

NOTES

CHAPTER 1

1. Mario Maffi, *Gateway to the Promised Land: Ethnic Cultures in New York's Lower East Side* (New York: New York University Press, 1995), 50.

2. For an account of the cyclical nature of real estate speculation in the Lower East Side see Neil Smith, Betsy Duncan, and Laura Reid, "From Disinvestment to Reinvestment: Mapping the Urban 'Frontier' in the Lower East Side," in *From Urban Village to East Village: The Battle for New York's Lower East Side*, ed. Janet L. Abu-Lughod, (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 1994), 149–167.

3. James F. Richardson, "Wards," in *The Encyclopedia of New York City*, ed. Kenneth T. Jackson (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1995), 1237. The description of wards in the *Encyclopedia of New York City* establishes that 80 percent of New York's total population was housed in these four wards—Ten, Eleven, Thirteen, and Seventeen—within the geographic parameters of what is referred to later as the Lower East Side.

The website <http://www.demographia.com/db-nyc-sector1800.htm>, accessed September 15, 2015, calibrates the population density of this area in 1900 at 314,931 per square mile. This meant that more than three times as many people lived in this neighborhood as the rest of Lower Manhattan.

4. Jacob A. Riis, *How the Other Half Lives: Studies Among the Tenements of New York* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1890). This piece of writing raised awareness of the poor living Riis. His famous exposé first appeared as a long, illustrated essay in an 1889 edition of *Scribner's Magazine*.

5. Maureen A. Flanagan, *America Reformed: Progressives and Progressivisms, 1890s–1920s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

6. The concept of the settlement house originated in England with the still extant Tonybee Hall (1884) in East London. The movement was tremendously influential in the United States, and by 1910 there were well over four hundred settlement houses in the United States. Most of these were in major cities along the east and west coasts—targeting immigrant populations. For an overview of the settlement house movement, see Allen F. Davis, *Spearheads for Reform: The Social Settlements and the Progressive Movement, 1890–1914* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967).

7. The chapter "Jewtown," by Riis, focuses on the dismal living conditions in this ward. The need to not merely aid the impoverished community but to transform the physical city became a part of the settlement work.

8. Stanton Coit, *Neighbourhood Guilds: An Instrument of Social Reform* (London: Sewan Sonnenschein and Co., 1891). Coit had visited Tonybee Hall and later published his ideas of the "guild," a unit of a hundred families that could function as a unit capable of self-sufficient organization.

9. Jeffrey Scheuer outlines a brief history of University Settlement in his essay *Legacy of Light: University Settlement's First Century* (New York: University Settlement, 1986).

10. Scheuer, *Legacy of Light*.

11. *Ibid.* The purchase of the site and construction were funded by some of the wealthiest families of New York.

12. Robert A. Woods and Albert J. Kennedy, eds., *Handbook of Settlements* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1911), 177–248. This handbook lists the settlements across the country and provides a brief description of their activities.

13. Mina Carson, *Settlement Folk: Social*

Thought and the American Settlement Movement, 1885–1930 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990). Carson provides insight into the broader history of the settlement houses, with a focus on the early leaders who shaped the movement. Christopher Mele, “Different and Inferior,” in *Selling of the Lower East Side: Culture, Real Estate, and Resistance in New York City* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 31–77, emphasizes the patriarchal imperative within the charitable impulse.

14. For a discussion of the shaping of the ideology of the settlement workers in urban policy reform, see Carson, “The Settlers Look Outward: Housing, Health, and Labor,” in *Settlement Folk: Social Thought and the American Settlement Movement, 1885–1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 69–84.

15. See Davis, “The Settlement Movement and Municipal Reform,” *Spearheads for Reform, 170–193*.

16. Carson, “Settlers Look Outward,” 153–160.

17. “Protesting Women March in Mourning,” *New York Times*, September 30, 1914, 11.

18. Wald was elected the first chairperson of AUAM, a New York City–based organization with fifteen thousand members. Accessed August 15, 2015, <http://newyorkhistoryblog.org/2015/06/24/new-yorks-long-history-of-peace-activism/#sthash.t8VtWXaN.dpuf>.

19. Wald, along with settlement colleague Jane Addams of Hull House, remained committed to the anti-war efforts through their membership in the Women’s Peace Party (later renamed the Women’s International League of Peace and Freedom [WILPF]). Their criticism of the country’s decision to enter the war, however, put them at odds with many former supporters, both within and outside the government circles. See Carson, *Settlement Folk*, 153–160.

20. In 1924 the Johnson-Reed Act, an immigration law, created quotas that allowed immigration visas to 2 percent of the total number of people of each nationality in the

United States as per the 1890 national census, accessed October 9, 2015, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1921–1936/immigration-act>. This excluded many minority national groups and had the effect of decreasing the continuous influx of immigrants to the Lower East Side.

21. Robert A. Woods and Albert J. Kennedy, eds., *Handbook of Settlements* (Arno Press and the New York Times, 1970). First published in 1911, the Russell Sage Foundation, Philadelphia, 1–5. The handbook lists a total of 415 settlements in the United States and describes the collaborative effort.

22. For an account of Hall’s participation and statement before the House Ways and Means Committee, see Helen Hall, *Unfinished Business* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1971), 53–58.

23. Hall, *Unfinished Business*, 30.

24. *Ibid.*, 29–39. Hall speaks of the impact of “The New Deal Initials” in Chapter V.

25. The Housing Act stipulated that its funds be used for slum clearance, followed by low-income housing. Given the high cost of land in Manhattan—even on the Lower East Side, this area was slated for slum clearance and then developed with privately funded middle-income housing. The availability of money from the federal government and the lobbying by reformers and construction unions changed the course of this development into low-income housing under the aegis of NYCHA. See Joel Schwartz, “Redevelopment and Public Housing,” in *The New York Approach: Robert Moses, Urban Liberals, and Redevelopment of the Inner City* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1993), 25–60; and Ann L. Buittenwieser, “Shelter for What and for Whom? On the Route Toward Vladeck Houses,” *Journal of Urban History*, vol. 12 (August 1986).

26. Hall, *Unfinished Business*, 145–157. Hall qualifies her position in support of the need for the new public housing by pointing to the studies and reports developed by Henry Street Settlement volunteers based on interviews and opinion polls of the residents. The

titles of the reports (“Can We Renovate the Slums?,” “What Some Slum Dwellers Want in Housing,” and “Rooms of Their Own”) indicate the focus of the settlement workers on the residents.

27. The board chairman, Langdon Post, was the head of the Tenement House Commission; the vice chair, Mary Simkhovitch, founded the Greenwich House Settlement; and other members included Charney B. Vladeck, veteran socialist and general manager of the *Jewish Daily Forward*; Louis Pink, a former settlement house worker and lawyer on the State Housing Board; and Monsignor E. Roberts Moore of the Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New York.

28. Buttenwieser, “Shelter for What and for Whom?,” 12. Buttenwieser reports that a sixth of the people who moved into the Vladeck Houses were from the neighborhood.

29. Helen Hall quoted in Joel Schwartz, “Tenant Unions in New York City’s Low Rent Housing, 1933–1949,” *Journal of Urban History* 12 (August 1986): 424.

30. Schwartz, “Redevelopment and Public Housing,” 25–60.

31. Buttenwieser, “Shelter for What and for Whom?,” 12. Buttenwieser reports that a sixth of the people who moved into the Vladeck Houses were from the neighborhood.

32. After World War II, large numbers of Puerto Ricans began migrating to the United States. In 1953 Puerto Rican migration to New York reached its peak when 75,000 people left the island. By 1960, the U.S. census showed that there were well over 600,000 New Yorkers of Puerto Rican birth or parentage. See Christopher Mele, “Neighborhood ‘Burn-out’: Puerto Ricans at the End of the Queue,” in *From Urban Village to East Village*, ed. Janet L. Abu-Lughod, 128–131.

33. Buttenwieser, “Shelter for What and for Whom?,” 12. Buttenwieser reports that a sixth of the people who moved into the Vladeck Houses were from the neighborhood.

34. Hall, *Unfinished Business*, writes about the concerns of growing gang violence and drugs within the neighborhood. For gang

warfare, see 219–225; for narcotics abuse, see 245–253.

35. Henry Heifetz, “Introduction,” in *Individual and Group Services in the Mobilization for Youth Experience*, ed. Harold H. Weissman (New York: National Board of Young Men’s Christian Associations, 1969), 19.

36. Noel A. Cazenave, “Professional Turf Battles in the Planning of the Mobilization for Youth Project,” in *Impossible Democracy: The Unlikely Success of the War on Poverty Community Action Programs* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007), 19–31. Cazenave convincingly articulates the different tactics of the settlement versus the MFY administrators.

37. Beverly Luther, “Group Service Programs and Their Effects on Delinquents,” in *Individual and Group Services in the Mobilization for Youth Experience*, ed. Harold H. Weissman, 126.

38. Cazenave, *Impossible Democracy*, 117–118.

39. Daniel Soyer, “Landsmanshaftn and the Jewish Labor Movement: Cooperation, Conflict, and the Building of Community,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 7, no. 2 (1988): 22–45.

40. Stanley Nadel, *Little Germany: Ethnicity, Religion, and Class in New York City, 1845–1880*, (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 29–46. Germans migrating to New York in the 1840s settled in the Tenth, Twelfth, Thirteenth, and Seventeenth Wards in the Lower East Side. Nadel maps the territory of Kleindeutschland (Little Germany) in New York.

41. For a description of the many different types of German social organizations and the attendant architectural typologies in the Seventeenth Ward, see Mathew Kuhnert, *Building Community in Kleindeutschland: The Role of German Immigration in Shaping New York City’s Seventeenth Ward* (master’s thesis, Columbia University, 2012), 65–101.

