

the SHADOW

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AUG/SEPT. 1991
ISSUE #19

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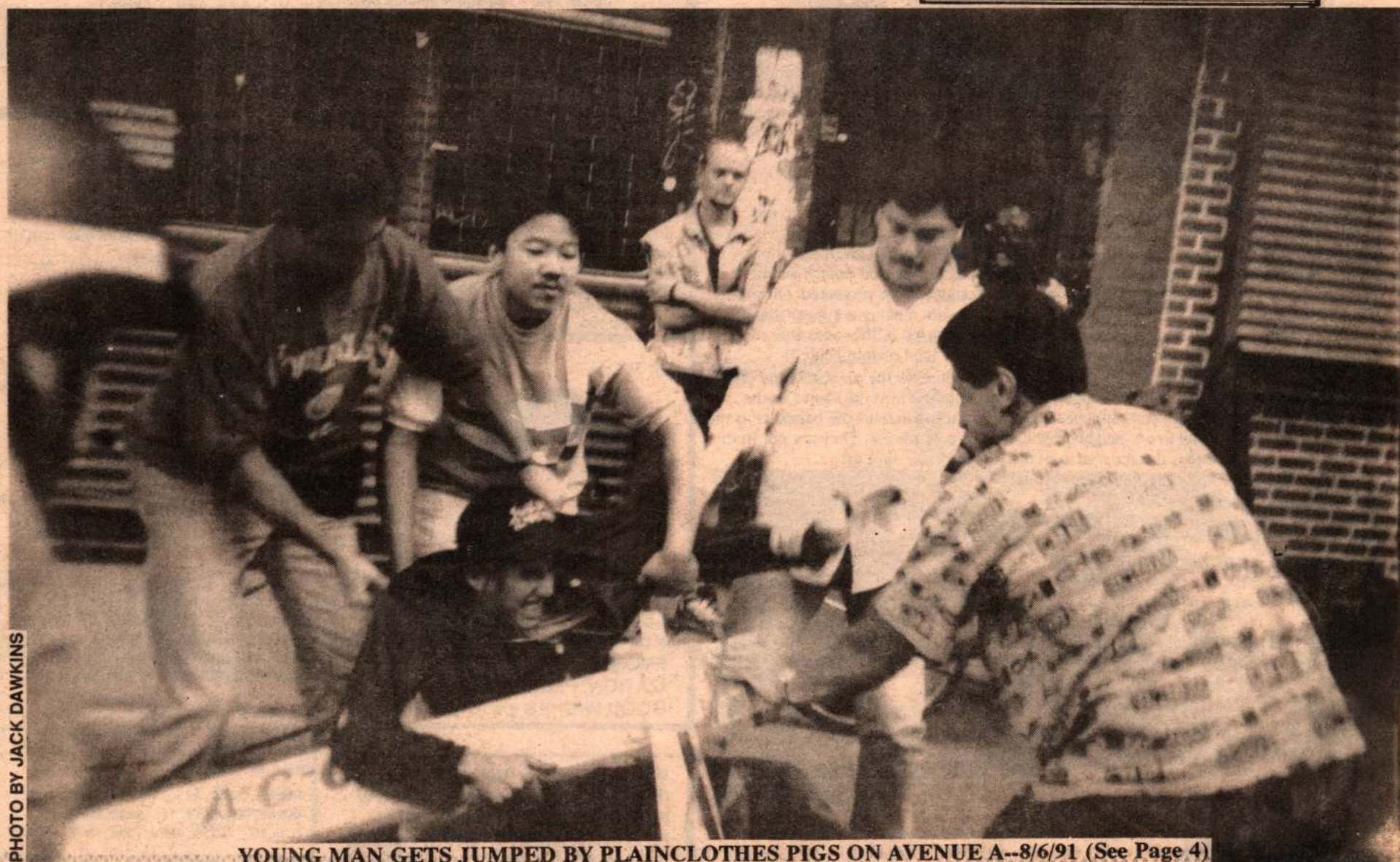


PHOTO BY JACK DAWKINS

YOUNG MAN GETS JUMPED BY PLAINCLOTHES PIGS ON AVENUE A--8/6/91 (See Page 4)

SHADOW EDITORIAL

TOMPKINS SQUARE POLICE STATE NOW COMPLETE!!

Since the June 3rd police raid and occupation in and around Tompkins Square, it has become obvious that the NYPD now calls the shots. No longer merely implementing and enforcing city policy at the mayor's direction, the NYPD now formulates policy and decides when and how they will act on it.

To achieve this coup of sorts, the pigs set up conditions and precipitated incidents in and around the park over the past three years that have resulted in people fighting back, leading to riotous situations. This false appearance of sudden outbreaks of violence on the part of the people, along with the appropriate slanted media coverage, has provided the pigs with the means to untie their hands so that they can do as they please.

This is confirmed by the mayor's actions following the street fighting between riot pigs and members of the community angered by yet another example of police brutality on May 27th (Memorial Day). Dinkins announced that the park may be curfewed or closed, but left it up to the NYPD to decide when and how to strike.

PARK DEMOLITION CONTRACT DONE BEFORE RIOT

A letter obtained by the SHADOW dated August 14, 1991 from Diana Chapin ("Deputy Commissioner for Capital Projects and Planning") to Rick Carman (Chairman of Community Board Three) reveals that the contract for the demolition of Tompkins Square Park was bid on April 18, 1991, more than a month before the Memorial Day Riot on May 27th and the closing of the park on June 3rd!! This indicates that the pigs set up the confrontation on Memorial Day that resulted in a riot in order to justify the closing and demolition of the park in the name of unneeded renovations. On the surface, their goal was to remove the homeless from the park, but further objectives include using the park issue to divide the community and to prevent organizing and gathering around political and social issues. Rather than deal with legally recognized "community representatives" as required by the city charter and other laws, Mayor Dinkins chose to avoid the false pretenses of community input since the plans had already been made long before.

Since then, the Tompkins Square area has been a constant police state, with a wide variety of civil rights being violated daily by the pigs with impunity. People who stop to chat along Avenue A are told to move along or be arrested, as are those who try to hand out leaflets protesting the pig presence in the park, and even people who carry a flag or banner. The pigs know they could not get away with their verbal and physical harassment and threats, sexist remarks, petty and false arrests if they had to answer to anyone beside their commanders who are obviously encouraging their actions.

Since the park became an issue in the late 80's, certain activists and demonstrators have been arrested repeatedly on trumped-up charges in an effort to intimidate and harass them, take them off the streets for a 24 hour trip through the system and clutter their lives with several ongoing court appearances. It has been revealed that the pigs maintain a "hit list" of people who they will arrest and put through the system at every demonstration. Those who get Desk Appearance Tickets and get released early are often told that if they return to the demonstration, they will be arrested again and put through the system.

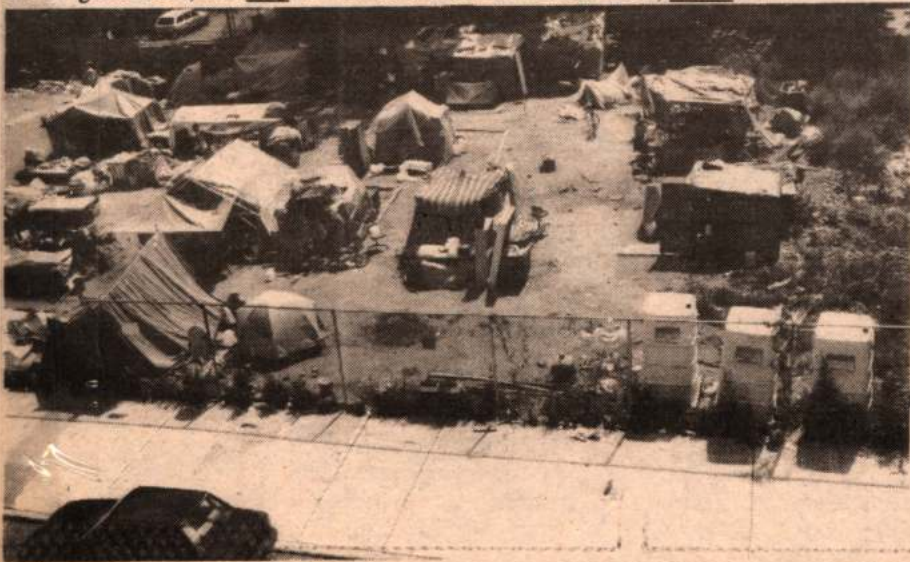
DISTRICT ATTORNEY'S OFFICE AIDS PIGS IN PERSECUTION

Further proving complicity between the District Attorney's office and the Police Department, the SHADOW has also obtained a memo swiped from a desk at the 9th precinct written by Paul Shechtman, the counsel to DA Robert Morgenthau, dated July 19, 1991, regarding a "Tompkins Square Park Misdemeanor Arrest". Shechtman writes:

"This defendant was arrested by an officer assigned to the Tompkins (sic) Square Park detail. The police are working hard to maintain peace in the Tompkins (sic) Square Park area and to permit renovation at the park to proceed in an orderly fashion. Their job is a most difficult one, and they deserve our support (emphasis supplied). Tompkins (sic) Square recidivists, many of whom are trying to cut the fence or otherwise wreak havoc, should plead to the top provable charge, and we should be recommending jail sentences."

In school we were taught about the system of "checks and balances" in which the legislative branch (Senate, Congress, elected officials) enacts a law, the executive branch (President, police) enforces the law, and the judicial branch (courts) interprets the law. This was set up by the founding fathers in order to insure that no one branch would become too powerful and that the rights of the individual would be protected. Obviously, this no longer applies, and they are not even concerned with making it appear that it does!! Besides, a "recidivist" is one who is consistently convicted of the same type of crime, not just arrested for it. So much for being "innocent until proven guilty"!!

At this point, it is up to the people to decide if they will allow the planned demolition of the bandshell to proceed without a fight. The pigs claim that it is the source of the "trouble" in the park, so they want it gone. We know better than that--the bandshell is the source of a lot of the unity in our neighborhood and the pigs are not. They are not from our neighborhood, and they are the source of the "trouble" here, not us!!



"THE CONSTITUTION IS BULLSHIT"--(9th precinct P.O. Gagliardi, harassing people talking together on Avenue A, August 12, 1991)



CAPTAIN SETA (Left) + CAPTAIN FREY (Right), PROVOCATEURS OF VIOLENCE, PLOT THEIR NEXT MOVE ON AVENUE A--8/6/91

FLASH FOTO

JUDAH APSELL, 1941-1991

"Riding Deer" was Judah's Rainbow name", recalls Jerry the Peddler. "Way before I ever met him, I used to see him at Central Park and then Tompkins Square Park. You couldn't miss him, cause whenever anyone played music, he'd always be dancing that wild, uninhibited way he'd dance. I finally met him through the North American Greens in 1986 at the National Green Conference in Philadelphia".

Jerry received the news of Judah's death from Judah's sister, who told him that Judah died on July 19th in his Brooklyn apartment. The rent had been unpaid for many months and his electricity had been turned off. Apparently, the insulin Judah kept in his refrigerator had spoiled, and Judah, a diabetic, died from injecting himself with the bad insulin.

Judah was well known and liked by the squatter/activist community of the Lower East Side. Never arguing, always holding himself above the fray, Judah was a perennial good vibe, always sharing his Frito Chips. He called them "safe junk food".

Judah was a calming influence on the scene, but could be relied on for active participation. He would ride his bike around the perimeter of a demo, scouting out the pigs' positions, and he helped to take down fencing keeping people out of the west side piers, among other things.

Unfortunately, Judah was known to suffer from depression. He rarely confided to anyone about his problems, and was too proud to accept handouts. In a scene full of different viewpoints and loyalties, Judah was without a single enemy or a harsh word from anyone. And now, perhaps, up in the clouds somewhere, floating through the air on his bicycle, "Riding Deer" is dancing his wild, free, Rainbow dance, and looking down on Tompkins Square, watching over all of us. He will be sorely missed.



LEGENDARY BEAT POET TULI KUPFERBERG IS RECOVERING FROM HIS RECENT HOSPITALIZATION. PLEASE SEND HIM YOUR GOOD WISHES c/o THE SHADOW.

