Occupy Wall Street #ows

Posted on October 9, 2011 by juliohuato

When truth is too weak to prevail, it must go on the attack.

– Bertold Brecht, Life of Galileo

Of course, the ultimate outcome of the Occupy Wall Street struggle will depend on the popular energy propelling it, which depends in turn on the breadth and depth of our aspirations, on our hunger for a better world. Viewed as a beginning (humble yet promising), the logic of Occupy Wall Street is radical, in the sense of not contenting itself with addressing mere symptoms, but seeking to uproot the ultimate sources of social misery against which it is reacting. Comparison with the beginnings of other episodes in world history in which masses of people raised up to direct the course of history is appropriate.

Yes, it is a baby — and as it often happens with babies, we project in them our own aspirations, fascinated by the scope of human possibilities, by the promises that they embody. But this baby has already exhibited a measure of energy and commitment that presages endurance and effects beyond its humble beginnings. Taken at face value, Occupy Wall Street originates as an attempt to rebuild social life from its foundations. As a result, it is heading into a direct and total clash with the status quo. It raises immediately the question of political power: Who is in charge, who rules society, who directs the course of social life. And the movement appears to have an instinctive understanding of the ultimate nature of political power.

Superficially, we view political power as the ability of an individual, group, or social class to set up the laws and policies of the land, and then enforce them. Political power appears as the ability of the rulers to make others obey or conform, if not willingly consent. Clearly, a social order is most stable when people consent to it, when they conform without being forced or induced to act against their own will. Outright manifestations of political power are required when people are not willing to act as the social order dictates.

But the ability of the rulers to write and pass laws, and then have them enforced — in a phrase, their ability to organize the political and legal life of a society — depends on their ability to effectively command and deploy actual economic resources. Since, as Adam Smith suggested, the ultimate economic resource any society relies on is the conscious time of its individuals, then the organization and application of political power is in the last analysis a fierce battle for our hearts and minds. A battle that we wage as much in our interactions with others as we do introspectively.

How far are we personally willing to go to change our society? How much are we willing to risk? What sacrifices are we willing to endure? How fed up are we really? What compelling vision of our social life, in contrast with the existing social order, can we imagine, and how vividly? How much human potential do we feel we are squandering as a result of our de-facto compromise with the current state of affairs — inequality, war-making, unemployment, an economy and a state ran amok?

We need that gut check. And, again, since this is a battle for hearts and minds, ours should be both a raw emotional appeal to the struggle and a sharp intellectual case against the status quo accompanied by the proposal of an alternative to it. In the actual world, our emotions and intellect are intermingled. But, at the end of the day, if we are to remain true to our humanity, the most compelling argument will be the rational one, the one that shows our respect to one another's intelligence, to our desire for genuine freedom.

I will say one or two things about the emotional element. Whatever one's net assessment of Steve Jobs' life, his words here make our case:

Remembering you're going to die is the best way to avoid the trap of thinking you have something to lose. You are already naked. There is no reason not to follow your heart.

While Jobs' creativity and energy were admirable, it is hard to slight the fact that when — as he did — we accept and reinforce a social order that pits us against one another, as we do when we pursue the accumulation of vast amounts of wealth (even if by developing well-engineered products — and there are certainly worse ways in

which people accumulate wealth, as Halliburton's Cheney or Goldman Sachs' Blankfein demonstrate), we remain trapped by the vacuous compulsion to fill with things our existential voids. Crises, like the ongoing one, force us to confront the glaring fact that these voids can only be filled with meaningful relations with other human beings. Using private wealth to extract more wealth from others, using others as mere instruments to one's end, and having the accumulation of things be such end, is a trap, a costly illusion — an illusion with deep social roots, but an illusion nonetheless. It is costly because it undermines the basis of all social life — cooperation. The only life worth living is that spent helping and being helped by others, directly, with no proxy in between; using things as means, but one another as ends. To that extent, Jobs was more a part of the problem than a part of the solution.

So James Carville was wrong. It is the economy, stupid, but only because “the economy” (i.e. our jobs, our income, our wealth, the stuff we acquire, etc.) acts as a poor substitute for social interactions that suck. However, if we go radical and demand the real thing rather than the phony one, and act to produce it, then: It is our social relations, stupid! What is it about the existing social relations that sucks? Well, they are not ours! Yes, we produce them and reproduce them, by action and omission, but they remain estranged from us — they escape our control as individuals and oppress us. The premises, processes, and results of our reproduction as a society become alien forces that degrade and crush our humanity. That is the main characteristic of our social life: Alienation!