42. Nadel, *Little Germany*, 104–118. Nadel provides an account of the many associations revolving around drinking, sports, singing, theater, and political organizing that

proliferated in *Kleindeutschland*. For the social landscape of the German anarchist movement, see Tom Goyens, *Beer and Revolution: The German Anarchist Movement in New York City, 1880–1914* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2007)

43. Soyer, “Landsmanshaftn.” Soyer’s article provides an account of the complicated relationship between the more academic Marxist intelligentsia and the Landsmanshaftn (local Jewish benefit societies) in creating a labor-power base in the Lower East side.

44. Ibid.

45. John M. Okinson, “The Public Halls of the Lower East Side,” in *Year Book of the University Settlement Society of New York* (1899), 31–J

46. Tom Goyens, *Beer and Revolution*, 34–51.

47. New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission, Webster Hall and Annex Designation Report, LP-2273, March 18, 2008.

48. For an overview of Judson Church’s History, see <http://classic.judson.org/Historical-Overview>, accessed July 25, 2016.

49. Richard P. Poethig, “Charles Stelzle and the Roots of Presbyterian Industrial Mission,” *The Journal of Presbyterian History* (1997–) 77, no. 1 (1999): 29–43.

50. Ibid., 39.

51. For Hughan’s role as a leader of the Pacifist movement and founder of the War Resisters League, see Scott H. Bennett, “Jessie Wallace Hughan and the WRL,” in *Radical Pacifism: The War Resisters League and Gandhian Nonviolence in America, 1915–1963* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2003), 1–22.

52. Jo Ann Ooiman Robinson, “The Pharos of the East Side, 1937–1940: Labor Temple Under the Direction of A. J. Muste,” *Journal of Presbyterian History* 48, no. 1 (1970): 18–37.

53. Muste’s long career as a pastor and radical leftist is indicative of his struggle to find the right approach to nonviolence, labor issues, and social justice. His life, which spanned three wars (World War I, World War

II, and the Vietnam War) is described in Leilah Danielson, *American Gandhi: A. J. Muste and the History of Radicalism in the Twentieth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014).

54. Scott H. Bennett, “Toward Direct Action: The WRL and the CO Revolts in CPS and Prison 1940–1945,” in *Radical Pacifism: The War Resisters League and Gandhian Nonviolence in America, 1915–1963* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2003), 98–133. Bennett provides a detailed account of the situation of the COs as well as the key actors of the dissent.

55. Marion Mollin, *Radical Pacifism in Modern America: Egalitarianism and Protest* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006). Mollin lists federal prisons in Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Virginia, Michigan, and Arizona.

56. Bennett, *Radical Pacifism*, 98–114. Bennett points to the small number of men (12,000) involved as COs during World War II. Of these, only about half (approximately 6,000) went to jail, serving sentences of two to three years. He notes that about a 100 members of the WRL were among those jailed. The Danbury strike involved 18 COs, who began a 135-day work strike.

57. Ibid., 113–133. Bennett provides a detailed account of the strikes in Danbury and Lewisburg and the Ashland Correctional Facilities and the involvement of WRL members Jim Peck, William Sutherland, Bayard Rustin, David Dellinger, and Ralph DiGia that led to these actions.

58. An unlikely duo, Peter Maurin was a Catholic philosopher, and Dorothy Day was a journalist with strong ties to the labor movement in New York City. The quote is a part of the tenets for the Catholic Worker, enumerated by Maurin in the column “Easy Essays in the Catholic Worker.”

59. James J. Farrell, *The Spirit of the Sixties: The Making of Postwar Radicalism* (NY: Routledge, 1997), 28.

60. In 1976 they purchased a second building, the Third Street Music School, and

converted it into the Mary House. These two institutions are still in existence as of 2017. For more about the Catholic houses in New York City, see Gary Dorrien, *Social Ethics in the Making: Interpreting an American Tradition* (Boston: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2008), 368.

61. For the contribution of the pacifist (WRL and FOR) to the formation of the new left, see Van Gosse, *Rethinking the New Left: An Interpretive History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 55–57.

62. Bennett, *Radical Pacifism*, 134.

63. Farrell, *Spirit of the Sixties*, 23.

64. Bennett, *Radical Pacifism*, 195–203

65. *Ibid.*, 222–223.

66. “31 Flouting Test Seized by Police: 29 Taken in City Hall Park Claim to Be Pacifists—Woman Disrupts Court,” *New York Times*, June 16, 1955.

67. Judith Malina, *The Diaries of Judith Malina, 1947–1957* (New York: Grove Press, 1984), 441–462. Malina notes her experience in jail and encounter with Dorothy Day.

68. Malina, *The Diaries of Judith Malina*, 368.

69. See Bradford D. Martin, *The Theater Is in the Street: Politics and Performance in Sixties America* (Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004), 52–62. Martin describes the couple’s distaste for the “stylized realism” of Broadway. In a deliberate break from the stylized theatrics of commercial performance, Artaud proposed a more improvisational form in which the audience encounters the actor’s emotions and physicality more directly.

70. *Ibid.*, 55–56. Dissent, as noted earlier, was unpopular during the Cold War. The House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), formed in 1947, specifically targeted artists. The visual artists, particularly the Abstract Expressionists, were not eager to risk their newfound successes in museums and galleries to take on a more radical political position. Later, in the ’60s, the civil rights movement and the Vietnam War changed this attitude within the arts community with the

emergence of groups like Art Workers Coalition and the Guerilla Art Action Group (125–159). See also Lucy Lippard, “Biting the Hand that Feeds,” in *Alternative Art New York, 1965–1985*, ed. Julie Ault (New York: University of Minnesota Press, 2002).

71. Martin, *Theater Is in the Street*, 60–63. See also Allan Antiff, “Poetic Tension, Aesthetic Cruelty: Paul Goodman, Antonin Artaud, and the Living Theater,” *Anarchist Developments in Cultural Studies*, no. 1 (2015). Antiff discusses the problematic aestheticizing of cruelty.

72. Douglas Robinson, “The Show Goes on Despite Ban,” *New York Times*, October 20, 1963, 1, 41.

73. Richard J. H. Johnston, “Jury Finds Beck Guilty in Tax Case: Living Theater Faces Fines and Jail Terms,” *New York Times*, May 26, 1964, 45.

74. See Phyllis Eckhaus Pasternak and Judith Mahoney, “An Interview with Grace Paley, ‘Every Action was Essential,’” *Non Violent Activist: The Magazine of the War Resisters League* (March–April 2000).

75. For a description of the urban landscape that defined the character of Greenwich Village in the ’60s, see Sally Banes, “Another Space,” in *Greenwich Village 1963: Avant-Garde Performance and the Effervescent Body* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1963), 13–32.

76. See, Robert E. Haywood, “Heretical Alliance: Claes Oldenburg and the Judson Memorial Church in 1960’s,” *Art History* 18, no. 2 (1995), 185–212.

77. George Maciunas, “Manifesto,” circa 1963. Sohm, Happenings, and Fluxus, quoted in Sally Banes, *Greenwich Village 1963*, 63.

78. Roslyn Bernstien and Shael Shapiro, “1967: George Maciunas The Father of SoHo,” in *Illegal Living: 80 Wooster Street and the Evolution of SoHo* (Vinius, Lithuania: The Jonas Mekas Foundation, 2010), 35–71.

79. Aaron Shkuda, *The Lofts of SoHo: Gentrification, Art, and Industry in New York, 1950–1980* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2016), 53–58. Shkuda, under

the subheading “Paying for a loft,” provides a clear account of the illegality of the financial arrangements and co-operative itself.

80. Bernstein and Shapiro, *Illegal Living: 80 Wooster Street and the Evolution of SoHo*, 76. Bernstein and Shapiro discuss the friendship and shared vision of Maciunas and Mekas.

81. An article in the *New York Times*, March 15, 1992, calls Maciunas “The Irascible ‘Father’ of SoHo.” The article suggests that Maciunas left because of failing health, disagreements with shareholders, and physical threats to his safety by unpaid workmen. In a response to the *Times* article, his sister Nijole Valaitis wrote that her brother had an intense dislike for bureaucracy and that he was not about to negotiate with them, unlike his fellow artist shareholders.

82. Sharon Zukin, *Loft Living: Culture and Capital in Urban Change*, 23–57. Zukin, in her critical study about loft living, argues that the eventual legalization of the SoHo lofts for living pushed out the remaining small-scale industry in this area and paved the way for big business and real estate development.

CHAPTER 2

1. Hannah Arendt, *On Revolution* (New York: Viking Press, 1963), 142.

2. Arendt, *On Revolution*, 126. The body politic is a metaphor that refers to the governing state as a corporeal entity. I refer to it in the sense proposed by Arendt, as a new constellation of people with a shared political awareness and civic agency.

3. Arendt, *On Revolution*, 166. Arendt, in her discussion of the American Revolution, celebrates the concept of the New England town hall as a Jeffersonian ideal.

4. Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 199–212.

5. The A. J. Muste Memorial Institute, founded in 1974, was named after A. J. Muste, onetime member of the War Resisters League and a key leader of many pacifist organizations. For a current description of this organization and its mission, visit their website,

accessed June 15, 2016, <http://www.ajmuste.org/>.

6. Arendt, “The Public and the Private Realm,” in *The Human Condition*, 22–78.

7. See Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1991), 24.

8. See Chapter 1 for a brief history of Abraham Johannes Muste and the pacifist movement in New York City.

9. The WRL had been located at 5 Beekman Street since World War II. For a brief history of the WRL at Beekman Street, see Chapter 1. For a comprehensive history of the WRL from its beginnings in 1923 until 1963, see Scott H. Bennett, *Radical Pacifism: The War Resisters League and Gandhian Nonviolence in America, 1915–1963* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2003).