RESIDENTS OF "DINKINSVILLE" (8th Street, between Ave B+C) NOW FACE EVICTION BY THE SAME PIGS WHO KICKED THEM OUT OF TOMPKINS SQ. PARK--(See Page 9)



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SHADOW EDITORIAL



HANDS OFF THE BANDSHELL!

by P. Nip

According to many reports, the City is poised to demolish the historic Tompkins Square Park bandshell within two weeks of presstime. This bandshell is a symbol of the proud heritage of the Lower East Side, and its destruction would be a blow against everything which is worth defending in this community.

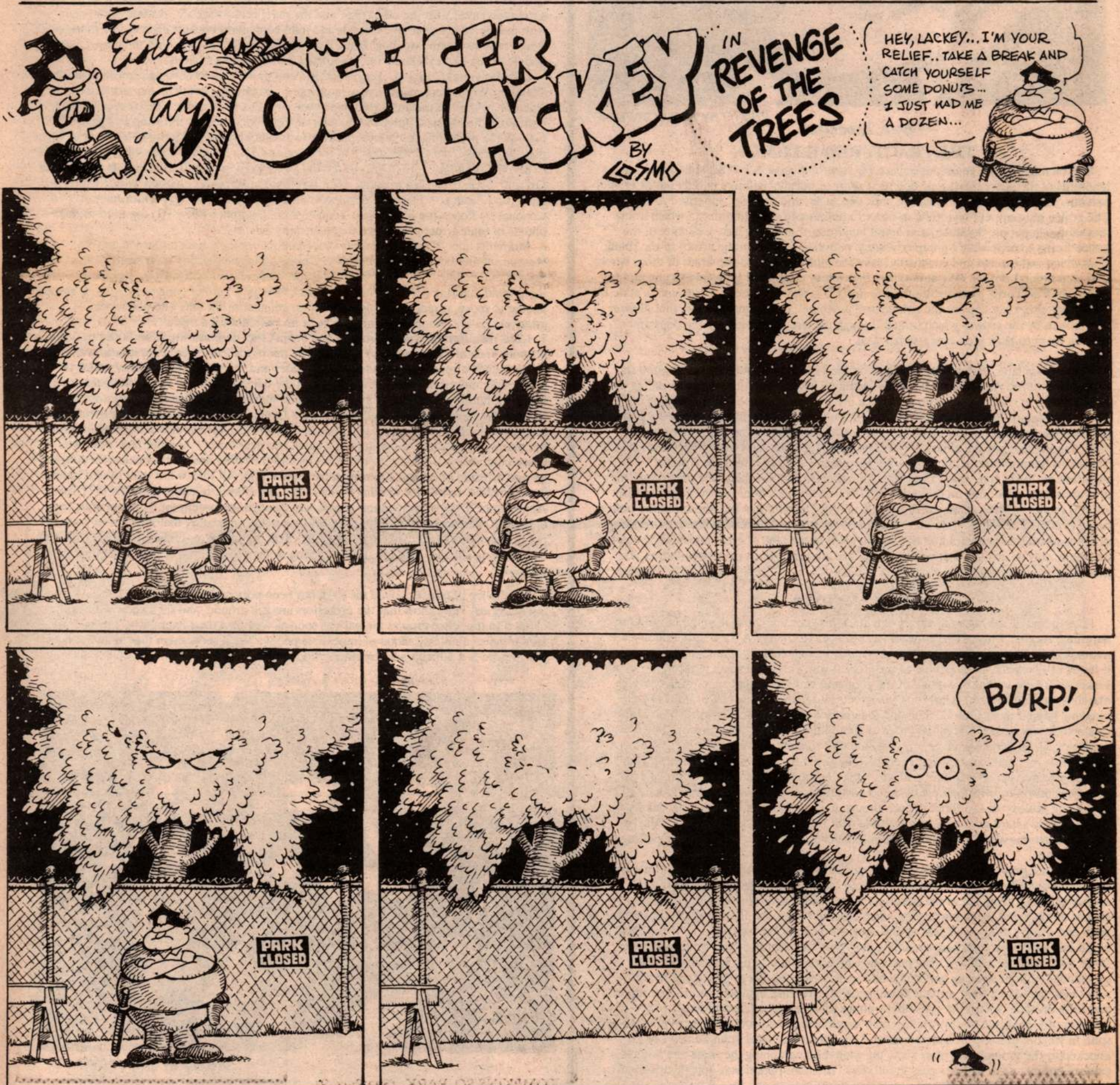
The bandshell was built in 1966 in response to ethnic tensions which were then escalating in the community. Old immigrants such as Poles, Ukrainians, Jews and Italians were in conflict with newer immigrants such as Puerto Ricans, African Americans and the thousands of teenage runaways who were then pouring into the neighborhood from across the nation. The bandshell was conceived as a response to this tension. The aim was to ease tensions by providing a forum for all of the diverse groups in the neighborhood for cultural expression. Although on Memorial Day of 1967, a riot erupted in the park as police attacked hippies and Puerto Ricans who were playing congas and guitars, the bandshell did succeed in bringing unity and cross-cultural understanding to the neighborhood. Over the years, the bandshell has hosted such names as Richie Havens, the Grateful Dead, the Jefferson Airplane and countless local groups from salsa to samba to reggae to funk to punk. But in the 1980s, the bandshell became a focal point in the culture of resistance to gentrification which emerged in the neighborhood. It hosted such events as the annual Squatter Mayday, Housing Is A Human Right Festival, and last fall's Homes Not Bombs show, as well as the transexual Wigstock Festival. Conservative elements in the

neighborhood and City Hall decided that the bandshell -- along with the Tompkins Square Tent City -- had to go.

The timing of the move is ominous, because New York City is at this moment descending into an abyss of racial and ethnic hatred far worse than any in recent memory. While the Lower East Side is a rowdy neighborhood, the lines have been drawn according to class rather than race. While Blacks and Italians or Jews and Latinos square off in Bensonhurst and Williamsburg, on the Lower East Side the ruling class has not been able to deflect the heat of popular anger away from themselves by playing ethnic groups off against each other. On the Lower East Side the battle has been working class, squatters and homeless versus yuppie invaders and their servants in blue. THAT is what truly threatens New York City's ruling elites.

All progressive forces on the Lower East side have a stake in the survival of our historic park bandshell. We are now faced with an historic challenge to mobilize effectively for its defense.

**SAVE THE BANDSHELL
FREE CONCERT & RALLY
SATURDAY, AUG 31
1 - 7 PM ST MARX & AVE A**



PIGS TRY TO START RIOT AT 3RD ANNIV. OF TOMPKINS SQ. PARK PIG RIOT!

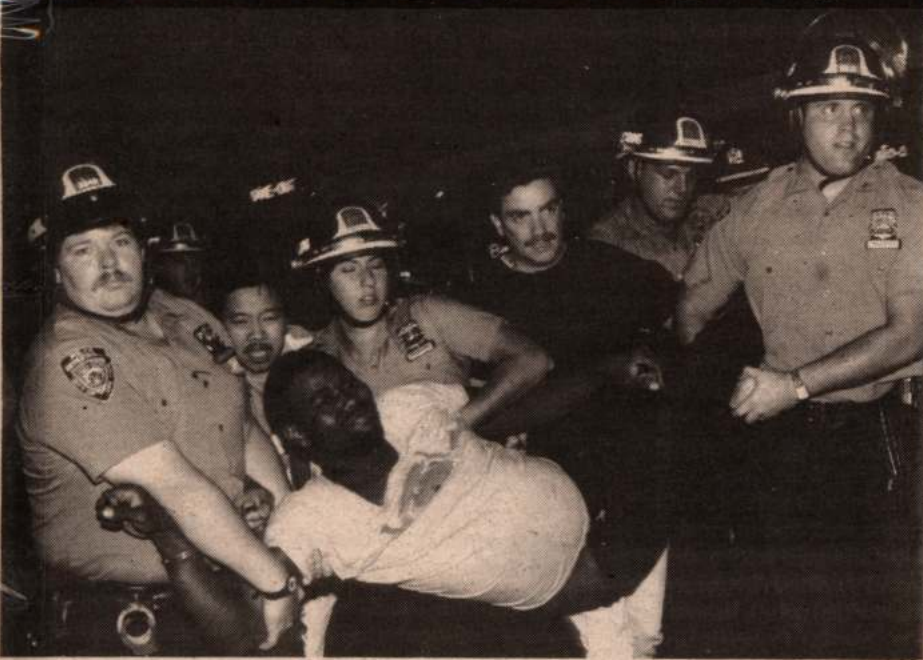


PHOTO BY JACK DAWKINS

By A. Kronstadt

THE FRACTURED ILLUSION

The memory of the Tompkins Square Pig Riot of August 6-7, 1988, still makes the landlords of the Lower East Side and their army of outside agitators in blue uniforms very nervous. The cops lost more than the park that night, and that isn't supposed to happen. The police must appear invincible in order to perpetuate a social order in which a few thousand rich people dominate and abuse hundreds of millions. Any possibility of the police losing a battle with a group of restless natives is a crack in the armor of the ruling class which will expand and eventually leave the elite exposed to the wrath of those whom they step on and exploit. (We outnumber the rich by a hundred thousand to one and the police [in New York] by three hundred to one!) It is only because of an illusion, a state of mind, that either the cops or the rich control anything! On August 6, 1988, that illusion was broken by the crowds which surged through the streets, befuddling the cops and causing them to blow their professional cool.

Three years later, community residents on the Lower East Side commemorated the anniversary of the August 6, 1988 riot by facing off with a city administration willing to pay anything to restore the illusion of police invincibility. Since the recent closing of Tompkins Square Park, it has cost the city \$1.8 million to keep the park closed for the first two weeks alone, following the massive police invasion on the morning of June 3, 1991. During that period, almost 5,000 cops and 1,100 command cops passed through the Tompkins Square Park detail. This is not the natural state of affairs for a police department. Every time that Lower East Side protestors show their face these days, they are faced with something on the order of \$1,000 per protest hour worth of pork chops. All this money is going down the drain only in order to reinforce the illusion of the police being in control of things. One thing the police are not in control of is the hemorrhaging of funds needed to keep a lid on the human spirit in the face of great injustice. The cops are really only as invincible as we think they are, and you get as much freedom as you take.

SOME NERVE!

The theme of the riot anniversary activities this year was "push it to the limit." On Saturday, August 3, about 50 protestors assembled on Avenue A for a little-announced militant kickoff to the festivities. Part of Avenue A was blocked off and lined with cops as if the NYPD expected 500 people to show up. It was a classical small demonstration by Lower East Side militants, with all of the good and bad points that such "walk-the-pig" marches have always had. They took the streets and marched west on St. Marx Place, dragging behind them Captain Seta and the entire Manhattan South Anti-Crime Unit (plainclothes porkers). The initial order to "get on the sidewalk" was answered by a couple of dozen people who were on the sidewalk running out into the street. The cops didn't press the issue, and the marchers had the street for the rest of the night. (What they didn't have but should have had was a flyer explaining what the whole thing was about to passers-by. Most people who had anything to say about this march had something positive to say about it, even though it was a nasty traffic-blocking trek by the neighborhood's hard core agitators, bristling with black flags and bad attitude. Maybe more pedestrians would have joined them if they had been given something in writing to invite them.)

The march proceeded up to Broadway, turned south, and started zeroing in on some specific targets. A missile of some sort glanced off the window of McDonald's, and a couple of M-80s exploded in the street. At the entrance to Washington Square Park, a couple of the hated metal barricades which enforce the curfew there went flying into the grass and a cop's motorcycle was tipped over. An undercover pig with a bald head and a beard lost his cool and started screaming at everybody, accusing them of throwing the M-80s. One thing he said was true: anybody who knocks over a pig motorcycle while surrounded on four sides by uniformed and undercover pigs does have "some nerve." After this, the march went around Washington Square Park and out onto Eighth Street and Fifth Avenue, where the cops finally attacked. A female plainclothes pig (Carol Orazem of Manhattan South) tried to grab someone and two comrades were pinched in spite of valiant attempts to unarrest them. Local photojournalist John Penley was knocked to the ground by a short runty pig while photographing the busts and had his camera broken, with his press pass in full view. The mini-porker was quickly driven away from the scene with the arrestees.

The following Monday, *Newsday* featured a cock-and-bull story about two people being arrested for hitting an undercover cop in the head with a cue ball near Tompkins Square Park, supposedly after the cops tried to stop them from throwing M-80s. *Newsday*, failing to mention that a demonstration had taken place at all that night, and apparently lacking an eyewitness, quoted police sources all the way through. Is this truth, justice, or the comics?

