

the SHADOW

REVENGE
IS COMING!

50¢

AT BOOKSTORES
AND NEWSSTANDS

\$1.00 OUT OF TOWN

JUNE/JULY 1991
ISSUE #18

INFORMATION IS STRENGTH • KNOWLEDGE IS POWER

FREE

THE



PHOTO BY DAVID SORCHER

PARK

DINKINS VIOLATES CITY CHARTER!!
POLICE STATE OCCUPATION DURING PARK DEMOLITION

(Full coverage begins on Page 4)

SHADOW EDITORIAL

THEY HAD TO DESTROY THE PARK IN ORDER TO "SAVE" IT!!

By Issar, Chris Flash, A. Bertoli

PEDESTRIAN MALLS PLANNED FOR 8TH AND 5TH STREETS

Tompkins Square Park is the lynchpin in a comprehensive plan to completely alter the physical structure and demographics of the Lower East Side. Two and one half years ago, it was discovered in the offices of HPD ("Housing Preservation and Development") that a pedestrian mall was being planned, running from Tompkins Square Park east on 8th Street through to the East River Park. At the same time, another mall was being designed to extend from East 5th Street to the East River Park. The very existence of this type of planning in HPD offices indicates that the depopulation of Hispanic Loisaida is the City's primary goal.

Another key element was implemented with the January closing of the oldest continually-operating firehouse, Engine #17 on Pitt Street. The closing of community firehouses is a proven method of "ghetto" clearance perfected by the U.S. Pentagon's Rand Corporation in the late 60's, as part of spatial deconcentration, while in NYC, the Rand Institute promoted the 1970's mass urban burnout of inner city neighborhoods.

On June 3rd, the very day they closed Tompkins Square Park, the Puerto Rican vote in Loisaida was destroyed by the NYC Redistricting Commission in its final plan to gerrymander the Lower East Side City Council District to include Gramercy Park up to 35th Street and 5th Avenue. As designed by the NYC Redistricting Commission, the Lower East Side Council District is now 18% Hispanic registered voters to 71% white. The so-called "Puerto Rican candidate", Mr. Antonio Pagan, and his so-called "Puerto Rican/Hispanic Political Council" have acted as the primary front men for this betrayal. Now, even if the community attempted to fight on an electoral level, that possibility has been demolished, along with Tompkins Square Park.

MILITARY GENTRIFICATION

The total demolition of Tompkins Square Park has been slated for over 8 years now. The 1983 plan to destroy this 19th Century Landmark and replace it with an anti-neighborhood park resembling ugly Union Square Park was completely rejected by our community several times. However, like all plans laid by the City's monied interests, the plan to demolish Our Park was never discarded -- it was simply shelved until those who place their own wealth and power above all else saw their opportunity to strike!

The powers that be have determined that Tompkins Square Park is the focal point of political activity and organizing (read: "troublemaking") on the Lower East Side, as it has been for over 150 years. By using the homeless and activists as pawns in their plans to destroy the park, the mayor and his handlers think they will rid the area of political activity and turbulence, giving the gentrifiers and the state a free hand in manipulating and exploiting the Lower East Side. (The SHADOW has heard that the Feds, concerned about the situation in Tompkins Square, told Dinkins to clean up his act before the War Celebration Parade on June 10th. Dinkins also had to prove to the rest of the country that he has the city under control, in anticipation of the upcoming Democratic National Convention in 1992.)

WAR OF ATTRITION

Already, the city is hard-pressed to justify the presence and expense of hundreds of cops and equipment in and around the park for the length of the "reconstruction" in the face of the city's massive budget cuts and lay-offs, cutting healthcare, closing libraries, and even turning off street lights!!

The only answer now is to make this escapade cost the city a million dollars a day by requiring the 24 hour presence of riot cops around TSP. We are involved in a guerilla war, a war that has many fronts, many tactics, many tasks for the community to take on. We will succeed in reclaiming our park through a combination of approaches: direct action, media and educational work, the labor of physical reconstruction, because in the final analysis, who needs the bastards anyway? They may have destroyed large sections of the park, hoping to leave it that way in a state of destruction for the next year or two, but we can rebuild the rest of the park ourselves. We can lay the cement for the walkways, rebuild the iron fencing, the benches and the chess tables. We can take the example of People's Park in Berkeley, which was taken from the University of California and rebuilt by the people!! Popular Reconstruction of Tompkins Square Park!!

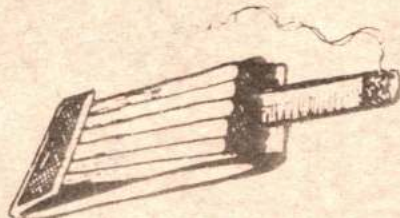
They are trying to take the most rebellious neighborhood in the city and make it into a model police state, but we will win in the end because we live here and we won't be moved!!

THIS WAS RECEIVED FROM AN ANONYMOUS CONTRIBUTOR WHO WRITES: "IF THE MEDIA IS GOING TO ACCUSE PEOPLE OF THROWING MOLOTOVS, THEN PEOPLE SHOULD AT LEAST KNOW HOW TO MAKE THEM".

MOLOTOV COCKTAIL--A BOTTLE IS FILLED WITH 2/3 GAS AND 1/3 OIL. A GASOLINE SOAKED RAG OR CLOTH IS TIED AROUND THE CAPPED BOTTLE. THE RAG IS LIT AND THE BOTTLE IS HURLED AT OBJECTIVE ON BREAKING THE CONTENTS WILL IGNITE. THE ENEMY WILL BE UNABLE TO EXTINGUISH IT WITH WATER.



TO SET A FIRE



POWER VERSUS COMMUNITY

By K. Johnson

When David N. Dinkins was inaugurated as Manhattan Borough President he promised to be a voice for "those neighborhoods that have been neglected -- Harlem, El Barrio and the Lower East Side." He spoke of "one people united in our determination to insure a meaningful and productive life for every resident of Manhattan."

Now, of course, he must stare his rhetoric in the face as his long string of lies leads more and more of us to hear the deception. These same neighborhoods are still being neglected, and needless to say, the residents of Tompkins Square Park and its vicinity have not been insured of anything meaningful or productive by Mayor Dinkins' administration, least of all the recent police occupation.

Less than a year into his tenure as Borough President, Dinkins' office was conducting studies which argued for the fiscal prudence of building renovation versus shelters for the homeless. In a letter to the N.Y. TIMES in November 1986, he wrote, "I strongly believe that spending between 100 million and 200 million to create new and isolated shelter institutions is neither a humane nor cost-effective way to proceed."

The formal report, "A Shelter Is Not a Home", appeared at the end of March 1987. It complained of the city's lack of any long term policy and proposed a vast expansion of housing programs for the poor, focusing on the rehabilitation of city-owned properties. The 5-year plan was to double the city's pace to 8,000 apartment renovations annually to keep up with the additional 7,000 families expected to become homeless each year.

This proposal was up against then-Mayor Koch's 10-year plan to continue at the then-current rate of renovation. It called for 50% of these apartments to be slated for families with annual incomes of over \$25,000, and the construction of 15 temporary shelters to be located in all the five boroughs.

At the news conference, Dinkins claimed his plan would essentially end the problem of homelessness among families in New York in five years! (This is the same Dinkins who is now advocating their concentration into one monstrous edifice.) If he was less than realistic in this prediction, he may have been unwittingly prophetic when he warned, "Unless we do something to change their living conditions soon, we will have created an entire generation of disaffected and angry young people."

Only five months later, in August 1987, Dinkins was the deciding vote in favor of Koch's opposing plan in an infamous dirty deal that prompted the other Borough Presidents to cries of outrage. In exchange for his sell-out, only one of the 11 shelters approved was to be located in Manhattan, and that is in Harlem.

"The Mayor sat there with a pot of dollars and he bought Dinkins' vote," said Brooklyn Borough President Howard Goldin. And, taking up the alarm where Dinkins had abandoned it, Golden added, "We're going to perpetuate a transient population that's going to grow from year to year. We're going to have a permanent problem on our hands."

Now, four years down the line, Mayor Dinkins heads an administration that has betrayed both the homeless and the taxpayers, whose hard-earned cash that couldn't keep the libraries or zoos open can suddenly pay for a multi-million dollar renovation of Tompkins Square Park that a majority of the neighborhood residents already rejected in 1986, and were not consulted on in 1991.

How many buildings could have been renovated with the money invested in this recent eviction? How many of the Park's former residents could have been housed?

Even those who spoke out in favor of the eviction are not satisfied with the outcome. They haven't gained a park, they've lost their streets. Now they suffer the indignity of living under a military force, having to bear the harassments, both physical and psychological, that an occupying army inflicts on the enemy population. Being in that position of localized power does strange things to the behavior of humans. It will be rape and pillage soon.



SHADOW STAFF

EDITOR: Chris Flash, **REPORTERS:** Nashua, P. Nip, A. Kronstadt, I.C. Timerow, A. Bertoli, Lois Aida, Issar, Stuart Frankel, Anne Archy, Millie Melee, Jack Dawkins, K. Johnson, Walter Concrete, C.W., Lamont Cranston, and there's more of us than you think!! **PHOTOS:** Jack Dawkins, Andrew Lichtenstein, Chris Flash, David Sorcher, John Penley, Peter Piper, P. Nip, Stuart Frankel, Lanny Kenfield. **ART:** Cosmo, L. Van Abbema, Andrew Wendel, Tuli Kupferberg, Eric Drooker, Scott Cunningham, **ATTORNEYS:** Stanley Cohen, Ronald Kuby, (Special thanks to William Kunstler!!)



SHADOW ADVERTISING RATES:
CLASSIFIED + PERSONAL--\$2.00 PER LINE,
NO MINIMUM OR MAXIMUM.
BUSINESS CARD SIZE--\$15.00

LARGER ADS--
(YOUR ARTWORK AND LAYOUT OR OURS):
1/8 PAGE--\$30.00
1/4 PAGE--\$50.00
1/2 PAGE--\$100.00
LONG TERM AD RATES ARE NEGOTIABLE--
PLEASE INQUIRE FOR MORE DETAILS.

FREE AD SPACE IS MADE AVAILABLE FOR NON-
PROFIT SOCIAL/POLITICAL GROUPS,
AS SPACE ALLOWS.

COPY AND SUBSCRIPTION RATES:
FIRST CLASS--\$2.00/COPY, \$15/YEAR
BULK RATE--\$1.00/COPY, \$10/YEAR
**PLEASE SPECIFY METHOD OF DELIVERY WHEN
ORDERING--(FIRST CLASS IS MUCH FASTER)

THE SHADOW IS 50 CENTS LOCALLY, \$1.00
OUT OF TOWN, AND \$2.00 FOR COPS + FEDS.
THE SHADOW IS FREE FOR ALL PRISONERS,
ESPECIALLY THOSE IN THE MILITARY. WE
WILL GLADLY TRADE ISSUES AND SUBS WITH
OTHER POLITICAL/SUBVERSIVE PUBLICATIONS.

WE PREFER CASH, BUT WE CAN ACCEPT CHECKS
OR MONEY ORDERS MADE PAYABLE TO: "SHADOW
PRESS". ANY AND ALL CONTRIBUTIONS ARE
NEEDED AND WILL BE MUCH APPRECIATED!!

PLEASE SEND ADS, INQUIRIES, AND ALL
CORRESPONDENCE TO: SHADOW PRESS,
P.O. BOX 20298, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10009

SHADOW EDITORIAL

the DEMON
IS
the NATION

The only people who stand to gain from this political obscenity are the investors and speculators who hope to reap the benefits of our loss several years down the line, when they'd like to think that the discomforting presence of the poor will have somehow disappeared, that the less affluent residents will simply abandon their lives and labors and neatly vanish into history.

This is the same hatred and fear that motivated the fiscal policies of the early 70's which were designed to "deconcentrate" the inner cities of the poor so as to prevent the threat of organization. It is no coincidence that our public spaces are the next to go. Parks are places of community, where people can take power from their exchanges, festivals, gatherings, the disorder of revelry, the unpenetrability of the natural cover, celebration, play, and noise. The territorial seizure of our central gathering space was the most recent spectacle of official force used to provoke our community and justify their actions. But there is no justification for the brutality that many of us have witnessed. We cannot stand deaf and dumb as our friends are beaten in front of us, as the "homeless" are marched from their homes early in the morning amidst an army of imported pigs. Our community bore the brunt of police brutality in 1988 and watched every cop charged go unpenalized, our legal pursuit of justice a tiresome sham. We have learned to protect ourselves from our sworn "protectors."

That we continue to affirm our power of community through resistance is a testimonial to the town of Tompkins Square. In a time when symbols carry more weight than objects, it is alive and well and living in the "disaffected and angry people" that Dinkins predicted.

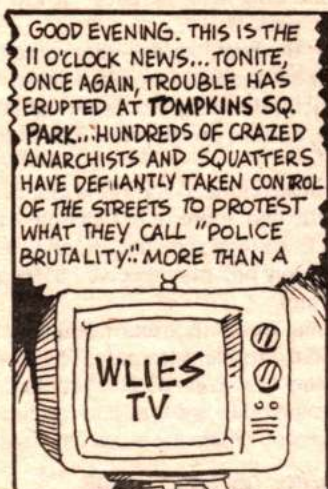
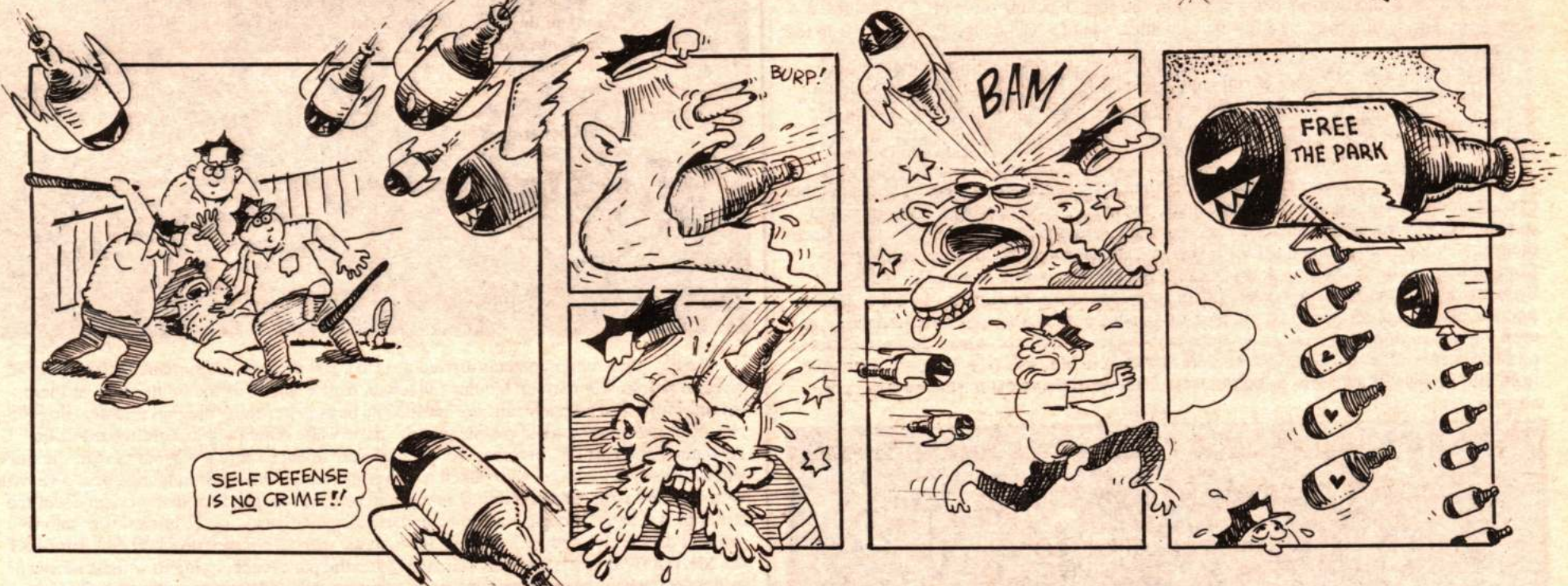
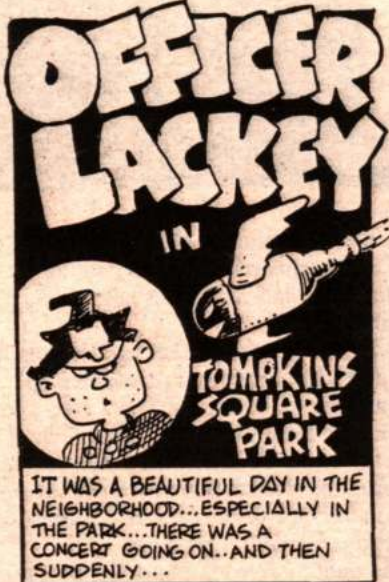
It has come to symbolize the lies the city uses rather than deal with the poor and homeless, the lies this Mayor uses when dealing with all the residents of this city. It is also a prickly reminder of the shrinking gap between prosperity and poverty that repels tourists, panics businesses and loses votes.

There's too many homeless to hide.

Activist attorney Stanley Cohen was told by Corporation Counsel lawyers that they expected and were ready to accept a few days of angry outbursts, and then people will accept the closed park and police occupation in their neighborhood.

DON'T ACCEPT THE OCCUPATION!!

MAKE THE BASTARDS PAY THE MAXIMUM PRICE!!



TOMPKINS SQ BAY OF PIGS!

MEMORIAL DAY RIOT INCITED BY PIGS AS A PRETEXT TO CLOSE THE PARK!!

For months, the cops around Tompkins Square Park were building a powder keg ready to explode on the Lower East Side with their petty harassment of people hanging out, their overblown show of force, and the brutality they commit with impunity. On Memorial Day, the spark that set off the explosion was the beating of a young Black man by several pigs on a hot muggy night when he refused to show his ID to a macho pig hassling him outside the park.

Shortly before 7:00 PM, Tony James was sitting with a friend outside Nino's Pizzeria at St. Marx and Avenue A. His friend was drinking from a bottle of wine, while Tony drank none. They were approached by P.O. Rogers (Badge #26334) of Midtown South Task Force, who told them to leave the area. When they didn't move as fast as he liked, Rogers began threatening and verbally abusing them. Tony told him they were leaving, and responded to Rogers' verbal abuse. Rogers then demanded to see Tony's identification, but Tony refused, saying he had done nothing wrong. Rogers emptied the bottle of wine, and Tony walked toward Tompkins Square Park, where the "Housing Is A Human Right" concert was in progress.

As Tony reached the St. Marx entrance of the park, P.O. Rogers ran up to him and grabbed him, again demanding his ID. Rogers tried to trip Tony, but Tony wouldn't let himself fall. Rogers then elbowed Tony in the eye, kned him in the stomach and knocked him to the ground. At that point, Tony agreed to show his ID. Foot cops and a passing housing police car arrived to help Rogers beat and kick Tony on the ground and to hold back outraged bystanders, including homeless men on a nearby food line. (Captain Hanley told the SHADOW a few days later that a cop got a fractured wrist, and said that there were no homeless on the food line at the time.)

Tony was taken to the 9th precinct on East Fifth Street, where he was charged with "Second Degree Assault" on a police officer. Tony reported that in spite of the alleged injuries, Rogers accompanied him to the 9th precinct and to Central Booking at police headquarters at 1 Police Plaza.

Moments before Tony was beaten and arrested, Rogers assaulted two other men in the park in separate incidents. Both were grabbed around the neck and held in chokeholds as Rogers told them to get rid of their open beers. After Tony was taken away and Rogers was removed from the scene, things quickly heated up in and around the park. Witnesses to Tony's beating and the other assaults alerted people in the park, and then the people took it to the street, blocking traffic on Avenue A, between St. Marx and East 7th Street.

By 7:15, Lieutenant Heinz and Captain Hanley, both of the 9th precinct, stood by observing the angry crowd. Heinz told those protesting this latest police violence, "Tony's okay", assuring them that he took Rogers away and had his name and badge number. Soon, plainclothes cops arrived, and Hanley told Heinz to block off the streets and "sit tight". Back at the 9th precinct, Tony heard the radio calls requesting back-ups for Tompkins Square and asked if this was the backlash resulting from his beating and arrest. The cops laughed and told him "this always happens".

Over the next few hours, the numbers of demonstrators grew faster as the number of riot cops grew, which in turn caused the crowd's anger to grow. Demonstrators in front of the Christadora House at Avenue B and 9th Street (the neighborhood's most blatant example of the yuppie invasion) were chased into the park by a squad of outnumbered cops who in turn were chased by the angry crowd into the park. Meanwhile, a band played as people unaware of events outside the park danced to the music. At the bandshell, people surrounded the demonstrators being chased by the cops, blocking them off. The confused cops were quickly dispersed by a few flying bottles, one of which nailed P.O. Wishner in the back of his head.

Outside the park, cops unsuccessfully tried to stop people from entering the park at some entrances. At the Avenue B and 7th Street entrance, Captain McInerney stood with a group of cops, listening to his radio. They were quickly surrounded by people demanding that they leave the area. McInerney told his crew to "bite the bullet until our people get here".

By 9:00, the angry crowd numbered more than 150 people and at least an equal number of spectators. Several bonfires appeared along Avenue A, fed by garbage, a mattress and some wood. Firetrucks standing by to extinguish the fires under police guard soon left since the protection wasn't provided. At 9:10, Hanley and Heinz led 25 riot cops with helmets from 10th Street down Avenue A toward St. Marx Place and were stopped by scores of flying bottles. As the riot cops backed off and cowered under the shower of bottles, Hanley stood in place, as if daring a bottle to hit him. Finally, by 9:30, the cops retreated under an even larger hail of bottles to regroup at Avenue A and 10th Street, where they waited for reinforcements. Cops sealed off the corners of Ave A + 6th, Ave A + 10th, and First Ave from 7th through 10th Streets, as bottles were lined up in the street for the next riot cop advance.



PHOTO BY ANDREW LICHTENSTEIN

At 9:45, some decided to "Go Shopping" at the SYP fruit stand, which is known for their rudeness and nasty attitude toward people in the neighborhood who do not have money. Many got away with packages of watermelon, fruit and vegetables before P.O. Hayden arrived with Capt. McInerney to chase them away.

By 10:00, a drum circle began at St. Marx and Avenue A as the street lights continued to flicker on and off. At 10:20, McInerney, Hayden and 5 riot cops tried to advance up Avenue A from 6th Street and were met with a heavy barrage of bottles. The 5 cops and Hayden quickly ran back to 6th Street, leaving McInerney frozen in place, trying to duck the bottles. Hayden finally returned and walked McInerney away. Two men shed their clothes and joined the protestors as several cop cars sped past the intersection of 7th and Ave A under an shower of bottles, most of which hit their mark. One of the cars tried turning onto Avenue A before discovering their mistake and quickly reversed to get away.

At 10:35, the window gates in front of Moe's Discount Store were pulled off by a group of people no one had seen before. For the next half hour, many people joined in the looting of the store once the front window was broken, mostly taking cigarettes, toiletries, and plastic american flags. The cash register was removed and tossed into a fire on Avenue A, along with several aerosol cans which exploded into flames. During the looting, cops stood by, watching from their barricades at 6th and Avenue A.



PHOTO BY JACK DAWKINS

Finally, after reinforcements arrived at 11:00, 100 or so riot cops made their way down Avenue A from 10th Street, holding full length plastic shields as the bottles flew at them. As they advanced, a heavy rain storm suddenly began, drenching the pigs and defusing the riot. Riot pigs pushed some people into the park, while other people were forced down Avenue A and east on 7th Street. As the pigs were about to beat a woman next to the park, she was rescued by bikers who pulled her over the fence. On 7th Street, cops beat a woman with a skateboard, clubbed photographers and beat and dragged another woman down the street by her hair, damaging her spine and exposing her backbone. (Charged with felony riot and disorderly conduct, she was later released with all charges dropped. She later told the SHADOW that she was only standing inside the park fence, trying to witness as much as possible, when the cops went out of their way to club and drag her. She adds: "It was a set up. They don't give a fuck about people drinking in the park".)

With the paddy wagon full of arrestees, cops turned up the heat, causing one woman to pass out. Cops thought she was pretending and slammed the wagon doors on her prone body, and then kicked and dragged her into the 7th precinct. (Her body still bears the boot marks). Inside, Lieutenant Ravino threatened to kill them, and they were told: "This is the 7th precinct, there's no video cameras here".

Back at Avenue B and 6th Street, scattered street battles continued for a few more hours between groups of people and passing cop cars. In the end, more than 8 people were arrested, mostly charged with riot and disorderly conduct. In spite of the charges, all were either released without bail or had their charges dropped. Only one man received \$500 bail, and he was released after people took up a collection for him.

By 11:30, cops occupied the blocks around the park area, from 6th Street through 11th Street, from Avenue B through First Avenue, refusing to allow residents to pass. The few people allowed past the police barricades were forced to show the cops ID and proof of address. Some people on their way home in the early morning hours were forced to take detours through dangerous neighborhoods while cops maintained their positions until daybreak.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



PHOTO BY JACK DAWKINS

T.S.P. BAY OF PIGS!

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

PHOTO BY JACK DAWKINS



MEDIA SMEAR CAMPAIGN

The next morning, a sunny and clear day, peace and calm had returned to the neighborhood, which was almost void of cops. Vans, photographers and street reporters from the mainstream media lined Avenue A, seeking to interview people about the night before. The only visible signs of the riot were a few melted spots in the street from the fires and the broken window of the looted discount store, where a cop was posted.

Many people speaking with the media condemned the looting, but emphasized that the cause of the riot was the community's response to yet another instance of unchecked police violence and not over concertgoers trying to bring beers into the park, as was reported in the morning papers. Not satisfied with merely ignoring the cause of the riot, the papers also lied and said that demonstrators had tossed molotov cocktails at the cops! Some of the media covered the issue of police brutality as the cause of the riot, without being specific, but in the days following the riot, the mainstream media's smear campaign against the homeless, political activists and even the park itself was intensified. The worst players in the campaign were Bob Herbert of the Daily News, who was escorted out of the park in 1989 after identifying a woman experiencing an asthma attack as overdosing on drugs, and Mike McAlary of the NY Post, who used to write pro-police columns for the Daily News. (The Post is owned by real estate developer and landlord Peter Kalikow, who, along with his family, owns apartment buildings in the perimeter of the park, which have been warehoused for more than two years. These buildings include everything on the west side of Avenue B from 10th-11th Streets, and from the northwest corner of 10th Street and Avenue B to the public library. The SHADOW has learned that Kalikow is seeking a zoning variance that will enable him to build a luxury yuppie housing project next to the park that will rival the Christodora House a few blocks away!!)

DINKINS PLOTS PARK'S FUTURE

Two days after the riot, on May 29th, Mayor Dinkins met with Parks Commissioner Betsy Gotbaum at City Hall on what to do about the park. The press said they were considering enacting a curfew in the park. The next day, a press conference was held, featuring Dinkins, Gotbaum, Pomposello and Kharfen. Rumors circulated that the homeless in the park would be evicted by the coming weekend and that the park would be closed or curfewed afterward. These rumors were fueled by the sudden appearance of large numbers of helmeted cops and vehicles on street corners surrounding the park. Norman Seigel of the New York Civil Liberties Union (NYCLU) met with Deputy Mayors Bill Lynch and Barbara Fife and their flack catcher Michael Kharfen on what to do about the homeless in the park. Seigel reported that they were unmoved and that they would use a military solution in a few days.