10. David McReynolds (WRL) and Brad Lyttle (Committee for Nonviolent Action) were both a part of the office at the time of the raid. David McReynolds, interview by author, New York City, June 20, 2013. Brad Lyttle, phone interview by author, July 6, 2013.

11. McReynolds, interview by author, New York City, June 20, 2013.

12. The Overton Commission (1919) and the later House Un-American Committee (1939) specifically targeted the members of pacifist movements and maintained a file on the War Resisters League. See Susan Frances Dion, “Pacifism a Subversion: The FBI and the War Resisters League” (master’s thesis, Marquette University, 1980).

13. As stated on the Certificate of Occupancy from 1922, accessed June 14, 2015, <http://a810-bisweb.nyc.gov/bisweb/CofJobDocumentServlet>.

14. A large body of scholarship discusses the role of artists in SoHo—setting the precedent for industrial spaces to be converted into living lofts. Most of the conversions in SoHo began illegally in the ’60s and culminated in their legalization in 1975. Sharon Zukin provides a critical account of the commodification of the industrial loft in *Loft Living: Culture and Capital in Urban Change* (Baltimore,

MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982). A more current study by Aaron Shkuda focuses on SoHo artists and looks at the parallel forces of urban renewal and the precedent set by artists in the change from industrial to residential in the rezoning of SoHo. See Shkuda, *The Lofts of SoHo: Gentrification, Art, and Industry in New York, 1950–1980* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016). The same was true of the neighborhood just north of Houston Street, or NoHo—the neighborhood in which the Peace Pentagon was situated.

15. In quoting the sum of sixty thousand dollars and the date of this transaction, this research relies on the deed of the 1971 property transaction records from the New York City Department of Finance.

16. Details of the move are gathered from David McReynolds, who, along with WRL members Ralph DiGia, Norma Becker, Bernice Lanning, and Igal Roodenko, was instrumental in setting up the new office. McReynolds, interview by author, New York City, June 20, 2013.

17. Information courtesy of Joanne Sheehan, a staff member of WRL who was part of the Catholic Peace Fellowship at 339 Lafayette Street. Joanne Sheehan, phone interview by author, September 11, 2013.

18. This account of the setting up of the Muste Institute as a legal “front” is gathered from McReynolds, interview by author, New York City, June 20, 2013. Over time, the Muste Institute developed its own independent programming and institutional agenda.

19. WRL mission statement, accessed May 15, 2016, at <https://www.warresisters.org/about-us>. Some within the WRL saw the Vietnam War as an unfortunate event that also detracted from the revolutionary potential of the civil rights movement. This point of view was articulated by McReynolds, interview by author, June 20, 2013. A similar sentiment was expressed by Grace Paley in “An Interview with Grace Paley, ‘Every Action Was Essential,’” interview by Phyllis Eckhaus and Judith Mahoney Pasternak, *Nonviolent Activist: The*

Magazine of the War Resisters League, March/April 2000.

20. Information about this walk is derived from Vickie Leonard and Tom MacLean, eds., *The Continental Walk for Disarmament and Social Justice* (New York: The Continental Walk for Disarmament and Social Justice, 1977).

21. Leonard and MacLean, *Continental Walk*, 23.

22. For an account of the Shoreham power plant and its contentious history, see Kenneth F. McCallion, *Shoreham and the Rise and Fall of the Nuclear Power Industry* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1995).

23. John Breitbart, interview by author, New York City, July 10, 2015. Breitbart was part of SHAD and also the “Bookmobile Project” that distributed political literature at rallies and other events. He organized both projects at 339 Lafayette Street.

24. Paul L. Montgomery, “Throngs Fill Manhattan to Protest Nuclear Weapons,” *New York Times*, June 13, 1982, sec. A1.

25. Paul L. Montgomery, “1,600 Are Arrested in Nuclear Protests at 5 U.N. Missions,” *New York Times*, June 15, 1982, sec. A1.

26. Breaking with this thirty-year practice, in 2013 the Nuclear Regulatory Commission issued a permit for the Virgil C. Summer Nuclear Generating Station in South Carolina. The United States remains the world’s largest producer of commercial nuclear power.

27. This information is based on a list compiled by Ed Hedemann, a member of the War Resisters League and an active participant in most of these actions since 1972. My selective time line singles out demonstrations with more than a thousand participants and is by no means comprehensive.

28. Leonard and MacLean, *Continental Walk*, 41.

29. A 1970 Certificate of Occupancy records this conversion, accessed May 15, 2016, <http://a810-bisweb.nyc.gov/bisweb/CofJobDocumentServlet>. The building was later converted into transitional housing for women suffering from mental illness. It remained as such until its sale in 2015.

30. Kim Hopper, a sociologist who spent more than a decade working at this shelter, tells of the overwhelmed staff members and people in need of more serious care. He cites the de-institutionalization of patients suffering from mental health problems between 1965 and 1977 and the subsequent release of 125,000 patients by the state as the cause of the surge of the homeless population. See also Kim Hopper, *Reckoning with Homelessness* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2003), 77.

31. Hopper, *Reckoning with Homelessness*, 93. The large lobby of the shelter served as a makeshift shelter, where men slept on chairs, couches, and the floor while waiting for a more suitable placement by social service agencies.

32. Ed Hedemann, interview by author, New York City, June 28, 2013.

33. Chapter 1 discusses Dorothy Day and the relationship to the anti-war, pacifist movement. For a broader discussion, see James J. Farrell, "Catholic Worker Personalism," in *The Spirit of the Sixties: The Making of Postwar Radicalism* (New York: Routledge, 1997).

34. See Frida Berrigan's article, "A Place Where It's Easier to Be Good," *Waging Non-violence* (May 2013) for a sense of what it meant to live at and contribute to the Mary House Community, accessed August 30, 2014, <https://wagingnonviolence.org/feature/a-place-where-its-easier-to-be-good/>. Although it's a more recent account, the article conveys the practice well.

35. Igal Roodenko, "60 Years on the Frontlines Against War," *Philadelphia Inquirer* (November 9, 1983).

36. Lyttle, phone interview by author, August 1, 2013.

37. Ibid.

38. Joanne Sheehan, phone interview by author, September 9, 2013.

39. Ibid.

40. There is a body of writing on artists and their impact on real estate values. For an account of the metrics of gentrification in the Lower East Side, see Neil Smith, *The New*

Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City (New York: Routledge, 1996), 3–29. For a discussion of the influx of art, culture wars, and gentrification in the East Village, see Christopher Mele, *Selling the Lower East Side: Culture, Real Estate, and Resistance in New York City* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 220–254. For a history of artists and galleries in SoHo, see Shkuda, *Lofts of SoHo*. For the later proliferation of galleries eastward, see Walter Robinson and Carlo McCormick, "Slouching Toward Avenue D," *Art in America* (Summer, 1984).

41. Gallery 345, Karen DiGia's short-lived project, is featured in the context of the broader alternative art movement. See Julie Ault, ed., "A Chronology of Selected Alternative Structures, Spaces, Artists' Groups, and Organizations in New York City, 1965–85," in *Alternative Art New York, 1965–1985* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 55.

42. Karen DiGia, interview by author, New York City, August 15, 2013.

43. Quote from the manifesto of the group published in their newsletter, *PAD/D: First Issue* (February 1981). All issues of this newsletter are accessible at www.darkmatterarchives.net.

44. Gregory Sholette, *A Collectography of PAD/D: A 1980's Activist Art and Networking Collective*, Groups and Spaces E-Zine, 2001. Sholette, an artist and historian, was a member of PAD/D and REPOHistory. Both organizations operated from offices at 339 Lafayette Street, accessed September 20, 2015, http://www.gregorysholette.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/04/14_collectography1.pdf.

45. Editorial, "Fanning the Spark," *Upfront: PAD/D*, no. 5 (1983): 2.

46. See Chapter 1 for the reference to the Bread and Puppet Theater working within the pacifist movement.

47. See Gregory Sholette, *Snip, Snip, Bang, Bang: Political Art, Reloaded* (2008) for artists' participation in El Salvador March in 1980, accessed September 20, 2014, <http://www>

.gregorysholette.com/wpcontent/uploads/2011/04/SnipSnipBangBang.1.pdf. See also report in *PAD/D: First Issue*, no. 1 (1981).

48. See *PAD/D: First Issue*, no. 1 (1981) for the call for submissions.

49. Ed Hedemann and Ruth Benn, eds., *War Tax Resistance: A Guide to Withholding Your Support from the Military*, 5th edition, War Resisters League, (February 2, 2003)

50. According to Ruth Benn and Ed Hedemann, the creators of this chart—since the Vietnam War, the chart issued by the U.S. government includes social security, a citizen's trust fund, which is shown as a tax allocation. Information gathered from Ed Hedemann and Ruth Benn, interview by author, June 28, 2013.

For a detailed analysis of the current fiscal budget and previous charts, visit the WRL website at <https://www.warresisters.org/federalpiechart>.

51. For a description of the projects and artists' statements, see *PAD/D: First Issue: Political Art Documentation/Distribution*, no. 2 (1981).

52. For an overview of the Alternative Art movement in New York, see Ault, *Alternative Art*.

53. An observation by McReynolds, who was on the board of the Muste Institute at the time. McReynolds, interview by author, New York City, June 20, 2013.

54. Ibid.

55. The Freedom of Information Act allows for a partial disclosure of all previously unreleased information and documents controlled by the U.S. government. This act, passed in 1966, has been amended to the point whereby any actions deemed a threat to national security (aka "terrorism") are exempt from disclosure.