The logic that *Newsday* and the rest of the New World Order press is following in gathering "news" around Tompkins Square Park was summed up by a reporter from the aforementioned paper who told one of our local journalists: "no violence, no news," when asked if his paper was going to cover the August 6th activities.

PEOPLE COME TO CELEBRATE, PIGS COME TO RIOT

What happened at the "riot reunion" this year was a big, illegal block party under siege. People gathered on Avenue A between 7th and St. Marx at about 7:00 PM, and started with a speakout. Speeches included poetry by a local drag queen poet, a message of solidarity from the Puerto Rican independence movement, and a man fresh from the battle at People's Park in Berkeley, California, who told the crowd "people are still fighting."

Hours earlier, cops prepared for the celebration in their usual overkill fashion by deploying large numbers of plainclothes and uniforms around the park, setting up barriers, checking garbage cans for bottles and weapons, even going as far as emptying garbage containers for Leshko's Restaurant. Standing across the street from the demonstrators on Avenue A were seven commanding officers ("white shirts"): Captains Frey, Seta, Esposito, Haviken and Richardson, and Inspectors Jonasch and Fogarty.

From the very beginning, former FBI agent Captain Seta tried to single-handedly provoke confrontations with the peaceful demonstrators. After tearing down banners taped to a wall, Seta grabbed a young man in the crowd, supposedly for drinking a beer. The man's friend was arrested along with him, accused of "taking a swing" at Seta. A bunch of undercover pigs piled on both of them as Seta stood by grinning with totalitarian satisfaction. The smile was wiped off his face when the swelling crowd started chanting "Seta, Seta, you've got a little peter." This caused great roars of laughter from the demonstrators as well as the cops standing in front of them in the street. Seta went back across the street with the other pigs, and the party really took off. A metal jam began with people beating garbage can lids and joint compound buckets as beer and marijuana were consumed with impunity. Soon, Seta again barreled his way into the crowd, pushing people around and grabbing the noisemakers from people's hands.

Captain Gerald "Ex-Lax" Frey, a tactical cop more used to herding protesters at timid Workers' World Party demos, now in charge of monitoring political demonstrations (in violation of the "Handschu Agreement") was at a loss for a tactic. The party continued until Frey tried to have Jerry the Peddler arrested for allegedly throwing an egg at the pigs. While protesting his innocence, Jerry was suddenly yanked away by a bunch of burly pigs. A garbage can lid was tossed at the pigs, and Seta shouted "Take him!!!" -- pointing to SHADOW editor Chris Flash. Jerry and Flash were quickly stuffed into an undercover taxi and taken to the 7th precinct. (Not surprisingly, Jerry was charged with "Inciting a Riot," and Flash got "Reckless Endangerment," "Harrassment," and "Disorderly Conduct!!") Police press and New York Post photographer Betsy Herzog tried to take photos of their arrests, but was foiled by nearby activists.

Moments later, a young man was shoved into a vestibule next to the Odessa Restaurant and beaten by a group of riot pigs. A plainclothes pig wearing an orange shirt flipped out, yelling "You fucking bitch" before body-slaming a woman, throwing her to the ground, injuring her head, neck and back. The pigs left her lying prone on the ground, unable to move, prompting people to call an ambulance for her. The plainclothes attacker quickly disappeared into the night and was not seen again.

Cops then formed rows in front of and behind the demonstrators, and tried to block off both ends of the sidewalk to keep people out of the rally area. People who wanted to get in found various ways around the barricades and the party went on until about 100-150 people moved out and marched around the neighborhood. A vast contingent of cops followed, buzzing people with motorcycles and making busts. One demonstrator on a bicycle was chased and rammed on orders of Captain Seta by a hit and run pig riding a scooter and suffered a broken arm and cut chin. (A few days later, P.O. German signed the man's cast, adding: "Good luck--I'll catch you next time.") Another bike rider was chased and arrested for simply riding his bike in the street and two women were roughed up and arrested after they confronted the violent pigs. All told, more than fifteen people were arrested, mostly for walking in the street. Some were released with DATs (Desk Appearance Tickets), while others were sent through the system for 24 hours after cops at the 7th precinct checked with Borough Command, indicating that a hit list of certain political activists is being maintained. (After Seta got his jollies breaking bottles with his club, leaving glass all over the street, a young woman swept up the mess and threw it away.)

The police presence around the park has been porked up in the wake of the August 6th activities. They know that the protestors are still around, and they know what will happen to the fence around the park as soon as they turn their backs. The Lower East Side remains a neighborhood of impossible people. We'll show them that maintaining a police state is a difficult and expensive proposition.

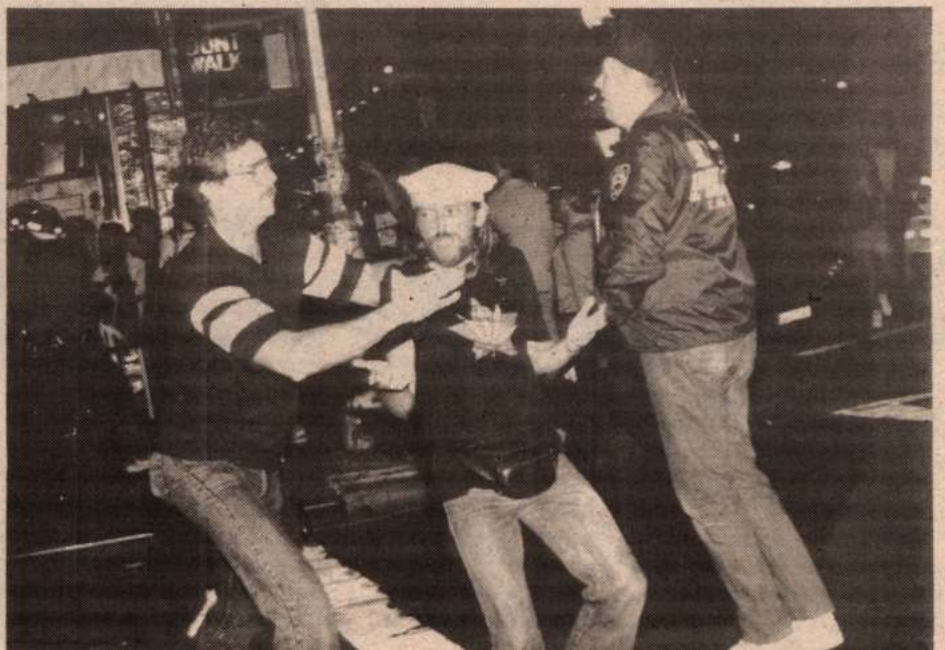


PHOTO BY JACK DAWKINS

BATTLE OF PEOPLE'S PARK!

(Exclusive report from the streets of Berkeley)

In 1967 the University of California purchased a 2.8 acre lot with the intention of building dorms to replace the buildings they had torn down on the site. Due to a tight budget the site remained a vacant lot until 1969, when the community started to build a "People's Park" there. On May 15th, the university Regents erected an eight-foot high fence around the park, precipitating a riot in which James Rector was shot and killed as then Governor Reagan activated the national guard to occupy the area. After continued resistance over the next two years, the university elected to remove the fence, thus liberating the land. Over the years, the university has continually proposed/threatened the park, while the community continued to develop it. It had in fact become a place where people could meet and remained one of the few places where everyone in Berkeley, especially the homeless, could hang out.

On the 20th anniversary of People's Park (May 19, 1989), the people staged the third of four uprisings against the continued gentrification by the university of the south campus area. In March of 1991, the university announced plans to build at least two volleyball courts on part of the open space in the park, leasing the wooded east and west ends of the park to the city of Berkeley for \$1.00 per year. Berkeley Mayor Lori Hancock, several City Council members, and members of the right-wing anti-homeless Willard Neighbors Association declared publicly that they would begin on Wednesday July 31st to break ground for the courts in People's Park. In response to this newest threat, the Bulldozer phone tree was activated, resulting in a hastily called emergency demonstration to defend the park.

As the sun broke over the more than two acres of liberated land, defenders entering the park could be seen stepping carefully around homeless campers to avoid disturbing their well deserved sleep. The defense grew larger as time passed. At the appointed hour of the ground breaking ceremony, heated discussions erupted between City Council members and several defense people. "There's nothing wrong with building two volleyball courts--it's better than dorms!" said a Mayor's Aide. "Again you're making a false assumption that there will be no opposition to either volleyball courts or dorms being built here!" replied a defender. "You try it and we'll riot!" screamed another defender. As the morning wore on, those words were to prove prophetic.

Becoming bored with shouting at self-elected politicians and spokespeople, this writer started to walk out of the park. "Hey man, you're here" greeted a familiar face. "Listen, be careful, there's a pig standing across the street" warned another. "Oh shit, he's coming across the street." Eight pairs of eyes followed the pig as he approached a bike rider. "Fuck, he's busting the brother!" "Six up--Pig in the Park!" we shouted as we approached the pig. "Pigs out of the park!" "What are you busting him for?" What began as only four of us shouting and cursing a single blue meanie became a crowd quickly growing in size. "Surround the car, Fuck the Police!" Suddenly, a lone person leaped onto the car and smashed the windshield! The riot was on as the pig was immediately beamed with a rotten grapefruit. "Help!! Officer in trouble!!" squealed the pig. Approximately twenty porkers showed up, swinging batons above their heads in an attempt to control the area. The crowd parted, giving the pigs clear room to march down the middle of the street. As the pigs continued to clear an immediate area in front of them, several bottles flew in their direction, followed by large chunks of blacktop.

Realizing they were completely surrounded, the pig squad continued to push forward. They were greeted by more debris as crowds on all sides picked up anything they could. Suddenly, the pigs ran up the street with 70 heavily armed folks chasing them. For two blocks the squealing pigs stumbled all over themselves. "Alright, Fuck them!" people chortled upon returning to the park. Five minutes later, another squad showed up. For several minutes, the confused crowd attempted to regroup. A brick flew suddenly and round two began. Instead of hanging around, the pigs quickly retreated with folks throwing more bottles, bricks, blacktop, dirt, and two by fours. Things were relatively quiet as folks milled around.

At about 6:00PM, a dump truck removing dirt from the park was spotted cruising down the street. It was immediately surrounded and stopped as the pigs and defenders shoved each other back and forth. Finally, the truck made its escape. During another lull,

Direct Action folks squared off, chanting "Who's Fucking Park? OUR Fucking Park!!" At 8:00PM, the pigs decided to get brave and rushed the crowd again. Folks ran onto Telegraph Avenue and started FUCKING SHIT UP. Over the next six hours, windows were smashed, stores looted, bonfires lit. The end of the night saw nearly 50 arrests and two cops sent to the hospital.

Thursday night (August 1st) started with marches that wound throughout downtown Berkeley and the university, finally ending at the park. The crowd seemed to grow larger in size as masked figures walked back and forth, picking up stones and debris. "Fire, Fire!" yelled one person, and it was quickly picked up as a chant. Soon there was a pushing and shoving match between Direct Action folks and the Peace Nazis over the idea. A small fire was ignited and it grew larger in size as folks continued to defend and add logs to it. Folks bored to death by the evening's activities started to leap over what soon became a thirty-foot high bonfire. One person was injured after crashing into another leaper and was helped by several people. The media, smelling blood, rushed the scene, making it difficult to help the person. A line of folks armed with stones and bare hands quickly formed in front of the media and chased them off. It didn't take long for the pigs to realize that folks were getting ready to fight. "Six up--the pigs are moving!!" When the pigs charged, the majority of folks turned and ran. A lot of them stood their ground and threw shit at the pigs, then took off down the street. The battle was on again, only to be broken up several hours later by cops shooting rubber bullets at groups of people.

Friday (August 2nd) saw another march form and wind through dark and unpopulated streets. Pigs were everywhere, cutting off streets and finally succeeding in trapping the majority on a side street and a smaller group behind the pig line. After a tense confrontation, an agreement was reached in which the people would be let go only if they went home. "Sure, we'll do that, just let those folks go," chimed one woman in the smaller group. As people were released from the larger groups to link up with an ever increasing crowd down the street, folks were muttering, "I don't make deals with terrorists, Fuck the pigs!!" as they handed out bricks and bottles to other comrades. Finally, the crowd slowly moved back onto Telegraph Avenue in smaller groups. After a tense 45 minutes, people returned to the park to be met by another group of more than 100 participants. Once again the pigs rushed, people fought back every way they could and continued to build small barricades.