At the traditional Friday Night Speakout in the park on May 31st, people gathered for a march to protest the coming eviction of the homeless. (People were warned that cops might infiltrate the crowd, take photos and arrest participants still being sought from the Memorial Day Riot.) Marchers left the park at 7:30, over 200 strong, circled the streets around the park, escorted by Captain Seta, Lieutenant Heinz and Sergeant Vacarro and a handful of cops. Chants included "No Cops: No Riot/Keep The Park Open". Along the way through Alphabet City, marchers handed out leaflets in English and Spanish explaining what was happening around the park. After the march returned to the park to continue the Speak-Out, a dozen riot cops lined up nearby as more plainclothes cops lingered in front of Nino's Pizzeria across the street and inside the park. (Ranking officers included Inspector Fogarty, Deputy Inspector Campisi and Captain Seta.) After a while, the riot cops left, but foot cops and plainclothes cops remained.

The next day, a hot Saturday, undercover cops were uncovered all over Avenue A and inside the park all day and night. The word was that they were looking for someone. People walking along and stopping to chat on the street were quickly surrounded by foot and scooter cops who told them to move along. Inside the park, scooters and cop cars fitted with kleig lights drove through the park walkways, sometimes at high speeds. A homeless man arrested earlier in the day told the SHADOW that cops at the precinct told him the park would be hit on Monday morning at 4:00AM. Another homeless man said that 30 plainclothes cops were seen sitting in a row on benches in front of the bandshell, and that the lights were turned on inside the bandshell so that the cops could see or be seen better.

On Sunday, June 2nd, a press conference was called in the park in order for the homeless and their supporters to tell the media their feelings about the impending eviction. The only media to show up beside the SHADOW were from Newsday, WINS Radio, and a New York Times photographer. Father George Kuhn of St. Brigid's church brought his Sunday congregation into the park and decried the media lies being spread about the park, telling them the main issues are housing, unemployment and lack of drug rehab centers or programs. A homeless man told the press: "The solution is not chasing us all over town", explaining that the homeless have been chased from the United Nations, subways and transit systems. A homeless man named Dave told the press that the homeless want time to prepare. He said they were an embarrassment to the Mayor's office, and that when the homeless are gone, there will still be confrontations with police in the future. He said they want the city to "provide viable alternatives, not shelters".

Unfortunately, the press conference quickly broke up into factionalized fighting between groups of homeless people who tried to gather and find some solutions together. Some blamed the riot on the Anarchists, and others said it was "outside agitators", both echoing the slanted media coverage. Strangely enough, many homeless people joining the press conference were not from the park at all. This was confirmed by several homeless SHADOW sources, furthering suspicions that these people were sent to the park in order to create confusion and division between the homeless and their supporters and to create a negative press image.

DINKINS LACKEYS GIVE HOMELESS LIP SERVICE

The homeless in the park were visited several times that day by Deputy Mayor Bill Lynch and his Assistant Michael Kharfen, who sat next to him without saying a word. Lynch claimed he was there to get "input" from the homeless in order to change the Mayor's mind. He said "I want to go to the Mayor's office with a viable option to resolve this problem". It soon became obvious that this was more lip service with no guarantees, similar to the ploy Lynch used just before the Mayor's eviction of the homeless from the park in December of 1989. By the time the meetings with Lynch ended, it was a forgone conclusion that the park would be hit in just a few hours. Before leaving the park for the last time that night, Lynch told the homeless residents that he could only guarantee that there would be referrals to men's shelters by people from the HRA (the misnamed "Human Resources Administration").

PIGS INVADE PARK IN "OPERATION RESTORE"

During the night, cops worked their way through the park, checking homeless people in their tents with flashlights and confiscating bottles. At daybreak of June 3rd, in what was dubbed "Operation Restore", hundreds of cops assembled at the police academy on East 21st Street to prepare for their invasion of Tompkins Square Park. Television news vehicles, tipped off to the raid days before, were already set up outside the park before the riot pigs arrived. Neighborhood residents quickly alerted each other as the bell of St. Brigid's Church rang to sound the alarm. Many ran into the park to support the homeless. By 5:40, others were stopped from entering, but several got into the park by jumping the fence. About 100 people in the park were surrounded by cops and reporters. Parks Commissioner Betsy Gotbaum arrived to survey the operation with an ugly sneer on her face.

By 8:00AM, Avenue A was cleared of all parked vehicles, towed by police tow trucks, and replaced by media and police vehicles. Cops were posted at all corners from 6th Street through 10th Streets, corralling bystanders behind police barriers and demanding ID from some people trying to pass. Pigs peered from the roofs of buildings surrounding the park. Pre-fitted sections of fencing were set up at entrances to the park and poles for additional fencing were erected along the Avenue B side of the park. Inside the park, a bulldozer was seen. It was now obvious that the city was going to do more than close the park indefinitely.

Outside the park, 10th Street was flooded by police and parks department vehicles, portable generators, undercover cars, taxis, trucks, buses and the infamous FEMA bus, used by the Joint Terrorist Task Force (see story elsewhere in this issue). Inside the park, the cops and parks department workers made their way from one homeless encampment to another, removing residents and tossing their belongings into the waiting garbage trucks. At 8:30, cops threatened to arrest anyone who didn't leave the park. They quickly pushed people out with their riot shields. A total of 7 people were arrested, all receiving DATs (Desk Appearance Tickets), including the minister of the nearby Graffiti Ministry that offers food and outreach to the homeless. HRA vans took some homeless people away to the city shelter referral center at 507 East 11th Street, a former crack house taken over by the city. One HRA worker at the park told the SHADOW he didn't want to refer the homeless to city shelters, especially since he had been in the shelter system himself, but there was nowhere else for them to go. (A resident of East 7th Street told cops entering her building to go to the roof that she didn't think what they were doing was right. One cop asked "You support the homeless? Are you an Amerikan?") Other homeless residents set up campsites at two vacant city-owned lots on East 8th and 9th Streets.

City councilwoman Miriam Friedlander, seen walking away from the park on Avenue A at 9:30, told residents that neither the Community Board nor her office was consulted about the closing of the park. She asked construction crews in the park about what they were doing, but they couldn't tell her anything. A SHADOW reporter speaking with Manhattan Boro Parks Commissioner Patrick Pomposello on the scene discovered that the very same "restructuring" plan that was rejected by the community years ago was now being done militarily. One cop was overheard saying: "This'll be shorter than the Persian Gulf War".



PHOTO BY JACK DAWKINS

By mid-afternoon, the police occupation was in place as the fence building continued west on Avenue A. As cops maintained positions around the park, plainclothes cops were seen on foot and in vehicles circling the park. A large sign announcing the "renovations" of the park was visible in front of the St. Marx entrance to the park. The police state occupation had begun.

**MORE COMPLETE COVERAGE
CONTINUES ON PAGES 10 + 19-21**

LOWER EAST SIDE ARTIST KILLED IN UNPROVOKED ATTACK!!

By Walter Concrete

Grady Alexis, born in Haiti, was an artist-in-residence at the Taller Latino Americano cultural center on East 2nd Street. His roommate, Cyril Jackson, says he began receiving cryptic phone calls from the police on Saturday night. "I thought it was someone trying to be funny," said Jackson as he fought to hold back tears. He says police called repeatedly during the night asking for information about Grady, never revealing that he was dead. Police told Jackson they had found Grady's address book and had come to Jackson's name.

Still unaware that Grady had been killed, Jackson was told to come to the 6th precinct on West 10th Street. There he met detective Jimmy Piccione, who showed him a picture of Grady at the Taller. But Jackson says, "underneath it, which I wasn't supposed to see, or was supposed to see, was a picture of Grady apparently in the morgue." When Jackson asked Piccione if the picture had anything to do with the Sunday newspaper accounts of the 8th Street killing, the detective denied that it was the same case and sent him home with no further information. Jackson did not definitively learn of Grady's death until a friend called him later that day.

An account of some of the events surrounding Grady's death was provided by the cashier at Couch Potato Video on West 8th Street. The cashier, who was able to see and hear some of the confrontation, said that the altercation didn't seem serious at first. He says, "It was very fast. There were a group of men in the street, a couple of parked vehicles. There were raised voices, people yelling at each other. As it didn't look terribly severe, I didn't pay too close attention to it. I saw a couple of people fainting punches at each other, they didn't look serious." The cashier's attention was diverted by some customers and when he looked up, the cars were gone. "People came to the store and said there's a man lying in the street and he seems hurt." (A SHADOW reporter trying to interview another cashier at the video store a few days later was confronted by a stake-out of plainclothes cops. After leaving the store, he was followed by the cops to the subway he entered on Broadway).

Other witnesses report that a red jeep trailed Grady and his two friends for half a block. According to these witnesses, the jeep stopped and a tall man in a white sweat shirt got out. Yelling "Boxer 5, Boxer 5", which was also his license plate number, the driver approached the men, throwing punches at them. This man fits Officer Frazier's description. Other men with Frazier exited from at least two other cars, one of whom was seen flashing a gun.

On Friday, May 10, one week after Grady Alexis was killed, over 250 people marched from Tompkins Square Park to the 6th precinct, where they confronted cops on their brutality and the cover-up of Grady's murder. The next night, a candlelight vigil was held at the spot where the incident took place. Grady's friends expressed their outrage at the lenient charges against Frazier and Presley. This outrage is shared by the General Consul of Haiti, Phillipe Wilson Desir, who has met with Grady's friends in order to assist them in their search for justice. Desir said the police are "involved in a cover-up", and added that the Haitian government will demand "that a full investigation be made and that there is no cover-up, and those responsible for this murder be prosecuted and punished according to the law."

Grady's friends have formed the "Justice for Grady Alexis Committee". They are asking that any further witnesses to the killing call (212) 226-9625. Grady's family is being represented by New York Civil Liberties Union director Norman Siegel and attorneys hired by the Haitian consulate.

Cyril Jackson says he remembers Grady as a talented artist, generous, honest, and who liked to hang out with some of the residents of Tompkins Square Park. Jackson says he told Grady that he was a lamb "out there with wolves." Grady laughed and said, "Cyril, I'll be OK."

Now the friends of Grady Alexis want to know if the wolves wore badges.



PHOTO BY ERIC DROOKER



ART BY ERIC DROOKER

COUP D'ETAT OF THE SPIRIT

Smiling in Tompkins Square Park Mayday
You squeezed my hand
As saxophone lady blew jazz from bandshell
Your thick, Black, artist hands felt so alive
Always busy transforming dead street junk
Into fresh fruit for the soul
That's where I first met you... yeah-on the street
Both of us peddlers hustling our work on the streets
of Manhattan
Me, born on this island, you, born on Caribbean
Island
Together now looking out for cops on Astor Place
As we try to make a living in Reaganomic Eighties
Damn Grady! I didn't know that was the last time
You'd squeeze my hand
Cop driving jeep had no uniform—he was off duty!
How were you to know to avoid him?
Wish I could have been there to warn you:
"PACK IT IN-SPLIT! THE HEAT'S COMING!"
Sorry man...this city island is mean-moves quickly
We're living on the back of a giant snapping turtle
A mechanical terrapin with jaws of steel always
hungry
For passionate young souls to devour

Remember these Manhattan streets have swallowed
the best of them:
Malcolm X, John Lennon, Michael Stewart,
Irving Haiman...
And my friend Grady Alexis
I reached out and touched you at your wake in
Brooklyn
Your hands were soft and cold
Your family wants you buried in your native soil
Where Ghede Nimbo-Voodoo god of sex, death and
the underworld
Awaits you with petro drums
And now you're flying back home to Haiti
Different from colonial way you left it
No more Papa Doc, No more Baby Doc-CIA-Duvalier
Your people are busy freeing themselves
With their hot sugar cane hands and hearts
Creating a new island in the Caribbean sun
...While up here-alone, I feel my city island slowly
sinking
Into acid waters of despair and chaos
Thank you, man. Merci merci, thank you for sharing
Your colors with me
I'm picking up the brush right where you left it...

—Eric D.
Lower East Side, NYC
May 23, 1991, 3AM...

At 8:45 PM on Saturday, May 5th, Grady Alexis, a 26 year old Lower East Side artist, was struck and killed in an altercation on West Eighth Street, near Fifth Avenue. A New York City police officer, Richard Frazier, 31, was arrested the next day and charged with 3rd degree assault, a misdemeanor with a maximum penalty of one year in jail.

The following Monday, police arrested Terry Presley, 21, a friend of Frazier's who was present at the scene. He was also given the misdemeanor charge. The District Attorney sought to justify these meager charges at a recent meeting with Grady's father and sister, stating that the men didn't intend to kill Grady. On Friday, June 14th, the Grand Jury presently hearing this case will vote on whether to indict them on more serious charges.

Police officials say Officer Frazier did not strike the blow that killed Grady, but that it was Presley, going out of their way to repeat this on several occasions. In the May 7th N.Y. Post, Police Commissioner Lee Brown said, "Apparently, the officer [Frazier] hit at least one or two people, not the person who died, but other people." Chief of Manhattan Detectives Joseph G. DeMartino told the N.Y. Times on May 8th, in reference to Presley, "We believe his punch killed Mr. Alexis."

Officer Frazier is a 6 foot, 2 inch, 176 pound, two-time Golden Gloves light-heavy weight boxing champion and martial arts expert. Frazier was scheduled to leave for the Soviet Union on May 10th, where he was to represent the NYPD in an amateur boxing match.

The sequence of events remains murky because Frazier has refused to cooperate with the investigation. According to police, the fight began when a jeep that Frazier was driving "nearly brushed" Grady and two companions as they crossed 8th Street. Police say Frazier struck Julian Dodd, one of Grady's companions, and that Grady was struck once in the head by Presley. Medical Examiner's Office spokesperson Ellen Borakove stated in the N.Y. Times that Grady died of a "blunt impact injury to the head." In conversations with an ACLU representative, she said that she was not totally convinced that it was a fist that killed Grady, and that she would not rule out use of a blunt object. She also expressed some concern over the shattered condition of Grady's skull, concluding that Grady must have had "an usually thin skull". Was it a thin skull or a boxer's fist?

WAR PARADE!

CELEBRATION OF DEATH

By I.C. Timerow

Hundreds of protestors from various anti-war groups showed up at the June 10th ticker tape "New World Massacre" Parade to protest, chant, hold up banners and signs, perform guerilla theater with props, costumes and masks. Groups of 50-200 people were corralled by police barriers in a "pig-pen" at various points in or near the parade. They were generally surrounded by hundreds of macho assholes who taunted and threatened them. This did not stop the anti-war activists. Many groups of just two or three would stand near the parade route with just an anti-war sign or prop and attract much instantaneous debate. Though played down in the general media, there were enough protestors all throughout the march to rain on their parade!

Unfortunately, those blue-skinned meanies, the pigs, came down heavily on many activists, whose only "crimes" were to hold banners, chant, leaflet the crowd, and throw an occasional bloodied baby doll towards the parade. June 10th was a day that the city government chose to close three major parks that were either close to or on the parade route. City Hall Park was on the parade route and was supposed to have been the site of one demonstration. Tompkins Square Park was to have been the sight of the Stop the Parade march. Battery Park was right near the parade's start-off point. The park closings left anti-war demonstrators with few assembly points that weren't on the streets, surrounded by pigs and reactionary thugs.

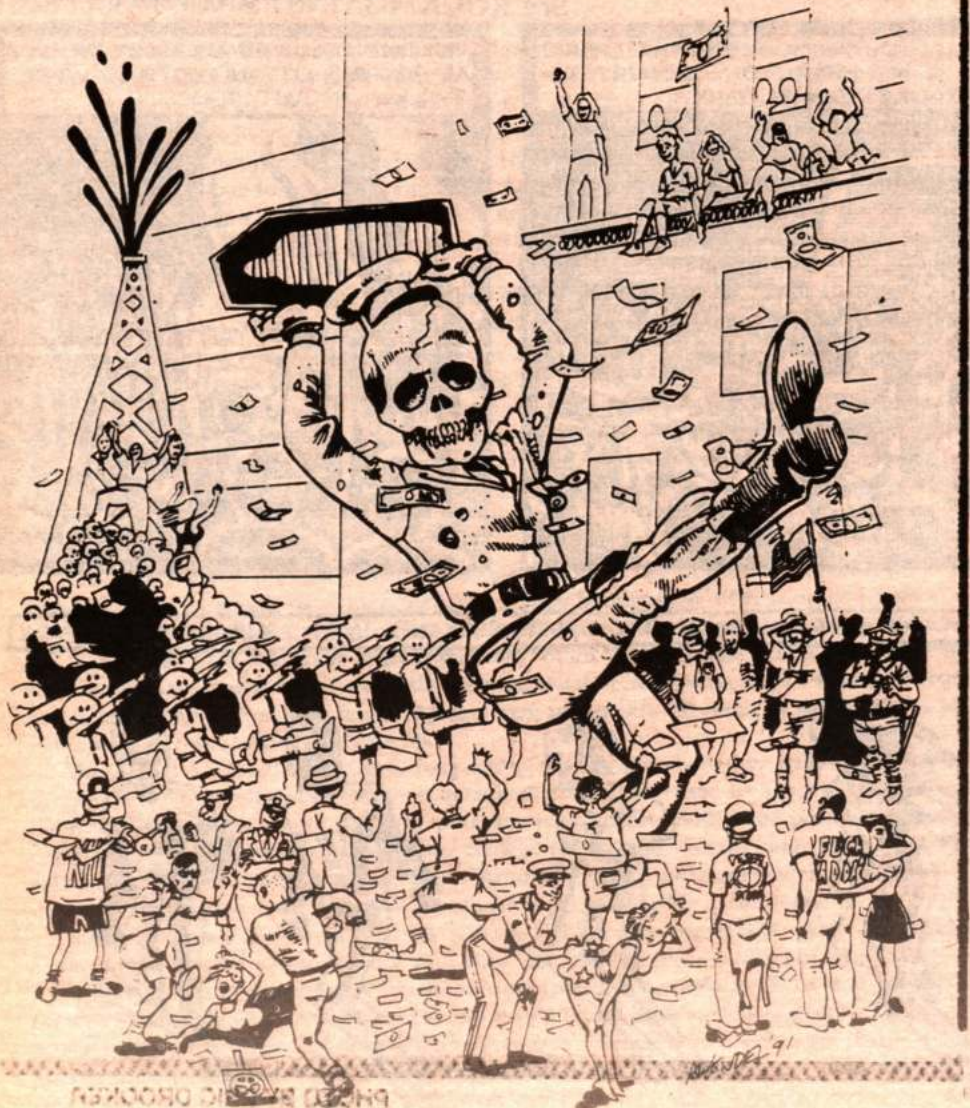
STOP THE U.S. WAR MACHINE AMBUSHED BY THE PIGS!

The Stop the U.S. War Machine Action Network (a "Revolutionary Communist Party" (RCP) front group), came early to the parade, having called for supporters to meet them at Vesey Street and Broadway at 9:30 AM. The police surrounded them with barricades and boxed them into a "pig-pen", supposedly for their own safety. But when the pigs decided to jump the barricades, beat, arrest, jail and frame-up the activists, the police-constructed "pig-pen" proved to be a very convenient way to set them up.

Things started quietly enough with chants, banners and leaflets. The crowd in the "Stop the War Machine" pig-pen increased to nearly 200 people. Directly across the street, the "Coalition to Stop the War" (a Workers' World Party front group) had anywhere from 40 to 100 demonstrators. They were joined at one point by Ramsey Clark (ex-Attorney General under President Johnson during the Vietnam War, and the Black Panther 21 and Chicago 8 trials). As usual, they were not harassed by the pigs.

As many reactionaries began to confront the "Stop the U.S. War Machine" demonstrators, the police began to hold the press back. Pigs were seen pointing at and talking about activists who made speeches and were heard saying "We will get them." A red paint balloon directly hit a pig. Things got tense.

When Colin Powell drove by with an extremely large police escort, a bloodied baby doll was thrown in his direction. This was too much for the pigs, who charged the barricades en masse, jumping over them and beating and arresting demonstrators. Lister, a Rastafarian organizer for Refuse and Resist (another RCP front group), was beaten by no less than eight pigs! Phil, a sixtyish grey-haired ex-priest, was savagely beaten with the pigs almost breaking his leg. Renee was hit four times in the face by pigs before she was arrested. The police pulled many braids out of her head. Mary Ann was also badly beaten with bruises on her face and knees. Manco got grabbed, thrown to the ground, and beaten. Dave was jumped, having his arms and back twisted during his arrest. Racheal, a well-known downtown activist, was charged with double felonies. In all, 17 people were arrested during this pig wilding attack. Fourteen of them were charged with felonies, while eleven of the fourteen were charged with double felonies. The three charged with misdemeanors were also charged with double or triple misdemeanors. All were out through the "system".



ART BY ANDREW WENDEL



ART BY ERIC DROOKER

Most of those arrested were known organizers, speech makers and banner holders. The possibility that undercover pigs could have been present at public planning meetings and decided then on who to arrest at the demo has not been ruled out.

During this massive police assault, all press people were physically kept away. The pigs went so far as to cover the lenses of journalists' cameras within shooting distance of this violent scene. When NBC-TV's pretty boy "investigative reporter" John Miller refused to leave the scene because he mistakenly thought the press had a right to videotape what was going on, he was arrested and given a Desk Appearance Ticket (DAT) for disorderly conduct.

After the initial assault and arrests, there was a second assault on whatever demonstrators were left. This was carried out by the reactionaries in the crowd. They threw smokebombs, fireworks and barricades at the protestors. When the protestors asked the police to stop the attack against them, the pigs told them, "If you don't like it, leave."

TOMPKINS SQUARE MARCHERS FACE POLICE OVERKILL!

A march that left from Tompkins Square Park at 11:00 AM with the stated mission of shutting down the parade was sparsely attended. This did not stop the pigs from staging a massive presence, surrounding 20 TSP activists with approximately 300 police. This included up to thirty police vehicles of every description, ten motorcycles, riot cops, undercover ... the works! The oinkers stopped the protestors from going down St. Marks Place, and kept them virtually surrounded all the way to the parade. On the way downtown, one pig tripped and fell, and demonstrators laughed at him. A half an hour later, as TSP's own Joel Myers was making a speech after stepping outside the police encirclement, he was arrested along with Jim, a fellow demonstrator, on felony charges of assaulting a police officer (the pig who had tripped earlier). One other TSP demonstrator named Richard was also arrested. When the TSP arrestees met the Stop the U.S. War Machine arrestees at the precinct house, they kept their demonstration going with chants and songs.

STOP THE PARADE

The TSP marchers with their police caravan escort were ultimately stopped on Broadway, just above Canal Street. The pigs would not let them proceed beyond this point. This was several blocks away from the end of the parade, which severely diminished the impact of their demo, which included two severely burned Amerikkkan flags and much street theater with props.

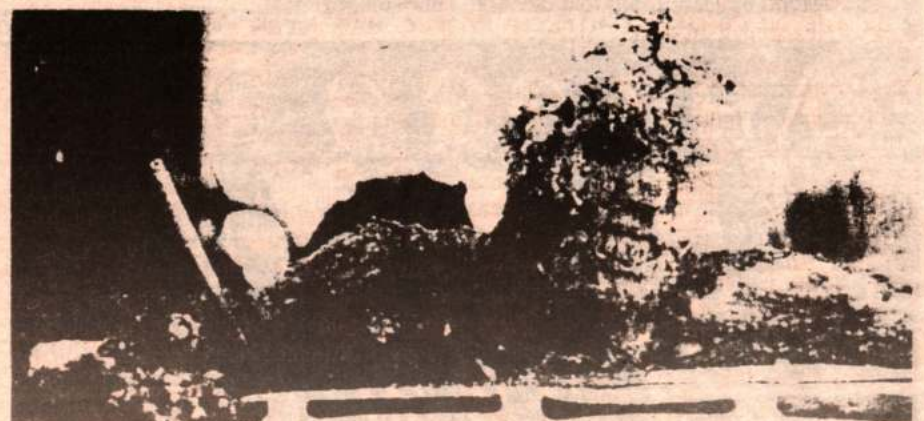
OTHER ASSORTED PROTESTS

At Beekman and Nassau, 50-100 anti-war protestors kept their demo going for hours, despite much abuse from the crowd and the pigs. Beer bottles and eggs were thrown at them and a few times the pigs actually did take away right wing jerks who threw punches at demonstrators.

At the northern tip of City Hall, "Vietnam Vets Against the War -- Anti-Imperialist" (yet another RCP front group) stood their ground against the right-wing rabble. About 25 to 50 anti-war activists kept a lively debate going with various violent goons and assholes who felt the only way to debate was to threaten people physically.

Affinity groups were also there at the parade, creating havoc for the marchers. Though little of what they did has leaked out, there are reports that some military vehicles on the parade route had to dodge road stars that suddenly appeared in their way.

(As people prepare for their trials on these trumped-up charges, the Parade Protestors' Defense Committee is meeting weekly. They can be reached at: (212) 732-8860. As I was walking along a street on the parade route, a pig noticed a placard in my hand that expressed an anti-war sentiment. He grabbed the placard and tore it in half. Nothing like "freedom of speech" in the Amerikkkan Empire.)



Irish soldier turned to ashes after being incinerated by a U.S. tank, driving back on the front lines for the Gulf War. (The VOA is the London Observer, 3/10/91 one of many photographs censored by the U.S. media for showing the real horror of the Gulf War.)

MAYDAY CONCERT IN TOMPKINS SQ. PARK

By A. Kronstadt

Mayday 1991 was a showcase of the Lower East Side radical culture which the rulers of New York City know that they must destroy by any means necessary. There was the show itself, a relentless assault on the complacent amerikan mind, an anti-spectacle cutting through the meanness, narrowness, and mechanical ugliness of yuppie New York. There was the determination of the organizers of the show in the face of an endless stream of bureaucratic chickenshit, threats, and dirty tricks. Finally, and most important, there was the crowd of Lower East Side rebels giving the finger to the New World Order and dancing on the corpse of a bankrupt civilization. Dinkins, the landlords, the police brass-all the little mediocrities that depend on people's apathy and insecurity and isolation for their power-all saw the future catching up with them on Mayday. This was what they were coming after on June 3, with their bulldozers and fences and hundreds of cops, and this is what they will fail to destroy because this is the future.