56. Angus MacKenzie, *Secrets: The CIA's War at Home* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, Calif.: University of California Press, 1997), 153

57. Video accessed 5 June 2016, <http://papertiger.org/?s=buitrago>.

58. Schiller was an influential educator and a vociferous critic of the corporate control of

the media. He wrote several books that cautioned against the dangers of the control of public space by corporate media. See Herbert Schiller, *Mass Communications and American Empire* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1969).

59. Details gathered in an interview by the author with DeeDee Halleck on July 12, 2013. The PTTV videos, accessed June 5, 2016, are archived at <http://papertiger.org/video-archive/image-archive/>.

60. For a discussion of Paper Tiger TV in relation to other media activism, see Jesse Drew, "The Collective Camcorder in Art and Activism," in *Collectivism after Modernism: The Art of Social Imagination after 1945*, ed. Blake Stimson and Gregory Sholette (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 95–113

61. DeeDee Halleck, "The Camcorder Goes to War: Making Outrage Contagious—A Chronology of the Gulf Crisis TV Project with Texts and Testimonies," in *Hand-Held Visions: The Impossible Possibilities of Community Media* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2002), 169–187.

62. For information about the series see their website, accessed May 5, 2016, <http://papertiger.org/war-on-the-home-front/>.

63. Deedee Halleck, "Camcorder Goes to War," 172

64. Muste Newsletter, 2001, accessed May 5, 2016, <http://www.ajmuste.org/notes-fall2001.htm>.

65. David Graeber, "Occupy Wall Street's Anarchist Roots," *Al Jazeera*, November 30, 2011, accessed May 15, 2014, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2011/11/2011112872835904508.html>.

66. Sean Captain, "Wired Threat Level: Inside Occupy Wall Street's (Kinda) Secret Media HQ," November 16, 2011, accessed December 14, 2013, <http://globalrevolution.tv/in-the-press/125>.

67. Information from member of Global Revolution TV, Vlad Teichberg, interviewed by author, New York City, Jan 14, 2015. Also see Graeber, "Occupy Wall Street's Anarchist Roots" for the OWS ideals of the "leaderless movement."

68. Teichberg, interviewed by author, New York City, Jan 14, 2015. Teichberg sees the continuing engagement of GRTV as a continuation of ideas developed during OWS.

69. Saskia Sassen, "Seeing Like a City," in *The Endless City: The Urban Age Project by the London School of Economics*, ed. Ricky Burdett and Deyan Sudjic (London: Phaidon, 2007), 276–289.

70. Jeffrey Hou, "Beyond Zuccotti Park: Making the Public," *Places Journal*, September 2012, accessed May 30, 2016, <https://placesjournal.org/article/beyond-zuccotti-park-making-the-public>. See also Andrew Merrifield, *The New Urban Question* (London: Pluto Press, 2014).

71. Bennett, "Present at Creation: The WRL, Direct Action, Civil Disobedience, and the Rebirth of the Peace and Justice Movements (1955–1963)," in *Radical Pacifism*, 204–246. Bennett suggests that by integrating a Gandhian strategy of "nonviolent direct action" with a more homegrown tradition of pacifism, the WRL has been tremendously influential in shaping various resistance movements in the United States. The civil rights movements and the Vietnam War resistance in the '60s saw the more widespread acceptance and formulation of these practices. Chapter 1 discusses the roots of the movement.

72. In looking at correspondence from the A. J. Muste Memorial Institute as well as talking to some of the WRL women staffers, the question of combatting "sexism"—a subject also embedded in the WRL mission statement—comes up often. Marian Mollin's book *Radical Pacifism in Modern America: Egalitarianism and Protest* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006) discusses the machismo within the pacifist movement after World War II.

73. Ali Issa, interview by author, New York City, January 20, 2015.

74. Ibid.

75. See Dan Barry, "As Wars Come and Go, Ralph Keeps Protesting," *New York Times*, March 22, 2003. Ralph DiGia's perseverance and humility were legendary and came up in

conversations with long-term members and colleagues at the WRL (Ruth Benn, Ed Hedemann, and David McReynolds). Bennett, *Radical Pacifism*, 131–132, describes Ralph DiGia's imprisonment during World War II and his role in the Danbury and Lewisburg parole strikes.

76. Gregory Sholette in a phone conversation with author, June 2013. REPOHistory (1989–1999), was a collective whose mission was to reclaim forgotten histories. They took over the third-floor office from PAD/D. Sholette was part of both PAD/D and REPOHistory.

77. Formation of PAD/D recounted by Gregory Sholette, *A Collectography of PAD/D: A 1980s Activist Art and Networking Collective* (2001): 2.

78. Arendt, *On Revolution*, 248–255.

79. Judith Butler, "Bodies in Alliance and the Politics of the Street," Lecture in Venice, September 7, 2011, as part of the series, "The State of Things," organized by the Office for Contemporary Art Norway, accessed May 15, 2016, published online at <http://www.eipcp.net/transversal/1011/butler/en>.

80. Jeffrey Hou, "Beyond Zuccotti Park: Making the Public."

CHAPTER 3

1. Ruth Nazario, phone interview by author, April 8, 2015. Ruth and Roberto Nazario, codirectors of Adopt-a-Building (AAB) at the time, were responsible for getting permission to use the building for their organization.

2. This three-part agenda, as stated in the bylaws of CHARAS, "Article II—Purposes." Document in CHARAS Box 10, Centro Archives, Center for Puerto Rican Studies, Hunter College, CUNY.

3. See Chapter 1 for the connection to this history.

4. For a history of the building, see Landmarks Preservation Commission Designation List 377 LP-2189, June 20, 2006.

5. This account of the foundation of El Bohio Community Center is based on conversations with Ruth Nazario, codirector of AAB,

phone interview by author, April 8, 2015; and Chino Garcia, founder of CHARAS, interview by author, New York City, April 9, 2015. The time line of abandonment of PS 64 varies in different written and oral accounts of this building's history, but the description of the state of the building is consistent.

6. Interfaith Adopt-a-Building, "Loisaida: Strategies for Neighborhood Revitalization and Self-Determination," HUD Contract 4376, New York, December 18, 1979, 78–92. This territory is the focus of AAB's work, as per the HUD report.

7. See Christopher Mele, *Selling of the Lower East Side: Culture, Real Estate, and Resistance in New York City* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 123–126, for a summation of the dynamics of Puerto Rican migration to the United States. After World War II, Puerto Ricans began migrating to the United States in larger numbers. In 1953 Puerto Rican migration to New York City reached its peak when 75,000 people left the island. By 1960, the United States Census showed that there were well over 600,000 New Yorkers of Puerto Rican birth or parentage.

8. Bimbo Rivas, "Loisaida," in *Aloud: Voices from the Nuyorican Poets Café*, in ed. Miguel Algarin and Bob Holman (New York: Holt, 1994), 361. The name was popularized in "Loisaida," a poem written by Bimbo Rivas in 1974, and simultaneously adopted more consciously by activists and community organizers in the Lower East Side.

9. For an account of the naming and construction of identity through space, see Liz Ševčenko, "Making Loisaida: Placing Puerriqueñidad in Lower Manhattan," in *Mambo Montage*, ed. Agustín Laó-Montes and Arlene Dávila (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 293–318.

10. Carmelo Quinones, "Loisaida," *Quality of Life in Loisaida*, March–April 1979, 15.

11. Syues Mottel, *CHARAS: The Improbable Dome Builders* (New York: Drake Publishers, 1973), 123–124. Chino Garcia describes the spontaneous creation of Real Great Society at

a meeting with friends in the Lower East Side. In 1964 President Lyndon B. Johnson introduced his concept for the Great Society in which America ended poverty and promoted equality. The channeling of federal funds in the form of grants to community-based organizations was the way to implement a series of education, housing, health, and environmental initiatives. In New York City, the low-income neighborhoods of the South Bronx, East Harlem, and the Lower East Side were the recipients of this aid. The difficulty in monitoring and holding groups accountable ultimately led to criticism and partial failure of this well-intentioned program.

12. Roger Vaughan, "The Real Great Society," *Life Magazine* 63, no. 11 (1967): 76. Vaughan describes the gang affiliations of the various leaders of Real Great Society. The article features Chino Garcia, Angelo Gonzalez, Papo Giordini, Armando Perez, and Rabbit Nazario (who was later instrumental in Adopt-a-Building) as the leaders of this movement. He also highlights Fred Good, who helped write grant applications and—though an outsider in terms of his background—was a vital part of the organization.

13. "A University' Is Opened Up by Former Street-Fighters," *New York Times*, June 27, 1967, 23. This *New York Times* article reports the grants from the Astor Foundation and the opening of the University of the Street.

14. See Fred Good, "Origins of Loisaida," in *Resistance: A Radical Social and Political History of the Lower East Side*, ed. Clayton Patterson (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2007), 21–36. Fred Good, a member of the Real Great Society, was instrumental in founding the University of the Street. He describes the initial formation and the later development of this institution.

15. Peter Kihss, "Ex-Gang Leaders Obtain U.S. Funds," *New York Times*, February 27, 1968, 53. The *New York Times* reported a \$258,447 grant from the federal Office of Economic Opportunity. The article noted that the university was operating at five locations:

three on the Lower East Side and two in East Harlem.

16. The grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity stipulated job training and accountability that was hard to sustain and created some friction within the organization. For a more critical version of the rift between Real Great Society members and the university, see Good, "Origins of Loisaida," 21–36.

17. For an account of this initiative, see Luis Aponte-Parés, "Lessons from El Barrio—The East Harlem Real Great Society/Urban Planning Studio: A Puerto Rican Chapter in the fight for Urban Self-Determination," in *Latino Social Movements: Historical and Theoretical Perspectives*, ed. Rodolfo D. Torres and George Katsiaficas (New York: Routledge, 1999), 43–78.