By Saturday (August 3rd), Telegraph Avenue looked like a war zone. 90% of the stores were boarded up and the usual heavy occupying army was in place. That day saw two marches, both relatively peaceful. The major media was critical of the cops for shooting people over the two previous nights. Merchants were becoming pissed off. Unlike other uprisings, they clearly place the blame on the university as the cause of the troubles. There was talk that they will sue for any losses they incur. As darkness fell, the night was basically a repeat of the one before. The pigs rushed, we ran, built barricades (this time out of parked cars and dumpsters), the pigs shot, we built fires, broke windows, generally fucked shit up, and then everyone went home.

After four nights of continued resistance, Berkeley is now clearly on a war footing. Pigs from at least ten major cities comprise the occupying army (with some coming from as far away as Los Angeles, almost 500 south miles of San Francisco). On the other side stands the People's Army, tired, pissed off and a little demoralized by all the stupidity propagated by the liberals. Business in the area is off by 80% and a cloud of tension hangs over the city as darkness falls. The neighborhood residents to a large degree are very supportive by giving directions, sheltering those being pursued, handing out water, food, soft drinks, and in some cases bricks and gasoline!

Even though the Great Media Lie is still being pushed that this is about stupid volleyball courts, it is clear to a vast majority of the community that the issues which are being fought over are much more complex than that. "By giving even one square inch of the park back to the university, we are in essence handing them the entire city!" said one veteran of the original fight for the park. He added "It's our fucking Park and we are going to have to fight like hell to keep it and the whole city open for everyone."



AN INVESTIGATIVE REPORT ON THE CANDIDATE AND HIS HANDLERS

WHO IS ANTONIO PAGAN?

BY NASHUA

Antonio Pagan is a candidate for New York City Council in the newly redrawn 2nd Council District. He is vying for election in a field of five candidates in the Democratic primary being held on September 12th. His biggest opponent and the front runner in the election is 18-year incumbent councilmember Miriam Friedlander.

The 2nd Council District now snakes through the Lower East Side, north of Chinatown, north into Gramercy Park and terminates at 35th street and 6th Avenue. In the city's recent controversial redistricting process, the new district was carved out of Friedlander's former district and supposedly designed as a Latino stronghold. Yet less than a third of the registered voters in the new district are Latino.

Another section of Friedlander's old district has become the new District 1 and encompasses Chinatown and Battery Park City. Although that district is more than half white and a majority of its Asian population can't even vote, it has been termed "Asian influenced" by the redistricters. Even Asian candidates admit that they hope to win there by appealing to white, middle class and liberal voters in the apartment projects along the Hudson River.

Supporters of Miriam Friedlander opposed the new district lines, as do many Latino activists. Speaking on WBAI radio, Ruben Franco of the Puerto Rican Legal Defense Fund accused the Dinkins Administration's Districting Commission of creating "two white districts" out of the formerly majority Latino, Asian and African-American district on the Lower East Side, which included Chinatown.

Pagan seemed to agree when he said at a June 5th meeting of the Democratic Action Club (DAC -- a group formed by Pagan and his friends to support his candidacy), that the new district lines were "an affront to Latinos." However, he went on to say that in the new Lower East Side district "support from all sides will be essential in delivering a candidacy." Many of his opponents say that judging from Pagan's political backers, he may be more interested in currying favor with white voters, construction companies and sleazy political operators than in building real coalitions.

WHO IS BEHIND ANTONIO PAGAN?

In his campaign literature, City Council candidate Antonio Pagan asks the question, "Who is Antonio Pagan?" followed by a listing of political endorsements. At the top of the list is State Assemblyman Sheldon Silver, followed by State Senator Martin Connor, the Liberal Party, Harry S. Truman Democratic Club, Lower East Side Democratic Club, Inc., Village Reform Democratic Club (VRDC), the Puerto Rican/Hispanic Political Council (another group set up by Pagan and company to support his candidacy), and District Leader (and VRDC founder) Elizabeth Shollenberger.

Behind the scenes lies a more controversial Pagan supporter, Roberto Napoleon, a leader of the Baruch Housing Tenant Association and the Puerto Rican Council, a multi-service center at 180 Suffolk Street funded with city anti-poverty money.

The Puerto Rican Council shares offices with the Concilio Puertoriqueno Day Care Center, a nonprofit corporation, which has received more than half a million dollars in funding from the City Human Resources Administration's (HRA) Agency for Child Development, despite the fact that the Day Care Center's license to operate expired July 31 and has not been renewed.

A spokesperson for the Department of Health, which licenses day care centers, said that the Concilio Puertoriqueno Day Care Center could be in the process of renewing its license, but she added that the city does not grant grace periods.

A spokesperson reached at the center this August said that while Napoleon wasn't on the payroll, he could be reached there at night. The spokesperson added that she knew "nothing" about the day care center's license.

A 1985 Village Voice article written by William Bastone noted that Napoleon had been the day care center's administrative director until April of that year, when Human Resources Administration officials demanded his removal after an investigation revealed that he was not qualified for the \$20,400-a-year job. The investigation found that he had falsified his resume.

Napoleon's base of support is in the Baruch Houses where he has presided over the Baruch Tenants Association. The Association uses the same telephone number as the day care center and Puerto Rican Council.

According to Bastone, the Harry S. Truman Democratic Club, another Pagan supporter, has worked closely with Napoleon since the 1976 election of Assemblyman Sheldon Silver, who Bastone calls "a notorious symbol of anti-minority politics on the Lower East Side."

Napoleon also formed his own political club that, according to Bastone, received contributions of \$1450 from Silver's campaign committee. State Senator Martin Connor, whose district in Williamsburg includes part of the Lower East Side, has also endorsed Pagan. His committee contributed \$1300 to Napoleon.

In 1987, a Federal judge ruled that the Grand Street houses, where Silver has his base of support, were involved in "a pattern of intentional racial discrimination in allocating apartments under their control."

Long time Lower East Side activist Frances Goldin is a leader of the Joint Planning Council (JPC), an organization of local low-income housing development groups. In a letter to another JPC member, Roberto Caballero, Goldin expressed shock at Caballero's joining in a coalition with Napoleon to support Antonio Pagan's bid for the city council. Caballero responded that Hispanic "empowerment," not Roberto Napoleon, was the main issue in the election, and that he would not dignify her characterization of Napoleon as "corrupt" with a reply.

Antonio Pagan says, "the same kind of accusations can be hurled and have been hurled at each and every one of Miriam Friedlander's supporters. JPC is her backyard. They claim to represent the neighborhood that they do not even belong to."

Asked in what sense 18-year Council veteran Friedlander does not represent the neighborhood, Pagan replied; "Look at your statistics, look at the voting, and you tell me if the so-called leadership of JPC and Miriam Friedlander actually represent all of the sectors of this neighborhood."

All candidates for public office, including Pagan, must file financial disclosure statements with the New York City Board of Elections showing all campaign contributions over \$10. Pagan's most recent filing shows that between January 12th and July 11th of this year, the Committee to Elect Antonio Pagan received \$15,860 from about 100 separate contributors.

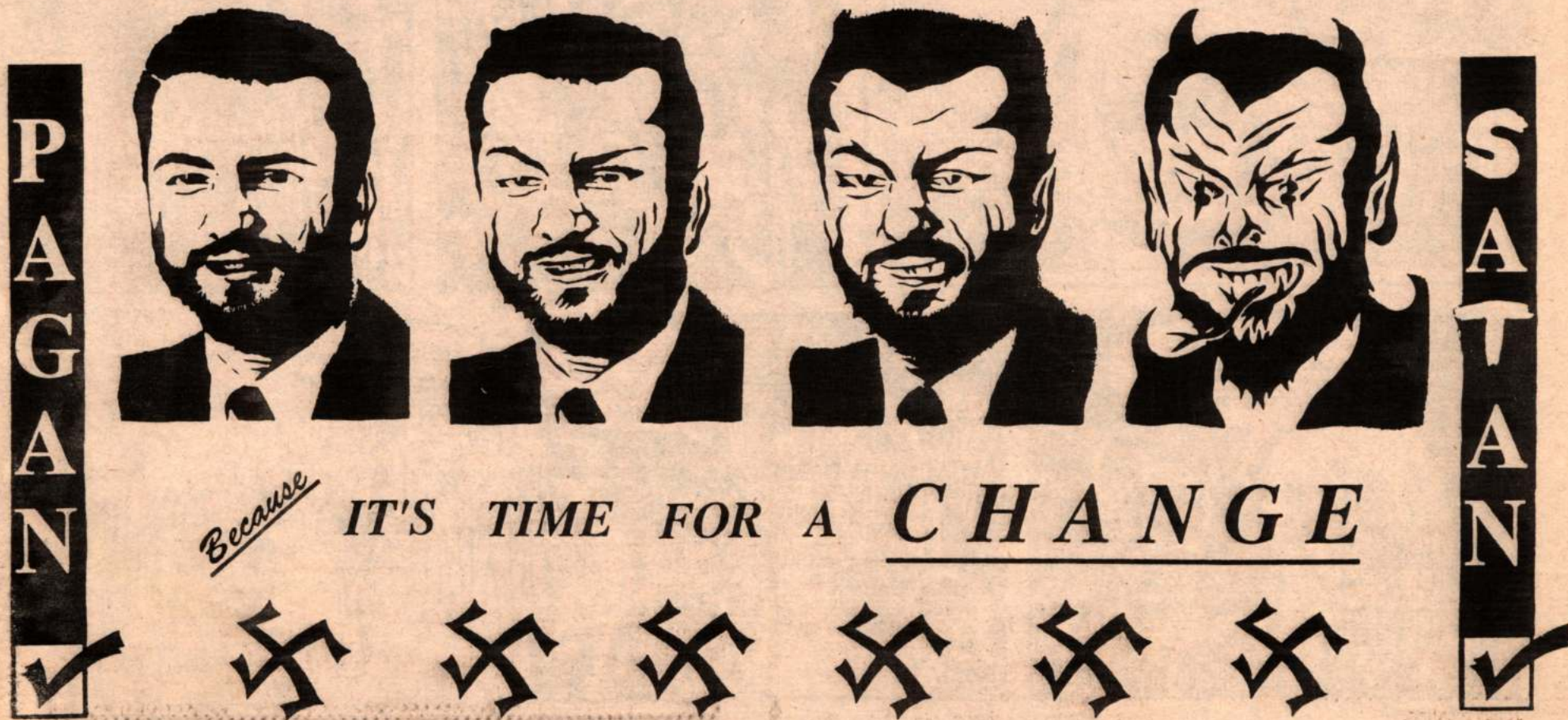
Raising questions of possible conflict of interest, more than half of Pagan's contributors are construction companies, suppliers and real estate firms, such as the huge Carol Management Company.

Pagan has received \$1,500 from two plumbing contractors located in upstate New York, \$1,300 from four electrical contractors located in the Bronx, Brooklyn and Staten Island, a Bronx general contractor who donated \$1,000, a Howard Beach-based waste hauler who donated \$500, Long Island City and Brooklyn iron and steel contractors who donated \$950, and at least \$1,000 from building supply companies.

At least one of those contributors, Blake Electrical Contracting, which donated \$500 to Pagan's campaign, has done work for the city. Records with the Mayor's Office of Contracts show that in January, Blake Electrical Contracting installed a security system for the city's Law Department offices located at 880 River Avenue in the Bronx.

Pagan is the director of Lower East Side Coalition Housing Development (LESCHD), which has close relations with numerous contractors involved in the construction of low income housing on the Lower East Side. LESCHD is currently working on two projects with 42 units at 181-3 East 2nd St. and 67 Avenue D. The cost of the project is \$3,381,000, financed by low-interest loans from the city and funds raised from private investors.