The city tried every possible bureaucratic means to stop Mayday 1991 from happening. Bureaucrats always assume that everyone is a coward, and sometimes they are wrong. Patrick Epstein, a small woman with a big badge around her neck, was the Parks Department's bulldog. First she told Mayday organizers that no more concerts were permitted in Tompkins Square Park "because they have riots there". A call from our attorney Stanley Cohen and this changed to "yes-you-can-have-your-concert-but-only-until-six-and-only-four-hours-of-amplified-music-and-I-Patrick-Epstein-will-be-there-all-day-watching-every-move-you-make". Every day she would come up with some other stupid rule which was supposed to be ironclad, all of which would turn out to be impotent bullying and hot air. "I used to be a hippie too, once-I understand", she said to concert organizer Lori Rizzo. Ms. Epstein didn't understand. On the day of the concert she told the stage manager that she couldn't put anything over the Parks Department leaf logo on the bandshell. She was promptly told that it was our fucking park and the leaf wasn't holy to us. The leaf was covered with a banner that said "Unite to Fight", and stayed that way all Mayday. We were told that we couldn't sell anything, not even constitutionally protected T-shirts and buttons. We went on selling. We were told that we couldn't smoke pot, and we went on toking. You get as much freedom as you take. The little wind-up lady, as our attorney dubbed her, went on bustling around yelling and threatening and telling us that things would go badly for us. The show went on, seamlessly and splendidly.

The first act (where else but in Tompkins Square Park) was Japanese anarchist jazz saxophonist Masa. The show shifted efficiently from the hardcore False Prophets and Yuppicide to poets Allen Ginsberg and Pat Storm, to outlaw folk singer Steve Witt. The lead singer of squatter band Banji broke another park rule when he shed everything but his leather bikini and shook his stuff on stage (one more demerit from Ms. Epstein). Baby Monroe and Spy vs. Spy closed the show, just like last year. Concert organizer and Mayday 29 defendant Lori Rizzo stated: "I thought that the Mayday show this year proved our innocence of the Mayday 1990 riot because everything was the same as last year, same band on stage, many of the same people on stage dancing, even the same song. The only difference was that there weren't any cops. No cops, no riots." The concert ended peacefully, and was followed by a metal jam with dozens of crazy Lower East Side people banging with sticks on huge hunks of metal and joint compound buckets until the cacophony settled into a strange accidentally-on-purpose harmony. A ritual of the Tompkins Square tribe-our war drums sounding the call to battle the New World Order. Patrick Epstein, when approached by the author of this article and asked "this isn't so bad is it?" replied "Do you mean aesthetically, or in terms of regulations?" Give me a break!

A friend of ours had a date with her parole officer in the Federal Building a few days before the Mayday concert. In the hallway, she saw a bunch of G-men poring over a Mayday concert poster and talking about a big sweep coming in Tompkins Square Park. The NYPD and the Feds regard our concerts perhaps a lot more seriously than we do. To us they are fun, friendship, relaxation. To them, they are subversion, danger, a threat to the stinking AmeriKKkan way of life. That is why they want to wreck the TSP bandshell; that is why they were planning to destroy our park long before the Memorial Day riot, which was only a (somewhat too) convenient excuse. We can't let them do it. On to Mayday 1992, and in their faces for the DemoKKKrat national convention.



PARKEES HASSLE THE SHOW, COPS "ENDORSE" IT

By Pete Mastrangelo (of RAR)

Yes, people, Rock Against Racism did indeed hold its 13th annual free concert on May 5th in Union Square. Last year, it was in City Hall Plaza and for eleven years before that in the Central Park Bandshell.

Why the change in location? It's simple: the Parks Department people claim control over the sound system in Central Park. In fact, only their equipment and engineer are to be used. So, basically, we told them to eat shit and they told us to get out!

RAR sued the City in a local Federal Court in the mid-80's. And we won! No longer would our permit be denied and our hours shortened. Federal Judge Haight also added to the decision that the City had to provide a free sound system and personnel. While this is good for most organizations, it is not for RAR, which has its own equipment and people. Judge Haight also stated that the Police and Parks Enforcement people cannot interfere with the sound.

The City appealed this last part of the decision to the U.S. Supreme Court in 1989. And guess what? They won. That's right -- now they control the whole thing. So, it's either Central Park with their hands on the controls or find another place. And that's how we got to this year.

UNION SQUARE IN '91

Actually, we put on two events the same weekend starting in City Hall Plaza on the afternoon of May 3rd, as a protest for being kicked out of Central Park, and the main event in Union Square on May 5th.

The weather was exceptional, the music great, and the speakers thought provoking. Frank Morales, a familiar Lower East Side activist, was the emcee, discussing police violence as well as singing and playing guitar with his band, Cult of Rage.

Professor Louie and his percussionist did their school of hard knocks rap approach to life in the Big City. In addition were Garrick Beck of the New York Rainbow Family, and Normal Siegel of the New York Civil Liberties Union.

DHORUBA AND DACAJAWEIH

Two strong word-throwers, former Black Panther Dhoruba-Bin-Wahad and Native American Indian activist Dacajaweh were the highlighted speakers.

Dhoruba suggested that we form a People's Convention in the summer of '92 and march on the Jacob Javits Center where the Democratic Party is having its convention. He suggested that since the building is a "glass house", we should each bring a brick and cast our vote for justice.

Dacajaweh reminded us that the Indians of the Americas are still the most heavily oppressed minority. He was one of the organizers of the Attica Prison uprising in 1971 at the age of 19. (By the way, folks, September will be the 20th anniversary of this prisoners' revolt and slaughter by the New York State Police.) (When we spoke afterwards with him, he wanted to know if the audience's non-reaction was a sign of "denial". If anyone has something to say about this, we'd like to hear it, please ...)

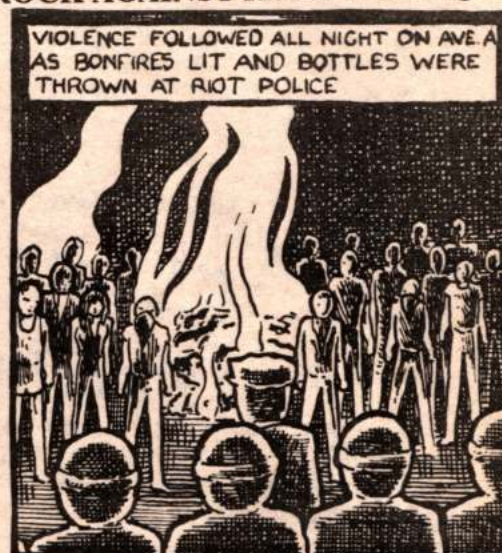
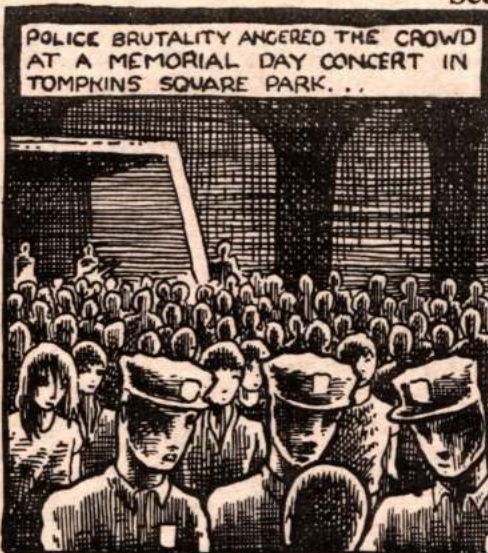
The Reggae Scene was well represented by Jah Levi and Higher Reasoning, while the Black Rock Coalition Band, and Shock Council, blew everyone away with some heavy duty psychedelic rock.

But like every RAR concert, there is always a hassle with the so-called "authorities". This year, the cops were mellow and the parkees were the heavies. In spite of hard-hitting raps against police brutality (the concert's theme) by several speakers, and former Tompkins Square Park resident-poet Pat Storm's anti-cop poetry "PIGMAN", about "blue-skinned Nazis", the cops didn't bother a soul. In fact, they were the ones to get us an extension of the time permit.

TIME EXTENSIONS

It started like this: An RAR staffer had arranged with a Lt. Caruso to get an hour and a half more time. But the Park Director of Special Events, Ms. Patrick Epstein, said absolutely not. She insisted that she didn't have the authority to give it.

See ROCK AGAINST RACISM on Page 18



BY THE NEXT DAY THIRTEEN PEOPLE HAD BEEN ARRESTED BY RIOT POLICE WHO CHARGED DOWN AVENUE A AND INTO TOMPKINS SQUARE PARK



18TH ANNUAL 5TH AVE POT PARADE MARCHES AGAIN!!

By I. C. Timerow

May 4th -- the 18th Annual Fifth Avenue Pot Parade was a smashing success with the good bud flowing, the sun shining, the crowds large and contented, and the pigs keeping their distance and making no busts at all! (A first for the Pot Parade/Smoke-Ins in recent years)!

This year the 5th Avenue Pot Parade came to Washington Square Park with a list of demands. These demands will be delivered to the New York State legislators at another Pot Parade event in August, where people will march on the state capitol in Albany.

The list of four demands are:

1. Legalize possession and cultivation of pot/hemp.
2. Immediate release from prison of all people for possession and cultivation of pot/hemp.
3. Educational and financial compensation for all those arrested in pot/hemp wars.
4. Immediate return of all property taken during the pot wars. This includes all government/police "seizures" (actually stealing under another name) of homes, land, cars, boats, bank accounts and pot.

Jerry the Peddler, a spokesperson for the Pot Parade who began working on it back in 1975 says, "We need to get the state to legalize pot before the federal government will. The state has the right to legalize up to around a half pound of hemp. We want to see it legalized as a cash crop for farmers. Hemp can save the American farm. Hemp, as a fiber, can make linen, cotton, flax and other cloths, only more cheaply and soundly. There is no motor oil that can't be made from the hemp seed through bio-mass conversion. The hemp seed is the second highest source of seed protein on the planet. Only the soybean has more protein."

At noon on May 4th, in Washington Square Park, a bright, warm, spring day, legendary Lower East Side musician David Peel began to entertain the crowd with his songs and hippie-style banter. The sound truck was about an hour late when it showed up at 1:00 PM (so what else is new?). As things got started at the sound truck, David Peel and the Lower East Side got the crowd going with pot anthems like "Have a Marijuana" and "The Pope Smokes Dope". Next to play were Moogy and the Rhythm Kings, with Dylan's "Maggie's Farm", and "Only The Outlaws Are Free". At a certain point in the set, drummers were switched, and the new guy at the skins looked a lot like Anthony Michael Hall, movie star of such films as "Edward Scissorhands" and "Breakfast Club" (remember the scene in that film where all the bratpack stars smoked joints and had a good time?). Finishing the set with a kickass blues, "Hoochie Koochie Man", the crowd had grown from a few hundred people to well over a thousand.

Next up were "Exit #5", a psychedelic rock and roll band that really got the crowd going. "Original Formula", who were to play at the Memorial Day Concert at TSP only a few weeks later, were on next. With a female singer in the Joplin mode, they rocked the crowd. Even Richie Havens rode up on his bike and spoke, making some impressive points for the legalization of pot. Unfortunately, the Woodstock legend did not sing any songs.

Other speakers included local activist Laurie Rizzo; "Iternity" from the TSP Rasta community; representatives from NORML; a speaker for the "Fully Informed Jury Amendment", which means deciding the guilt or innocence of a defendant by voting with your conscience, regardless of what the "law" says; and the Vice-Presidential candidate of the Libertarian Party, who said he wants all drugs legalized.

Loose joints were freely passed out and smoked in the park in front of cops, both in uniform and plainclothes. This was part of over a half pounds' worth of joints that were passed out over the course of the day. Not one bust. The pigs did not move against or arrest anyone, anywhere, on that day.

When asked why the pigs didn't move against anyone (as they usually do), Jerry The Peddler said, "Last year, the undercover came in and started busting people and walking them out of the crowd. They did this about five or six times. Then someone grabbed the mike on stage while Moogy's band was playing. They pointed out the undercover to the crowd and asked that people un-arrest their brothers and sisters, which the crowd promptly did. The undercover were roughed up and ran out of the crowd before they got hurt." Jerry continued, "There were no more busts that day because people stood united and un-arrested their friends. I guess the cops remembered that and didn't want to see it happen again this year."

When the Pot Parade finally marched up 5th Avenue around 3:00 PM, about 750 people joined in the pilgrimage to Sheep's Meadow in Central Park. However, due to an extra large police presence following alongside and behind them, the people were forced to march on the sidewalk the whole time. During the march, one pig made the mistake of trying to bust someone, but he let the man go when the marchers expressed their anger. Chants on the march included, "Free the Heads, Jail the Feds." Jerry The Peddler says, "We want the prosecutors, cops, judges, etc. ... to serve as much time in prison as the people they've jailed for pot." When asked about people jailed for other drugs, Jerry said, "Because of a split within the coalition, the 5th Avenue Pot Parade has no stand on any drug but pot."

The march got to Sheep's Meadow at about 5:00 PM. The traditional mass fence jumping, done by hundreds of marchers, was met by hundreds of other people who were already in the Park and waiting for the goodies to arrive. As hundreds ran to the middle of the lush grassy field, hundreds more came from within the Park, and a loud cheer went up as they all came together in the middle. A large cloud of marijuana smoke soon rose from within the crowd as 3 ounces worth of joints were tossed into the mass as people began to pull out their own stashes and toked up.

David Peel & his sidekick, Greg, sang again. Channel 11 showed up with a news crew & covered it. The police watched from outside the fence and made no attempt to interrupt the Rainbow-style pot party. As dusk came, someone built a bonfire and people continued partying and singing around the bonfire. By 8:00 PM, the pigs finally came in and politely asked what time the party would be over. "Around 10 PM", said the Peddler. And so it was, that the 5th Avenue Pot Parade had finished up yet another great party.

When asked who works on and comes to the Pot Parades, the Peddler said, "It's a loose connection of people who've worked on it since the late 70's. People like Jon Squat, and Burning Issues, a New Jersey underground news letter for pot reform. They've supported the Pot Parade for years. Who comes to the event? Gosh, it's a variety of people. People who are angry that their rights have been taken away. People who come to get their brothers and sisters out of jail. People who want the legal right to grow pot. And, oh yes, people who come to party and have a good ole' time!"



FLASH FOTO

THE OTHER "POT PARADE" FLOPS!!

By A. Kronstadt

The most obvious problem with the "other" pot parade held on May 18 was that it wasn't really about marijuana. The leaflet which advertised it did not mention the word marijuana once. It contained a lot of valuable information about the marijuana plant as a renewable resource in terms of energy and clothing and edible oil and had little pictures of marijuana leaves all over it, but there was no way that anyone who was not already familiar with the subject would know that hemp and marijuana were the same plant. Another leaflet put out by the organizers of that event had a picture of the acid-rain damaged statue of George Washington on the Washington Square arch. It said, "Acid Rain is Unpatriotic", and informed the reader that if hemp were used as fuel instead of petroleum, there would be no acid rain and the statue of the noted slaveholder would not be in such bad shape. Once again, factually correct but fuzzy and unexciting, like the author of these leaflets and sponsor of the demo, Dana Irwin Beal. Beal, for some reason, no longer likes to talk about marijuana as a source of pleasure. Everybody who marches for the right to grow and smoke marijuana (hemp) does so because they like to *get high*, not because a statue of the old bigot whom we call the Father of Our Country is rotting away.

The fuzzy, unexciting leaflets may be one reason for the small turnout at the event, which was actually supposed to be a convergence of marches starting, respectively, at Congressman Charles Rangel's office in Harlem, at Gracie Mansion, and at the Partnership for a Drug Free America at 666 Third Avenue. Only the last rally actually took place, and it attracted about 200 people. The most interesting speaker was a Stamford University lecturer who had been suspended from his job after writing a letter to drug czar Bob Martinez. The lecturer told the top drug cop that he advised his students to keep an open mind about mind-altering substances, that he carried such substances around in his knapsack, and that the drug czar should stick his drug war somewhere. A fair amount of pot was smoked at the rally right under the noses of the cops. It was supplied by individual participants, not by the organizers, who, unlike the Fifth Avenue Pot Parade, did not come with a single joint.

The march then proceeded over to Fifth Avenue and down to Washington Square Park for a long blab-athon hosted by Beal and featuring ninety percent white male speakers and performers. There was very little talk about pot as a tool of *pleasure*, only about how good it is for terminally ill cancer patients and glaucoma sufferers. (Dana, how sick do we have to be before we get a joint?) There were a couple of good speeches, though. Ed Rosenthal of *High Times* was there, as well as Attica Brother Dacajewallah, speaking about the war on drugs as a war on the poor and people of color. Lots of interesting pot literature was passed around, including something put out by the Green Panthers called the "Revolutionary Toker" (a hilarious take-off on the RCP's party rag "Revolutionary Worker").

At one point, Beal tried to solicit contributions under the guise of collecting funds for AIDS research in order to cover the costs of his massive advertising campaign for this non-event. In spite of advertising in *High Times*, the *Village Voice* and hiring people to poster neighborhoods, the number of people that showed up couldn't compare to the huge numbers that came for the Fifth Avenue Pot Parade, which was advertised mostly through word of mouth. Obviously, the people know the real deal and they know where to get *real* pot when they want it!!

We have to call this event not a pot parade but a "Let's talk about pot" parade. Our *SHADOW* pot parade critic rates this one at 2 on a scale of 5.

PARKS COMMITTEE GRILLS DINKINS LACKEY OVER PARK CLOSING

By Chris Flash

On the evening of June 3rd, as the occupying army of cops maintained their positions around the park, Dinkins flack catcher Michael Kharfen attended the previously-scheduled Parks Committee meeting of Community Board Three (CB3). Also present were representatives of local elected officials, including Liz Rubin for Assemblyman Steven Sanders, who was behind the effort to have the park closed, and CB3 members (Sandy Anderson, Eva Lee, Rob Schoenboen, Rick Carman, Addie Norman, Donna Ellabee, Charles Crespo) and City Councilwoman Miriam Friedlander. Kharfen and Rubin were the only voices trying to justify the closing of the park, and they were clearly outnumbered by the angry CB3 members and residents in the audience.

Kharfen claimed that the current "reconstruction plan" is "based on a plan developed in 1983 with the community board". He neglected to add that these plans were also rejected by CB3 and the people of Tompkins Square. He said that while there would be no removal of trees, walkways would be reconstructed and the bandshell would be removed and replaced with a mobile stage with a self-contained sound system. He also claimed that the funds for this project were "already in the city's capital budget", and "no other projects will be affected". Incredibly, he added that the park was closed "not to remove (homeless) people, but strictly to provide them with outreach services"!! He also said he had been in Tompkins Square Park over the weekend in order "to discuss improving the situation".

Kharfen avoided answering a question on whether the community had been consulted about the park closing, preferring to insist that the city was not eliminating park benches, "merely replacing them". When pressed, he admitted there was no formal notice given to CB3, but that he had informal discussions over a period of several years with members of CB3. (He neglected to say which CB3 members!!)

Friedlander said she requested a meeting with the mayor's office about the park a month earlier regarding homeless in the park, but got no response, so it must be the administration's policy not to respond to elected officials. She said that the city avoided them for a week when she knew a new policy was about to be enacted in the park. Charles Lai, representing Borough President Ruth Messinger, said she was not appraised of the developments in the park, and that Messinger was outraged.

Liz Rubin, representing Assemblyman Steven Sanders, tried to defend Sanders' efforts to close the park. She said that Sanders "requested 5-6 weeks ago that the park be shut down or curfewed", and she added "if this was solely an issue of homelessness, I don't think this would have to happen, but as you all are aware, there have been riots in the park". She also said Sanders had met with community groups and decided that "this is the only way we can see right now to request that the park be returned to the people". This last remark was met with a loud uproar by angry residents, but she could only respond by making faces as though they were crazy for not agreeing with her. (She also neglected to say which "community groups" Sanders had met with!!)

Responding to additional questions, Kharfen told the residents "the construction period will last a little over a year". (The next day, city lawyers raised the estimate to 18-24 months). He also claimed that the decision to close the park for demolition was made after he and Deputy Mayor Bill Lynch met with the homeless in the park the night before. This was met with another uproar. Shortly afterward, Kharfen and Rubin left the meeting together. (Outside the building were two uniformed cops and a car containing four plainclothed cops.)

COMMUNITY BOARD 3 PASSES RESOLUTION TO REOPEN THE PARK

By Stuart Frankel

Community Board 3 held its last meeting of the season on June 18, under the watchful eyes of dozens of cops inside and outside. Not surprisingly, the major topic was Tompkins Square Park. The room was packed with spectators, some 30 of whom spoke at the public session which began the meeting. The speakers ranged from anarchists to property owners, from parents whose kids use the playgrounds to people who just want to walk down the street without getting hassled by the cops. The Reverend Taylor Field read a statement from three local pastors; other community organizations, such as the Lower East Side Catholic Area Conference, Met Council, and Cooper Square, sent representatives. Except for a very few people who were there for other matters, everyone spoke in opposition to the closing of the park and the oppressive police presence in the neighborhood.

City council representative Miriam Friedlander said that she had repeatedly tried to set up meetings with the mayor's office and the parks department on the park, and was repeatedly refused. Alberto Kappas and Antonio Pagan sent letters announcing their resignations. Robert Caballero and Howard Hemsley had previously resigned. The remaining right-wingers on the board, such as landlord Krystyna PiorKOWska and Phil LaLumia are becoming increasingly marginalized.

Paul Castrucci, an architect who had inspected the park armed with a court order, reported that prior to the demolition, the park had been in "good to excellent condition." Furthermore, the city had not conducted a normal demolition, but had vandalized the park, breaking off a corner of a chess table here, kicking out a bench slat there, presumably in order to render any "stop work" order moot. The expensive antique wrought-iron fences, now destroyed, had been in excellent shape; the benches and asphalt, now destroyed, were refurbished just last year. The city is not, Castrucci concluded, conducting a "renovation in kind," but is attempting to change the use pattern of the park.

Lori Rizzo pointed out that board chair Rick Carman had sent a letter to the mayor to protest the park's closing. Carman wrote that the city should take "immediate action ... to correct ... the illegal occupancy of city-owned buildings scheduled for development by Community Board #3 for permanent low and moderate income housing." CB3 has scheduled ALL the city-owned buildings in the area for such development, most of which are currently occupied by squatters and homesteaders. Many people in the community believe that a few abandoned buildings should be opened to provide immediate shelter that the homeless could then renovate, but CB3 has its own agenda for those buildings. If the board ever gets around to acting on its desire for squatters' buildings, it too will have to use paramilitary force in order to evict the people living there, creating even more homeless people.

The board passed a series of resolutions overwhelmingly. These called for adherence to the park plan drawn up by the community in 1988 which kept the park open during renovations and included repairing the bandshell rather than demolishing it, consultation with the board in the future, and development of a plan for the needs of the homeless. Krystyna PiorKOWska was the only one to speak against any of these. She said that the homeless in the park had refused assistance and were therefore homeless by choice.

In rebuttal, anti-squatter board member Frances Golden said that the city had failed its most needy citizens, and that if the city were unwilling to provide permanent housing, it should at least provide toilets, showers, and some kind of shelter. The applause that greeted her statement, and similar statements by board members from all over the political map, showed that, at least on this one issue, and contrary to nearly all the reports in the major media, it is the gentrifiers, not the anarchists, who represent the lunatic fringe.

DINKINS LACKEYS APPEAR

The highlight of the meeting was the late appearance by Deputy Mayor Bill Lynch, who steamed in a little before 10 PM, with Michael Kharfen, head of the mayor's Community Assistance Unit, in tow. Kharfen didn't speak, although he had scheduled a meeting with some CB3 members for later that week. (At that meeting on the following Thursday, he accepted a two-page list of questions, and promised he would respond in writing to the questions that he thought were acceptable. Another meeting was not scheduled. Some members of the board feel that it is important to keep meeting so that the mayor's office doesn't railroad the community. Other members point out that the mayor's office is railroading the community anyway.)

Lynch started by saying that he didn't want anything to be misconstrued, that he took full responsibility for the decision to close the park. Later he switched that to "full responsibility for the RECOMMENDATION to close the park." When the board presented him with a copy of the resolutions they had passed, the "full responsibility" somehow evaporated, and Lynch said he would take the resolutions back to the mayor's office.

After several board members gave Lynch a dressing down, CB3 chair Rick Carman allowed a very few members of the public to speak. A homeless man said that Lynch had come to the park to listen to them, but that he betrayed them. Lynch said that he hadn't promised them anything. Another homeless man, Dave Tompkins, said that he felt insulted that Lynch had appealed to him on the basis of their common skin color.

Eric Rassi then asked about a meeting that he and many others had held with Lynch in December, 1989 (Dinkins was borough president then). They had suggested that the homeless encampments be limited to one or two inconspicuous areas in the park and that one abandoned building be opened for the homeless to renovate. At the time, Lynch had responded favorably to this plan, and Rassi asked Lynch what had happened.

Lynch responded that "forces in the neighborhood" caused the plan to be abandoned. He refused to specify what these mysterious "forces" were. They could not have been the "anarchists" demonized in the major media, since anarchists were instrumental in drawing the plan up. These "forces" therefore must be either gentrifiers or Martians. It is interesting that the city wastes millions of dollars (this is OUR money they are using) on a military occupation in order to bulldoze over the nearly universal objections of a neighborhood --all on behalf of mysterious "forces." Whatever these "forces" are, they seem to be what determines city policy. Anybody seen any UFOs recently?



PHOTO BY JACK DAWKINS

MICHAEL KHARFEN (LEFT) AND BILL LYNCH (RIGHT) DO
A GREAT JOB OF PLAYING DUMB AT COMMUNITY BOARD
MEETING--6/18/91

DEPUTY MAYOR TAKES THE HEAT FOR MAYOR DINKINS AT COMMUNITY BOARD 3 MEETING

By Nashua

(Deputy Mayor Bill Lynch arrived three hours late into Community Board Three's meeting on June 18th, and he missed most of the angry speech making. But he couldn't avoid the questions of Board members.)

The following are excerpts from Bill Lynch's grilling by CB#3. Antonio Pagan, Howard Hemsley and Roberto Caballero, members of the Board and supporters of the closing of Tompkins Square Park, all submitted their resignations from CB#3 that night and didn't attend the meeting. The only vocal supporter of the City's action present at the meeting was landlord Krystyna PiorKOWska and she remained silent during the questioning of Lynch.)

LYNCH: The question as I understood it; why wasn't the community and elected officials from the community informed?

It was the decision at City Hall that we were going to move forward with this action after we had had consultation with elected officials, taken in their suggestions, evaluated the situation. It was our feeling that, it was the feeling of myself and other members of the Mayor's cabinet, that we would move forward without consultation of the Community Board to close out. We wanted to try to minimize any kind of confrontation or violence on this issue. That's why we did it.

(At this point Lynch was informed that the Community Board had passed a far-reaching motion condemning the Police and City administration for sowing division in the community to justify closing Tompkins Square Park. Lynch seemed shocked by the news and stuttered out the following reply):

LYNCH: What we will do with it, you will give me a copy of the resolution, I'll make sure that that resolution is shared with the Mayor. We're not prepared to comment other than the resolution will be entertained by City Hall at this time.