But, human beings are problem-solving animals. We immediately problematize our condition. Not sooner we see the world as exists than we are already envisioning the world as we need it and want it. Our problem is to go from the world that exists to the world that we need and want. The problem, alienation, suggests its solution: Appropriation! We need our social life to be fully ours. We need the wealth that we produce to be a vehicle for the free development of our human powers. We need the social relations that we build to promote our freedom as individuals. We need a civic and economic life that is responsive to our needs, not a private profit-making machine that chews us up and despoils our natural environment under the protection of a political and military apparatus

turned against us. We need our productive resources, those that nature has endowed us with and those we've produced historically (our physical productive infrastructure and we ourselves as producers), cared for and deployed to meet our needs. We need a social life of the people, by the people, and for the people. It is this promise, the opportunity to struggle for its realization, that Occupy Wall Street gives us. That is the basis of its ongoing success. If we can preserve and expand on that promise, in spite of the formidable obstacles to come, we will prevail.

To wrap things up, let me return to my suggestion above that, if the movement is to make any progress in rebuilding our social life, then it has to win the hearts and minds of people way beyond those originally involved in the protests. This relates to the issue of “demands.” At the current stage in the political cycle, there is very little evidence indicating that the political system is going to become genuinely sensitive to the needs and concerns of the 99%. But even if it were, it would be for the wrong reasons — to pacify us, to send us back to our routines, to perpetuate the social order. No, we don't want back to business as usual. We are rejecting the social order.

Now, if we are indeed committed to the radical course, there is no way to avoid a clash with the political establishment. We cannot expect that the entrenched vested interests that give us wars, financial and economic crises, a corrupt political process, gaping inequality, environmental destruction, and mind-numbing propaganda will just fold and go home. But at this point, they may not consider us as a serious threat to their rule. That is fine. At this point, we are not talking to them — or, at least, they are not our main audience. We are mainly talking to one another. We are learning together how to build a different type of social relations, a different type of power. We want to involve more and more people, we want to be the 99% in motion, we want us all to think beyond the next political cycle — and act accordingly. To involve more and more people, we must retain the moral high ground and focus on strengthening our organization, self education, committed effort, and numbers. □

URPE Newsletter

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Continued from front cover...

The activists are committed to a long-term struggle. They know that it will be hard to continue the actual occupation in New York in its present form in the cold months of winter, and there is on-going discussion of how to build the movement into the future. New York activists talked, at Sunday's URPE meeting, of setting up a "free university" which would allow for more structured learning, and URPE offered to help in this. Sunday's discussion included ways in which we could share out experiences on how to ensure transparency and accountability among our members/participants. In the meantime, please note the following:

* Occupied Wall Street Journal (a newsletter produced by Occupy Wall Street) is taking in submissions from everyone at occupymedia@gmail.com. If you could pass this info around with the people in URPE, that would be great.

* For live feed go to: www.livestream.com/globalrevolution

* In New York, the people working on URPE and Occupy Wall Street are:

Julio Huato jhuato@gmail.com

Ruthie Indeck soapbox@comcast.net

Paddy Quick paddyquick@aol.com

Chris Rude chris.rude@ciper.org

* URPE members who are active in this movement in other parts of the country are encouraged to share their experiences on URPE listserv, which can be found at www.urpe.org.

* Please sign the Higher Education petition:

Higher Education Faculty support the OCCUPY WALL STREET protest. We see the impact of the economic crisis in our classrooms and on our campuses each day. Our students are burdened with crippling student loans as they face a bleak and depressed job market and an economic recession with no end in sight, while our institutions increasingly rely on adjunct and part-time faculty. We teach more and more for less and less, and our students suffer as we lose our ability to mentor because of our own lack of time and financial insecurity. The OCCUPY WALL STREET movement is a step towards a better and more just future for our past, current, and future students and for higher education faculty. We stand in solidarity with Occupy Wall Street.

To read more and to sign, please visit:

<http://www.change.org/petitions/higher-education-faculty-full-timepart-timeadjunctunemployed-sign-in-support-of-the-occupy-wall-street-protest-movement>

Report submitted: October 8, 2011