See WHO IS ANTONIO PAGAN? On Page 18



A SHADOW EXPOSE

By Bob Feldman

The DINKINSGATE SCANDAL

Exhibit A: "Dinkins, a 1950 graduate of Howard University, obtained this law degree from Brooklyn Law School in 1965, some fifteen years after graduating from college."--J. Raymond Jones in *The Harlem Fox: J. Raymond Jones and Tammany, 1920-1970*

Exhibit B: "Mr. Dinkins TESTIFIED that he SOLD THE STOCK TO HIS SON in late 1985, and that HIS SON PAID FOR THE STOCK by promising to pay him \$58,000, plus interest by January 1991."--page 8 of the "Report of the Special Deputy Commissioner Concerning the Transfer of Inner City Broadcast Stock By David N. Dinkins" on January 10, 1991

Exhibit C: "Dinkins said that before taking office, he transferred his stock in the company, AT NO CHARGE, to his 32-year-old son to avoid any conflict of interest."--Paul Moses in his September 26, 1986 *Newsday* article, "Dinkins' Cable Link: Lists Stock On City Form"

Exhibit D: "The financial disclosure report for 1985 was completed by Mr. Dinkins in 1986, and the report for 1986 was completed by Mr. Dinkins in 1987. AT NO TIME DID MR. DINKINS DISCLOSE ON THE FINANCIAL DISCLOSURE REPORTS THAT HIS SON OWED HIM ANY MONEY."--page 21 of the "Report of the Special Deputy Commissioner Concerning the Transfer of Inner City Broadcasting Corporation Stock By David N. Dinkins"

Exhibit E: "...Mr. Dinkins, Jr., now a non-resident of New York, declined our invitation to appear and testify."--page 11 of the "Report of the Special Deputy Commissioner Concerning the Transfer of Inner City Broadcasting Corporation Stock By David N. Dinkins"

Exhibit F: PERJURY: "The willful giving of false testimony under oath."--The Random House Dictionary

Neither Democratic Party clubhouse politicians nor broadcasting corporation directors in New York City are too famous for their honesty. So if a Democratic Party clubhouse politician who is also a former broadcasting corporation director testifies before a federal grand jury or a Special Deputy Commissioner and commits perjury, most people in New York City would not be too surprised.

Yet if that same clubhouse politician/broadcasting corporation director who committed perjury orders, "in the name of the law," his police force to violently shove homeless people out of a public park and occupy a neighborhood of political activists in order to keep the public from using a public park, then maybe it's time for the public to raise the following question: Does being an incompetent mayor of a big city give a clubhouse politician the right to commit perjury without being prosecuted?

DINKINS' TRENTON, NEW JERSEY ROOTS

Former Inner City Broadcasting Corporation Director David Dinkins was born in Trenton, New Jersey in 1927 and is the son of a prosperous Trenton realtor named William Dinkins. While living in a predominantly African-American middle-class neighborhood in Trenton in the early 1940s, Dinkins attended the predominantly white Trenton high school--which refused to allow its African-American students to use the Trenton High School swimming pool.

DINKINS' WORLD WAR II MARINE CORPS SERVICE

Since Dinkins didn't graduate from Trenton High School until June 1945, he didn't see too much World War II combat action.

After being drafted into the U.S. Army and then being transferred to the U.S. Marine Corps, Dinkins spent much of his July 1945 to August 1946 military service at Camp Lejeune, North Carolina, where he worked much of the time as the Colonel's chauffeur.

DINKINS' BURROUGHS CONNECTION

After leaving the Marines in August 1946, Dinkins enrolled at Howard University in Washington, D.C., received his degree in mathematics in 1950 and was awarded a Rutgers University mathematics fellowship. Yet, despite being a college math major, Dinkins has sometimes blamed his accountants whenever mistakes are discovered on income tax or financial disclosure forms which he has filed or failed to file during his years in public life.

After dropping out of Rutgers in the early 1950's, Dinkins sold insurance for a Red Bank, New Jersey, firm for a while before coming to New York City to live at the age of 26 and enrolling in Brooklyn Law School in 1953.

On August 30, 1953, Dinkins married the daughter of Harlem State Assemblyman Daniel Burroughs, Joyce Burroughs (who held a state government patronage post in New York between 1978 and 1989). Assemblyman Burroughs introduced his son-in-law to Harlem clubhouse politics and gave him a job in the Burroughs family liquor store while Dinkins studied law at Brooklyn Law School. After marrying into the Burroughs political family, Dinkins also "ran errands for local politicians," according to the 1990 *Current Biography Yearbook*.

THE DINKINS BROOKLYN LAW SCHOOL GRADUATION DATE CONTROVERSY

According to *Who's Who In America*, *Who's Who In Black America*, the 1990 *Current Biography Yearbook* and the *Martindale-Hubble Directory of Lawyers*, Dinkins received his law degree from Brooklyn Law School in 1956, at the age of 29. Reached by telephone, a Brooklyn Law School alumni office spokesperson also stated that Dinkins received his law degree from the school in 1956.

Yet, in the book *The Harlem Fox: J. Raymond Jones and Tammany, 1920-1970*, J. Raymond Jones noted that "Dinkins, a 1950 graduate of Howard University, obtained his law degree from Brooklyn Law School in 1965, some fifteen years after graduating from college," at the age of 38.

Asked to comment on the discrepancy between the claimed 1956 law school graduation date and the passage in the J. Raymond Jones biography that "Dinkins ... obtained his law degree from Brooklyn Law School in 1965," a spokesperson in the Mayor's press office replied, in a phone interview, that "The Mayor's biography gives the 1956 date as his graduation date."

DINKINS' J. RAYMOND JONES-TAMMANY HALL CONNECTION

In the 1950's and 1960's, Dinkins worked as a loyal shitworker for Harlem's Carver Democratic Club leader J. Raymond Jones, who became the head of Tammany Hall in the 1960's. Carver Clubhouse leader Jones had earned the trust of the Downtown White Establishment political bosses by organizing the 1949 electoral defeat of Harlem's radical African-American City Council representative, Ben Davis. Davis had been jailed on the trumped-up charge of "conspiracy to overthrow the government of the United States" because of his U.S. Communist Party membership in the 1940's. In *The Harlem Fox*, Jones recalled:

"The job fell to me to devise some means to defeat Davis at the polls in 1949. So into this drama I placed one of my own boys, Earl Brown ... we knew Brown could not win without the backing of Republicans, so we decided to make him a sort of fusion candidate ... Brown was elected to the City Council that fall...."

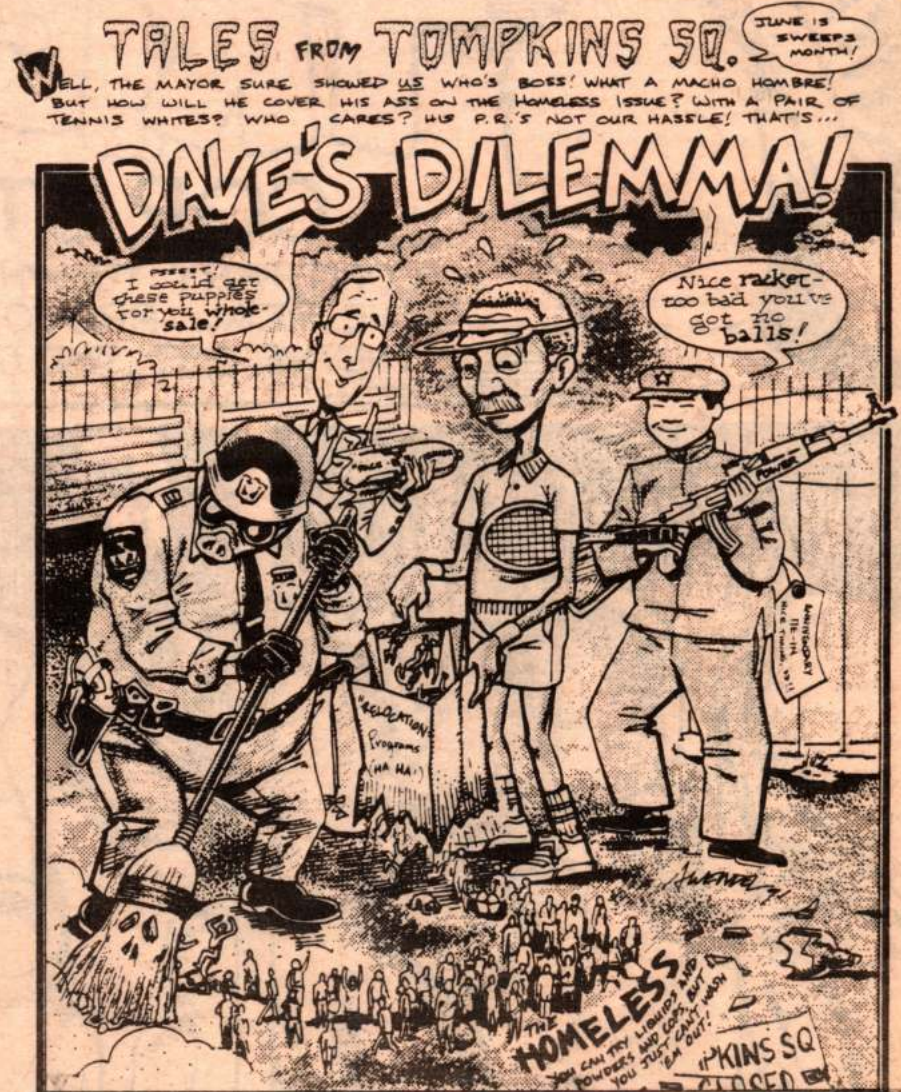
Carver Clubhouse leader Jones also made a deal with Democratic Party Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn in 1960 to support Lyndon Johnson's presidential candidacy, in exchange for Rayburn's agreement to appoint Harlem Congressional Representative Adam Clayton Powell to be Chairman of the House of Representative's Education and Labor Committee.

After making his 1960 deal with Rayburn and Johnson in Washington, D.C., Jones "returned to New York that night and the very next day ... received a telephone call from Ed Weizl, Johnson's New York lawyer," according to the *The Harlem Fox*. According to Jones, "Weizl informed me that Lyndon's top strategist, John B. Connally, the man who had masterminded Johnson's senatorial campaign in 1948, would like to see me the next day."

Carver Club leader Jones then met with John Connally at Weizl's apartment on Central Park South and they "decided on a public relations campaign to sell Johnson as a Southwesterner and a supporter of civil rights," according to *The Harlem Fox*. Jones next "set up an agency we called the Holloway-Rand Agency, named after my wife and sister-in-law" with J. Dayton Brooks, the politician who coined the phrase "All The Way With LBJ." To finance the Carver Club leader's Holloway-Rand Agency, Lyndon Johnson's campaign managers gave Jones \$25,000.

After Lyndon Johnson became the Vice President in 1961, he also rewarded Jones for his campaign support by securing the Democratic Administration's appointment of Jones' wife, Ruth Jones, to the well-paid job as Collector of Customs for the U.S. Virgin Islands. A few years later, President John F. Kennedy was assassinated on a visit to Lyndon Johnson's home state of Texas, Johnson became President and an even more rapid escalation of U.S. military intervention in Vietnam began.

See DINKINSGATE On Page 12



SHADOW #19
1991

ALL CRAFTS CENTER UNDER PIG ATTACK! By NASHUA

The All Crafts Center is an independent, self-help oriented community that helps addicts who want to recover from their illness. All-Craft's founder and director is Joyce Hartwell, a 30-year resident of the Lower East Side. She began her career by promoting self-help alternatives to poverty by training women to be carpenters and construction workers.

Hartwell was able to buy the large building at 25 St. Marks Place between 2nd and 3rd Avenues from the city. The building had been the former Electric Circus, a popular hippie hangout in the 1960's well known for the psychedelic drug use by its patrons.

The Electric Circus closed with the fading of the hippy scene on the Lower East Side. Meanwhile, the CIA flooded inner city neighborhoods, including the Lower East Side, with heroin grown in Southeast Asia. Hartwell saw the effects of the heroin plague on the streets of New York and decided to start a drug treatment program based on the understanding that drug use should be treated as a health issue and not criminal activity.

All-Crafts Center operates a 24-hour hotline for addicts who want treatment; the number is R-E-C-O-V-E-R, and staffers say that it's not uncommon for a potential client to walk in the front door in the middle of the night. While All-Crafts serves many poor inner city youth, they also help a surprisingly large number of middle class people and yuppies from as far away as Long Island and Westchester.

Walk-ins spend on average two weeks to a month living in the All-Crafts building before moving on to a traditional treatment center. Some people who have special problems such as no birth certificate or social security card, or who are facing court action, can stay longer. A few are kept on as residents who volunteer to help operate the center.