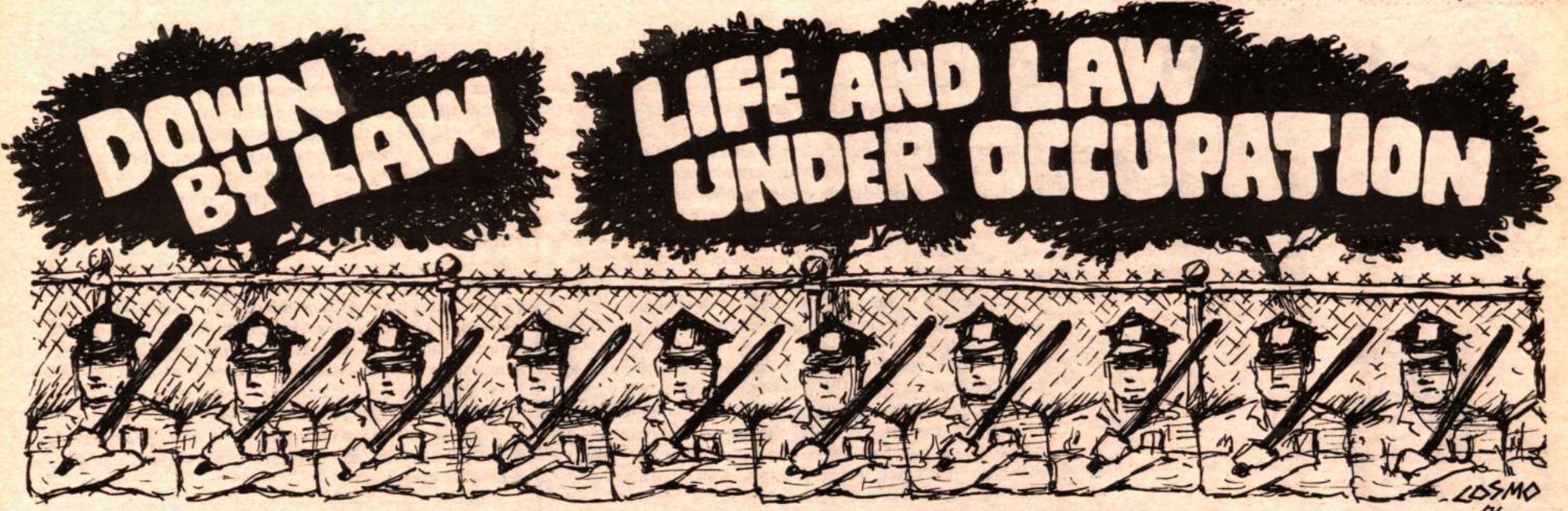
QUESTION: When will the Park be opened?

LYNCH: That section of the Park that is closed now, the projected time for reopening will be next season ... (boos and jeers from the public). When I say season, I'm talking about next summer. It will be one year from now before that portion of the Park ... (interrupted by angry comments), the summer of '92.

QUESTION: Whose needs are you serving by closing this Park without having heard from anyone who is for the closing of this Park, I would really like to know who brought this thing up. It certainly was not our community that wanted this Park closed; (clapping) Second ... It's my understanding that you don't even have a contractor.

LYNCH: Let me say this, I can answer your first question quicker. We do have a contractor; we are moving forward with the renovations. We do have a contractor.

See LYNCH TAKES THE HEAT on Page 15



By RONALD L. KUBY and WILLIAM M. KUNSTLER (Attorneys-At-Law)

It feels like you have Tourett's Syndrome. You are walking down the street in the Occupied Lower East Side and see a group of cops eating pizza and whistling at women, tying up the pay phones while sitting atop their illegally-parked cars. Suddenly you start screaming abuse -- "fat pigs -- keep stuffing your fat pig faces," "hey, look at the dwarf pig with a slice as big as his head," "hey fat pig, how about a foot race to settle this?" If you are Irish, strings of Gaelic invective and old rebel songs rise from your subconscious. If you are Italian, long-forgotten gestures, translated as "your grandmother was a bearded pig" -- twist their way into your hands. From Spanish to Polish, a mosaic of invective greets the occupiers. It's a little scary -- you've never been out of control like this. You've never conducted political debate on the crude level of personal insult and ad hominem attack (well, usually not). What is happening?

Making an occupier feel hated and isolated is a tactic as old as history. It is a form of low intensity resistance designed to make the lives of the occupiers as miserable as possible. It is an exception to the general rule of "do not talk to the police." For those who engage in this type of resistance, a review of applicable legal consequences is in order.

The good news is that you can say almost anything you want to the cops in face-to-face confrontations. In the past two years, the courts in New York have broadened free speech by declaring part of the disorderly conduct law unconstitutional and restricting the scope of the harassment law. The bad news is that the cops may not know this. All the more reason to go into confrontations armed with your copy of the SHADOW!

The constitutional background to making the Lower East Side the world's largest open air insult-a-cop pavilion is complicated. So pay attention.

As most people know, the First Amendment to the Constitution generally works to prevent government-imposed restrictions on the content of speech. (Technically, the First Amendment protections only restrict the federal government. Protection from interference by state and local governments comes from incorporation of the First Amendment into the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, for you constitutional nit-pickers). Protection is particularly great in the area known as "pure speech" -- words.

There are a number of exceptions to this First Amendment protection. One of them is known as the "fighting words" exception. These are words which, "by their utterance alone, inflict injury or tend naturally to evoke immediate violence or other breach of the peace...." Personal abuse, delivered in face-to-face confrontations, has often fallen within this exception. Hence, persons were prosecuted for calling police officers a "fucking asshole," "stupid bastard," and "son of a bitch." (Gulp!). Demonstrators were prosecuted under New York's harassment law, a set of broadly-worded statutes that prohibited a person, in a public place, from using "abusive or obscene language, or mak[ing] an obscene gesture," when done with the purpose to "harass" or "annoy".

Now, this is where it gets tricky. Legislatures are allowed to pass laws that criminalize the use of "fighting words" under circumstances where there is an imminent fear of violence. But if they choose to do so, the laws must be drawn very narrowly and very specifically, so as not to infringe upon constitutionally protected speech. If the law is written too broadly, the courts will find it unconstitutional. This is true even if the law could have been written more narrowly, and could have been applied to your conduct.

For example, pretend the State legislature passed a law making it a misdemeanor for anyone, in a public place, to say anything that would reasonably tend to hurt the feelings of a police officer. Now pretend you come along and start to scream personal insults at an officer, making profane references to his ancestry, family, and probable sex habits. You are

then prosecuted for violating the "hurt feelings" law. The New York Courts would undoubtedly declare the "hurt feelings" law unconstitutional on the ground that it is too broad. You would walk away free, even though the Legislature could have passed a narrower law that could have prohibited some of the things that you said. That is what happened with a portion of New York's harassment law.

On December 19, 1989, the New York Court of Appeals (the highest court in New York State) decided the case of People v. Dietze, 75 N.Y.2d 47, 550 N.Y.S.2d 595 (1989). In Dietze, the defendant called a mentally-retarded woman a "bitch" and her mentally retarded son a "dog". The defendant threatened to "beat the crap out of [her] some day or night on the street."

The Dietze Court found that the harassment statute, criminalizing all "abusive" language when uttered with an intent to "annoy," intruded too greatly into constitutionally protected areas of free speech. The Court found that speech is "often 'abusive' -- even vulgar, derisive and provocative -- and yet it is still protected" The Court went on to hold that "[c]asual conversation may well be 'abusive' and intended to 'annoy'; so, too, may be light-hearted banter or the earnest expression of personal opinion or emotion. But unless speech presents a clear and present danger of some serious evil, it may neither be forbidden nor penalized." Hear, hear!

The same thing happened to a part of New York's disorderly conduct law. In People v. Blanchette, 147 Misc.2d 50, 554 N.Y.S.2d 388 (City Ct., Jeff. Cty., 1990), the court found that Penal Law 240.20, prohibiting using "abusive or obscene language" or making "an obscene gesture" in a public place, was unconstitutional, based on Dietze.

As a result, you are basically free to say anything the Muse moves you to say to the occupiers of our neighborhood, with a few qualifications:

Qualification #1: Threats: Remember in Dietze, the defendant threatened the victim. The Court said that there was nothing to indicate the threat was serious, should be taken seriously, or was "confirmed by other words or acts showing it was anything other than a crude outburst. While genuine threats of physical harm fall within the scope of the statute, such an outburst, without more, does not." What separates a "genuine threat" from a "crude outburst" is not clear, and speakers should exercise caution in this area. The more general and vague the statement, the more likely it is to be protected. Saying "we'll get you pigs" is probably legal; saying "Officer X, I'll firebomb your home at [address] on Thursday at 7:30 when you are at the Suffolk County PBA meeting" is not. In addition, the circumstances under which the statement is made are relevant. That brings us to:

Qualification #2: Riot and Inciting to Riot: Speech that may otherwise be protected may lose its constitutional shield if uttered under certain circumstances. If you are part of a group, and some members of that group are behaving in a violent manner, otherwise protected speech may be prosecuted as riot or inciting to riot. Shouting "death to the occupiers" may be legal when you alone are confronting the cops. The same shout, when accompanied by ten people throwing rocks or bottles, will get you prosecuted.

Qualification #3: Telephones: As a general rule, a citizen may telephone a public servant and lodge a complaint about the manner in which that servant performs his or her duties. However, repeated calls after the callee has desired to terminate the discussion, or calls punctuated by threats or profane language, can still result in prosecution under the harassment law, or worse. This is true whether you actually speak to the person or simply leave a message on his or her answering machine. Remember, when they appear in public, police have no privacy interests protecting them from the complaints of the outraged community. When they are at home with their families, they do have a protected interest shielding them from an incessantly ringing telephone.

ANY LEGAL QUESTIONS? SEND YOURS TO: DOWN BY LAW, c/o THE SHADOW, P.O. BOX 20298, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10009

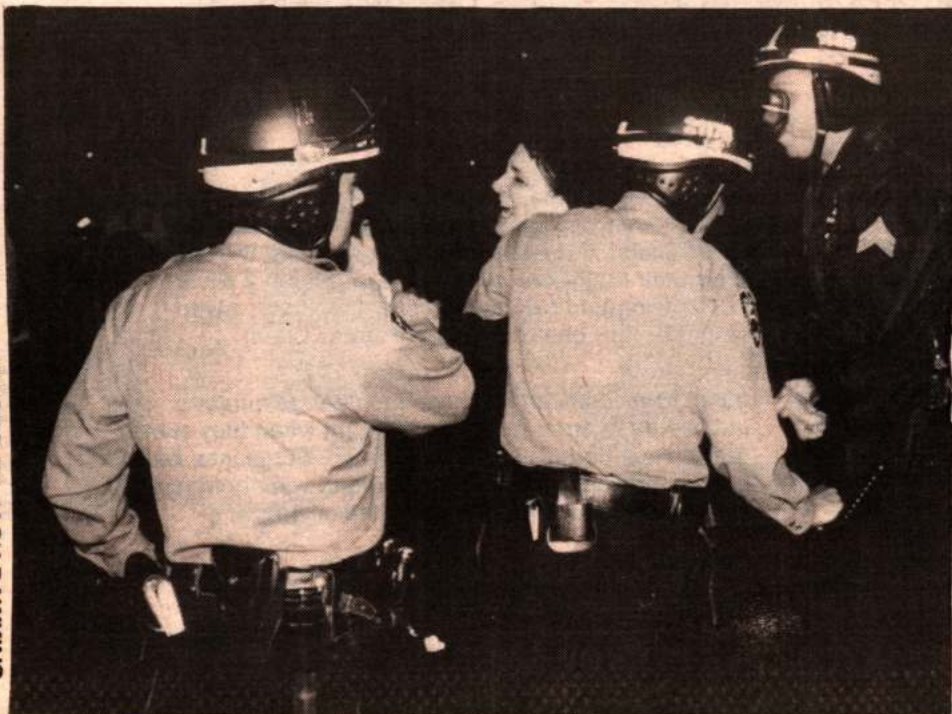
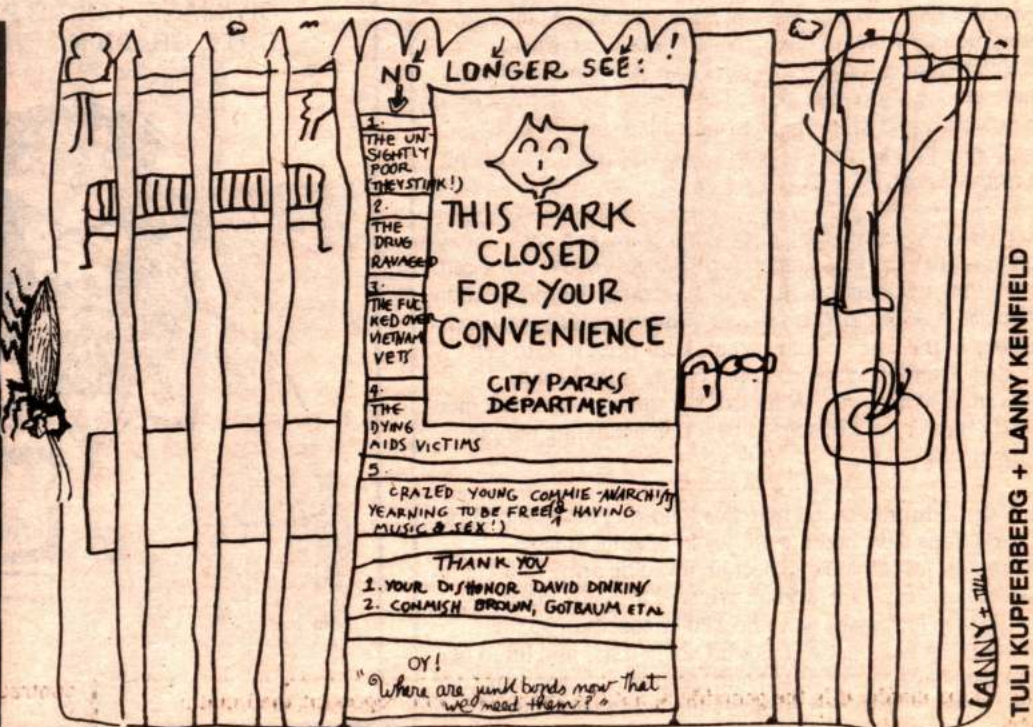
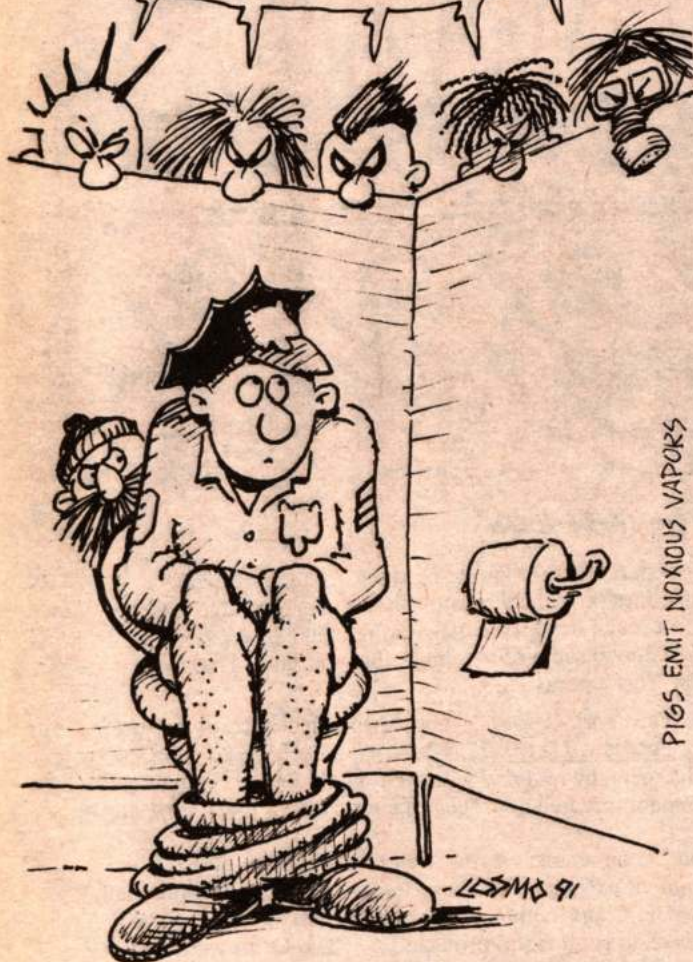


PHOTO BY JACK DAWKINS



COP WATCH



PIGS EMIT NOXIOUS VAPORS

Well, here we are again! It looks like the koppers got the riot they've been looking for on Memorial Day, but this time they got much more than they bargained for. Cop Watch predicted a kop-induced incident at the May Day concert in Tompkins Square Park that would set off a riot that could be used as the excuse the kops needed to justify closing the park, but we were a little too early! Instead of using their proven method of holding back and waiting for protests and tempers to die down, the hopelessly outnumbered kops kept trying to advance on the protestors, who in turn sent the kops running with their tails between their legs under a hail of flying bottles.

After the appropriate slanted mainstream media coverage portraying the kops as the victims instead of the instigators, they seized the opportunity to invade the park with hundreds of kops to evict the homeless from the park a week later and close the park indefinitely for "renovations", under a police state-style occupation.

During this latest state of seige, hundreds of helmeted kops have been maintaining a 24 hour presence around the fenced off park, on roofs of surrounding buildings, supplemented by scores of plainclothes kops who have been seen hanging out on corners, sleeping in their cars and drinking beers while on duty. (Wasn't the riot started by a kop assaulting people for drinking?)

While most of the uniformed foot kops transplanted here from other precincts around the city are mostly ignorant of the neighborhood and just maintain their posts, a good number of them have been making sexual remarks to women passing them on the street, while others have been assaulting them outright!!

Take, for example, big brave Sergeant Colasuonno (Badge #537), who attacked a woman on Avenue B on her way to the 6th and Avenue B recycling center on Saturday, June 8th, tearing her pants off in the process. When he later saw her looking for him, accompanied by Police Captain Mansfield, Father George Kuhn of nearby St. Brigid's Church and a video cameraman, he actually ran down Avenue B and tried to hide among a group of kops. The woman had her eye on him however, and when she confronted him face to face, Colasuonno told her "I did it for your own good. I was saving you from yourself!!"

Two days later, on Monday night, a speeding kop car (Number 1019, driven by a kop with Badge #8684) ran a red light and hit a woman riding her bike through the intersection of Avenue A + 6th Street. Instead of taking statements from witnesses in the cafe on that corner, kops preferred to get their story from plainclothes kops coming from Leshko's restaurant a block away. Witnesses say the kop driver seemed drunk!! (Wasn't the riot started by a kop assaulting people for drinking?)

In the demonstrations and marches following the kop raid on the park, kops have taken great joy in beating female participants, just as you'd expect an invading army to do in an occupied territory. One woman arrested at Astor Place on June 7th was lucky--she was knocked unconscious, so she didn't feel the beating by kops who hogtied her and lifted her by the handcuffs on her wrists into the paddy wagon. Another woman arrested on Avenue B on June 6th for standing in the

street had her blouse pulled up over her head by kops, exposing her breasts!!

A petite woman arrested while on her bicycle at the corner of 7th Street and Avenue A on June 15th was jumped by a pack of uniformed thugs, one of whom grabbed her by the throat and choked her. Inside the paddy wagon where she was taken, she was pushed and beaten by a female kop. As a result, her wrist was injured, with ligament and bone damage.

Another woman taken to the 7th precinct that day for protesting against the closing of the park received a long gash on her hand by a clumsy kop trying to remove the plastic cuffs around her wrists with a pair of scissors.

On June 18th, near the corner of 2nd Street and Avenue A, two kops (one was P.O. Rafferty of the 9th precinct) grabbed two young men who told them to get a real job, or words to that effect. One of the men was shoved into a waiting kop car where he was punched and beaten in his ribs as the kops took him for a ride. Later, they gave him a Desk Appearance Ticket at the 9th precinct and let him go.

Two days later, P.O. Rafferty was at it again, this time harassing and threatening a group of young people on the sidewalk across from the park on Avenue A. One man who asked if they were trying to start another riot was attacked by the kops, handcuffed as tightly as the kops could get them, and then run to a waiting undercover taxi. He too was later released after being charged with three misdemeanors.

This terrorism has not been limited to women and men alone. Several young children marching up Avenue B with their mothers on the evening of June 7th demanding that the park be re-opened were greeted by a blockade of riot kops at the corner of 9th Street, one of whom pulled his gun out to show the kids he wasn't fooling around! The kids are still frightened everytime they see a kop, so they've learned a valuable lesson!

Though small parts of the park are open to kids and their guardians, kop watch has been told that many kids are too afraid to enter the park with armed kops standing by. One woman, a member of Community Board 3, sitting on a bench, saw about 30 kops occupying benches around her, with one of them smoking a joint! (Wasn't the riot started by a kop assaulting people for drinking?)

The plainclothes kops have their own agenda too. Not happy with merely patrolling the streets around the park, they have set their sights on neighborhood activists they see as "trouble makers" organizing against the police state on the Lower East Side.

This is facilitated by the Polaroid photos tacked on the wall of the FEMA bus and THV ("Temporary Headquarters Vehicle") at the corner of 10th Street + Avenue A used by the kops and other agencies to keep tabs on political activists. The plainclothes kops' methods include harrassing, intimidating, threatening, assaulting and falsely arresting selected targets on trumped-up charges.

The same kops reported in SHADOW #17 as having threatened a neighborhood activist with a wire around his throat after trying to run him over with their taxi (Hack #9R50) really outdid themselves on the night of June 7th by forcing their way into St. Brigid's Church at 7th Street + Avenue B, pushing and beating two priests and a few

parishioners before retreating to a nearby paddy wagon to hide out from the angry priests and crowd chasing them. Police Chief Walsh later refused to allow the priests to identify the kops so they make a citizen's arrest against them. Father Pat, one of the priests assaulted, said that Cunningham appeared to be drunk!! (Wasn't the riot started by a kop assaulting people for drinking?) One of these kops, P.O. Cunningham, physically threatened lawyer Stanley Cohen the night before, and ran away after refusing to identify himself.

Four people arrested separately by plainclothes kops in the early morning hours of June 8th on their ways home, including the editor of the SHADOW, were treated to a 24 hour trip through the system after being charged with felonies. They were accused of "stomping" on a parked car. Kops told them this was done so they would miss the next day's park demonstrations and the War Parade two days later. Inside one of the undercover cars was a pile of empty beer bottles--(wasn't the riot started by a kop assaulting people for drinking?)

The biggest subject on the minds of the occupation kops isn't which Lower East Side restaurant serves the best food. It's OVERTIME. Almost every conversation between kops overheard by Kop-Watchers has concerned overtime, how much they are making, and lots of complaints that they are not getting enough overtime!

Speaking of overtime, kops assigned to June 10th's War Parade were pissed off when told by superiors they would have to put in 7 hours duty for free and dress up in their best uniforms with spit-shined shoes. Those who refused were threatened with being docked 5 days pay! It's enough to make a kop quit and get a real job!



Congratulations and a hearty pat on the back to the boys from "VOICE OF GOD", who effectively jammed the kop's radio transmissions in Manhattan. It's too bad they got caught the other day--perhaps they told one too many people about their set up. When they get out, maybe they'll come down to the Lower East Side and do the same thing for us!

The lawsuit brought by P.O. Joseph Quinn against the city to get Tompkins Square Park cleared of the homeless and closed may be a moot issue now, but the case is still to be heard on June 25th at 60 Centre Street, room 228. Kop Watch hears that Quinn didn't make the last court date because he got the measles!! So far, he hasn't blamed the homeless in the park for them!!

Speaking of lawsuits, attorney Stanley Cohen is contemplating a class action suit against the police department under Section 1983 of the Civil Rights Act to stop the campaign of police harrasment and terrorism in our neighborhood, and to sue for monetary damages. If you or someone you know has been the victim of police threats, intimidation, false arrests or violence, please contact the SHADOW. All information will be passed on to be added to the suit. If you desire, confidentiality is guaranteed!!

Know Your Enemy...

LIKE BIRD WATCHING, KOP WATCHING CAN BE FUN!! LIKE BIRDS, KOPS HAVE DIFFERENT IDENTIFYING FEATURES. HERE'S WHAT TO LOOK FOR IN ORDER TO IDENTIFY UNIFORMED KOPS YOU SEE MAKING SEXIST REMARKS, BRUTALIZING CIVILIANS, TAKING PAYOFFS, SLEEPING IN THEIR CARS, DRINKING WHILE ON DUTY, GRABBING THEIR CROTCHES, EATING DONUTS, ETC:



If the kop wears a blue shirt or uniform, their lapel shows where they are from--(precinct number, command or division initials). If the kop wears a white shirt, the lapel displays their rank--(one gold bar=Lieutenant; 2 silver bars=Captain; gold oak leaf=Deputy Inspector; silver eagle=Inspector; one or more gold stars=Chief).

All uniformed kops must keep their badge number uncovered in order to be read (except when they start riots). Their badges are silver colored. Sergeants, beside having three stripes on their shoulder, wear gold badges with a 3 digit number for easier memorizing.

All kops in uniform must wear a name plate, regardless of rank.

MORE KOP WATCH...

These undercover cop plates have been seen around the area of the park since the Memorial Day Riot:

2HE-106	2HE-116	2HE-166	2HE-168
2HL-111	3HC-573	3HE-294	3HG-510
3UP-117	4HG-809	4AP-642	4AR-544
5HE-663	5HG-135	5HL-329	5XX-619
6AR-970	6HC-896	6HL-748	6JZ-522
6SJ-898	6SR-908	6UY-800	7DK-509(Van)
7HJ-720	7HL-188	7HN-100	7PP-929
8HC-155	8HC-289	9BZ-257	9HK-379
9HK-397	9HN-116	A6S-104	AGL-808
APG-700	APM-457	ASG-443	ASM-951
ASM-934	ASM-953	ASV-251	ATE-736
ATE-787	ATK-177	ATK-178	AVE-138
AVE-190	AVM-577	AVM-584	AVP-337
AVR-735	AVU-978	AVV-245	AVV-284
AVV-988	AVV-994	AVW-101	AVW-483
AVW-493	AVW-843	AVX-866	AVX-844
AVY-500	AVY-709	AVZ-402	AXA-495
AXB-133	AXB-137	AXC-761	AXJ-336
AXV-871	CZS-56A(NJ)	DWL-685	FWB-598
FWZ-744	GN5-44D(NJ)	IVL-174	IVL-322
IVL-324	IVL-363	IVL-397	IVR-648
IVS-304	IVW-714	IWB-275	IWB-283
IWE-709	IWM-125	KMW-202	LKG-337
LKG-374	LKH-573	LKN-983	LKP-107
NYH-642	OLW-787	OLW-792	OLW-828
QGD-683	VPP-531	WKN-657	YCT-459
YWK-979	YWK-989	YWK-994	YMU-154
YVW-395	YYA-659	YYE-197	ZMF-518

Our Kop Watchers tell us that several marked and unmarked vehicles have been getting vandalized while parked around the neighborhood!! Most of these vehicles are driven by plainclothes kops, but sometimes contain uniformed kops or "white shirts" (officers) to further help blow their cover. Sometimes they have a small antenna on the trunk, but they always have four doors to facilitate arrests. Be aware however that kops are known to sometimes use their personal vehicles with two or four doors in order to avoid detection.