18. Gathered in conversations with Chino Garcia, interview by author, New York City, November 11, 2015. This connection to Outward Bound continued over the next twenty years, where CHARAS regularly sent young men and women from the Puerto Rican community to Outward Bound expeditions. This encounter with nature, along with the extreme physical challenges, was part of the idea of building a strong "youth corps."

19. Felicity D. Scott, "Fluid Geographies: Politics and the Revolution by Design," in *New Views on R. Buckminster Fuller*, ed. Hsiao-Yun Chu and Roberto G. Trujillo (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2009), 160–176. Scott argues that Fuller was more interested in the structure and geometry of the domes than their practical applications to help solve a postwar housing crisis, and so the 1968 embrace by countercultural rural communities such as Dropout City was unexpected but welcome.

20. Mottel, *Improbable Dome Builders*, 24.

21. *Ibid.*, 27.

22. "Building Geodesic Domes Tests Skills of Students," *New York Times*, November 4, 1972, 53.

23. Mottel, *Improbable Dome Builders*, 60–63.

24. This parcel of land extending along the East River, from the Manhattan Bridge to Corlears Hook, was one of the last remaining parcels to be slated for Urban Renewal. Built by a private developer under the Section 8 criteria for affordable housing, this project, begun in 1972, took until 1997 to complete. See <http://www.twobridges.org/about-us/history>, accessed January 15, 2015, for a brief description of the role of the neighborhood council's role in its planning.

25. Garcia, interview by author, New York City, November 11, 2015. According to Chino Garcia, CHARAS set up boarding facilities for many "hundreds" of volunteer youth. "CHARAS was big," said Garcia. "The organization operated in the South Bronx, Harlem as well as in Puerto Rico."

26. Marlis Momber, prod., "Viva Loisaida," Gruppe Dokumentation, 1978, DVD, Center for Puerto Rican Studies at Hunter College, CUNY. "Viva Loisaida" visually chronicles the neighborhood. The film, with a German voiceover, was aired on German TV in 1978.

27. Garcia, interview by author, New York City, November 11, 2015.

28. The inauguration of the Young Lords party in the Tompkins Square Park band shell was emphasized in this manner at an exhibit at the Bronx Museum of the Arts and the local art space Loisaida Inc. called "¡Presente! The Young Lords in New York" (2015). For a larger political history of the park, see Marci Reaven and Jeanne Houck, "A History of Tompkins Square Park," in *From Urban Village to East Village: The Battle for New York's Lower East Side*, ed. Janet L. Abu-Lughod (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 1994), 81–98.

29. Matthew Gandy, "Between Borinquen and the Barrio," in *Concrete and Clay: Reworking Nature in New York City* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003), 153–186. Gandy examines the contribution of the Young Lords and the Puerto Rican political legacy within the environmental movement in New York City.

30. Gandy, "Between Borinquen and the Barrio," 164–177. A series of articles in the

New York Times show the amount of attention these events received in the press; see: “Puerto Rican Group Seizes Church in East Harlem in Demand for Space,” December 29, 1969; “Young Lords Give Food and Care at Seized Church,” December 30, 1969; “Young Lords Defy Takeover,” January 3, 1970; and “105 Members of Young Lords Submit to Arrest, Ending 11-Day Occupation of Church in East Harlem,” January 8, 1970. In addition, the Young Lords produced their own bilingual newspaper, *Palante* (1969–1973), to galvanize support within the neighborhood and to raise support for these actions.

31. For a collection of writings from this movement, see Young Lords Party and Abramson, *Palante: Voices and Photographs of the Young Lords*, 1969–1971, photographs by Michael Abramson, introduction by Iris Morales (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2011). For the history and specific ideology and decolonial praxis of the Young Lords, see Darrel Wanzer-Serrano, *The New York Young Lords and the Struggle for Liberation* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2015).

32. Published in the first issue of *Palante*, June, 1970. See also, the Sixties Project, sponsored by Viet Nam Generation Inc. and the Institute of Advanced Technology in the Humanities at the University of Virginia at Charlottesville, accessed February 15, 2016, http://www2.iath.virginia.edu/sixties/HTML_docs/Resources/Primary/Manifestos/Young_Lords_platform.html.

33. Garcia, interview by author, New York City, April 9, 2015. Chino also explained that he was closely connected to the Young Lords movement and that the many strands of the Puerto Rican Resistance, though varied, were overlapping and interconnected.

34. WIN collective, “Loisaida,” *WIN*, December 20, 1979, 5. Articles by several participants from the “Loisaida movement,” 4–25.

35. Mele, *Selling of the Lower East Side*, 181–182, discusses how the symbolic representations of the neighborhood in decline created a “contagion of abandonment.” However, there were other systemic forces at play—such

as the urban renewal schemes that targeted low-income neighborhoods and the redlining that caused property values to drop.

36. See Ronald Lawson, with the assistance of Reuben B. Johnson III, “Tenant Responses to the Urban Housing Crisis, 1970–1984,” in *The Tenant Movement in New York City, 1904–1984*, ed. Ronald Lawson (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1986), 209–271. This book is available at the following website, accessed July 17, 2014: <http://www.tenant.net/Oversight/50yrRentReg/history.html>. Lawson points to several causes for the disinvestment in real estate and the success of a tenant movement between 1970 and 1984. He writes, “The system of rent regulations, the central features of which had been in place since 1943, was suddenly challenged and undermined: a law enacted by the state legislature in 1971 provided that the bulk of apartments with regulated rents would be decontrolled within a few years, while a measure passed by the City Council the previous year introduced annual rent increases for apartments that remained rent controlled.” Lawson reports that from July, 1971, through December, 1973, approximately 300,000 rent-controlled units were decontrolled and approximately 88,000 rent-stabilized apartments were destabilized. This measure was withdrawn again three years later, only adding to the instability and chaos.

37. Lawson, “Tenant Responses.” The rent strike has a long history in New York City. Tenants can legally withhold rent in an escrow account if the landlord fails to provide basic services and maintain a building. In the ’70s, as landlords abandoned their buildings, some tenants used a provision in the real estate law known as Article 7A to “self-manage” their buildings.

38. *Ibid.*

39. This was a precursor to the Housing Development Corporation (HDC).

40. In 1974 the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) officially recognized homesteading of city-owned properties through Section 810 of the

Housing Law. In 1981 New York City put out its first call for requests for proposals. The program came to an end in 1994 as no new properties were put up for homesteading. *UHAB, The Urban Homesteading Assistance Board, 1974–1984: A Retrospective Report and Review* (New York: UHAB, 1985), provides a good description of the program.

41. For a thorough analysis and critical account of homesteading in the Lower East Side, see Malve von Hassell, *Homesteading in New York City, 1978–1993: The Divided Heart of Loisaida* (Westport, Conn.: Bergin and Garvey, 1996).

42. Over the years, many other such organizations worked with tenants on sweat equity projects and homesteading citywide. In the Bronx, the People’s Development Corporation played an important role. Other early groups included Los Sures and Pueblo Nuevo (on the Lower East Side), Banana Kelly (in the South Bronx), and the Harlem Renegades (in East Harlem). Hassell, *Homesteading in New York City*, 150–160, compares a few of these organizations.

43. Christopher Mele, “Urban Malaise, Community Abandonment, and Underground Subcultures of Decay,” in *Selling of the Lower East Side: Culture, Real Estate, and Resistance in New York City* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 180–219. Mele discusses how the disinvestment and abandonment disproportionately impacted the Puerto Rican community in the Lower East Side.

44. Description of organization gathered from Ruth Nazario, phone interview by author, April 8, 2015; and Brent Sharman, interview by author, New York City, September 22, 2015.

45. Interfaith Adopt-a-Building, “Loisaida: Strategies for Neighborhood Revitalization and Self-Determination,” HUD Contract 4376, New York, December 18, 1979, 45.

46. Nazario, phone interview by author, April 8, 2015.

47. Certificate of Occupancy in 1969 lists the number of rooms per floor. In 1973 it was sold to a private owner who, by the early ’80s,

developed it into “luxury” condominiums. This building, notes Marlis Momber through her photographs, represented one of the first signs of gentrification on Avenue C. Momber, interview by author, New York City, September 2015.

48. *Quality of Life in Loisaida*, March 1978, 2

49. Michael Freedberg, “Self-Help Housing and the Cities: Sweat Equity in New York City,” in *Resettling America: Energy, Ecology, and Community*, ed. Gary J. Coates (Andover, Mass.: Brick House Publishing Company, 1981), 263–281. Freedberg provides an account of the logistics of this project, notably the financial and legal arrangements that led to the successful completion of this project in the record time of two years. The conversion into the limited-equity model took longer, as the tenants had to provide evidence of fiscal solvency.

50. Luz Rodriguez, interview by author, New York City, September 22, 2015.

51. Brent Sharman, interview by author, New York City, September 22, 2015.

52. ABB received a Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA). This program was enacted by the Congress in 1973 to consolidate a number of existing federal job training programs to help unemployed, underemployed, and disadvantaged individuals.

53. See Linda Cohen and Brent Sharman, “Garden of the Sun,” *Quality of Life in Loisaida*, (June–July 1978), 6.

54. The story of this sweat equity project was covered incrementally by the *New York Post*, January 24, 1974; *Daily News*, January 25, 1974; *New York Times*, May 11, 1975; November 13, 1976; and May 6, 1977.

55. *No Heat, No Rent: An Urban Solar and Energy Conservation Manual*, the Energy Task Force, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977.