About 25-40 people are living in the All-Crafts center at any one time. Many others come to the coffee shop and weekend drug- and booze-free disco. According to Hartwell, in the past two years, the All-Crafts Center has helped place about 3,000 people in drug and alcohol treatment centers.

However, a small cabal of people, including police officers and former owners of the building where All-Crafts is located, have been trying to destroy the center and to slander Hartwell.

The anti-peddler 2nd Avenue Task Force, headed by landlord Krystyna Plorkowska, who is one of those responsible for closing Tompkins Square Park, has taken the lead along with the St. Marks 2nd to 3rd Avenue Block Association in the attacks against Hartwell and the Center. The Block Association is the brain child of Kate Walter, a noted right-winger and anti-homeless crackpot who recently added to her attacks against All Crafts and Hartwell through her newly published newsletter.

Aiding in the smear campaign against All-Crafts center is Steven Vincent, a yuppie wannabe with a poison pen specializing in slanderous personal attacks against his opponents. Vincent and Walter, while claiming to support drug treatment, criticize All-Crafts' self-help philosophy as "anarchic" and the residents as "squatters," code words Vincent and his cronies regularly use to justify police attacks against their opponents.

The most recent attack against All-Crafts occurred in July when Joyce Hartwell saw 9th Precinct police officer Francisco Negron on the anti-peddler Task Force arresting an All-Crafts counselor on 2nd Avenue. Negron busted the woman for allegedly moving "too slow" when he ordered her to turn down her radio.

Hartwell tried to intercede, and followed the arrested woman to the precinct where she was ticketed and released. It seemed like the incident was over when several weeks later, a police officer presented Hartwell with a subpoena from Negron, charging her with "aggravated harassment."

PUERTO RICAN INDEPENDENCE MARCHERS TAKE IT TO THE STREETS!!

By A.Bertoli

On Thursday, July 25th, a demonstration was held at 26 Federal Plaza, (headquarters of the FBI, HUD, and FEMA), marking the International Day of Solidarity with the Puerto Rican Independence Movement, Puerto Rican Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War. Called by an ad-hoc committee organizing for the October 12th, 1991 March on Washington D.C., the spirited picket of approximately 200 people demanded freedom for all imprisoned Puerto Rican freedom fighters and independence for Puerto Rico.

Why July 25th? The United States invaded the island of Puerto Rico on July 25, 1898, grossly violating the statutes of international law and trampling on Puerto Rico's right to be free and sovereign. As a colony of the US, Puerto Rico and its people have suffered 93 years of US military occupation and economic exploitation. They have never accepted this occupation passively. Over the years, popular resistance has taken many forms, including armed struggle, led by the FALN (Armed Forces for National Liberation) and the Macheteros (Machetes). The fight against colonial oppression is worldwide. In fact, the protest at Federal Plaza in NYC occurred at the same time as actions organized in dozens of cities throughout the world.

Julio Rosado, International Representative of the Movement for the National Liberation of Puerto Rico (the MLN), electrified the crowd, calling for the re-emergence of a mass anti-imperialist movement, a movement that recognizes the strategic importance of the Puerto Rican struggle, a movement that envisions the victory of the poor and working classes over the capitalist bosses.

While Puerto Ricans and their organizations, particularly the Centro Juan Antonio Corriente and the MLN made up the majority of the demonstration's participants, numerous other groups were represented, including the Latino Caucus of ACT-UP/NYC, the Palestinian Solidarity Committee, the Free Puerto Rico Committee, and the Lower East Side Squatters.

The rally concluded with a spontaneous march to Tompkins Square Park. The marchers were confronted by the usual array of police barricades and an unusually large number of "Red Squad" types (pigs monitoring political groups). Apparently, the State fears solidarity between the Puerto Rican Resistance and the Tompkins Square/Lower East Side struggle. Speakers at St. Marx Place and Avenue A pointed out that the police and Mayor Dinkins' administration were trying to "hide what they have done to the homeless." Neither the homeless nor the Puerto Rican independence struggle will be swept under the rug... We'll see you in Washington, DC, on October 12th!!

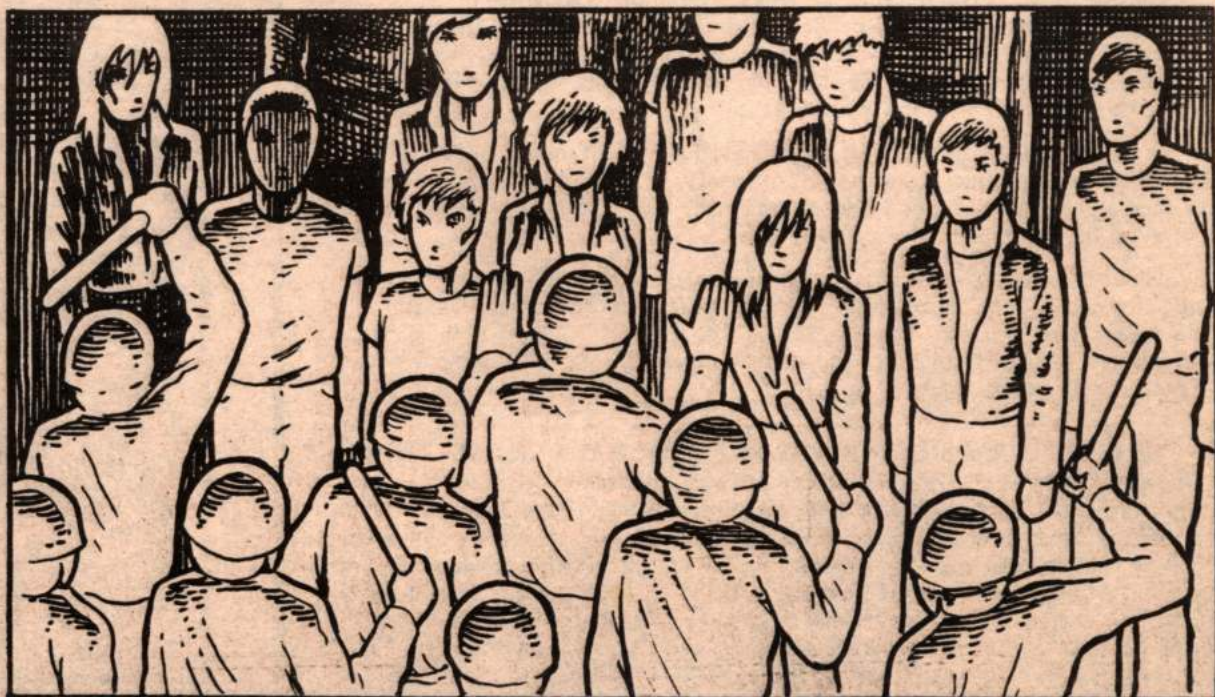
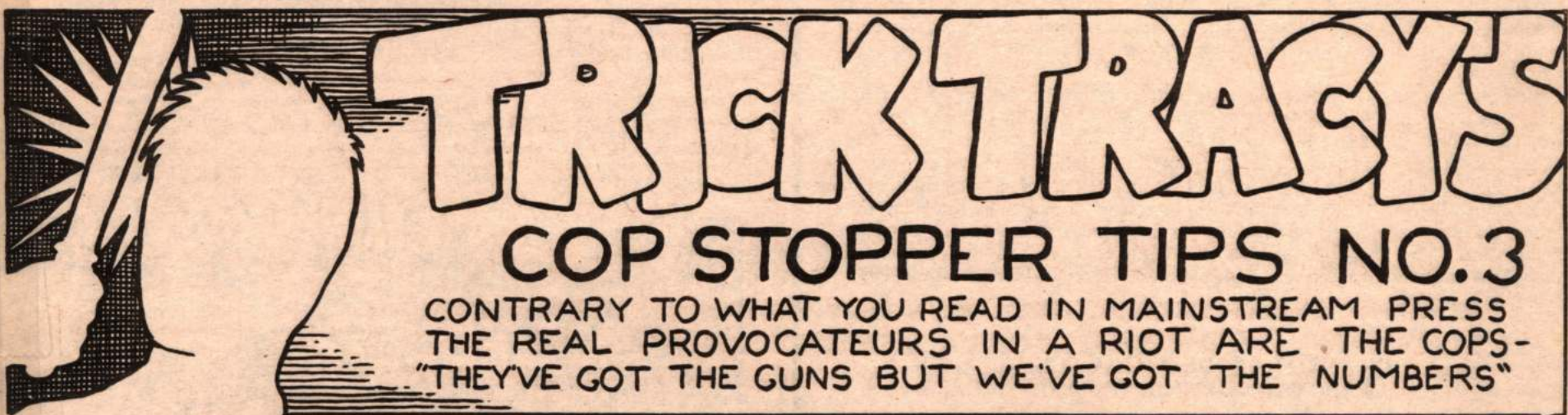
In early August, a hearing was held on the matter before an Arbitrator at 346 Broadway. Negron showed up, along with 10 peddlers who all said they witnessed the incident on 2nd Avenue; he also had documents from the Block Association parroting the charges against All-Crafts made by Walter and Vincent.

Despite Negron's efforts, the Arbitrator dismissed the case against Hartwell. Hartwell says Negron probably intimidated the peddlers into testifying. She says that Negron is feared on the block because of his violent and arbitrary attitude towards the peddlers, who are within their First Amendment rights to be on the street selling books and magazines.

According to Hartwell, other 9th Precinct officers have told her that they are watching Negron because he is a "loose cannon." She adds that some of the young people who hang out at All-Crafts told her Negron has said he wants to "see her in handcuffs." Negron, testifying at the hearing, said that the "entire" 9th Precinct hates Hartwell, without explaining why.

Hartwell laughs at the charges because she says the nature of All-Crafts' work means they are in extremely close contact with the justice system. She shows letters of praise from various government and police officials, including an article praising her work with addicts, written by an FBI agent.

In the most recent development, Hartwell says that on August 20th, a police officer approached her to say that Negron had filed an Order of Protection against her. The officer told Hartwell that she can now be arrested at anytime on Negron's word alone.



DINKINSVILLE AT HIGH NOON...

By I.C. Timerow

In the early morning hours of June 3rd, 1991, a police army numbering in the hundreds brutally evicted the homeless residents of Tompkins Square Park. With their possessions piled up in shopping carts, the homeless slowly wandered from street to street, looking for a new home. Gradually, over the course of a few days, most former residents of the park found themselves on the only two lots in the area where they weren't chased off by cops or drug dealers: 9th Street, between Avenue C+D and 8th Street, between Avenue B+C. Soon, the numbers of homeless residents increased and the resulting camp became known as "Dinkinsville." Both lots are distinguished by a total lack of greenery -- no grass, no shrubs, and no trees. And when the sun is shining, there is no shade.

Dinkinsville lacks soft earth. Beneath a thin layer of dirt, bricks are tightly packed together underfoot. The vacant lot on which Dinkinsville stands was once a row of squatted city-owned tenement buildings that stood there only a few years ago. The real estate cycle on this street goes something like this:

- 1) Low-income housing tenements since the turn of the century.
- 2) They became abandoned buildings in the 1960's and 1970's through arson or mass evictions.
- 3) They became squatted buildings in the mid-1980's.
- 4) They are systematically torched under suspicious circumstances and building residents are burned out in the late 1980's.
- 5) They are then bulldozed to rubble by the city and fenced off, only for the lots to be reclaimed as Tent City (1991).

THE RESIDENTS OF DINKINSVILLE

There are a lot of familiar faces at Dinkinsville: Terry Tee, Artie, and Justice are all housing activists and former Tompkins Square Park Tent City vets who made it into the squats. But, after evictions from their squats, they came back to Tent City, first in the park, and now Dinkinsville. Artie has just moved into another squat, only a few blocks away. Justice and his girlfriend are also fixing up an apartment in a squatted building and plan to move in soon. Few other Dinkinsville residents have any squat to move to.

Robert Johnson, a Vietnam vet, local street peddler (on Avenue A and 3rd Street), and an articulate spokesman for the rights of the poor, also lives in the camp. Diane, a 48-year old woman, has a tent right in the middle of the lot. Lately, she has been collecting sinks and bringing them to a plumbing wholesaler for about fifteen dollars each. Robert Marron, a TSP speechmaker and peddler, used to live on the 7th Street and Avenue A corner of the Park. He is known to carry a large American flag (in various stages of disrepair), to use as a prop during his speeches. At the Third Anniversary of the TSP curfew riot, Marron tore his flag into shreds after watching many activists being busted for standing on the sidewalk. He's here at Dinkinsville, too. Billy, a Native American, has his tent set up and secured. Richard, a middle-aged peddler, who works with Robert Johnson, is one of the quieter Tent City residents. On the east side of the lot are the Mexican camp and the Haitian camp.