Here are some of the Hack Numbers from taxis that plainclothes kops have been seen driving around the park, making no effort to disguise themselves:

3T89	4P82
5P54	5R52
5R93	6C35
9D62	9R49
9R50	9R54

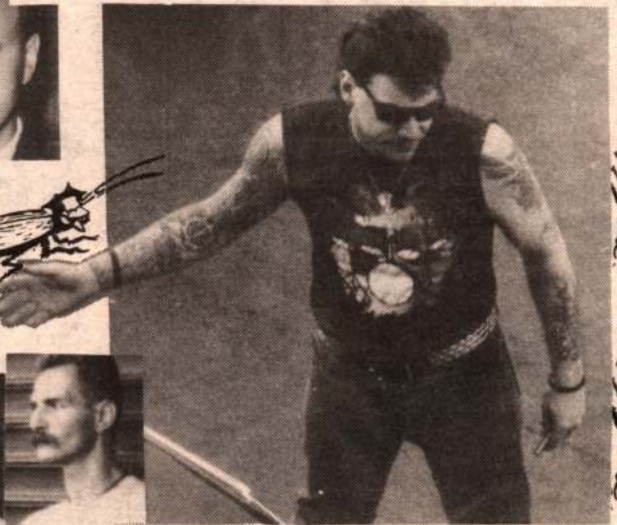
In New York, the Hack Number appears on the taxi roof.

So much for using undercover taxis to catch real criminals, like the guy who's been killing all those cabbies and who still hasn't been caught!

Here are photos of just some of the plainclothes kops seen in and around the area of the park since the May Day Concert (May 1st) through the present:



This very well-disguised kop was seen on East 8th Street at 6:00AM on May 11th. He got very upset when he discovered his photo was being taken by a Kop-Watcher! ↓



With the growing numbers of kops in the neighborhood, we need more kop watchers with their note pads and cameras handy. Thanks to the increasing number of SHADOW kop watchers, the kops can at least be partially exposed. If you have any info, stories or photos that you want to see published and added to our files, please send it all to the SHADOW, P.O.Box 20298, New York, N.Y. 10009.

*Remember, the best organizers against the growing police state are the kops themselves!!

For a complete listing of undercover kop license plates, including taxis, please send \$1.00 and a self-addressed, stamped envelope to the SHADOW. (\$2.00 without SASE)

PUBLIC HEALTH WARNING:

COPAROACH INFESTATION!!!

THEY'RE EVERYWHERE AROUND TOMPKINS SQ. PARK

IDEA BY: GREG REK ART: COSMO

EVENTS

and announcements

****BEWARE OF GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS YOU DON'T KNOW WELL--PROTECT YOUR TRUE IDENTITY AND TELEPHONE NUMBER!! WATCH OUT FOR SET-UPS!!**

JUNE 25--LAWSUIT TO CLOSE TOMPKINS SQUARE PARK--The park may be closed, but the lawsuit filed against the city by P.O. Quinn goes on!! The show starts at 9:30AM at 60 Centre Street, Room #228.

JUNE 29--BOOK PARTY--Celebrate publication of feminist poet Karen Brodine's "Woman Sitting at the Machine, Thinking", with video of poetry reading. At the Lesbian and Gay Community Services Center, 208 West 13th Street, 4:00-7:00PM. Free Admission. For info, call (212)677-7002.

JUNE 27--MAYOR DINKINS ANSWERS PHONE CALLS--On WBAI-FM Radio, 99.5 FM, from 2:00-4:30PM. Now's your chance to give that asshole a piece of your mind about what he did to Tompkins Square Park!!

JUNE 28--RADICAL BASKETBALL IN TOMPKINS SQUARE PARK--From 8:00PM past the 9:00 curfew, in the 10th Street/Avenue A court. Then march to reopen the park at 10:00PM.

JUNE 29--TOMPKINS SQUARE PICNIC AND ACCOUSTIC CONCERT--In little park area between basketball courts, along East 10th Street. Music by David Peel and Moogy. Starts at 2:00PM. Bring food to share.

JULY 1-7--RAINBOW GATHERING IN TEXAS FALLS, VERMONT--Bring food and love to share. For info and directions, call:(603)878-2022, but not too late, since this is someone's home. Also, ♡ ♡ ♡

JULY 2--TV SPECIAL ON SENECA INDIANS--Resisting evictions from their traditional lands at Salamance, New York. 10:00PM on Channel 13 (PBS)

JULY 7--BLUES BENEFIT FOR TOMPKINS SQUARE LEGAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE--Starring Cult of Rage, at the Chase Bar, 12th Street + 3rd Ave, no cover, but the hat will be passed. From 7:00-10:00PM.

JULY 9--TV SPECIAL ON ALASKA OIL SPILL--Video almost suppressed by Exxon. Other shows following this one. 10:00PM on Channel 13 (PBS)

JULY 22--MAYDAY 29 GO TO COURT--Come and show your support as trials begin for those arrested defending their community from the pigs on May 1st, 1990. At 100 Centre Street, Room AP9, at 9:30AM.

JULY 25--PUERTO RICAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT MASS MOBILIZATION--To Washington, DC. For info, contact the Centro Juan Antonio Corretier at (212)722-4164.

JULY 26--GRADY ALEXIS MURDERER GOES TO COURT--P.O.Frazier appears at State Supreme Court at 80 Centre Street. For info, call:(212)714-7189.

FREE SPEECH SPEAKOUTS--Have moved from the St. Marx entrance to Tompkins Square Park, due to the annoying pig presence there, to the corner of 7th Street and Avenue A, EVERY NIGHT from 6PM till ????. Come and listen to the latest news, and speak for as long as you like on any subject you like.

TOMPKINS SQUARE LEGAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE (TSLDC)--has kept track of those arrested during political demonstrations and pig riots in order to get them legal representation and out of jail. This is just some of what they do to help individuals and groups involved in the struggle for justice on the Lower East Side. They need volunteers and funds to help cover costs incurred by movement lawyers who work free of charge, and to set up a bail fund to get activists out immediately. Please write or send donations to: P.O.Box 20723, New York, N.Y. 10009, or call (212)969-0185. (Checks should be made payable to the "Eviction Watch Defense Fund", and earmarked for TSLDC.

MAKE MONEY SELLING THE SHADOW!! You keep 25 cents for each copy you sell. Homeless persons keep full cover price. Inquire at A-CENTRAL, 208 East 7th Street.

GIVE THE GOVT A PIECE OF YOUR MIND!! Call them directly at:

The White House--(202)456-1111

The State Department--(202)647-6575

The Senate/House of Representatives--(202)224-3121

FOR RECORDED PREVIEWS OF PRESIDENTIAL PRESS RELEASES, call the White House Press Room at 1-800-420-9090.

UNDERGROUND/POLITICAL/ALTERNATIVE VIDEO NIGHT--Wednesday nights at A-CENTRAL BOOKS, 208 East 7th Street, 8:00PM. Donations gratefully accepted.

TRANSPORTATION ALTERNATIVES Direct action to protest Dept of traffic decision to close Queensboro Bridge bike lane. Bikers meet Mondays at 6:00PM on Manhattan side of bridge at 59th St. Also, direct action to demand pollution-free transportation in NYC--Bikers meet Tuesdays at 5:30PM at the Columbus Circle entrance to Central Park. For info, call (212)941-4600.

WHAM (Women's Health Action and Mobilization) meets Wednesdays at 224 West 4th St. at 6:30PM. For info, call (212)713-5966, or write P.O.Box 733, New York, N.Y. 10009.

TRANS-SPECIES UNLIMITED Animal rights group meets on the second Tuesday of each month at the Sacred Heart Church, 457 West 51st St. at 7:00PM.

ACT-UP (AIDS Coalition To Unleash Power) meets Mondays at the Gay + Lesbian Center, 208 West 13th St. at 7:30-11:00PM.

NATIVE AMERICAN NEWS--Weekly radio show hosted by Troy Lang of the Solidarity Foundation, on WBAI Radio (99.5FM), Mondays at 8:30PM.

SQUAT OR ROT SHOWS--Everday Saturday from Noon till ????. Live bands, literature tables, latest news, and more. At ABC No Rio, 156 Rivington Street. For info, call (212)254-3697.

RADIO UNNAMEABLE--Activist talk radio show with host Bob Fass, dealing with activist and political issues. On WBAI Radio, 99.5 FM, Fridays 1:30-3:30AM and Saturdays 11:00PM-1:00AM. Call (212)279-3400.

IF YOU KNOW OF ANY EVENTS OR HAVE ANY ANNOUNCEMENTS THAT WOULD BE OF INTEREST TO OUR READERS, PLEASE SEND ALL INFO TO THE SHADOW, P.O.BOX 20298, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10009. THE SOONER YOU LET US KNOW, THE BETTER!!

SUBVERTISEMENTS

(20 cents per word, no minimum or maximum)

A-CENTRAL BOOKS IS OPEN!! New York's only Anarchist Bookstore, featuring underground zines and newspapers from all over the country, comics, books, buttons, T-shirts, tapes, records, videos, posters, and more coming in every day!! Free news and book rack too. Open from 1:00-8:00PM.

WANTED--ANY + ALL SUBMISSIONS CRITICAL OF OR EXPOSING THE RCP (REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY)--For upcoming booklet prepared by Neither East Nor West and Anarchist Youth Federation. Personal experiences, embarrassing RCP documents, tales of internal RCP life, photos of chairman Bob Avakian picking his nose and eating it, etc. Submissions needed by early July. Send to: Neither East Nor West, 528 Fifth St, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11215.

LOST!! LARGE TIE-DYED BANNER READING: "WHEN FREEDOM IS OUTLAWED, THE OUTLAWS ARE FREE"--At "Hands Around The Park" demo on Avenue B on June 15th, after protestor got busted. Please inquire through the SHADOW.

KIMAKO'S BLUES PEOPLE--Poetry, jazz, books and conversation. Be a part of the Cultural Revolution!! Open twice a month on Saturdays, 10:00PM and 12:00PM. \$6.00 Admission--808 S.10th St, Newark, N.J.--Call (201)242-1346.

WANTED--Performance spaces to hold benefits for local community groups. Can give part of door money as fee. Contact Chris Flash through A-Central, 208 East 7th Street, or call --

WANTED--Any and all information, books, videos, tapes, etc, on assassination conspiracies involving JFK, RFK, M.L.King, and those connected (witnesses, co-conspirators, etc). Please contact Chris Flash and A. Bertoli through the SHADOW.

QUIET GENTLEMAN, descent Northern Irish, teetotaler, age sixty, ex-squatter with "RAGE-ON!", looking for shared living space on Lower East Side ever since 1950. Able to afford only \$164.33 monthly without extras this year. Please contact R. Redding at (212)674-0581, or through the SHADOW. Thank you!

PRINT YOUR PERSONAL/CLASSIFIED AD IN THE SHADOW'S SUBVERTISEMENTS--We'll print just about any ad!!

FREE! ALL ARE WELCOME

NATIONAL RAINBOW GATHERING JULY 1-7, 1991

CLOSEST TOWN BY BUS IS MIDDLEBURY VT. DON'T MISS THIS ONE!

QUEBEC CANADA

VERMONT

BURLINGTON

BARRE

HOME

RUTLAND

BENning

GRANVILLE

HANCOCK

ALBANY

MASS.

TO BOSTON

DIRECTIONS: FROM GRANVILLE GO SOUTH ON RT. 100 FOR 4 1/2 MILES 'TIL YOU GET TO HANCOCK. AT HANCOCK GO WEST ON RT. 125 FOR ABOUT 3 MILES OR SO...LOOK FOR SIGNS

WELCOME HOME

TUCKER BROOK RD

GRANVILLE

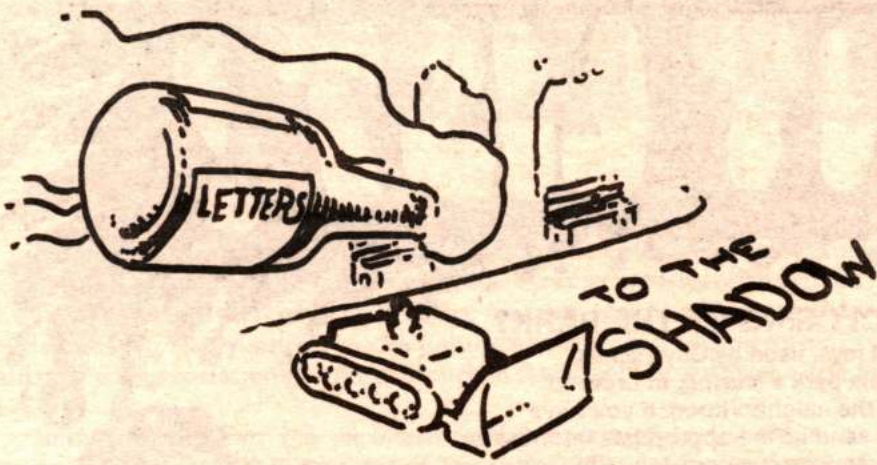
RT. 125

TEXAS FALLS

BRING FOOD AND LOVE TO SHARE. BRING SLEEPIN' BAG, TENT. IT GETS COLD AT NIGHT.

MORE INFO: (603) 878-2022 ♡

THIS IS SOMEONE'S HOME - PLEASE DON'T CALL LATE AT NIGHT.



SHADOW PRESS, P.O. BOX 20298 N.Y., N.Y. 10009

Hello SHADOW folk....

I'm afraid it seems to be getting very hard for squatters right now. There were recently loads of evictions in Hackney which had some resistance--demo at council offices, occupation of housing office, etc.

In Southwark (south London) there are about 1000 plus squats, mainly council flats. The council has stopped using the courts to evict as it takes too long and they have started to use Protected Intending Occupier certificates (PIOs) which they can get together overnight. In short, a PIO is a piece of paper that says a person (from the council housing waiting list usually) is ready to become the tenant of the place and that the last obstacle in their way is the squatters. It's hard to resist a PIO unless you can convince the tenant that the place is not worth having or you can convince the council workers that the PIO is a false one. The council sends people on the waiting list a form that says they can have a certain flat if they agree to sign the form without first seeing the flat. Many people have been waiting more than two years so they are reluctant to miss such a chance. Then the council PIOs the squatters and the tenant is supposed to move in. In a lot of cases, the flats are in such a bad state (without hot water, glass in windows, etc) anyway. It's a real disgrace that the council operates in this way as it plays off one set of homeless people against another. Most estates have empty unsquatted flats anyway. Also, a lot of the PIOs are illegal because there is no intended occupier. Thus, a flat gets evicted and it remains empty until someone else squats it.

Hi,

On October 16th, Princess Diana and Prince Charles (of the British monarchy) are coming to Kingston to help celebrate the local university's 150th anniversary. In addition, the princess will inspect the cadet regiment which is dedicated to her.

Obviously, anarchists, marxists, and even liberals oppose the monarchy and what it stands for. I am in the process of organizing a local "Off with their heads!" anti-monarchy group. Kingston only has about 100 cops, so outnumbering the pigs wouldn't be too hard...we could really win this one.

Right now this idea is only in the brainstorm phase, but over the summer (at the Youth Liberation Conference in Ottawa, Love & Rage Conference in Minneapolis) it could be built into a reality. Please write to express interest, etc....

John

AYF Kingston
P.O.Box 461
Kingston, Ont.
K7L 4W5 CANADA

Another nasty tactic used by the council is to repossess a squatted flat by turning up when the squatters are out and breaking in and then removing all the possessions and sealing up the flat with a steel security door. This is a dodgy misuse of the 1977 Criminal Law Act which protects squatters being illegally evicted by thugs or the cops. Section 6 of that act says that you are protected from people breaking in and dragging you out, etc. However, you must be in the flat at the time someone breaks in. The council just turn up when you are out and Bang! You're de-squatted and all your stuff is gone. They have also kicked in the doors of squats when the occupants were asleep in bed. This is illegal and a couple of squatters have contacted solicitors to prosecute the council.

There is a lot of conspiracy type talk about squatting being made illegal in 1992 when the whole of Europe becomes one free market. A group of top Euro-businessmen, cops and politicians called TREVI group meets in secret once in a while and discusses internal security and terrorism and such. People think (esp our European squatter comrades) that the criminalization of squatting is being prepared for 1992 and that TREVI are discussing that. Our parliament has mentioned that they intend to change the laws on squatting and trespass, but there's bound to be a general election soon so they will probably have to shelve it again until later.

Yours with love and solidarity,
Chris, London, England

Dear Comrades,

I am from Greece, and happen to know about your actions, which interest me.

From here, it seems that you are doing a great job compared with what happens in Greece. Here in Greece we cannot say that we've got a movement. Things move occasionally and in the State's terms, with a few exceptions like squats or riots.

When something happens we fight it all together but we don't have a movement that will give answers to everyday problems and questions, or create new terms of life. We haven't yet discussed seriously, all the groups of people together about terrorism, everyday boycotts, prisoners, prisons, European Union of 1992, animal liberation and many more, so when a problem appears, we can't do things about it together. We usually do not cooperate with the left wing groups because they are only "chasing votes".

I live in a squat. There are 5 in Athens. Only in Athens and Thessaloniki (the two biggest cities of Greece) things happen. We have an alternative place, (cafe, bookstore, with alternative press, zines, and a gig place) in a squat called VILLA AMALIAS.

N.Gatsis
Priinis 10-12
N. Smirni 17122
Athens, Greece

Editor's Note: This writer requests people to send him stuff on what's happening here in the U.S. He will send stuff in return, but unfortunately it will be in Greek!! It's important to exchange info and culture all over the globe!!

PRISONER MAIL:

Dear SHADOW,

Here are the words from a brass plaque on the wall in the lobby of the London Correctional Institute. I thought you might get a laugh or two from it-when I get a chance I'll send you a copy of the other (yes, there's another):

"...this is a place of firm but kind restraint for those whose undeveloped moral faculties have let into evil ways; that the high purpose of this humane institution is a deterrent one; that it shall be the warning lighthouse of the body politic built for those whose life barks drift toward criminal shoals; that reform, education and rehabilitation, as objectives shall be the dominant thought and the command to all of those to whom we shall commit the keeping. And when these purposes are attained, and the conditions met, let us say to the offender in the language of one who loved all men, "Go, and sin no more"."

Keebler, London, Ohio

Dear SHADOW,

I need information to be put in the press, because these pigs up here have killed an inmate right in front of this cell I am in and I witnessed it and now the pigs are even more out to get me.

Adam Abdul Hakeem, f/k/a Larry Davis
#88T-2550 H-6
P.O.Box 51, Comstock, N.Y. 12821

Dear SHADOW,

I'm with a group here, Rythm Activism, who specialize in pieces about housing. The last time we were in New York to perform, we played on the bandstand in Tompkins Square Park (Oct. 1988) to support the squatters.

In Solidarity,
Norman Nawrocki
3699 Hutchinson
Montreal, Quebec
H2X 2H4 CANADA

Dear SHADOW,

Local activists staged a Fuck Victory demonstration here in response to the sickening celebration of death on Jan.18th. Things remained calm until the first glimpse of the parade. As the parade approached, effigies were thrown in the middle of the street, eggs and paint bombs filled the air! Suddenly, the barricade was being dismantled by the more militant of the crowd. Sections were thrown in the path of the parade, effectively stopping it. Folks scattered as the pigs rushed us. Mysteriously enough, one pig was soaked with red paint from head to toe. All in all, eleven people were arrested and charged with multiple felonies. We all got put through the system for two and a half days. Finally, charges were dropped or reduced and we were released O.R. (without bail-Ed.) The (in)famous Jeff Patterson (fairly well known conscientious objector-Ed.) was also arrested but only charged with a slight infraction. What's interesting is that he was let go immediately. His attitude towards the rest of us seemed to be typical RCP ("Revolutionary Communist Party"-Ed.) holier than thou. I don't blame Jeff, he's simply a dupe of some very evil people. Hey Jeff, wake up and smell the coffee! No government is better than any government at any time any place or of any sort!

In Struggle,

M.L., San Francisco, CA

LYNCH TAKES THE HEAT....

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 10

The decision to close the Park. What we did was ... (interrupted by angry statements). First of all, when a Park is under reconstruction, you close. We have decided some time ago or jointly with the previous administration to try and renovate Tompkins Square Park in phases. Because of what has taken place, we thought it better to shut down the remaining parts of the Park for reconstruction and move forward like we did. That decision was made by City Hall ... (interrupted by public asking "who is that?").

The person that recommended that Tompkins Square Park be closed for reconstruction to the Mayor was me ... (yelling and boos).

QUESTION: How about the elected officials?

LYNCH: We decided not to inform anybody of the action we were going to take other than people at City Hall ... (extended interruption by angry public).

CB#3 Member: I don't think anybody in this community is fooled about the reality of why this decision was made. Elected officials were not informed because they would not agree with this decision. The Community Board was not informed because it was clear that the Community Board would have an outcry against this decision.

It is clear to this Community Board and the community and the elected officials around here that this decision was made because it was expedient and cost effective. It cost less money and time to simply move the homeless out of that Park and hope they disappear. And they will not disappear.

LYNCH: Since the Park was closed, over 174 people have been serviced. Taken into shelters of other kinds of programs. 800 people have been serviced since that time at the drop-in center, or at least contacted for information. We will continue around-the-clock outreach of services on a 24-hour basis to those persons ... (shouts of "liar" from the public). We are looking at the situation of the homeless ... (interrupted by yelling).

The reason that we have such a large Police presence there is because we feel that we need that presence not because of the homeless but because of other problems that have rosed up in the Park and we will keep that presence there until such time that we feel it's no longer necessary.

QUESTION: Why did you ignore (Borough President) Ruth Messenger and (City Councilwoman) Miriam Friedlander's plan for one-to-one outreach to the homeless people in the Park? Why did you impose your solution upon the CB without due process?

LYNCH: We felt that Boro President Messenger's proposal was one that we had attempted to implement and was not successful. We then decided to move forward ... (yelling and boos). The reason we took the action that we took; we felt that we had talked about this situation too much.

QUESTION: The homeless are now living near Avenue D, where maybe Betsy Gotbaum doesn't go regularly but poor people in this neighborhood do have to live. Now, these homeless people are living without even a semblance of services that they once had in the Park. At least there was a bathroom, some water, services at the minimal level to provide for human needs. What immediate plans can be made and what action can be taken to relieve this desperate situation?

LYNCH: We're moving ... (extended interruption by shouting, clapping, chanting of "moving forward") ... on by providing housing services. In the meeting with your Executive Board, we said we would call all the agencies together to begin to look at this problem. Let me say that in meetings that I've had with the homeless in the Park that this was not the right way to go, to have the homeless living in the Park. We have to provide acceptable alternatives to the homeless, we will continue to try and do that. But the Park or vacant lots is not the place that we think that homeless people will live in. (Extended angry yelling and comments to Lynch).

RETURN OF THE SHADOW SHIT LIST!

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CLOSING OF THE PARK?

Here are some of the main players on the local level used by City Hall as spokespersons of our community requesting the park's closing, in order to legitimize the occupation and gentrification of the neighborhood. If you have names to add to the SHADOW ShitList, please send us the appropriate information and the reason. (Many names listed here have appeared on previous ShitLists--once a ShitHead, ALWAYS a ShitHead!!)

THE TOMPKINS SQUARE PARK NEIGHBORHOOD COALITION (TSPNC)--432 East 14th Street, (212)673-4758, 677-3015, 677-4772, 677-4773--Set up and controlled by aspiring politicians, yuppie speculators, landholders and chronic malcontents such as **ANTONIO PAGAN**, **SAMUEL TURVEY**, **KRISTYNA PIORKOWSKA** and **HOWARD HEMSLEY**, setting it's sites on the homeless, squatters and political activists, trying many tricks to get the park closed. These have included letter writing and telephoning campaigns to politicians, the media and the 9th precinct, making complaints, demanding a park curfew, and using their positions on the community board to pass recommendations to further their agenda. Amazingly, their motto is "Bring Back the Park" even as they have pushed for it's closing!!

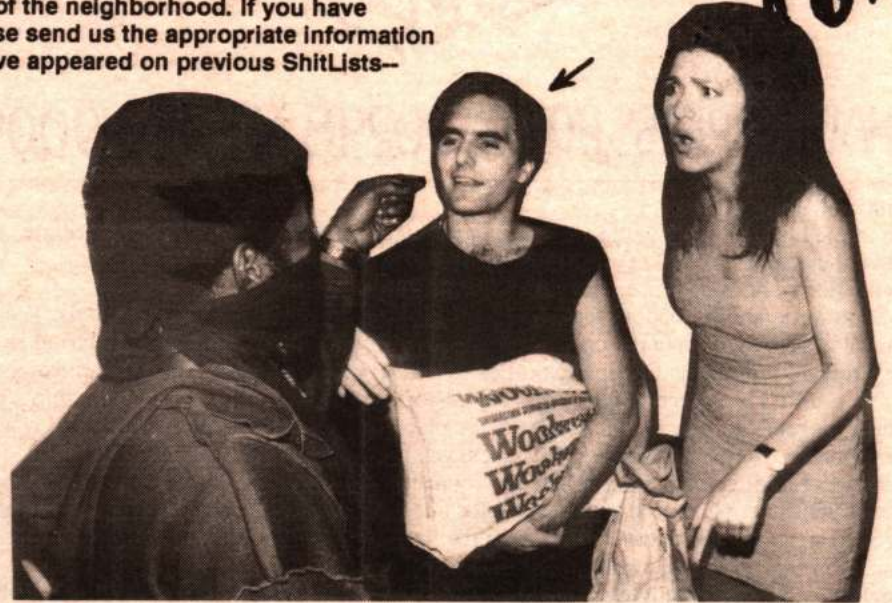
THE DEMOCRATIC ACTION CLUB (DAC)--41 East 1st Street, (212)777-2506--Set up by TSPNC members **ANTONIO PAGAN** and **HOWARD HEMSLEY**, mainly as a political vehicle to advance **PAGAN'S** campaign for election to the City Council. (Same address and phone as **HEMSLEY**).

PUERTO RICAN/HISPANIC POLITICAL COUNCIL (PR/HPC)--7 East 3rd Street, (212)473-6995--Set up by **PAGAN** and a handful of token Hispanics, including **ROBERTO CABALLERO**, (formerly of Community Board Three (CB3)), and ganglord **ROBERTO NAPOLEON**, mainly as an ethnic vehicle to curry Hispanic votes for **PAGAN'S** election campaign. (Same address and phone as **PAGAN**).

COMMITTEE TO ELECT ANTONIO PAGAN (CEAP)--41 East 1st Street, (212)473-6752--Set up by **PAGAN** and his **PAGANites** to get him elected to the City Council. It looks more impressive to list a bunch of front groups on campaign literature as endorsers!! (Same address and phone as **HEMSLEY**).



ANTONIO PAGAN--7 East 3rd Street, (212)473-6995--Slick racist right-wing aspiring politician who will lick any yuppie's ass to get ahead. Joined anti-homeless group **BASTA**; later appointed to CB3 by David Dinkins. Claiming to speak for CB3, **PAGAN** issued statement supporting pigs after the August 1988 riot. The main player behind the closing or curfewing of the park, his gleeful support for the current police occupation, along with his opposition to the Multi-Racial District proposal (supported by progressive Puerto Ricans), clearly make him a traitor to the Puerto Rican community. **PAGAN** has made a career pimping off the poor, claiming to speak for Hispanics while doing the bidding of **KRISTYNA PIORKOWSKA'S** bloc of wealthy Polish/Ukrainian landholders. He is the director of phoney low-income housing group **LOWER EAST SIDE COALITION HOUSING DEVELOPMENT** and **CASA VICTORIA**, both of which have been tied to the **D'AMATO/HUD Scandal**. Now using the park issue as his stepping stone to political office; due to his candidacy and in search of bigger fish, **PAGAN** just resigned from CB3.