56. *The MacNeil/Lehrer Report* filmed a segment on the roof of the building, and Senator Edward Kennedy referred to the building as “the little windmill that could.” See *New York Times*, August 3, 2008. Also see Shaya Love, “The Almost Forgotten Story of the 1970s

East Village Windmill,” *Gothamist*, September 29, 2014.

57. *Washington Star*, October 7, 1978. The story of the sweat equity project was also covered incrementally by the *New York Post*, January 24, 1974; *Daily News*, January 25, 1974; *New York Times*, May 11, 1975; November 13, 1976; and May 6, 1977.

58. Daniel Chodorkoff, *Un Milagro de Loisaida: Alternate Technology and Grassroots Efforts for Neighborhood Reconstruction on New York’s Lower East Side* (PhD thesis, New School for Social Research, 1980), 3–4.

59. Murray Bookchin and Eirik Eigladd, “The Communalist Project,” in *Social Ecology and Communalism* (Oakland, Calif.: AK Press, 2007), 77–117.

60. Linda Cohen, interview by author, New York City, April 8, 2015. Cohen, who was a key participant of El Sol Brillante, met some of the architects in Vermont. Bookchin’s ideas on ecology were influential for Cohen and other participants of the Eleventh Street movement.

61. Daniel Chodorkoff, phone interview by author, November 8, 2015.

62. Image of the Vermont Dome published in Janet Biehl, *Ecology or Catastrophe: The Life of Murray Bookchin* (New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 2015), 165–166. Photograph by Josie Rolon shows dome at nuclear protest with World Trade Center towers in the background. See “Loisaida,” *WIN*, December 20, 1979, 12.

63. Miguel Algarin, *Aloud: Voices from the Nuyorican Poets Café*,

64. Miguel Algarin, *Nuyorican Poetry: An Anthology of Puerto Rican Words and Feelings*, ed. Miguel Algarin and Miguel Piñero (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1975), 15. The Renegades and Dynamites were reformed gangs that became involved in the East Harlem homesteading movement. There are many parallels and links between the East Harlem and Lower East Side communities that are important but beyond the scope of this work.

65. Garcia, interview by author, New York City, April 9, 2015.

66. Chodorkoff, *Un Milagro de Loisaida*, 130. Chodorkoff names six of the core CHARAS members at the time of his research in 1978–1980. However, the structure of the organization fluctuated over the span of forty years, with Chino Garcia as the one constant founding member and key organizer.

67. Garcia, interview by author, New York City, April 9, 2015. Garcia mentions “hundreds” of CHARAS volunteers. The fluid structure of the organization makes it difficult to establish its contours.

68. Miriam Rivas, “Dancing from the Heart and Soul,” *WIN*, December 20, 1979, 20–23. Rivas describes *La Bomba* as a dance music that was an assertion of the irrepressible spirit of the plantation slaves. Rivas explains the politics of the “Bomba” performance tradition, a struggle against the landed Spanish gentry, and notes “song, dance and performance as a part of the resistance and liberation movements” of Puerto Rico.

69. Chodorkoff, *Un Milagro de Loisaida*, 151–158. Chodorkoff describes the project in detail. See also *Quality of Life in Loisaida*, February–March 1979, 7.

70. *Quality of Life in Loisaida*, March–April 1979, 6.

71. For a fuller history of the building, see Landmarks Preservation Commission Designation List 377 LP-2189, June 20, 2006.

72. Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) was enacted by Congress in 1973 to consolidate a number of existing federal job training programs to help unemployed, underemployed, and disadvantaged individuals.

73. Nazario, in a phone interview by author, mentioned that their organization of two staff members and a handful of volunteers grew to a hundred as a result of the CETA grants. See also Lawson, *The Tenant Movement in New York City, 1904–1984*, 222. Lawson reports of the meteoric rise in the budget of AAB that went from an unpaid staff of three in 1975 to 2.7 million in 1977–1978 because of the CETA grants. By 1980–1981, its budget had surpassed \$4 million.

74. The Loaisaida Townhouse, a privately-owned property, was one of the first buildings in Loaisaida to be converted into market-rate housing and advertised in 1984 as “luxury” condominiums. Marlis Momber has a photograph of this building advertising “luxury” apartments. Automatic City Register Information System records verify this.

75. Barbara Newsom and Adele Silver, eds., *The Art Museum as Collector: A Collection of Guides as Practice and Policy* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978), 212–216. Seven Loaves was a nonprofit arts coalition that included several smaller arts organizations.

76. Conversation with Chino Garcia, December 7, 2015. Picture the Homeless and Recycle-a Bicycle are still active in 2017 in East Harlem and Brooklyn respectively.

77. Doris Cornish, interview by author, New York City, September 4, 2015.

78. Cornish, interview by author.

79. Information from conversations with Alan Moore (Founding Member, ABC No Rio) and Greg Sholette (Member PAD/D). Other locations for this show included the branch library on Eleventh Street as well as in the newly formed ABC No Rio. Alan Moore and Marc Miller, *ABC No Rio Dinnero: The Story of a Lower East Side Art Gallery* (New York City: ABC No Rio and Colab projects, 1985), 70–71

80. Anton Van Dalen, interview by author, January 24, 2016.

81. Josh Gosciak, *East Village Eye*, June 1982, 2–3.

82. Biehl, *Ecology or Catastrophe*, 169–170. Biehl refers to CHARAS as the “poster child of ecological self-reliance” and describes the many exchanges between the Institute for Social Ecology and Loaisaida.

83. Gosciak, *East Village Eye*, 3.

84. *Algarin, Nuyorican Poetry*, 12.

85. Hassell, *Homesteading in New York City*, 101–107.

86. *El Bohio Community and Cultural Center Report*, 1st Draft, March 1986, Centro Archives, Center for Puerto Rican Studies,

Hunter College, CUNY. They received a sum of \$60,000 for Phase 1 from the New York City Department of General Services. In this report they estimated that they would need another \$177,600 to do a more integrated Phase 2 upgrade.

87. Rosalyn Deutch and Cara Gendal Ryan, “The Fine Art of Gentrification,” October, Vol. 30, (Winter 1984): 91–111; Sharon Zukin, *Loft Living: Culture and Capital in Urban Change* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992); Neil Smith, *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 18–20.

88. Interview with Mary Ann Monforton, 9 November, 2015. Monforton organized the art auctions at El Bohio in 1986 and 1987.

89. Urayoán Noel, *In Visible Movement: Nuyorican Poetry from the Sixties to Slam* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2014), 66.

90. Ibid, 82. Davila and Agustín also discuss the progression from Nationalist to pan-Latino solidarity movements within the United States. See Arlene Dávila and Laó-Montes Agustín, “Culture in the Battlefield: From Nationalist to Pan-Latino Projects,” in *Mambo Montage: The Latinization of New York City* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 159–82.

91. Clayton Patterson, “Section Three: Tompkins Square,” in *Resistance: A Radical Social and Political History of the Lower East Side*, ed. By Clayton Patterson (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2007), 289–415, provides a multi-authored perspective on the resistance that fomented in and around Tompkins Square Park at the end of the ’80s.

92. For an account of *La Lucha Continua* project by Artmakers Inc., see Mike Alewitz, “1985–1988,” in *On the Wall: Four Decades of Community Murals in New York City*, ed. Janet Braun-Reinitz and Jane Weisman (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2009), 89–97.

93. Hassell, *Homesteading in New York City*, provides a rich history and critical analysis of the homesteading movement in the Lower East Side. The book focuses on the efforts of

one organization, the Lower East Side Catholic Area conference, which was active in the '80s and '90s. The movement came to an end in the early '90s.

94. The task of homesteading and creating tenant-managed buildings, however, continued into the '90s. The Tenant Interim Lease Program (TIL) provided renters that lived in city-owned buildings the opportunity to own those units as a cooperative. This program is still in existence in 2017. See <http://furmancenter.org/institute/directory/entry/tenant-interim-lease-program>, accessed 7 May, 2017.

95. Mele, *Selling of the Lower East Side*, 220–310.

96. *Ibid.*, 258–262.

97. Steven A. Holmes, “A Neighborhood Battle: Apartments or a Park,” *New York Times*, December 18, 1989, sec. LB3.

98. Eric V. Copage, “La Plaza 1 Used, 8 to Go,” *New York Times*, May 9, 1999.

99. CHARAS leader Armando Perez accuses Guiliani of the vendetta in Amy Waldman, “Seperate Fates for Two Hispanic Cultural Centers,” *New York Times*, July 26, 1998, sec. CY5. This *New York Times* article points to how arbitrary or biased the sales were. Another building (Soto Clemente Velez) managed to convince the city to give them their building for one dollar at the same time as CHARAS perhaps due to its active, politicized campaigning lost its building.

100. For a nuanced reading on the complexities of the Puerto Rican versus “Non–Puerto Rican” activist relationships in the struggle to save El Bohio as well as the garden Bello Amanecer Borincano see Miranda Martinez, *Power at the Roots: Gentrification, Community Gardens and the Puerto Ricans of the Lower East Side* (Plymouth, UK: Lexington Books, 2010), 15–126.

101. Bill Weinberg, “Looking Back on the Tompkins Square War,” in *A Radical Social and Political History of the Lower East Side*, ed. Clayton Patterson, 372.

102. See the news report of the eviction. Robert F. Worth, “East Village Community

Group is Evicted: Chants and Arrests as Charas is Evicted from its Home of 22 Years,” *New York Times* December 28, 2001, sec. D3.