It has not been easy going at Dinkinsville. Its residents are under the stress of being constantly watched by the police in front of the lot and on the roofs of the surrounding buildings. Since their sudden eviction from the park, and with many rumors swirling about a pending eviction, many residents here are demoralized, the result of which has been much infighting among each other in the camp. Even so, many residents have been making the best of their situation.

At a Community Board 3 meeting held in early June -- shortly after the closing of the park, CB 3 Chairman Rick Carman presented a letter that was sent to Dinkins, requesting that the lots on East 8th and 9th Streets be closed and the tent cities be evicted, claiming that they are a health hazard and further claiming that there have been many complaints about the homeless from their neighbors. Carman also requested the eviction and closing of the squat buildings in the area.

On August 8th, residents of Dinkinsville and neighborhood activists met at City Hall with representatives of Mayor Dinkins, HRA (Human Resources Administration), Partnership for the Homeless and other so-called "homeless" groups to discuss where the homeless would go if they were forced out of Dinkinsville. After receiving a lot of passing the buck from Deputy Commissioner of Parks Dianne Chapin, they soon left the meeting put together just for appearance sake. One of the only concrete suggestions about alternative housing that the City came up with was to suggest that people be moved to an abandoned jail in New Jersey!!

Dinkinsville now has a population of about 100 people. In spite of the smear campaign against the residents of Dinkinsville, including exaggerated and misleading articles in Robert Maxwell's Daily News and Peter Kalikow's New York Post calling for their removal, many groups, organizations, and neighbors have been pitching in to help them out. Through the efforts of the Joint Planning Council (JPC) (which oddly enough has a long history of fighting with the squatters), six portable toilets were installed at the

COMMUNITY BOARD 3 WAFFLES ON DINKINSVILLE

By Stuart Frankel

On August 6, the executive committee of Community Board 3 held an emergency meeting and the subject of Dinkinsville came up. Chairperson Rick Carman said he had received many complaints from people who live around the lots and he had sent two letters about the situation.

The first, which was sent in June to Mayor Dinkins, said that there was an emergency in the lots due to increased drug dealing, burglaries, unsanitary conditions creating fear of epidemics, etc. He wrote that according to HRA (the Human Resources Administration--in charge of running the city's shelter system), the people living the lots refused "services" because most of them are parole violators or have outstanding warrants. The letter requested that the city deal with the problem immediately.

CB3 member Carol Watson interrupted angrily to say that most of the people were NOT parole violators; according to HRA stats, 17 people of maybe 300 were parole violators. She said that the people had refused services because there were no services offered. "A humane shelter is a contradiction," she said.

The mayor's office had responded that due to "the delicate nature of the problem" they would take some time to make up their minds.

Carman's 2nd letter was sent to David Axelrod, (Former) State Health Commissioner, in July. He asked for an inspection of the lots because of a health emergency.

CB3er Miriam Fox said she had a hand in drafting the letters, and that they did not call specifically for a sweep of the lots, although that was their clear intent. Later, Carman confirmed the intent, quite emotionally.

Many of the board members were pissed at Carman. They were pissed partly because he had sneakily asked the city to clear the lots without any discussion by the board, and they were REALLY PISSED because they think that clearing the lots is a terrible idea.

CB3ers Donna Ellaby, Fran Golden, Carol Watson, Lisa Kaplan, Sandy Andersen, Elaine Chan, and others said that moving the homeless from place to place wouldn't solve anything. Watson said that 10,000 SRO units with support services were needed immediately; Golden added that there were a few SROs in the city run on a miniscule budget that have had excellent success in getting homeless people off the streets. They all agreed that as a temporary measure, sanitation facilities should be provided for Dinkinsville, and they agreed on the need to develop permanent solutions immediately.

Right wing slime landlord Krystyna PiorKOWska said that there should be more police in the neighborhood to control crime coming from the lots. Anne Johnson responded, "There are already police all over, or haven't you noticed?" (Much laughter.)

Carman said that he had not implemented any new policy, but merely followed the usual board procedure for many years when people complained about junked cars or garbage piling up in lots, which was to try to get the lots clear and secured. Watson responded (Carman had really handed her this line) that there are people in the lots, not garbage.

Lisa Kaplan proposed a resolution, that the board ask for sanitary facilities to be provided immediately, that the cops take care of any drug dealing (!), that the city immediately provide acceptable housing for the people in the lots, and -- this was a last-minute compromise to try to mollify certain wavering members -- that the city close the lots by the beginning of November, provided that a solution has been found to relocating the people living there.

If all the board members present had been able to vote on this resolution, it would have passed, but only the executive committee could vote, and it failed (barely): 5 yes, 3 no, 2 abstentions.

camp at a monthly rental of \$125 each. Just as funding was about to run out, more money was raised to keep them longer. (In the mid-1970's, a medium-sized apartment on the Lower East Side rented for \$125 a month, but in the 1990's, \$125 gets you only a toilet!)

More funds raised at a recent music marathon at CBGB's provided a shower fixture hook up to the fire hydrant across the street, and plumbers may hook up a continuous shower there. Further improving conditions, the Sanitation Department has recently been providing garbage trucks for Dinkinsville on Tuesdays and Thursdays, standing by as the homeless load their garbage themselves.

While some neighbors have complained about the Dinkinsville residents, other neighbors have been helping them with food and their support. The food lines that fed the homeless in the park have been moved within a block of Dinkinsville, and several pot-luck dinners have been held at the camp by neighborhood activists in an effort to get everyone acquainted with each other.

There are now rumors that the Mayor is planning to move to evict the residents very soon, but these have not been confirmed. Nick, a resident of Dinkinsville, says: "It's inevitable we'll have to resist an eviction."

As of August 16th, Dinkinsville continues to exist. Cops maintain their positions across the street, sometimes entering the camp to take a count of people there. The threatened eviction has not yet taken place, but "High Noon" at Dinkinsville may not be far off. On the day that a police army invades and tries to evict and close Dinkinsville, will massive community support in the streets stop the demise of this proud tent city? It is up to the residents of Tompkins Square, with and without homes, to draw the line here and defend the rights of the homeless to keep their camp until alternatives to the city's death camp shelters are found.



NEW NEIGHBORS

Perhaps you're wondering where the city's squatters are congregating these days, now that Mayor Dinkins has banned the homeless from Tompkins Square Park and Columbus Circle.

There's no need to look farther than the mayor's door. Saucy counted 16 people living in Carl Schurz Park yesterday morning. That's the nice stretch of green grass surrounding beautiful Gracie Mansion.

So will Dinkins be showing his new neighbors the gate?

"There's no hit list for moving homeless people out of public places," said a mayoral spokesman. "There are no plans to move them out of the park."

COP WATCH!

POLICE
ACADEMY



Well, here we are again!! Thanks to the running street battles in Crown Heights, Brooklyn, the usual allotment of kops in and around Tompkins Square Park was reduced to almost nothing. Unfortunately, the battle in Brooklyn pitted Blacks against Jews, but at least both groups found a common enemy and collectively attacked the kops!!

Of course, the kops have been maintaining their overkill presence in Tompkins Square. In a rather vain effort to stop the people from rallying to re-open the park, Chief Walsh declared that no more than 35 people would be allowed to "congregate" on Avenue, or else they would be forced into "designated" areas closed in by police barriers. In spite of this, more than 60 people "congregated" at the corner of 7th Street and Avenue A the following Friday night for the weekly free speech speakout. Walsh was spotted standing nearby in his "civvies" watching the whole thing with a smile on his face!



"THEY USED TO CALL 'EM FLATFOOTS 'CAUSE THEY WALKED MOST OF THE TIME. NOW THEY SIT DOWN MOST OF THE TIME."

By the way, whose photos was Anne Hayes, of Community Board Three, looking over in an unmarked car (Plate #AVX-839) driven by P.O. Tyler on East 3rd Street + Avenue A at 3:00PM on July 17th?

On August 9th, around 2:00 PM, koppers from "TNT" (Tactical Narcotics Team) invaded a long established squat building on East 7th Street, supposedly looking for a Chinese drug dealer. The only problem is that there are no Chinese people in this building at all. In their zeal, the kops broke down several apartment doors and even threatened and beat a Puerto Rican resident who was later hospitalized. If these guys are going to shake down drug dealers, they should at least get their addresses right!! Appropriately, a suit against the NYPD is being planned in the face of subsequent threats from the assaulting kops. More on this in the next SHADOW.....

Here are some plate numbers seen around the area of Tompkins Square recently:

2HE-116	2HL-111	3HE-294	4AH-942
4AP-642	4AR-544	5HE-663	5HG-135
5HG-136	6AR-970	6HC-896	6HN-186
6RW-947	8HC-313	8HL-417	9HK-397
9HN-115	9HN-686	9XH-824	APA-781
APM-457	AVP-337	AVV-245	AVW-483
AVX-839	AVX-866	AVY-709	AWW-483
AXD-517	AXT-646	EG7510	FWB-507
IRR-857	IVL-174	IVL-260	IVL-363
IVR-648	IVS-267	IWM-125	IWZ-559
LKG-344	LKP-107	NUD-818	OLW-828
OLW-836	PRD-968	YWB-708	YWW-978
YYA-659	YYE-213	ZKM-215	

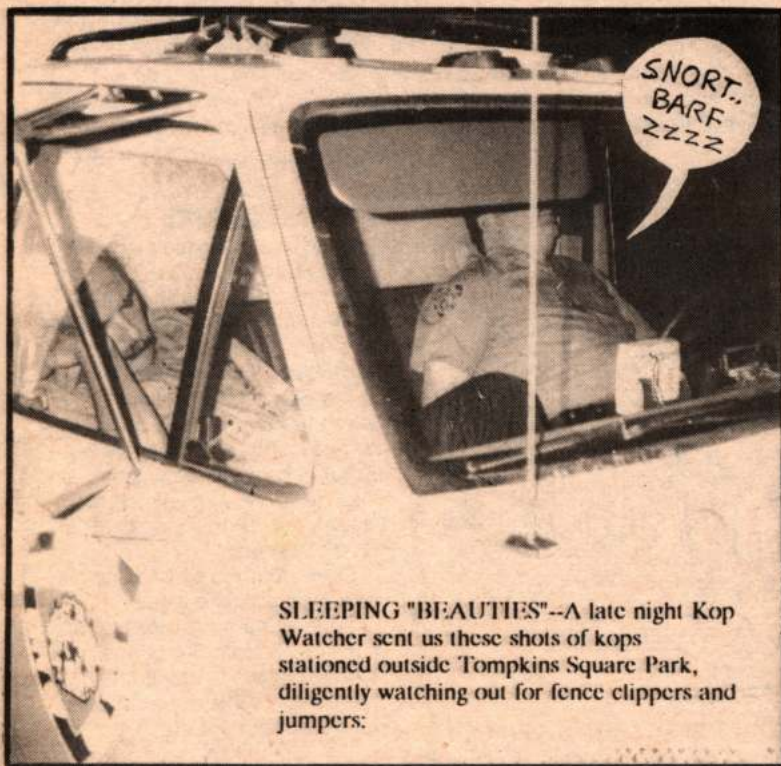
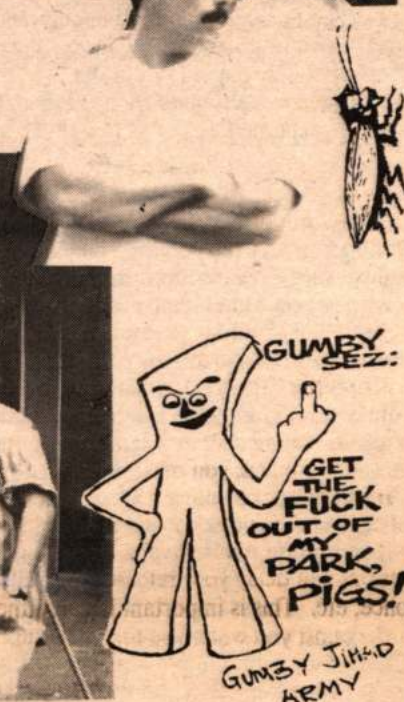
Of course, don't forget about these undercover taxis:

3T89	4P82	5P54	5R52
5R93	6C35	9A59	9D62
9R49	9R50	9R54	

As always, thanks to our growing crew of Kop-Watchers who keep the kops under close surveillance. If you have any info, stories, photos, plate numbers, addresses, telephone numbers, etc, that you'd like to see published and added to our files, please send it all to the SHADOW, P.O. Box 20298, New York, N.Y. 10009



THE GRUESOME FOURSOME--These kops pose for the SHADOW outside Odessa's Restaurant, with a bag of pierogis they just bought with their overtime pay:



SLEEPING "BEAUTIES"--A late night Kop Watcher sent us these shots of kops stationed outside Tompkins Square Park, diligently watching out for fence clippers and jumpers:



DOWN BY LAW



LEARNING "I SUE," THE ANCIENT ART OF SELF-DEFENSE AGAINST THE POLICE

By Ronald L. Kuby + William M. Kunstler (Attorneys At Law)

You are watching a demonstration on Occupied Lower East Side. Suddenly, a phalanx of riot cops start moving in your direction, "sweeping" people off the sidewalk. As they approach you explain that you have a constitutional right to peacefully stand on the sidewalk and observe what is happening. "Fuck you," responds the officer leading the charge, as he shoves you backwards with his nightstick. As you try to get the officer's badge number, he shoves you again. You fall down and suddenly you are being pummeled by nightsticks and kicked by black-shoed feet. The cops smash your glasses, grab you by the hair, and smash your head on the ground. You are handcuffed and dragged off, bleeding, into a police van. As you sit in a stinking holding cell trying to stop the blood, you learn that you are charged with 4 felony counts of assault, with one officer claiming that he injured his foot when you repeatedly struck it with your face. This is seriously no good. What do you do?