STEVEN VINCENT--534 East 11th Street, (212)598-4993--Would-be yuppie, would-be journalist, whose hateful anti-homeless, anti-squatter and anti-activist articles and letters have appeared in the now defunct Lower East Side News and the NY Post (owned by the apartment warehousing, real estate developing **KALIKOW** family). His poison pen and poster campaign for **PAGAN'S** DAC and TSPNC have helped set the stage for the media smear campaign and police occupation around the park. Acts as **PAGAN's** go-fer and errand boy--the **PAGANites** really get their money's worth out of him.

KRISTYNA PIORKOWSKA--172 East 4th Street, #4H, (212)228-4253--Landlord of 114-116 East 7th Street; works for American Express; appointed to CB3 by City Council President **ANDREW STEIN**. Ultra right-wing fanatic and rabidly anti-homeless; member of **KATE WALTER'S** St. Mark's Place 2-3 Block Association, still trying to close All-Crafts Center, a self-help community center, in order to develop the property into luxury housing units. Issued CB3 report with **PAGAN** attacking victims of August 1988 riot; agreed to deliver Polish/Ukrainian landlord vote to **PAGAN** (the "Hispanic" candidate) in return for representing their interests and other paybacks. Member of TSPNC, DAC, and CEAP, she still uses her CB3 seat to advance their agendas.

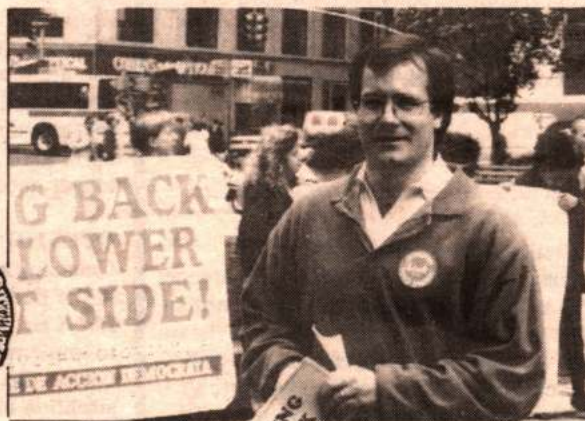


SAMUEL TURVEY--131 Avenue B, (212)475-1702--Member of TSPNC, DAC, and CEAP; lawyer for Lord, Day and Lord; yuppie speculator who reaped \$100,000 profit by flipping East 3rd Street apartment

meant for low-income housing. Now living across from the park in former low-income housing, **TURVEY** is behind efforts to close and/or curfew the park, eliminate the park's dog run and the homeless from the area.



HOWARD HEMSLEY--41 East 1st Street, (212)777-2506--Chronic misanthropic malcontent; also part of **BASTA**; also appointed to CB3 by David Dinkins; **HEMSLEY** has worked feverishly to advance right-wing fanatic causes, including attacking the homeless, squatters, and political activists. Now heading the DAC and CEAP, **HEMSLEY** resigned from CB3 along with **PAGAN**.



BETSY HERZOG--229 East 12th Street, (212)475-3160--Has made a career taking photographs of political activists and demonstrators for the police, accomplishing for them what the Handschu Agreement prohibits them from doing; uses her connections to get behind police lines when other press people can't; her photos regularly appear in **KALIKOW'S** NY Post, and anti-homeless landlord **BILL TATUM'S** **AMSTERDAM NEWS**, always slanted against the homeless, squatters and political activists; participant in media smear that resulted in the closing of the park.

KATE WALTERS--16 Saint Mark's Place, (212)533-6142--Another chronic malcontent; president of St. Mark's Place 2-3 Block Association; also trying to close All-Crafts Center; seeking removal of street peddlers, homeless and political activists from the neighborhood; working with TSPNC to close the park, she has called for the complete destruction of the park.



SHADOW INTERVIEW

THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENTS
NOW AND THEN:
DAVID GILBERT INTERVIEW

By BOB FELDMAN

What follows is a recent interview with jailed former Weather Underground activist David Gilbert, the husband of former Weather Underground activist Kathy Boudin. Gilbert is currently ending his tenth year of a 75-year-to-life sentence for a "felony murder" conviction stemming from his involvement in an attempted expropriation of a Brink's truck in Rockland County, New York, in 1981.

In the 1960s, Gilbert was the founder and first chair of the Columbia University Independent Committee on Vietnam (ICV) anti-war student group and was also one of the founding members of the Columbia University Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) chapter which led the 1968 Columbia Student Revolt.

Years later, Gilbert joined the underground and, after ten years of active resistance, was captured in 1981 in the wake of the armored car robbery and shoot-out with police. Gilbert is currently imprisoned in Comstock State Prison in New York, where he has been an activist around AIDS issues and prisoners' rights.

Bob Feldman: How did the Columbia Independent Committee on Vietnam get started?

David Gilbert: We started March '65, about a month after President Johnson began the regular bombings of North Vietnam -- LBJ had bombed North Vietnam earlier, after the rigged Tonkin Gulf incident in August 1964, but we were fooled into seeing this as a one-shot outburst -- I was sure that some of the more established campus groups and leaders would form something. But when nothing happened after about a month, I called together a small group of people who had long been troubled by U.S. policy toward Vietnam.

BF: Did anti-war sentiment predominate on campus?

DG: Not by a long-shot. Back then it was almost unheard of to question the government on foreign policy. Initially the vast majority of students accepted what the government and media told them. But it was also a wonderful time of new openness and ferment: students' social awareness and moral sensibilities were blooming due to the Civil Rights Movement.

The first thing the Vietnam Committee (ICV) did was set up literature tables on Low Plaza. We'd be out there for hours and hours each day debating the war -- debating, rather than discussing, because most students opposed us. But there was definitely a burgeoning anti-war sector, and events themselves were changing people rapidly. By 1968, more than two-thirds of the students at Columbia University opposed the war.

BF: What was the relationship of the ICV to Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)?

DG: SDS was a national organization. Their work included support for the Civil Rights Movement, organizing in poor communities, and actions against apartheid. With the benefit of a little more developed analysis they had, a few months earlier -- December, 1964 -- put out a call for an April 17, 1965 march on Washington against the war. When the systematic bombing started in February, interest in this march mushroomed, and it ended up with, for then, a tremendous size of 20-25,000. Columbia, incidentally, sent 650 people, despite it being spring vacation -- the largest single delegation on the march.

Those of us who started the ICV really liked SDS because it combined the issue of the war with a program against racism and also had some sort of vague socialist perspective. So we started a small SDS chapter at Columbia. Still, there was such energy and awakening around the war that we felt we had to put our main effort into the ICV to provide a vehicle for the broader range of anti-war views and energy.

By 1967, so many students were seeing the connections between the war and the underlying nature of society, that SDS became the main organization, at the same time raising the level of militancy -- e.g. by disrupting CIA recruiters.

BF: Why do you think there was such extensive New York City Police Department "Red Squad" surveillance of the ICV at Columbia in the '60's? Do you think there is much spying on Columbia's campus today?

DG: Well, it was both the Red Squad and the FBI. What struck me -- I think it was even clearer in my FBI files than in the Handschu files -- is how early the surveillance began. They start their files on me in 1963 when all I had done is gone to some civil rights meetings and a couple of picket lines. The file on the ICV starts right from the beginning, with my very first leaflet on the war, long before even the remotest conception that we would consider illegal activities.

One lesson is that their surveillance had nothing to do with law enforcement but was simply because they saw any significant dissent as a threat. Second, the surveillance wasn't just to keep and eye on us: they initiated disruptive activity against us almost from the beginning -- usually trying to foment splits and distrust among us.

One of many examples I remember. An ICV member came to me with a list she said she found while working at some government agency that had the names of five ICV members who were actually police informants. If I had gone for this faked information and accused these people or tried to kick them out, at the very least we would have lost five fine activists; more likely we would have had a major and bitter split in the ICV. Luckily, I knew too much about some of the individuals' background and integrity to go for the bait.

Many examples became clear in retrospect once COINTELPRO -- the government's illegal program to destroy the Black movement and the New Left -- was exposed. But there are still situations we're not sure -- to what degree was it our own weakness and misunderstanding or to what degree had disinformation been consciously planted?

To maintain perspective, the infiltration of the ICV was minor compared to what was done to the Black movement. There, infiltration began a lot earlier, was much more pervasive, and moved beyond character assassination to outright violence.

As for the surveillance at Columbia today, I don't really know how to assess it from here. The government is so worried about the re-emergence of a student movement, I'd be surprised if they weren't at least keeping tabs on developments there.

BF: How do you compare the anti-war movement then to the one now?

DG: That's a giant question -- there are many connections and also major differences. To start with, the U.S. defeat in Vietnam has lain like an insufferable nightmare on the consciousness of the ruling class -- like a demon to be exorcised -- and has guided almost every detail of what they did in the Iraq war. On the other hand, the legacy of Vietnam -- the wellspring of sentiment against interventions in the Third World -- meant that this time around we had massive and broad-based anti-war activity before the fighting even began. And the hundreds of thousands of people who marched against the war on January 19th and 26th certainly dwarfed the 20,000 we found so impressive in April '65.

The similarities in the wars are that: 1), the U.S. government is determined to crush any significant threat to its hegemony and 2), each war was fought to set an example to other Third World nations and movements.

But there are vast differences, too. For one thing, Vietnam was fighting a national liberation struggle with deep historical roots. With Iraq, while Hussein did connect with important sentiments of Arab nationalism and support for Palestinians, the war developed more suddenly and involved his own maneuvers for power and aggrandizement. The Vietnam war was very protracted and we were pretty sure Vietnam would win. With Iraq, it's just impossible to make up for the vast differential in military technology if you're not fighting a people's war -- a war with deep roots in the people and for a cause they passionately believe in.

BF: But perhaps another reason for the one-sided slaughter is that Hussein -- for all the demonization of him in the U.S. media -- was actually not willing to be as ruthless as Bush, whose massive bombings killed tens or hundreds of thousands of civilians both directly and through the destruction of sanitation and medical infrastructures? Hussein did release the hostages he initially held as a shield against attack. And he didn't unleash his chemical weapons or order suicide missions in Europe.

DG: You're right. And the whole media demonization of Hussein is something we should discuss further on. But first, without in the least justifying the U.S./Allies' invasion, I was trying to make an analytical point that you just can't fight a protracted war with any chance of success against a vastly superior military machine unless it's a people's war -- a guerrilla war with deep popular support for a cause fully embraced by the people.

See INTERVIEW on Page 23 (P.17)

Under the terms of the Handschu Case settlement, Gilbert recently received de-classified documents which indicate that the New York City Police Department's Bureau of Special Services (B.O.S.S.--also known as the "Red Squad") spied on both Lower East Side anti-war activists and Columbia and Barnard college student anti-war activists in the 1960s. This is part of one of the documents he received:

NAME: GILBERT, David

ALIAS: Dave

PEDIGREE: M/W 5'9", 170lbs

DATE OF BIRTH: 10/6/44

LOCATION: Cambridge, Mass.

RESIDENCES:

Present:

TELEPHONE:

Former: 307 W. 105th St. Man.
355 W. 108th St. NYC apt 1D tele 222-5508
255 W. 108th St. NYC
419 W. 115th St. Man.

OCCUPATION:

SCHOOL: Attended Columbia U.

S.I.D. SYNOPSIS: Subject in files since 1963 when a student at Col. U. Active in all anti-war activities such as rallies, demonstrations, peace marches etc. Active in anti-draft activities. Charter member of the Columbia U. chapter of STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY. Attended S.D.S. conference E. Lansing, Mich. 6/68. Arrested 4/17/68. Criminal record and resist arrest in a demonstration with the FREEDOM AND PEACE PARTY. Participated in Col. U. riots of Spring, 1968. Presently active with the RIM-1 faction of S.D.S.

MEANWHILE - IN A SERIES OF DARING NIGHT TIME RAIDS, THE SINISTER AND INCREDIBLE WEATHERMAN STRIKES AGAIN!! WHAT IS THIS CRAZY BASTARD UP TO ANYWAY??



LIGHT SENTENCES SPELL VICTORY FOR FLAGBURN DEFENDANTS

By I.C. Timerow

(Editor's Note: We maintain our position that while we do not support anything about the RCP (Revolutionary Communist Party), the SHADOW does support RCP members Shawn Eichman and Joe Urgo's fight against the pigs trying to prosecute them for trying to burn a flag to protest the war during an action that had nothing to do with the RCP!!)

SHAWN EICHMAN AND JOE URGO GET 2 YEAR PROBATION AND \$75 FINES in a case that could have gotten them 11 years in jail and \$10,000 in fines.

June 4th was a tense day for both Shawn Eichman and Joe Urgo. They had been waiting more than ten weeks since the March 22nd verdict wherein they were both found guilty of a felony (attempted arson of government property -- an American flag). This carried a possible ten-year sentence. They were also found guilty of degradation of federal property, a misdemeanor (for pouring fake blood and oil down the sides of a military recruiting station building). They were looking at a possible 11 years in jail.

On September 11th, 1990, as the U.S. war machine was streaming into the Gulf, Shawn Eichman and Joe Urgo (both proclaimed "supporters" of the Revolutionary Communist Party), climbed atop the same Times Square recruiting station where Urgo had enlisted 25 years earlier. They raised banners proclaiming "Hell No, We Won't Go!" and "U.S. Out of the Middle East!". They lowered the U.S. flag and attempted to burn it. They raised a red flag. Oil and fake blood were dripped from the recruiting center's signs. They were arrested without resistance and were treated as terrorists, held at the Manhattan Correctional Center (MCC) for three days of interrogation by the Joint Terrorist Task Force (JTTF), and were only released after friends posted a \$100,000 bond for each of them.

At 9:00 AM, June 4th, 1991, friends and supporters of Shawn and Joe met on the Courthouse stairs at 40 Centre Street. Here, they were treated to speeches, sketches and guerilla theater against the New World Order, its war in the Middle East, and the unfair prosecution of Shawn and Joe. At 9:30, everyone entered the courthouse. From fifty to one hundred people packed the courtroom. A crowd of supporters stood outside the overflowing courtroom. William Kunstler asked the Judge to dismiss the felony count because the burning of the flag had been found by the Supreme Court to be a legal form of free speech. Kunstler read a juror's letter (one of the 12 who found them guilty) to the judge aloud. The letter requested no punishment for the defendants. It read in part, "It is inconceivable the Court would have gone to this length had the defendants burned another \$25 item, like a chair or lamp ... In conclusion, I ask you to impose the minimum penalty possible when it comes to sentencing." This motion was joined by Shawn's attorney, Ian Weinstein. Judge Leonard Sand rejected it.

Shawn was the first one to be sentenced. When asked by Judge Sand if she had anything to say before sentencing, she replied, "You bet I do!" When she went into a rap about U.S. imperialism and revolution, the judge tried to stop her. She yelled at him and told him to shut up. The judge was taken aback and did just that. Shawn continued, "It doesn't matter how many of us that you lock up, or how many parades you put on -- we refuse to dance on the blood and bones of our Iraqi sisters and brothers ... I have no respect for your flag, your system, or your court. They are the past, and we are the future. Making revolution is no crime!"

Judge Sand sentenced Shawn to 2 years probation, 200 hours of community service, and \$75 in fines. A great cheer went up in the courtroom, and then in the hallway outside as well. People considered it a moral victory that she received no jail time and only a token fine.

Kunstler then spoke before Urgo's sentencing. He talked about Oliver North being cleared by the Supreme Court of all the convictions he had received for the Iran-Contra affair. "If this is a crime (the attempted burning of the government's flag), it was a minor crime committed to prevent a much greater crime." When Joe Urgo went into his pre-sentencing speech, again the judge tried to cut him off. Urgo told Judge Sand to be quiet, and no interruptions, please. The judge gave him five minutes. Joe spoke: "As revolutionaries we dream of a different world where the madness of imperialism, its war and oppression -- all this no longer exists ... The government has only privilege, terror, lies and oppression on its side ..."

Joe, too, was sentenced to 2 years' probation, 200 hours of community service and \$75 in fines. Supporters (mostly RCP people, with a smattering from Tompkins Square) left the courthouse cheering and applauding the victory.

In the ten weeks between the verdict and the sentencing, Shawn and Joe held weekly defense meetings. They had public demos in places like Washington Square Park. They had a fundraiser at Wetlands, and had many people, including well-known artists and activists, writing letters to Judge Sand. Over one thousand people signed the petition asking the judge to free Joe and Shawn. They got coverage in local papers like the Village Voice and even the SHADOW (Yipes!). Their posters were every where. Whatever pressure the judge got from the government and various police agencies (the JTTF, FBI, NYPD, etc.), the pressure from the people was enough to insure that Shawn and Joe got no jail time, and only a token fine. The U.S. government, which poured untold amounts of money into this case in the hope of making an example of Shawn and Joe, did get a conviction. But Judge Sand's leniency showed that what they were convicted of was really no crime at all.

ROCK AGAINST RACISM....

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 8

However, we got her to agree to a half-hour more, to 5:30. What? A half-hour of unauthorized time? Then why not one hour more? "No, no," she exclaimed. She couldn't, she couldn't. What she meant was she wouldn't, she wouldn't. Finally, this cop Caruso took Epstein aside and convinced her to give us an hour. Of course, we accepted.

We even ran over 10 minutes. The police patiently waited while the Park Enforcement pigs were prepared to storm the stage, but they didn't make a move because the cops didn't. After the event, the same cop told Jerry, our lawyer and permitholder, that we've got a winner. He said that he thinks the Parks people are on a "power trip". We couldn't believe it! The cops endorsing Rock Against Racism! What happened? Where did we go wrong?

COPS CUT OFF DICKS

This was a far cry from 1983 in Central Park when the cops pulled the plug on us a half-hour before the permit expired. They were pissed off at the lyrics of MDC ("Millions of Dead Cops" or "Multi-Death Corporation", if you wish). But, by the time they reacted, the last band was already on -- The Dicks.

The pigs stormed the stage, cut off the power, and pushed people around, starting a mini-riot. Alan Thompson, RAR's sound man, turned on our portable generator, which the cops then beat to death. The hardcore punks then took the stage and challenged the pigs to put their guns down and come up to fight, but the pigs wouldn't accept.

Rock Against Racism will continue to struggle, and we'll see you next year -- in Central Park.

HOUSING AND THE NEW WORLD ORDER: RADICAL HOUSING CONFERENCE A SUCCESS

By Lois Aida

On June 2, over 250 people from all over the City came to the All-Craft Center on St. Marks Place for a conference entitled "Housing and the New World Order: Housing Alternatives / Housing Struggle in the 90's". Organized by Lower East Side activists, the conference featured workshops on squatting, homelessness, spatial deconcentration, manipulation of the public, tenants' rights, privatization of public space, direct action and global politics (the "New World Order") in relation to housing.

"We were trying to get more people to understand the housing crisis in a larger context, both in terms of the international situation and historically so that people would see clearly that since it's going to get worse in the 90's and not better, we'd better form a broad-based militant movement instead of the fragmented situation we've got now where squatters, homeless people and tenants all fight separately. One of the aims was to lay the groundwork for a "Radical Housing Network" in which these three groups would support each other's actions and demands. We feel that the conference was a step in laying that groundwork," said organizer Fran Luck.

The first panel of speakers reflected the diversity of organizing bases and angles of vision. Professor Seymour Melman spoke on the militarization of America's domestic budget and predicted that conditions will continue to deteriorate as a result; Nelly Hester-Baily of the Columbia Tenants' Union (her husband, militant tenant activist Bruce Baily was murdered two years ago -- many think by landlords) spoke of the need for a fighting tenant movement; Dr. Roderick Wallace, who has documented how closing firehouses is part of the government's plan to destroy poor neighborhoods, said that there is a quarter of a million unit housing deficit in this City and that we'd better demand that government fill that gap; Sherletta McCaskill, a city shelter organizer, spoke of the daily struggle of people in shelters trying to survive; Frank Morales spoke of squatting as "putting flesh on the bone" of the phrase "Housing is a human right"; Lori Rizzo, John Squat and Joel Meyers represented the Tompkins Square Park protest movement. There was some debate over whether squatting by itself could solve homelessness. Some said that we should not accept "gifts with strings" from the government, while others thought that at a time of great homelessness we should take housing from wherever we can get it. Everyone seemed to agree that the government wasn't giving away any gifts, so a mass protest movement is the best bet, no matter where you are coming from.

That the housing shortage will get much worse in the 1990s was a general point of agreement. A conference analysis read in part: "It is no accident that George Bush pushed for both the Gulf War and the privatization of public housing in the same State Of The Union address. In the New World economy, the U.S. will provide the military muscle while the industrial workers will come from countries with the most cheaply paid labor forces -- thus, the U.S. working classes will become expendable, with the government having no need to provide housing or any other service ... the millions displaced will be kept in line through further police powers granted by increasingly right-wing courts. This is the domestic face of the "New World Order" ...

Some results of the conference and workshops include the Tenant Workshop, which will meet to continue planning a general rent strike, and the Spatial Deconcentration Workshop, which will try to publish and distribute information on the planned destruction of the cities. City shelter organizers have strengthened links with the Tompkins Square Park movement and have held a joint demonstration at City Hall on June 12. A Radical Housing newsletter is being planned to continue to link these struggles. Many conference attendees were further radicalized by being presented with real information on the housing crisis.

A complete set of tapes of the conference and all the workshops is available for \$10.00. If you want a set and/or want to receive the Radical Housing Network Newsletter containing the resolution from the Conference and more important information, please call 713-5743.

SKINHEADS ATTACK SQUAT!!

By Lamont Cranston

In the early morning hours of June 11th, at approximately 4:00, the Foetus Squat was the object of an attack by a gang of nine skinheads. Marching down Avenue C past cops stationed at street corners as part of the occupying army around Tompkins Square Park, the skins stopped at the front door of the squat building where some residents were sitting and demanded to be let in so they could "fuck some people up".

When they were refused, the skins climbed up the side of the building and entered through a second floor window, which they broke. Once inside, the boneheads quickly fanned out through the lower floors of the building, slashing with a razor and beating people at random. They were stopped in their tracks on the staircase by upstairs residents who were ready for them. In the face of organized resistance, the bones fled the building. One squatter later had to get stitches for his cuts.

Throughout the attack, cops stationed across the street outside La Plaza Cultural stood by and did nothing to help. During the attack, a patrol car stopped in front of the building, cops inside opened the car door for a moment, but then drove off.

After fleeing the squat, the skins tried but failed to do the same to the 13th Street squats, succeeding only in assaulting a young woman and then a homeless man on the street. Later, it was discovered that the skins had unsuccessfully tried to set a fire earlier at another squat on East 3rd Street.

Where the skins came from is not fully yet known, but names heard being shouted by the skins during the attack included "Luther", "Otto" and "Prince". The next night, "Prince" was overheard hanging out in front of the Alcatraz bar at St. Marx and Avenue A bragging about the squat attack, saying that they plan to do it again.

Since the attack, all of the squats have fortified their buildings, increased security and have prepared themselves for future attacks. Community members suspect that the police are behind this latest skinhead attack, since in the past, cops have been known to use the skins to do their dirty work for them against the people they hate most. Cops have stood by watching as skins have ganged up on others, intervening only when the assault victims begin fighting back. The skins never get arrested for their actions, but their victims usually do. These people include squatters, Anarchists, homeless, and political activists. However, a SHADOW source says that the attack was the result of a dispute between two men over a woman, and that the skins had done angel dust that night. If true, it still does not excuse what they did.

*If anyone has any information concerning this attack, the identities of those involved, and future attacks, please pass it on to the SHADOW. All information will be kept strictly confidential.

DEMOCRACY UNDER SIEGE: TOMPKINS SQUARE POLICE STATE: THE SPATIAL DECONCENTRATION CONNECTION:

By A. Bertoli

The forced removal of Blacks, Latinos and other so called minorities from the urban centers received major technical and financial backing during the period immediately following the establishment of the Kerner Commission in 1967. Established by President Johnson, it sought to devise ways to control the potential for further urban insurrections following the riots of the mid-and late '60s, uprisings which occurred so close to the levers of state capitalist rule in the cities that they posed a serious threat to the rule of the rich.

Having collaborated closely during the riots in the basement of the Pentagon in what came to be known as the "domestic war room", the Federal Housing and Urban Development Agency and Pentagon officials began to study the military considerations and requirements in the area of land and housing concerns in the inner city, not from an economic point of view, but from the point of view of counter-insurgency and social control. It was Anthony Downs of the Rand Corporation, whose work focused on strategies of forced removal within the context of land/housing issues, who devised a strategy labeled "spatial deconcentration", a military plan for a domestic predicament, whose "theory of white predominance in the cities" has become the war cry of the racist war against the poor in the US.

Downs was also a board member of the Urban Institute. President Johnson created the Urban Institute in 1968. The Institute conducted research on inner city dynamics in order to fulfill its mandate, namely, the forcing of millions of poor people out of the urban centers, out of their communities, out of their homes. Between 1975 and 1979 the Institute was a HUD testing laboratory, conducting a series of experiments (from suburban housing subsidies to cutting essential services) aimed at inducing Blacks to leave the cities. The Board of Trustees of the Institute has an interlocking relationship with both the Rand Corporation and the Brookings Institute, both CIA affiliates. Another member of the board of the Urban Institute was Cyrus Vance.

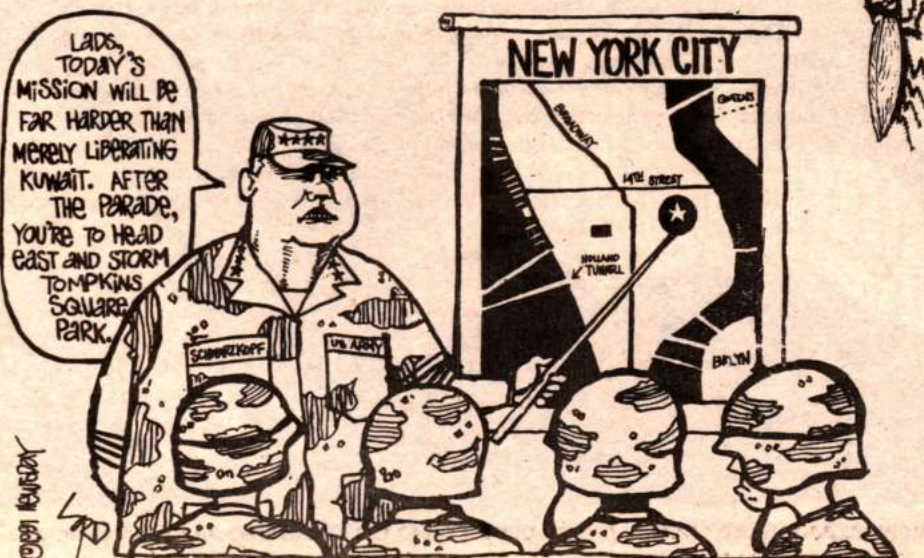
Cyrus Vance, former Deputy Secretary of Defense under President Johnson and Secretary of State under President Carter, has close ties to the military and CIA. A report on anti-riot operations prepared by Vance, known as the "Detroit Book", is reported to have influenced government strategy during the April 1968 round of ghetto uprisings. A censored version of the secret report was leaked to the press and appeared in the NY Times on April 14, 1968. A principal feature of the Vance report is the recommendation that riot areas be inundated with police, National Guardsmen, and if necessary, Army troops at the earliest outbreak of violence. An early curfew, stringently enforced, was another key recommendation. It was on Vance's orders that the Army's computerized data of information on civilian "troublemakers" was started.