103. Manuel Castells, *The City and the Grass-roots* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983). 94–96.

CHAPTER 4

1. The neighborhood at large was predominantly Puerto Rican, as discussed in Chapter 3. However, in pockets, especially by the '80s, there was a strong presence of Dominicans. There are no clear statistics on this matter, so I use the designation Latino—further research is needed on establishing the nuance of this difference. For a larger discussion about the Dominican experience and questions of Latino, see José Ltzigsohn and Carlos Dore-Cabral, “The Manifold Character of Pan-ethnicity: Latino Identities and Practices Among Dominicans in New York City,” in *Mambo Montage: The Latinization of New York City*, ed. Agustín Laó-Montes and Arlene Dávila (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 319–36.

2. The account of the show and the founding of ABC No Rio is documented in Alan Moore and Marc Miller, eds., *ABC No Rio Dinero: The Story of a Lower East Side Art Gallery* (New York City: ABC No Rio and Colab Projects, 1985). An excerpt of an interview by Shelly Leavitt with founding members (Bobby G, Becky Howland, and Alan Moore) on page 66 outlines the means by which ABC No Rio was founded. This interview was originally published in *BOMB Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 2 (1982): 40–41.

3. Shelly Leavitt, “ABC No Rio Interviewed,” *BOMB Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 2 (1982): 40–41. Mission is as stated in this interview by *BOMB Magazine*.

4. Alan Moore, founding member, compiled the book with Marc Miller in 1985.

5. See Julie Ault, ed., *Alternative Art New York, 1965–1985* (New York: University of Minnesota Press, 2002). The book examines the many dimensions of various artists’ collectives and alternative art spaces in New York.

For a closer look at artists' collectives in New York between 1969 and 1985, see Alan Moore, *Art Gangs: Protest and Counterculture in New York City* (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Autonomedia, 2011).

6. See Lucy Lippard, "Biting the Hand: Artists and Museums in New York since 1969," in *Alternative Art New York, 1965–1985*, ed. Julie Ault (New York: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 79–120. See also pp. 88–89, where Lippard examines the actions of the broad-based protests of artists in AWC and GAGG.

7. The chronology of these spaces is listed in Ault, *Alternative Art New York, 1965–1985*, and the more updated version is listed in Lauren Rosati and Mary Anne Staiszewski, eds., *Alternative Histories: New York Art Spaces 1960 to 2010* (Cambridge, Mass.: Exit Art and MIT Press, 2012).

8. The effective organization by the artists and the promotion of preservation contributed to the speculation and led to the ultimate gentrification of many former industrial neighborhoods. See Aaron Shkuda, "Real Estate and SoHo Politics: Loft Promotion and Historic Preservation in Lower Manhattan," in *The Lofts of SoHo: Gentrification, Art, and Industry in New York, 1950–1980* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 131–157.

9. David Little, "Colab Takes a Piece, History Takes It Back: Collectivity and New York Alternative Spaces," *Art Journal* 66, no. 1 (2007): 60–74. Little provides a description of the early history of Colab 1977–1979. Some of the main founding members left the organization in 1979, but the organization continued until 1984. For the later history of Colab and artists' collectives, see Alan Moore, "Artists' Collectives: Focus on New York, 1975–2000," in *Collectivism After Modernism: The Art of Social Imagination After 1945*, ed. Blake Stimson and Gregory Sholette (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 193–221.

10. Moore, "Artists' Collectives," 64. Moore quotes from an early document the Colab group put together.

11. Moore, *Art Gangs*, 81.

12. See Moore, *Art Gangs*, 92–93, for a short account of these shows. The shows were reported in the *Village Voice* and *SoHo Weekly* news.

13. Ibid.

14. El Bohio Community Center, discussed in Chapter 3, was a point of reference. Alan Moore, interview by author, New York City, September 23, 2015. In addition, most of the artists were aware of the successful negotiations by curator Alana Heiss for temporal art events in the Brooklyn anchorage, as well as the leasing of PS 1 under her direction in 1976. These precedents were all indications to the arts community that the city was open to leasing space to arts organizations.

15. Stephen Zacks, "Where Can We Be? The Occupation of 123 Delancey Street," *Places Journal*, August 2015, accessed February 6, 2016, <https://placesjournal.org/article/where-can-we-be-123-delancey-street/>. Zacks provides an account of this occupation with firsthand interviews with participants of the show.

16. Artist quote from Lehmann Weichselbaum, The Real Estate Show, *East Village Eye*, 1980. Republished in Moore and Miller, *ABC No Rio Dinero*, 53.

17. Oliver, *New York Post*, January 3, 1980; Weichselbaum, *East Village Eye*, January 17, 1980; Barbanel, *New York Times*, January 9, 1980.

18. Accounts of the early shows are from the documentation of them in Moore and Miller, *ABC No Rio Dinero*.

19. Marcia Chambers, "City Seeks to Dislodge Drug Trade by Demolishing Tenement Havens," *New York Times*, July 18, 1982, 1.

20. Richard Goldstein, "Enter the Anti-Space," *Village Voice*, 1980, also published in Moore and Miller, *ABC No Rio Dinero*, 64–65.

21. For a description of the show, see Jerry Taimer, "Peacable Kingdom," *New York Post*, 1980, in *ABC No Rio Dinero: The Story of a Lower East Side Art Gallery*, ed. Alan Moore and Marc Miller (New York City: ABC No Rio and Colab projects, 1985), 78.

22. Alan Moore, "Punk Art," in *Protest and Counterculture in New York City* (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Autonomedia, 2011). Moore elaborates on the "anarchic" and "opportunistic" aspects of the Colab artists in relationship to a larger art/music/club culture.

23. These irreconcilable differences are noted by ABC No Rio directors over the years: 1. Alan Moore, Becky Howland, and Bobby G, (directors from 1980–1983) speaking in a collective voice, come to terms with the fact that there is little participation from the Hispanic community of the neighborhood. "ABC No Rio Interviewed," *BOMB Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 2 (1982).

2. Jack Waters, Peter Cramer, and Lou Acierno (directors of ABC No Rio) in 1991 discuss this in detail, along class and racial lines, in a candid interview with Kathrin Wildner, "ABC No Rio: An Alternative Space in the Lower East Side," Autumn 1991, accessed July 25, 2016, http://www.abcnoorio.org/about/history/wildner_91.html

3. Steven Englander, director of ABC No Rio, in a later interview speaks of the same issue but "is not in favor of art as a proselytizing tool" and is comfortable not trying to reconcile those differences. Steven Englander, oral history interview with Liza Kirwin, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, September 7–October 10, 2007.

24. R. R. Armijo, "Afterword," in Alan Moore and Marc Miller, *ABC No Rio Dinero: The Story of a Lower East Side Art Gallery* (New York City: ABC No Rio and Colab projects, 1985), 99.

25. Bobby G, interview by author, New York City, December 13, 2016.

26. Ibid.

27. Christy Rupp, phone conversation with author, October 5, 2015.

28. Alan Moore, conversation with author, September 19, 2015.

29. *The Times Square Show* in June 1980, organized by Colab in a large building in Times Square, was tremendously influential. In addition, related undertakings such as the

Fashion Moda gallery in the Bronx proved more fruitful in breaking down the cultural/racial divisions. For the interconnected history of these undertakings see Moore, "Punk Art," 80–108.

30. Peter Cramer and Jack Waters, oral history interview with Lisa Kirwin, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, September 6–October 9, 2007. Cramer and Waters (of POOL) discuss their performance collective and name Arlene Schloss, George Moore, Eric Bogosian, Steve Buscemi, and Michael Keene as some of the participants.

31. Ibid.

32. Peter Cramer and Jack Waters, interview by author, January 14, 2015.

33. Quoted from Carl George, Peter Kramer, Brad Taylor, and Jack Waters, "Seven Days of Creation," in Moore and Miller, *ABC No Rio Dinero*, 142.

34. Moore and Miller, *ABC No Rio Dinero*, 144.

35. Cramer and Waters, interview by author.

36. See Georgina Cardenas, "Rocky Horror Stage Show," *Miami New Times*, July 11, 1996, accessed May 14, 2016, <http://www.miami.newtimes.com/music/rocky-horror-stage-show-6361422>.

37. Ronald Lawson, with the assistance of Reuben B. Johnson III, *The Tenant Movement in New York City, 1904–1984* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1986), 240. Lawson and Johnson examine the reason that properties in tax remission (in REM) ended up in the ownership of the city; and Chapter 3, "No Heat No Rent: Adopting Buildings (1970–1970)," looks at the impact of this citywide phenomenon in Loisaida.

38. Cramer and Waters, oral history interview with Liza Kirwin.

39. As per state department records, ABC No Rio was officially incorporated in 1990.

40. Jack Waters, Peter Cramer, and Lou Acierno, interview with Kathrin Wildner.

41. Ibid. Acierno articulates his position clearly in the joint interview.

42. Fly Orr, interview by author, New York City, January 2016. Fly articulated her connection

to an international art/punk/political scene and the presence of other autonomous spaces in Europe and the United States that had much in common with ABC No Rio.

43. Vikki Law, *Enter the Nineties: Poets, Punks, Politics at ABC* (New York: ABC No Rio, 2005), 2, Access to zine courtesy of the author.

44. Joseph B. Treaser, "Police Comb Neighborhood for Source of Fatal Heroin," *New York Times*, September 1, 1994.

45. Steve Englander, interview by author, New York City, April 16, 2015. Englander mentions his terrifying encounters with police trying to break into ABC No Rio in the course of their raids.

46. Fly Orr and Steve Englander, along with Lou Acierno, lived within the building between 1989 and 1991. Englander, oral history interview with Liza Kirwin.

47. This is discussed by Waters, Cramer, and Acierno, interview with Kathrin Wildner.

48. See Brian Wallis, "Public Funding and Alternative Spaces," in *Alternative Art New York, 1965–1985*, ed. Julie Ault (New York: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 161–181.