Vance was also a member of the Trilateral Commission, a body composed of US, Japanese and Western European members concerned with joint efforts in defense of world capitalism. Convened by David Rockefeller in 1973, it issued its final report in 1975. Entitled "The Crisis of Democracy", the US chapter, authored by Samuel P. Huntington, is focused upon the question of the "governability of American democracy" and is a blatant expression of anti-democratic sentiments. Claiming that the crisis of democracy is really a crisis of too much democracy, the report argues for the planned shrinkage of democratic freedoms and opportunities. Asserting that an excess of democracy is a dangerous thing and that "there are also potentially desirable limits to the indefinite extension of political democracy", it seems natural that a Trilateralist like Vance would wind up studying parks in NYC...doesn't it?

In March of 1987 New York City Mayor Ed Koch and Parks Commissioner Henry Stern designated a "Blue Ribbon Panel on Parks and the Constitution". Cyrus Vance was a member of this panel. The 14 member group "was asked to recommend an improved set of guidelines to assist the Parks Department in evaluating various special or controversial uses." In October of 1988, two months after the Tompkins Square Park anti-curfew riots, it issued its report. The panel was asked to review Parks Department regulations and practices "particularly in relation to constitutional questions arising out of the First and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States". In real terms, they were aiming to limit, suppress and destroy the freedom of expression, the right to assemble, the extending of political democracy in a place like Tompkins Square Park, in a community like the Lower East Side.

The police state dispersal and the rounding up of displaced people ("homeless") and forcing them into Federal Emergency Management Agency run shelters is an extension, secondary phase of spatial deconcentration and social control. The attempt to demolish the Bandshell in Tompkins Square Park is an attack on free speech and the right (need) to assemble, to organize, to extend not limit political democracy. Finally, the landbanking of Tompkins Square Park, the warehousing of the park, and the locking out of the community, is from an economic perspective necessary in order to insure the possibility of profitability in real estate and the re-emergence of the kind of gentrification the Lower East Side experienced in the late 70's and early 80's. In order to carry this out, the privatization of the park becomes the necessary option in order to insure effective policing of the newly renovated park and the legal protections (against homeless encampments and assembly for example) which accrue to private property under capitalism. In other words, if they have their way, it won't be a question of who uses Tompkins Square Park, but who owns it. The police state is here.

M.G. LORD



"EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT" IN TOMPKINS SQUARE PARK

by P. Nip

For a week after the police seizure of Tompkins Square, a bus marked MAYOR'S OFFICE OF EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT COMMUNICATIONS COMMAND CENTER was parked at the corner of 10th Street and Avenue A. A peek through the vehicle's tinted-glass windows revealed a computer link up to police headquarters at 1 Police Plaza, and a bulletin board posting weather conditions and street disturbances throughout the city. A video camera affixed to the top of the vehicle surveyed the scene, capable of sumulcasting everything it picked up to the giant screens on the walls of the NYPD "War Room" at 1 Police Plaza.



PHOTO BY P.NIP

Few New Yorkers were aware of the NYC Emergency Management Office (EMO) until the bus made one of its first public appearances at last winter's squatter evictions in the South Bronx. Shortly thereafter, the existence of the NYPD War Room was revealed when Newsday ran a front page story on the eve of the Persian Gulf War on a top-level meeting of New York corporate leaders to respond to the supposed "terrorist threat" to city business interests. The corporate representatives were briefed by NYPD and FBI "counter-terrorist" experts and taken on a tour of the War Room, which resembles the Pentagon's global War Room depicted in the Stanley Kubrick movie Dr. Strangelove. The Emergency Management Office works closely with the War Room as a nerve center to coordinate security forces throughout the city, including riot police, emergency service units, transit police, and heavy artillery such as the NYPD armored personnel carrier which was unveiled during the Bleeker Street shoot-out between two extreme Zionist factions two years ago, as well as local precincts.

The EMO also closely coordinates with its federal equivalent, the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), which also had a representative at the January War Room meeting. FEMA has drawn harsh criticism from civil libertarians and anti-nuclear activists for the draconian plans the agency has drawn up to deal with domestic protest in the event of U.S. military intervention abroad and post-nuclear "civil defense". These plans call for massive sweeps and internment of sectors of the population in military camps, and suspension of the U.S. constitution. Lower East Side activists have pointed to certain similarities between the FEMA "emergency management" plans and the City's plans to warehouse the growing ranks of the homeless -- including those just evicted from Tompkins Square -- in the giant "congregate shelters" run by the NYC Human Resources Administration (HRA). Under the dramatic budget cuts just proposed by the Dinkins administration, many of the smaller and more human-scale HRA shelters would be closed, and their inhabitants centralized in the impersonal congregate shelters, where disease, drug abuse and violence are at crisis proportions. FEMA has actually played a role in this human warehousing policy, funneling federal money to such private groups as the United Way, which closely work with HRA in programs for management of the homeless.

The possibility that "national security" concerns may be at work in Tompkins Square also became evident at the start of the Persian Gulf War. On the night that President Bush launched the air assault against Iraq, thousands of protestors burned police barricades in front of the United Nations. It was just two weeks earlier that Deputy Inspector Michael Julian was rotated out as commander of the Lower East Side's 9th Precinct and replaced with Captain Michael Esposito, a veteran of several years at the Tribeca/Financial District's 1st Precinct. The comparatively amiable and easy-going Julian, a longtime neighborhood resident, had been brought in to placate an enraged community in the wake of the brutal orgy of police violence in the August 1988 riot. Many local activists now wonder if the fact that Julian was reassigned just before the Persian Gulf War had to do with expectations that the traditionally politicized and well-organized Lower East Side would be on the cutting edge of anti-war resistance in New York City.

One night shortly after the outbreak of the war, the 9th Precinct's Executive Officer Captain Richard Seta, longtime pointman for Tompkins Square patrols, was overheard in the park briefing Captain Esposito on the names of some of the key personalities in the group of local activists which had gathered there for an anti-war meeting. Seta, a former (or still active?) FBI agent, has closely worked with the feds as a participant in the NYPD-FBI Joint Task Force on Organized Crime, which used wiretaps and other eavesdropping techniques to crack down on racketeering in New York's construction industry. Recently promoted Inspector Julian, perhaps more familiar than anyone in the NYPD with the personalities in the Lower East Side radical milieu, is now working a desk job at 1 Police Plaza.

Now, six months after this reshuffling, Tompkins Square has been militarily occupied by the NYPD against the wishes of both local Community Board 3 and City Council representative Miriam Friedlander, and in violation of the City Charter regulations calling for public hearings, Community Board consultation and environmental impact studies. The City's own democratic process has been unilaterally bypassed by Dinkins through police force of arms, much as the United States constitution would be overturned by the FEMA "emergency management" operations on a national level.

FEMA has its own "War Room", which, like the Air Force's North American Aerospace Defense (NORAD), is sequestered under a mountain to make it "invulnerable" to nuclear attack. While NORAD's well-known complex is under Mt. Cheyenne in Colorado, FEMA's relatively obscure complex is under Mt. Weather in Virginia. We can only guess as to whether, through the agency's connections with the NYC Emergency Management Office and other federal agencies monitoring social unrest in the nation's inner cities, Tompkins Square has yet appeared as a blip on the FEMA computer screens at Mt. Weather.

ACTIVISTS RESPOND TO PIG OCCUPATION

By Chris Flash

PIGS USE FORCE ON PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATORS

In the days following the pig raid and occupation of Tompkins Square on June 3rd, local activists were quick to respond. With most of Avenue A blocked off, people began to gather at the steps of St. Brigid's church at Avenue B and 8th Street (the same building that labor organizer Samuel Gompers used to hide out from pursuing cops). Hundreds of people marched nightly around the park, getting blocked off by riot pigs with barriers whenever they got too close to the park. Within days, thousands of signatures demanding the immediate re-opening of the park and removal of the fencing and police occupation were collected. It was generally agreed that marches and protests would be done with a "non-violent" approach. As the days went on, it became apparent that cops were taking advantage of this strategy.

Many women began reporting verbal abuse, lewd remarks and obscene noises as they passed pigs maintaining their posts around the park. Most said that when they tried to complain to their superior officers, nothing was done about the offending pigs. On the night of June 7th, when a group of people returned to the steps of St. Brigid's church on Avenue B after a march around the park, cops beat and arrested two activists for standing in the street, including a woman whose blouse was pulled up over her head, revealing her breasts.

DEMONSTRATIONS INCREASE

After the city succeeded in getting a Temporary Restraining Order stopped, the demolition of the walkways began at daybreak on Friday, June 7th. An activist jumped the police barricade at 9th Street and Avenue B and tried to pull the bulldozer operator out of his seat as the bulldozer carved up the walkways. The cops dragged him off and released him outside of the park, but then a white shirt pig ordered his arrest. After running away, he was tackled by the pigs and arrested.

Later that night, at 7:30PM, 100-150 people gathered at the steps of St. Brigid's to protest the police occupation. They marched up Avenue B, with mothers holding babies and children carrying banners in front of the march. Riot cops quickly blocked off Avenue B and 9th Street with reinforcements. The marchers then reversed direction and went East on 4th Street, up First Avenue, to Broadway, and then St. Marx, followed by dozens of plainclothes and riot cops. As the march progressed, the size increased from 200 to 500, and then from 800 to 1,000. After getting blocked off at Avenue B and 7th Street, the march reversed again and continued, while some remained outside St. Brigid's church.

PLAINCLOTHES PIGS ASSAULT PRIESTS

At approximately 9:15, four plainclothes cops, led by P.O. Cunningham, forced their way into the church annex, demanding entry to the locked roof, where they claimed someone was throwing bottles. A parishioner was grabbed and his wife was pushed in the face by one of the cops, almost causing her to fall backward down a flight of stairs. Father George Kuhn confronted the cops, telling them to leave the building. The pigs said "We're homeless too", in reference to the homeless men's shelter in the basement. Father George reported that Cunningham told him "If any of our cops get hurt, you'll be liable", as he pushed his finger into Father George's face. At that point, Father Pat Maloney of Lazurus House, a boys' home on East 9th Street, pulled Cunningham's arm down, telling him to not touch a priest. Cunningham then pushed Father Maloney against the wall. When Father George demanded to see the cops' identification, Cunningham told him to step outside. Outside, Father Kuhn again demanded to see the cops' ID, and Cunningham told him to go down the block with him. By then, the cops sensed the angry crowd gathering around them and they quickly left, hiding out in a nearby paddy wagon. Father Pat found Captain Wasiak outside and demanded that he identify the cops involved so that he could make a citizen's arrest. Wasiak took a look in the paddy wagon people were pointing to and two of the four plainclothes cops got out. The paddy wagon then drove away with the other cops still inside. Later, plainclothes Lieutenant Stats told Father George and Pat and attorneys Stanley Cohen and Norman Seigel that he would line the cops up for identification, but Chief Walsh wouldn't allow it. Father Pat said that Cunningham was drunk. (It was also revealed that Cunningham is the same cop who threatened Stanley Cohen and tried to pick a fight with him the night before at the corner of 10th Street and Avenue B. When Stanley demanded to see his ID, Cunningham quickly walked away.) Cunningham and his crew were later reported seen back on the streets wearing a change of clothing.

Meanwhile, the main march continued around the neighborhood and the West Village, ending up at 6th Street and Avenue A at 11:00PM. Along the way, a woman was assaulted by cops with a billy club around her throat, causing her to lose consciousness. While prone on the ground, cops beat and hog-tied her, and threw her into a paddy wagon by her handcuffed wrists. Among her charges was "Resisting Arrest". At one point that night, a man and woman tried to enter the park by jumping the fence, but were caught by cops with dogs.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

PIGS ASSAULT PRIESTS



P.O. CUNNINGHAM
(RIGHT) ENTERS
CHURCH, FOLLOWED BY
OTHER COPS



FATHER PAT MALONEY
(RIGHT) CONFRONTS
CUNNINGHAM + COPS



CUNNINGHAM GRABS
FATHER PAT'S ARM
BEFORE PUSHING HIM
AGAINST THE WALL



CUNNINGHAM IN
DRUNKEN STUPOR
CHALLENGES FATHER
GEORGE TO FOLLOW
HIM OUTSIDE.

PHOTO BY JACK DAWKINS

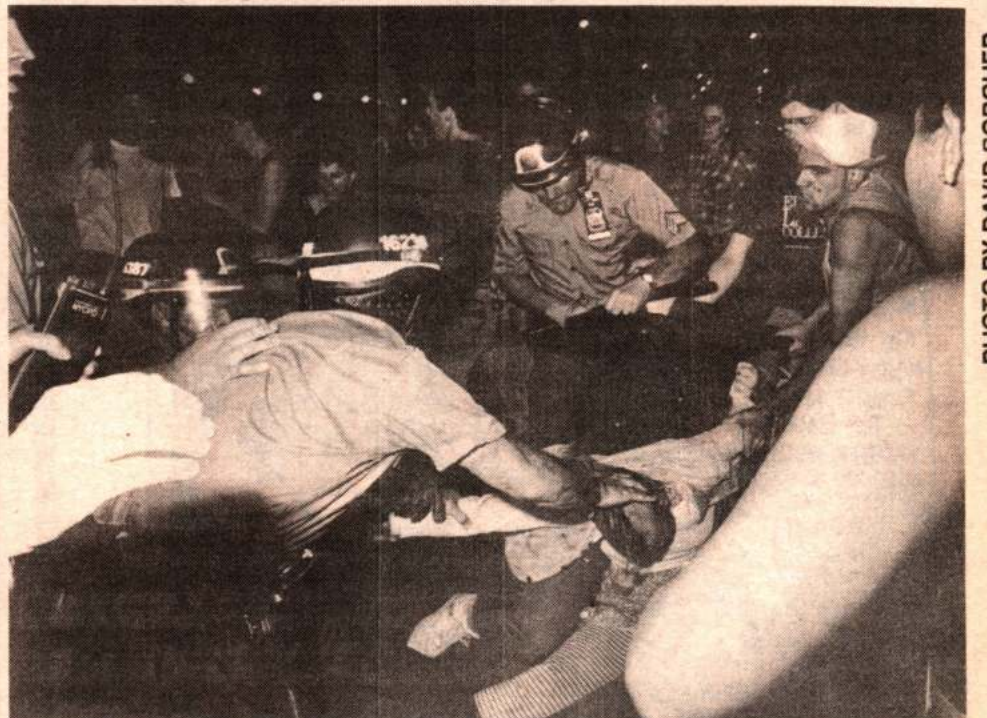


PHOTO BY DAVID SORCHER



PHOTO BY DAVID SORCHER

PIG TRIES TO ARREST YOUNG WOMAN AS SGT. GRABS WOMAN BEHIND HER (DARK SHIRT) IN CHOKE HOLD.

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

The demonstrators at 6th Street chanted "every night" to let the cops know they would get no rest, and soon a mini drum circle began in the intersection. One hour after midnight, four activists were arrested while on their separate ways home after the rally at 6th Street (including the editor of the SHADOW). Each was charged with "Criminal Mischief--Felony", after being accused of "stomping" on a parked car more than 4 hours earlier, allegedly causing \$250 in damages. The arresting cops told them they would miss the next day's demonstrations, including the War Parade two days later. Because they were charged with felonies, they all went through the system, but were released 24 hours later without bail, thanks to the efforts of activist attorney Stanley Cohen.

Media coverage of the demonstration predictably understated the numbers of people in the march, but did emphasize that it was a non-violent show of neighborhood unity.

The next day, Saturday, June 8th, almost 1,000 people gathered for a demonstration that included holding hands around the park. The crowd was made up of young and old, mothers with children, all races and political leanings united for a common cause. Uptight cops tried to break the chain of people, which would have completely surrounded the park if they had been able to stand on the sidewalk instead of the streets surrounding the park.

That afternoon, a woman on her way down Avenue B to the recycling center at 6th Street was assaulted by Sergeant Colasuonno (Badge #537) who tore her pants off in the process. When she confronted him with Father George and Captain Mansfield after he ran away and tried to blend in with a cluster of pigs at 9th Street and Avenue B, he told her "I did it for your own good, I was saving you from yourself".

Later that night, a small number of marchers took to the streets, but were badly outnumbered by plainclothes cops who forced them to go in different directions. For the remainder of the weekend, people continued gathering on the steps of St. Brigid's. Several groups had formed by then, including "Parents to Keep The Park Open", the "Park Rights Council", and the "Coalition to Save The Park".

On Monday, June 10th, another activist got arrested when he entered the park and allegedly used a hammer to smash the windshield of the bulldozer parked inside as pigs stood by watching in disbelief. Finally, he was grabbed by a laughing cop. The cop refused to make the arrest, so they had to send for a cop from the 9th precinct. At the precinct, a woman cop tried to blame him for vandalized cop cars getting windshields smashed and tires slashed, including one discovered with a rag hanging from it's gas tank, but he was not charged for them.

Two days later, on June 12th, seven people out of a group of 30 playing basketball in the only section of the park still open were arrested for staying in the area 10 minutes past the new 9:00PM curfew. At the holding cells at the 7th precinct, plainclothes cops, including P.O. Cunningham, looked the arrestees over, saying "Remember me?" to the activist he had threatened with choking weeks earlier. One of those arrested for violating the park curfew was a woman standing on the sidewalk outside of the park!! After spending from twelve to more than 24 hours in the system, all those arrested were finally released without bail.

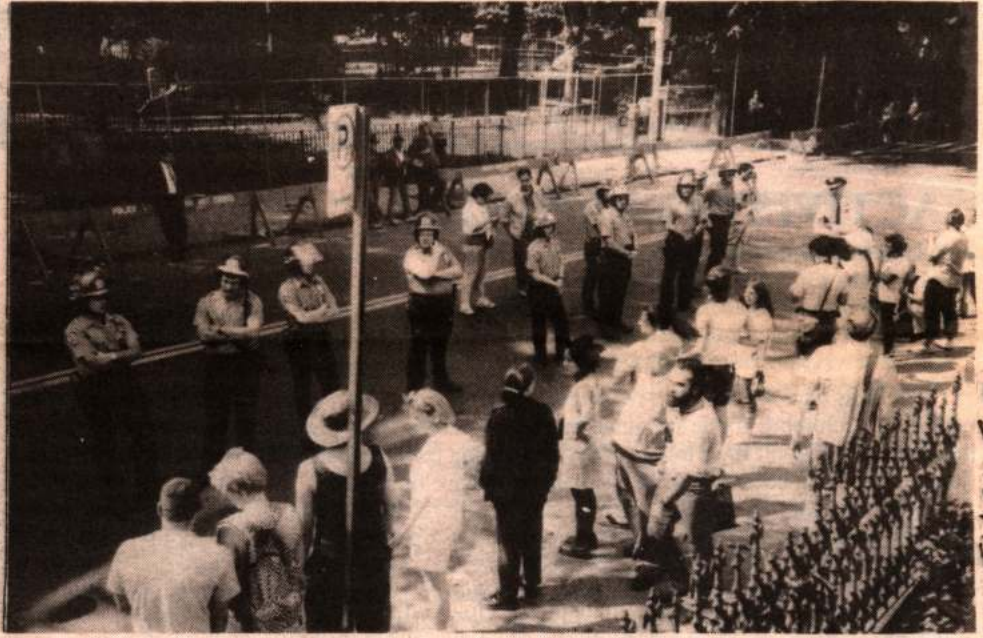
(Strangely, the woman arrested on the sidewalk was released by cops from the Criminal Court Building without seeing a judge, after being held for 18 hours. At the 7th precinct, before arriving at the court building, she overheard a Captain telling the arresting officer to say that she had been in the park, but ran out when they were about to arrest her. Later, the arresting officer went home, claiming he was sick and didn't want to process the woman to go through the system. The cops releasing her told her that they were doing so because the arresting officer was sick and could not appear, although the presence of the arresting officer is not required during the arraignment proceeding. Friends and family members trying to track her progress through the system, unaware that she had been released, were told that she was still waiting in the holding cell at 100 Centre Street to see the judge.)


By the afternoon of Friday, June 14th, the pigs fortified their positions around the perimeter of the park, blocking off intersections at 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th Streets along Avenue B, in anticipation of the weekly Friday night protests. That night, 50-100 demonstrators gathering at 7th Street and Avenue B marched to the St. Marx church at 10th Street and Second Avenue where 200 people rallied and were met by another 200 marchers arriving from Third Avenue. Soon they all marched around the neighborhood, avoiding the dead ends created by police barricades in front of intersections around the park.

As with other demos, the marchers were escorted by more than 20 plainclothes cops east of Avenue B, as the uniformed pigs dropped out of sight, apparently afraid of provoking a riot in the housing projects by the presence of uniforms. This time, the demonstrators took over Houston Street, marching west to Avenue A, where they met a huge riot pig fortification at the intersection of 6th Street and Avenue A.

After a few speeches, the march continued west on 6th Street, wending it's way through the West Village, Washington Square Park, and back to St. Marx Place, where they were again blocked off before the intersection of St. Marx and Avenue A.

See ACTIVISTS RESPOND on Page 22

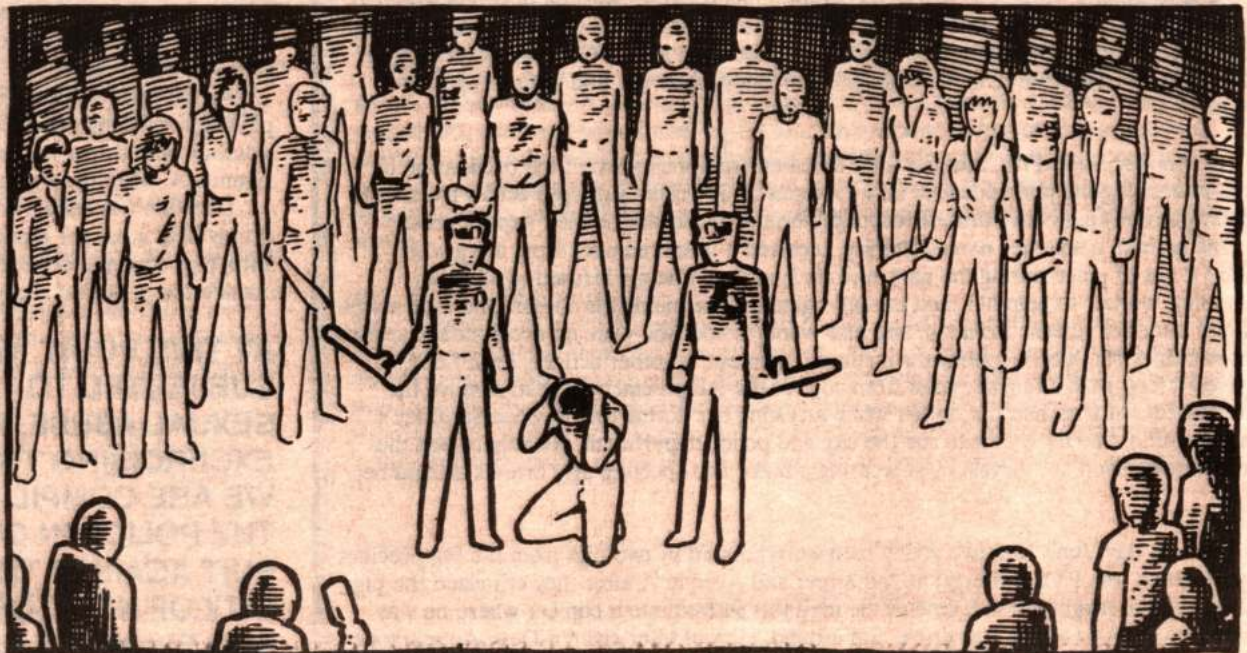




TRICK TRACY'S

COP STOPPER TIPS NO. 2

MOST POLICE MURDERS OCCUR WHEN THE VICTIM IS ALONE —
COMMUNITY AND SELF DEFENSE IS NOT A CRIME



LEGAL BATTLE RAGES TO FREE THE PARK BY CHRIS FLASH

TEMPORARY RESTRAINING ORDER OBTAINED

On June 4th, at 1:00AM, less than 24 hours after Tompkins Square Park was closed, Lower East Side activist attorney Stanley Cohen obtained a Temporary Restraining Order (TRO) from Judge Schlesinger to stay (stop) the demolition in the park on the grounds that the demolition was proceeding in violation of the requirements for an Environmental Impact Study (EIS), the constitutional rights of association, assembly and free speech, a prior stipulated agreement between the city and the homeless in the park concerning the right to use fire barrels, and the City Charter itself, which requires that a community be consulted, notice be given to the Borough President, community hearings be held, and that information regarding the city's plans be published. Later that day, lawyers for the city (the Corporation Counsel) asked the Appellate Division to vacate the stay on the demolition. Their application was denied by Justice Sullivan.

The next day, following a full legal argument, Justice Schoenfeld of the New York State Supreme Court ordered that the TRO be continued and that no demolition begin until a final decision could be made on the preliminary injunction being sought by Mr. Cohen. Cohen argued that a similar "reconstruction" plan had been rejected by the community board several times over the years, that the Borough President was not notified of the current plan, that no community meetings were held, and that there was no published information disseminated to the community. He added that this is the city's "calculated attempt to drive not only the homeless from that park, but to root out what they believe to be their political opposition." Ms. Mussman of the Corporation Counsel, claimed that if the TRO was upheld, additional construction costs would be incurred. She further told the court "we have hired a construction company. We entered into a contract with that company." The judge and Mr. Cohen requested copies of the contracts as well as materials regarding the bidding process and negotiations. In continuing the TRO, the judge noted that the city's plan was short-sighted, unfair, clearly political and possibly illegal. He set June 10th as the date for a hearing on the TRO.

CITY GETS TEMPORARY RESTRAINING ORDER OVERTURNED

The Corporation Counsel's next move was appealing Judge Schoenfeld's decision to the Appellate Division on June 6th. When the city simply filed their Notice of Appeal, the TRO was automatically stayed, which permitted demolition to begin. Any non-government party would have had to ask a judge to stay the order. Later that day, Mr. Cohen moved in the Appellate Division to vacate, modify, alter or stay the stay of the TRO, leaving the TRO in place. His motion was denied by Justice Sullivan. Almost immediately, the accelerated destruction of the park began, despite demonstrations by thousands of park supporters. Over the next few days, walkways, chess tables, iron fencing and park benches

ACTIVISTS RESPOND....

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 21

PIG VIOLENCE INCREASES

The next day, WBAI radio reported that Mayor Dinkins planned to give homeless people at Columbus Circle the same treatment as those in Tompkins Square Park, including fencing off their living spaces and having the area patrolled. This was being done just in time for a ceremony Dinkins planned to have on the site.

That afternoon, another "Hands Around the Park" demonstration took place, with more people joining hands as they circled the park. Cops once again tried to break up the demonstrators, and arrested a number of people in order to frighten the other demonstrators. Later, as a small number of people gathered along Avenue A, they were surrounded by an excessive number of riot pigs and plainclothes cops, still trying to intimidate people.

A woman passing by on her bicycle stopping to talk with her friend behind a police barrier was pushed by a riot pig who told her to leave, and she pointed out that there was a red light. As she waited for the light to change, the pig pushed her again, splashing the water she was drinking on both of them. The enraged pig then jumped the woman, a physical therapist at least half his size, and was joined by three other pigs as he choked her with his hand. She was thrown into a waiting paddy wagon across the street, where she was pushed and beaten by a female pig while her hands were cuffed. During the beatings, she suffered a re-injury to her dislocated wrist, including bone and ligament damage. In the pig station, the woman was the object of many sexist remarks and threats of rape by the pigs. In the holding cell at the court building, she was threatened by a female pig who said "I can hold up your paperwork" because she was using "too much" toilet paper. After spending 28 hours in jail, she was released without bail, charged with "Felony Assault" on a pig, "Disorderly Conduct" and "Resisting Arrest". She is now planning to file a lawsuit against the city and police department.

Later that evening, all was quiet on Avenue B, but a presence against the police state was maintained on Avenue A. Captain Seta had a man ticketed for carrying a beer, but a yuppie seen talking with a cop across the street minutes earlier was not ticketed. When confronted, the cop said "I didn't see it". Still later, Artie was arrested for carrying another beer. When he tried to explain that he had only picked up a beer from the sidewalk and had not even drank from it, he was charged with resisting arrest, and put through the system.

On Monday, June 17th, the pigs tried to lessen the appearance of the occupation by partially opening the park sidewalk along Avenue A as people gathered across the street, including several female victims of recent pig brutality who shared their experiences.

One activist, a squatter named Stormy, received a fractured wrist from a pig who twisted it out of place during the park raid on June 3rd. The pig refused to allow an ambulance worker to help her, and instead tightened the handcuffs on her. She went to the hospital after her release from jail, and now wants to sue. She wore an ace bandage around her wrist since she has no money for medical treatment. Another activist, Fran Luck, received a long gash along her wrist from cops at the 7th precinct trying to remove the plastic handcuffs they had put on her while arresting her during the previous Saturday's demonstration. She too wants to sue the city and police department. Also there was the woman arrested on her bicycle, now wearing a brace and sporting ugly bruises around her wrist.

The next day, June 18th, two young men were jumped by two pigs from the 9th precinct (one of whom was P.O. Rafferty) at 2nd Street and Avenue A after they criticized the pig presence in the neighborhood. One of the men was shoved into a cop car where he was beaten and clubbed as the pigs drove him around. He was later given a Desk Appearance Ticket and released.

which had just been repaired months before were reduced to piles of rubble, which have been left sitting scattered throughout the park.

CITY ADMITS LYING TO SUPREME COURT JUDGE: NO CONTRACT TO REBUILD THE PARK EXISTS

When the Corporation Counsel lawyers appeared before Judge Schoenfeld again on June 10th, it was revealed that they had lied to the judge on June 5th about the contracts for the work to be done in the park, as well as penalties the city faced if the demolition was delayed by the TRO. The "contracts" handed to Judge Schoenfeld and Cohen were merely pre-existing contracts from April that were modified to include demolition at Tompkins Square Park. Aside from that, the city's lawyers admitted there is no contract for the reconstruction of the park, and that there is only \$200,000 available for the demolition work. (On June 3rd, during the police invasion of the park, Parks Commissioner Betsy Gotbaum told WBAI reporter Paul DeRienzo that the reconstruction fund will have to come from monies left over from other parks projects.) Corporation Counsel spokesman Tom Crane later told WBAI that the reconstruction phase will be put up for competitive bidding, but he didn't specify when the bidding process would begin. This could leave the park in a permanent state of destruction while the city claims there is no money to rebuild the park due to the budget crisis recently announced by Mayor Dinkins. Judge Schoenfeld said he knew that no contracts existed and added "this is pure power politics" coming from City Hall." Even so, the judge said that Justice Sullivan in the Appellate Division was the only person who could stop the demolition of the park.

Stanley Cohen now plans to seek a modified stay of demolition from Justice Sullivan, limited to the bandshell and park light fixtures, since the other park demolitions have been completed. He says "Implicitly, if not explicitly, the Corporation Counsel led Judge Sullivan to believe that this is a project that has to proceed, that everything is in place and that there'd be certain financial or penalty losses to the city if they didn't proceed." Stanley says there were no delay penalties since there were no contracts. When asked how the city could determine that there could be penalties if demolition was stopped if a contract had not yet been signed, Crane said "I don't know for certain." Stanley says that the TRO didn't stop the bidding process or having the reconstruction contract put into place. He adds "Since 95% of the demolition has been done already, it could just as easily have been done at summer's end." Stanley will use Community Board Three's resolution to demand the reopening of the park as part of his motion before Sullivan and a lawsuit in Judge Schoenfeld's court for a preliminary injunction and a declaratory judgment seeking compensation and punitive damages of \$20 million, which will be used to open the Pitt Street Pool and other parks and provide city services denied to neighborhoods allegedly due to the budget crisis.

CHIEF WALSH TARGETS ACTIVIST FOR ILLEGAL DETENTION

Two days later, on June 20th, cops were seen installing surveillance cameras around the perimeter of the park near 10th Street and Avenue A, but they were suddenly gone by the next day.

Later that evening, two uniformed pigs harassed and threatened a group of young people hanging out on Avenue A at about 7:00PM. (One of them was P.O. Rafferty again.) When one of them, John, a well known neighborhood activist, asked if they were trying to start another riot, the pigs quickly cuffed him very tightly and shoved him into a waiting undercover taxi cab. He was first charged with "Disorderly Conduct", then with additional charges tacked on at the 7th precinct, and then put through the system.

His attorney, Stanley Cohen, kept track of his progress through the system and was told each time that his paperwork was not ready. By the 21st hour, Stanley received a tip that Chief of Patrol Walsh himself had called Central Booking to demand that John be kept in the system for as long as possible, even if it meant going beyond the legal 24 hour limit, in order to keep him away from Friday's demonstration around the park. At the 24th hour, Stanley had the case called without John being present. He explained that John had been intentionally lost in the system, and he requested a Writ of Habeas Corpus and a hearing to have John produced and released. Cohen said he would subpoena Chief Walsh, the cops in the headquarters vehicle outside the park, and cops in Central Booking involved in keeping John lost in the system. The judge agreed to the hearing, but first made a call to Central Booking, whereupon John was produced within minutes, released and arrived at the demo five minutes before it began. Stanley later saw Chief Walsh and told him it was a nice try.

CHIEF WALSH HAS ACTIVIST LAWYER JAILED

Shortly after 9:00PM, another anti-curfew demonstration took place in the basketball court in the park, during which a woman climbed a tree. Stanley Cohen stood by watching the demonstration, since the general rule has been that he could observe any arrests of his clients. The only difference this time was that Chief Walsh was in charge of the operation. Standing at the park entrance to keep an eye on the woman in the tree, Stanley was told to move across the street. After doing so, a row of riot cops made their way down the block and one of them told him to move down the block or be arrested for "Violating a Lawful Order to Disperse". Stanley stood his ground since he was standing with only one person and he was arrested. Leading Stan to the paddy wagon, the rookie pigs panicked as the angry crowd surrounded them, and he was taken to the headquarters vehicle at 10th Street and Avenue A. An unmarked car took him to the 9th precinct, then to the 7th precinct after he heard radio reports of demonstrators heading for the 9th precinct. He was later released with a summons.

As the night wore on, uniformed and plainclothes cops adopted very aggressive tactics, physically pushing people off sidewalks around the park, threatening anyone standing on a sidewalk with arrest, and standing next to people who managed to gather in clusters along Avenue A, with threatening postures.

Over the weekend, two people, including a 65 year old man, were arrested when they simply held a banner reading: "Revenge is Coming". As of this writing on Monday, June 24th, pigs clamped down even further on freedom of speech by telling demonstrators outside the park that if anyone even unfurls a banner, they will be arrested.

AT THIS POINT, WE ARE ASKING ANYONE WHO HAS BEEN SUBJECTED TO THREATS, INTIMIDATION, HARASSMENT, SEXUAL ABUSE, PHYSICAL VIOLENCE OR ARREST FOR EXERCISING THEIR RIGHTS TO CONTACT THE SHADOW. WE ARE COMPILING A LIST OF INCIDENTS AND VICTIMS OF THE POLICE IN ORDER TO PREPARE FOR A CLASS ACTION SUIT AGAINST THE NYC POLICE DEPARTMENT AND THE CITY OF NEW YORK. PLEASE INCLUDE AS MANY DETAILS AND EVIDENCE AS POSSIBLE. CONFIDENTIALITY WILL BE RESPECTED AND IS GUARANTEED!!

INTERVIEW

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

Another major difference in the context was the impact of the Civil Rights movement and the Black Liberation Movement in the 60's. It opened people to seeing the need for social change and to questioning the very foundation of this society. It also created an atmosphere where moral questions were much more in the forefront. By contrast, in the 90's, it seemed like the the only issue -- and some sectors of the anti-war movement played into this -- was how many U.S. body bags came home. It is really shocking to see how little feeling or concern there is for the something like 300,000 Iraqis who were killed in this war.

Even with the impact of civil rights, the 60's anti-war movement proved inadequate at incorporating anti-racism and in responding to leadership from Third World movements within the U.S. These necessary building blocks are certainly urgent tasks for the anti-war movement of the 90's.

Another important difference is the role of women. Women played active and leading roles in the 60's, but they had to do so against all odds. All too often women weren't listened to and were shut out of leading positions. Today, as I understand it, women are playing prominent and often predominant roles at all levels of leadership and activities.

BF: What about the role of the media?

DG: As much as the media functioned as an uncritical cheerleader for the government in the Iraq War, it was even worse in the early stages of the Vietnam War. This statement may seem strange to students because of the now pervasive myth that the media was staunchly anti-war in the 60's. But that myth was consciously created to convince the U.S. public that the war in Vietnam was lost because the media and anti-war movement handcuffed the military. They need that myth, so that people here don't see the reality that the U.S. military was defeated by a people fighting for independence. They also use the myth to intimidate the media, which did develop a tad of independence late in the war, back into total lockstep with the government.

This time around they were much more conscious about burying and down-playing news of anti-war activity. I think in the mid-60's anti-war activity was somewhat of a novelty. But they learned from that experience that once people saw what was happening the movement could really grow. So this time around they were much more conscious about suppressing or at least containing that news.

I know what it was like in the early 60's. I remember the footage of Walter Cronkite cheering the troops on in Vietnam. I remember the many times when the media dutifully suppressed news of illegal, clandestine U.S. military operations in Indochina. But here, I'll just spell out one, particularly striking example.

When President Johnson commenced those February '65 bombings of North Vietnam, he went on national TV and justified it by citing the 1954 Geneva Accords. He said quite clearly that he was doing it to uphold the Accords because they provided for or guaranteed an independent South Vietnam.

That didn't fit with my sense of the history, so I went to the international law library and looked up the Accords. They were quite explicit -- the division into north and south is in no way a permanent boundary but is only for a temporary regrouping zone. This was to let the French colonial troops get out without a rout. The Accords called for an election to reunify Vietnam in 1956. The U.S. and its client regime blocked the election because their intelligence estimates told them, as later recounted in President Eisenhower's autobiography, that Ho Chi Minh would win overwhelmingly.

I was amazed. LBJ's whole justification for this bloody escalation pivoted on a claim that the Accords called for an independent South Vietnam. The Accords in fact said just the opposite. It wasn't a matter of interpretation; it was very clear, black and white. I was sure that the next day there would be blaring headlines that the President had lied about the Geneva Accords. Instead, it wasn't mentioned in any establishment media. We made copies of the Geneva Accords and started passing them out by hand on Columbia's campus.

By 1967-68, the media began presenting some more critical material for two reasons: First, the drain of the war on U.S. power and prestige produced a split in the ruling class with significant sectors now wanting the U.S. to get out before it was further weakened and discredited. Second, there was a big enough "underground", alternative press to potentially embarrass established media for too blatantly suppressing certain information. At its height, the alternative press had four million readers -- it too became an object of an FBI-led COINTELPRO campaign to destroy it. For example, the established media never showed pictures of children who had been napalmed until RAMPARTS broke that open and created a sensation.

In the context of a losing war, the anti-war movement played a secondary but still important role. We helped legitimize the alternative of getting out. We helped foreshorten the range of brutal escalations that wouldn't have changed the outcome but would have cost even more Vietnamese and U.S. lives. But the main brake on the air was the heavy losses of U.S. planes to Vietnamese anti-aircraft fire. The main barrier to the "nuclear option" was fear of Soviet and/or Chinese response.

BF: What about the charges that the anti-war movement vilified the troops returning from Vietnam?

DG: Well, Bush certainly deftly manipulated sympathy for the troops into support for the war.

Honestly, when I first heard reports of people vilifying troops returning from Vietnam, I thought it was a pure propaganda creation. I just never heard anything like that happening in our sectors of the anti-war movement. We realized that GIs -- disproportionately Black, Latino and poor -- were being used as cannon fodder for the rich man's war. GI organizing became an important part of the anti-war movement. Of course, we urged GIs not to kill, and we did condemn war crimes. But it was those who ran the war who were the enemy, and they were the ones victimizing the GIs.

Nonetheless, I've now met a number of Vietnam vets who were pelted with fruit or cursed or spat upon when they returned, and that is wrong. My guess is that this came from sectors of the population that became disgusted with the war but, unlike the active anti-war movement, didn't have a clear analysis of who was responsible for the war.

BF: Were you surprised that the U.S. establishment was willing to slaughter so many Iraqis to accomplish its political objectives?

DG: No. After studying its international and domestic actions over the years, I wasn't at all surprised. I was surprised and chagrined, however, to see the U.S. public so readily manipulated into colossal callousness about Iraqi lives.

BF: What about the argument that Hussein was another Hitler?

DG: I guess you should phrase that as "Hitler of the year", since the U.S. propaganda machine has churned out quite a few "Hitlers" -- Khomeini, Qadafi, Arafat, Noriega -- lately.

One crucial element of defining Hitler objectively in history is that he was the leader of a major imperial power out to dominate the world. In that light, we need to worry a lot more about George Bush than Saddam Hussein -- and the same is true if we look at racial impact and scope of deaths caused by their military and economic policies.

Hussein, even after trying to claim the very honorable mantle of Arab nationalism, is no sweetheart when it comes to human rights and international law, but he certainly doesn't stand out as worse than scores of dictators that the U.S. has installed in various countries around the world. The way I look at it, Hussein is a small-time, local bandit. Bush is a big-time, global bandit.

BF: What do you think was the Bush administration's main motive for the war?

DG: One thing for sure: it sure as hell wasn't about upholding international law -- and the principle of non-intervention. I mean the U.S. government, under Reagan and Bush alone, invaded both Grenada and Panama; walked out of the World Court when it ruled U.S. aggression against Nicaragua to be illegal; intervened militarily in Lebanon, Libya, the Philippines, and El Salvador; has been the main supporter of Israel's illegal occupations of the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and Golan Heights and its invasion of Lebanon; for a long time circumvented U.N. sanctions on South Africa; has supported Indonesia's brutal invasion of East Timor -- to name just some of the examples.

The idea that Bush was acting to uphold international law is a joke -- a sick and bloody joke. Calling in the U.S. to deal with Hussein's transgressions is like calling in the Mafia to clear out a local shoplifter.

In analyzing the real causes, I've been a little disappointed with the three positions I've seen most frequently in the left press: 1), war for oil, 2), war to maintain the high level of military spending crucial for the domestic economy, and 3), a way for the U.S., a declining economic power, to maintain its importance relative to Europe and Japan.

Each of these positions deals with elements of reality, but I don't think that any of them get to the heart of the matter. Sometimes analysts who correctly have absorbed the importance of economic factors (or, better put, class interests) too often simplify every situation to something that can be calculated on a cash register. The way I see it, broad economic interests are usually behind the formulation of a political strategy that has a scope and coherence that goes beyond the cash flow of a particular situation.

Oil is certainly central to why the Middle East has been seen as vital to Western interests, but Western oil interests were well-provided for, and would have been re-secured by the terms of several diplomatic initiatives -- especially the Soviet/Iraq proposal -- that Bush brushed aside. Military spending is important for the economy, but they've always been able to come up with creative fictions for this purpose, and for many reasons such spending is problematical as a solution to the current set of economic problems. The focus on the economic competition with Europe and Japan misses just how much these three poles have had a common interest in keeping the entire Third World open for joint exploitation.

Bush was determined to fight a war. He frantically discredited and brushed aside credible diplomatic initiatives, terrified that peace might actually "break out". Bush was hell-bent to fight a war because fighting a successful major war was the capstone to what has been the ruling class' central strategy for the past 15 years: to move the U.S. public and world opinion past the "post-Vietnam syndrome".

To understand their obsession, you have to know something about the world economy and recognize just how fundamentally the wealth and power concentrated in the West is predicated on the thorough and abject exploitation of the Third World. Moving past the Vietnam syndrome was so crucial to them because you just can't maintain a vast economic empire -- especially imposing the living conditions that prevail in the Third World -- if you are not capable of using decisive force and terror against any "upstarts".

They prepared the way step-by-step, first with the invasion of teeny Grenada in 1983 and then little Panama in 1989. Hussein's move into Kuwait gave them their opportunity to finally have well-orchestrated popular support for a major war that they could count on winning.

BF: How do you see the state of the anti-war movement today, and the tasks ahead of it?

DG: Well, it is certainly discouraging to be living in such a wave of war euphoria. While that wave is wide, it is not very deep. The ruling class had a broader agenda and long-term goals behind this particular war. We need to have a long-term perspective. The logic of the system will lead to other interventions, and we want to be able to start from a stronger place to try to stop the next one.

During the past ten years, there have been a number of important, although small, movements on international issues: around Central America, around Apartheid, around Palestinian rights, and the recent surge of mass anti-war activity. I wonder what the possibilities are for pulling this all together into a strong and ongoing anti-interventionist front? To be successful, such a front would have to be firmly rooted in anti-racism and in challenging social priorities at home.

BF: Any closing thoughts?

DG: Despite the current orgy of jingoism, we need to maintain a sense of history, a sense of perspective. As human beings, we can never accept the depreciation of human life because the people happen to be Iraqi or El Salvadorian or Angolan. If we maintain our sense of identification with humanity, especially the majority of human beings, who live in the Third World, we won't -- even in the face of the most sophisticated media barrages -- lose either our moral bearings or our sense of purpose.

David Gilbert can be reached at the following address:

DAVID GILBERT #83A-6158
BOX 51
COMSTOCK, NY 12821

CAFE NOIR

SATURDAY NIGHT PERFORMANCES
AND VEGAN CAFE

• CAFE 7pm-11pm // SHOWS BEGIN 8pm •

OPEN FRIDAYS & SATURDAYS

TIME: 1:00 PM - CLOSING

VEGAN BAKED GOODS & SANDWICHES
COFFEES // TEAS // JUICES

VIDEO NIGHTS 8PM. WEDNESDAYS
PERFORMERS // POETS WELCOME



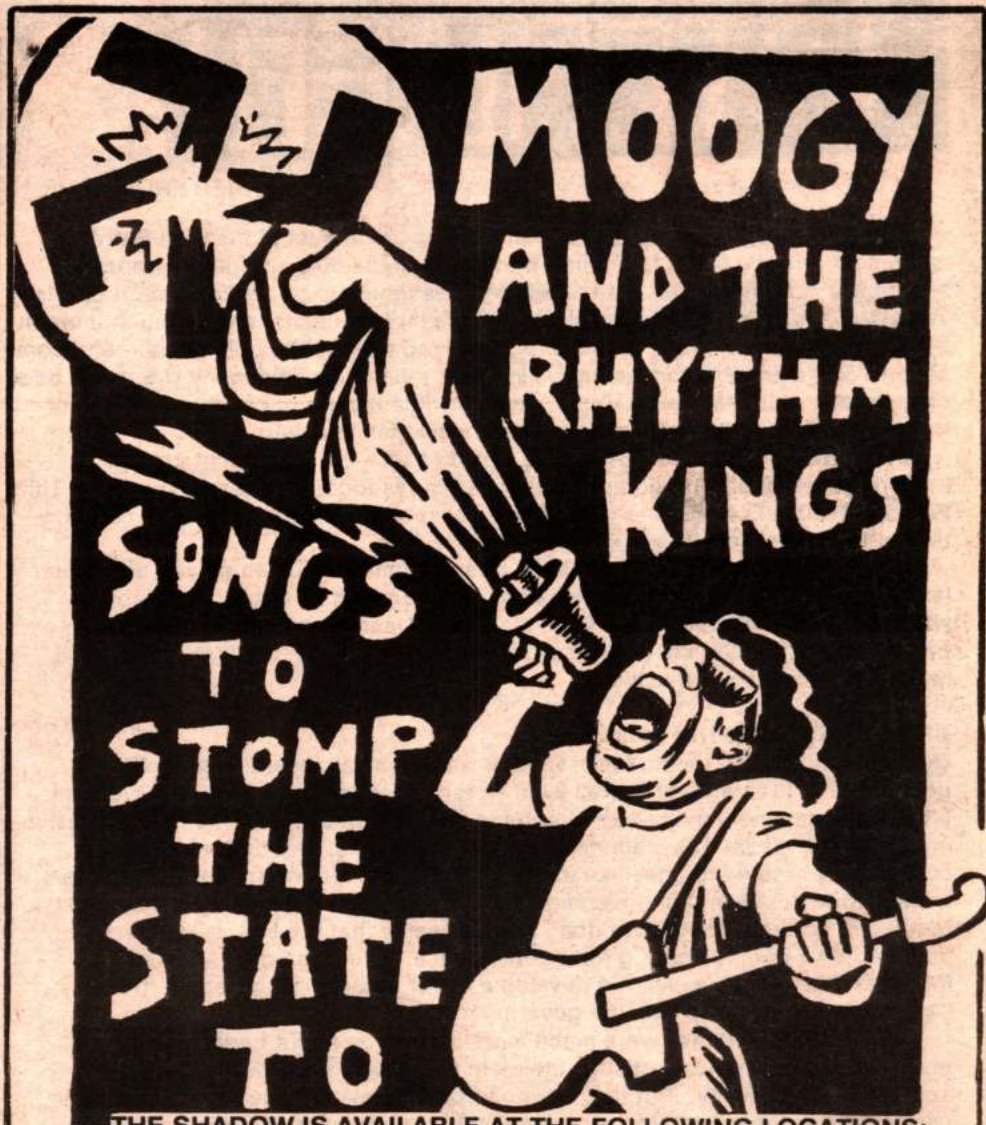
~ A COMMUNITY MEETING PLACE ~

A CENTRAL ::

ANARCHIST//ALTERNATIVE BOOKSHOP

LITERATURE: BOOKS & FANZINES
POLITICAL//PUNK RECORDS & TAPES
HAND-SCREENED T-SHIRTS
POSTERS

COME VISIT: 208 E. 7th BTWN B & C



THE SHADOW IS AVAILABLE AT THE FOLLOWING LOCATIONS:

A-CENTRAL BOOKS--208 East 7th Street
GEM SPA NEWSSTAND--St. Marx Place + Second Ave
STOOP NEWSSTAND--MacDougal Street + West 3rd Street
ST. MARK'S BOOKS--13 St. Marx Place
RAY'S NEWSSTAND--Avenue A + East 7th Street
AVE A DELI--Avenue A, between 2nd + 3rd Streets
AVE B DELI--Avenue B + East 10th Street
HOUSTON VILLAGE FARMS--Houston + Mulberry Streets
PARSLEY & SAGE--84 Seventh Avenue (at Barrow Street)
AYURVEDA--129 First Avenue, between St. Marx + 7th St.
LENNY'S NEWSSTAND--42nd Street + Seventh Avenue
NICO'S NEWSSTAND--10th Street + Sixth Avenue
IF YOU DON'T SEE THE SHADOW, ASK FOR IT!!!

100%
Pure
Urine

- Guaranteed Drug Free
- Just Add Warm Water
- Directions Included



Produced by Byrd Laboratories,
Purveyors of Fine Urine Products

POWDERED URINE:
GUARANTEED TO BEAT PISS
TESTS!!

ONLY \$20 FOR 2 CAPSULES

LIQUID URINE ADDITIVE:
GUARANTEED TO BEAT PISS
TEST FOR THC AND
MARIJUANA!!

ONLY \$20 FOR 2 CAPSULES

"CONQUERING THE URINE
TESTS": 28 PAGE GUIDE TO
SUCCESS IN BEATING PISS
TESTS!! ONLY \$5.00

ORDER FROM SHADOW
PRESS, P.O. BOX 20298,
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10009

HEAL

HEALTH • EDUCATION • AIDS LIAISON
P.O. Box 1103, Old Chelsea Station
New York, N.Y. 10113
(212) 674-HOPE

CARPENTRY ARTS AND CRAFTS

80 EAST 7th STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10009

Addukkan

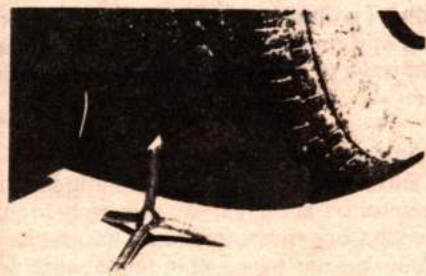
(212) 673-5477

"...weird articles from weird
publications..."
-WE ARE THE WEIRD
"...goodies poking at the es-
tablishment..."
-FACTSHEET FIVE
"...Reader's Digest of under-
ground presses...well done..."
-BAD NEWS
"...enjoyable and informative
reading..."
-THE DILATORY MEANDER
Send \$2.25 for a sample copy,
or send \$10.00 for six blon-
thly issues:
BLUE RYDER
Box 587, Olean, NY 14760

BLUE RYDER



ROAD STAR



an immediate blow-out. A vehicle driving over a group of these will be totally
incapacitated when all four tires are blown.

Only \$3.00 each, 10 for \$27.50.

Order from SHADOW PRESS, P.O. Box, 20298, New York, N.Y. 10009

Also on sale at A-CENTRAL Books, 208 East 7th Street



CARTOONS + ART WORK BY
SHADOW ARTISTS: COSMO, L.VAN
ABBEMA, SETH TOBOCMAN, ERIC
DROOKER AND SIOBHAN

ONLY \$2.00 PLUS \$1.00 POSTAGE FROM:
SHADOW PRESS
P.O. BOX 20298
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10009

*A FREE COPY OF THE LATEST SHADOW
WILL BE INCLUDED WITH YOUR ORDER!!