49. Steve Englander, interview by author.

50. Jim Testa, "The Rise and Fall (and Rise Again) of NYC's Only All-Ages Non-Racist, Non-Sexist, Non-Homophobic Punk Scene," *Jersey Beats*, no. 56 (Spring 1996).

51. See Stephen Duncombe, "Let's Be Alienated Together: Zines and the Making of Underground Community," in *Generations of Youth: Youth Cultures and History in Twentieth-Century America*, ed. Joe Austin and Michael Kevin Willard (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 427–451. For a more specific history of anarcho-punk culture in the Lower East Side, see Ben Nadler, *Punk in NYC's Lower East Side, 1981–1991*, Scene History series, vol. 1 (Portland, Oreg.: Microcosm Publishing, 2015).

52. Esneider, a Colombian immigrant and longtime organizer of the HC/Punk collective at ABC No Rio described the specific politics of New York City Punk scene in the '90s.

According to Esneider, unlike other parts of the country where the violence was racially directed—in New York City, given the strong presence of Black and Latino punks, the aggression was not exclusively racially directed but rather "macho" and "homophobic." Esneider, interview by author, New York City, January 17, 2016.

53. "Rockbeat: Boneheads Need Not apply," *Village Voice*, December 1990.

54. Ibid. ABC No Rio Punk performances were written up in *Maximum Rock and Roll*, *Village Voice*, and *Jersey Beat* magazines.

55. Chris Boarts, *Slug and Lettuce*, no. 27 (September–October, 1992).

56. Ibid.

57. Esneider, interview by author.

58. Englander, oral history interview with Liza Kirwin. Englander views this event as the "signature event" at ABC No Rio. It was his point of entry to the space.

59. Many different charities—the churches and community centers in the neighborhood as well as the Catholic Peace Worker—also ran soup kitchens and served food in Tompkins Square Park as the homeless population there grew in the mid-'80s.

60. For a brief history of squatter resistance in the Lower East Side, see Sarah Ferguson, "The Struggle for Space: 10 Years of Turf Battling on the Lower East Side," in *Resistance: A Radical Political and Social History of the Lower East Side*, ed. Clayton Patterson (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2007), 148–163.

61. The resulting tension between the homesteaders, the "squatters," and the homeless is discussed in Malve von Hassell, *Home-steading in New York City, 1978–1993: The Divided Heart of Loisaida* (Westport, Conn.: Bergin and Garvey, 1996), 121–135. For a longer narrative of the squatter movement in New York City, see Amy Starecheski, *Ours to Lose: When Squatters Became Homeowners in New York City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016).

62. Esneider, interview by author.

63. Dave Powell, member of HC/Punk collective, booked the concert for WRL. He speaks

of his high school colleagues that were previously apathetic being politicized by this event. He is quoted in Law, *Enter the Nineties*, 26.

64. See Christopher Mele, *Selling of the Lower East Side: Culture, Real Estate, and Resistance in New York City* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 258–262.

65. Englander, oral history interview with Liza Kirwin.

66. Ibid. Englander had been a part of the Anarchist Switchboard, an informal center for the people involved in the 1988 Tompkins Square Park police riots.

67. Andrew Jacobs, “What a Difference Two Decades Make: Asian Americans for Equality Is Attacked as the Establishment It Once Fought,” *New York Times*, January 17, 1997.

68. Englander, interview by author. There was no signed or written agreement, but there was a verbal understanding between HPD and ABC No Rio.

69. See Ferguson, “Struggle for Space,” 157–158, 186.

70. Orr, interview by author.

71. Englander, interview by author.

72. Scott Seboldt, phone interview by author, January 20, 2016. Seboldt lived in the East Thirteenth Street squats for nine years and was a part of the resistance that got a lot of media coverage, even as they were evicted in 1995. It made front-page news in the *New York Times*. See “Riot Police Remove 31 Squatters from Two East Village Buildings,” *New York Times*, May 31, 1995.

73. Seboldt, phone interview by author.

74. Ibid.

75. See catalog *The Ides of March, A Building-Wide Exhibition*, March 13–March 27, 1998, ABC No Rio Archives.

76. Ibid.

77. Roberto Martinez, phone interview by author, February 2016.

78. See catalog *The Ides of March, The 4th Biennial Building-Wide Exhibition*, March 19–April 15, 2008, ABC No Rio Archives.

79. Ibid.

80. Colin Moynihan, “Avant-Garde Cultural Center Isn’t Quite Home Free Yet,” *New York Times*, November 12, 2000, reports the changing criteria of the HPD.

81. Sarah Ferguson, “Punk Rock to Riches: Rio Raises Big Bucks,” *Villager*, vol. 75, no. 23 (October 26–November 1, 2005).

82. Colin Moynihan, “Punk Institution Receives City Money for New Building,” *New York Times*, June 29, 2009.

83. Paul Castrucci, conversation with author, August 2014. Paul was involved in the Bullet Space Squat and lived in the neighborhood, participating and providing his expertise to many of the neighborhood homesteading efforts.

84. Castrucci, conversation with author. Castrucci spoke of how they looked into “preserving” the building—the façade and the interior wall—because of the emotional attachment people (including himself) have to the place.

85. See <http://www.nyc.gov/html/dcla/html/funding/funding.shtml>, accessed May 3, 2016.

86. Moynihan, “Punk Institution.”

87. Rosalyn Deutsche, *Evictions: Art and Spatial Politics* (Cambridge: MIT Press 1996), xxiv.

88. Gerald Raunig, “Instituent Practices: Fleeing, Instituting, Transforming,” accessed May 2, 2014, <http://eipcp.net/transversal/0106/raunig/en>.

89. Ibid.

EPILOGUE

1. The U.S. Census from 1970 uses the term “average,” and that from 2010 uses the term “median.”

2. Wendy Schwartz, phone interview by author, New York City, July 15, 2015.

3. Colin Moynihan, “Structural Flaws Found in a Building That’s Known as the Peace Pentagon,” *New York Times*, September 4, 2007, sec. B6.

4. Members of the PTTV collective opposed to the sale made the documentary *Peace Pentagon*, accessed July 2017, <http://>

papertiger.org/portfolio/the-peace-pentagon/. The *Friends of 339* organized an architectural competition to reimagine a new Peace and Justice Center at 339 Lafayette Street. See Nandini Bagchee, "Building for Peace in New York City," *Journal of Architectural Education* 69, no. 1 (2015): 73–85.

5. Colin Moynihan, "The 'Peace Pentagon,' an Activist Office in NoHo, Is Forced to Move," *New York Times*, April 12, 2016, sec. B4.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. The property, with 152,000 square feet of usable space, was reported to be valued at \$78 million in 2015. Tanay Warerkar, "Redevelopment of East Village School Is in Turmoil Again," *Curbed New York*, December 31, 2015, accessed July 18, 2016, <http://ny.curbed.com/2015/12/31/10850432/redevelopment-of-east-village-school-is-in-turmoil-again>.

9. Deed of Sale between the City of New York and Ninth and Tenth Street LLC, July 21, 1999.

10. Chino Garcia, interview by author, New York City, November 15, 2015.

11. Christodora, a former settlement house, was one of the first buildings in the Lower East Side to be developed as a high-end condominium. Its tall profile and adjacency to Tompkins Square Park has made it a target of anti-gentrification protests since the late '80s. These protests, continuing in 2008, often end up in front of the Christodora, with their anthem "Die Yuppie Scum."

12. For the controversial role of Michael Rosen, the founder of East Village Community Coalition, see Maria Luisa Tucker, "Michael Rosen Fights Back Over East Village Rezoning," *Village Voice*, August 13, 2008.

13. For dorm proposal, see Sarah Ferguson, "Scaled-Down Dorm Pitched for Embattled CHARAS Site," *Villager*, April 25, 2013, accessed May 23, 2016, <http://thevillager.com/2013/04/25/scaled-down-dorm-pitched-for-embattled-charas-site/>.

14. Quoted from the mission statement of the Save Our Community Center PS 64

(SOCC64), accessed May 28, 2016, <https://socc64.wordpress.com/about/>.

15. For an account of this rally, see Lincoln Anderson, "Kings and Politicians Ask Mayor for Best Gift of All: The Old PS 64 Back," *Villager*, January 8, 2015, accessed May 23, 2016, <http://thevillager.com/2013/04/25/scaled-down-dorm-pitched-for-embattled-charas-site/>.

16. Levar Alonzo and Lincoln Anderson, "City Is 'Interested in Reacquiring' Old P.S. 64, Mayor Tells Town Hall," *Villager*, January 8, 2015, accessed November 23, 2016, <http://thevillager.com/2017/10/13/city-interested-in-reacquiring-old-p-s-64-mayor-tells-town-hall/>.

17. See Colin Moynihan, "ABC No Rio Gears Up for a Razing and a Brand-New Home," *New York Times*, May 16, 2016, sec. C3.

18. For this larger picture of community control, see S. Fainstein and N. I. Fainstein, *Urban Political Movements* (Engelwood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall Inc., 1974).

19. Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1961).

20. Marcia Tucker was dismissed from her job as a curator of painting and sculpture at the Whitney Museum of Art and set up the New Museum in Downtown Manhattan as a counterpoint to what she saw was the exclusionary culture of the established art museums that allowed no room for new and contemporary art practices. See also Julie Ault, ed., *Alternative Art New York, 1965–1985* (New York: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 49–50.

21. Richard Plunz, *A History of Housing in New York City* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 209.

22. Michael Zisser, conversation and building walk-through with author, February 22, 2016.

23. Accessed July 5, 2017, <http://www.judson.org/>.

24. New York City Housing Authority, *Next Generation NYCHA* (New York: NYCHA, May, 2015), <http://www1.nyc.gov/next-generation>.