When you are a victim of police violence, your conduct in the first few hours and days after the attack is often crucial to the outcome of any case you may file against the police. Unfortunately, you are most vulnerable and least able to think clearly during that time--bloody, dazed, hurt and facing criminal charges.

EMERGENCY MEDICAL HELP

The more seriously the police beat you, the more likely it is that you will face criminal charges and be put through the Central Booking system. The first decision you must make is whether to seek or refuse medical attention before you are arraigned and released from jail. If you are bleeding, the police will generally ask if you want medical attention. If you refuse, they will require you to sign a form so stating. If you seek medical care, your arraignment will be delayed by hours, or even days. You will be taken by a police guard to a crowded emergency room, and the police will generally be present even while you are being treated. On the plus side, you will get stitched up and you will have created a record of your injuries from the beginning.

Sometimes, the nature of the injuries mandates medical attention. If you are bleeding profusely, urinating blood or passing blood in your stool, feeling dizzy and disoriented, vomiting, feeling cold and clammy, or unable to move your hands or feet without extreme pain or numbness, you must get medical attention immediately.

If you do seek medical care, be sure to tell the doctor that you were beaten by the police. Ask the doctor to save your blood-soaked clothing.

If you refuse medical care, indicate on the waiver form why you are refusing, e.g., told that this will delay your release from jail, do not want to be treated in the presence of the police, etc. This is important because the fact that you refused medical treatment will be used against you when you file a lawsuit.

BADGE NUMBERS

If you remember the badge numbers of any of the officers who assaulted you or witnessed the attack, write them down immediately, even if you have to write it in your own blood. If you recall descriptions, note these as well.

ARRAIGNMENT

With respect to the criminal charges and the arraignment process, do not accept any plea offer, even an ACD, until you have had a chance to thoroughly discuss the matter with an attorney who specializes in police brutality claims. Any plea of guilty will be used against you in a civil action against the police. Have the lawyer who handles your arraignment tell the judge, on the record, that you were beaten by the police and describe your injuries.

DOCUMENT YOUR INJURIES

Make sure that your injuries are photographed and/or videotaped, preferably with a camera that has a time/date feature. Photograph these injuries before seeking medical attention, then do it again afterwards. It is best to have photographs taken over a period of time, as bruises may take more than a day to appear.

SEEK MEDICAL HELP

After you are released from jail, seek medical attention immediately, from your own doctor. Do this even if you are feeling OK, or you received medical care earlier. You

may have internal problems that you do not know about. If the doctor prescribes medication, get the prescription filled and take that medication. The fact that you promptly sought medical treatment, even if your injuries are minor, is helpful to any case that you may ultimately bring.

PSYCHOLOGICAL HELP

Police brutality is a form of torture. Like many torture victims, you may feel dirty, ashamed, humiliated, and degraded. You may not wish to talk about what happened to you. You may suffer recurring bad dreams and other psychological problems. A sympathetic counsellor or therapist can help you work through these feelings and will help to provide documentation of psychological injuries that you have suffered. On the negative side, these records will generally become "discoverable" in any civil case, and will wind up in the hands of the police.

GET A LAWYER

If you are even dreaming about pursuing a police brutality claim, you need an attorney, the sooner the better. There are a number of decisions that you have to make within the first few weeks of the attack, and these decisions require counsel. Often, the attorney who is handling your criminal case cannot or will not take on the police brutality claim. There is a close relationship between the conduct of your criminal case and any potential civil case against the police, and you need to have a civil lawyer work with your criminal defense attorney.

Despite the fact that there are some 25,000 lawyers in New York City (one for every cop!), it is notoriously difficult to find one to take on a brutality claim. The large civil rights organizations--New York Civil Liberties Union, Center for Constitutional Rights, NAACP--take on only a few brutality cases themselves. They are good sources for referrals, however. The National Lawyers Guild maintains a referral directory of attorneys in New York City who take on police brutality claims.

Unlike criminal cases, lawyers usually take police brutality cases are on "contingency fee." You pay the lawyer nothing unless you win, then you pay some fixed percentage, usually 1/3rd of the recovery. This is always a good deal, as it means the attorney believes in your case enough to invest his or her own time, betting on a recovery.

WITNESSES

As soon as you are physically able, track down the names, addresses, and telephone numbers of any witnesses to the attack. If there are videotapes, make sure you get these. It is best that you do not interview the witnesses yourself. Ideally, a lawyer will do this. If not, see if you can find a trained paralegal to take statements. This is tricky because any written (or videotaped) statement usually must be turned over to the other side during the "discovery" phase of the lawsuit. Once a statement is taken, the witness' version is, in a sense, "frozen." It is a serious problem when a witness gives an initial statement, then "remembers" other facts later on. Therefore, the initial statement should be as thorough and complete as possible. It is sometimes helpful for the witness to review videotapes and photographs before giving the statement (as long as you realize that these tapes and photographs will have to be given to the other side). It is generally not good for witnesses to talk to each other, or to you, before giving their statements.

NOTICE OF CLAIM

Most police brutality lawsuits name the City of New York as a defendant. In order to sue the City, you usually must file a document called a Notice of Claim within 90 days after the incident takes place. The Notice of Claim is a simple document, and does not obligate you to file a suit. If you have a lawyer, the lawyer will do this. If you have not yet found an attorney to handle the case, you should still retain (hire) one for the limited purpose of filing the Notice. Do not neglect this deadline--it may have serious consequences for you later.

Many brutality victims who are also facing criminal charges are reluctant to file a Notice of Claim, thinking that this will just make their criminal case harder. Sometimes this is true, other times, it has the opposite effect. In any event, the 90-day period starts running from the time of the attack--not from the time that the charges against you are dropped.

NEXT TIME: Your lawsuit, the Civilian Complaint Review Board, and criminal cases against the cops.



PLAINCLOTHES PIGS
ROUGH UP YOUNG MAN
ON AVENUE A--8/6/91



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

EVENTS & ANNOUNCEMENTS



AUGUST 31--RALLY TO SAVE THE TOMPKINS SQUARE PARK BANDSHELL--

Afternoon concert with various well known groups and artists. Organize to stop the city from destroying the park's bandshell. At 7th Street + Avenue A, 2:00-7:00PM.

SEPTEMBER 12--ANTONIO PAGAN DEFEAT PARTY--Celebrate the failure of right wing slime Antonio Pagan to get into the city council where he could have made even more money as a corrupt politician!! Location to be announced.

SEPTEMBER 12--SHADOW BENEFIT CONCERT--Live blues bands, featuring the Michael Powers Band, and the Cult of Rage. Speakers and literature too. At the Abilene Cafe, 73 Eighth Ave (Between 13th-14th Streets), starting at 8:00PM. Only \$5.00 admission. Money will be used for SHADOW projects and neighborhood homeless.

SEPTEMBER 12--2ND ANNUAL RALLY TO LEGALIZE HEMP!!--Includes speakers, music, and WWII film "Hemp for Victory". On the steps of the NY State Capitol, at Capitol Park East, Albany. From Noon till 7:00PM. For info, call Terry at (518)436-7098.

SEPTEMBER 21--"DO THE RIGHT THING FESTIVAL"--Promoting racial unity, protesting racism, sexism, and anti-gay bias. Performers, food, arts and crafts, child care. At the Prospect Park bandshell in Brooklyn, from Noon till Dusk. Live broadcast on WBAI radio (99.5FM) from 1:00-7:00PM. Planning meetings every Tuesday, call (718)797-0476.

SEPTEMBER 21--STOP FUNDING DEATH SQUADS IN EL SALVADOR--Meet at Times Square to set off a nationwide move pushing for legislation against military funding in El Salvador. For info, call CISPES at (212)645-5230.

SEPTEMBER 23-27--AUTO-FREE CENTRAL PARK--Transportation Alternatives will block traffic every night that week with bicyclists, rollerskaters, and other non-polluting devices. Gather at Columbus Circle at 5:00PM nightly. For info, call (212)941-4600.

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:

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Vice President--(202)456-2326. FAX--(202)456-2883

President's Daily Schedule--(202)456-2343

First Lady's Daily Schedule--(202)456-6269, (800)424-9090

Presidential Speeches--(202)456-7198

Chief of Staff--(202)456-6797

Press Secretary--(202)456-2100

Recorded Press Releases--(800)420-9090

Personnel Department--(202)456-2335

National Security Council--(202)456-4974

The State Department--(202)647-6575

Supreme Court--(202)479-3000

CIA (Central Intelligence Agency)--(703)351-7676

Personnel Department--(703)351-2028, (919)755-4630

Senator Jesse Helms--(704)322-5170

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

FREE SPEECH SPEAKOUTS--Every Friday night at the corner of 7th Street and Avenue A, from 7:00PM till ????. Come and listen to the latest news, and speak for as long as you like on any subject you like.

UNDERGROUND/POLITICAL/ALTERNATIVE VIDEO NIGHT--Wednesday nights at A-CENTRAL BOOKS, 208 East 7th Street, 8:00PM. \$1.00 Donation requested.

MAYDAY 29



COMMUNITY DEFENSE
IS NO CRIME!

ON TRIAL



FREE THE MAYDAY 29!

OCTOBER 16

100 Center St.

9:30 AM

Judge Failla

NYS Supreme Court

It's SHOWTIME for 9 felony defendants on trial for defending Tompkins Square Park. Grab your black flags & Come to court Cheer on your favorite Anarchists as we PUT PIG JUSTICE ON TRIAL!!

**Tompkins Sq/MayDay 29 Defense Committee
228 East 10 Street, LoIsaida, NYC 10003**

DINKINSGATE

Continued From Page 7

By the early 1960's, Carver Club head Jones had made the loyal Dinkins his protege and, according to the 1990 Current Biography Yearbook, "With Jones' support, Dinkins was elected to the New York State Assembly in 1965." In 1966, a reapportionment law eliminated Dinkins' assembly district. But, in 1967, Tammany Hall leader Jones named Dinkins to succeed him as the Carter Democratic Club District Leader and Dinkins continued to head the club for the next 20 years at the same time he held City government patronage jobs.

CARVER CLUB DISTRICT LEADER DINKINS' BEAME CONNECTION

By 1970, the 43 year old Dinkins had utilized his Democratic Party Harlem Clubhouse position to secure a part-time patronage position as "Counsel to the New York City Board of Elections" which enabled him to continue working as a partner in his Dyett, Alexander and Dinkins law firm, at the same time he was on the public payroll. In 1972 the Democratic Party political bosses told their New York City Council member-puppets to appoint Dinkins to the higher-salaried, full-time New York City Board of Elections member patronage post and the 45 year-old Clubhouse politician Dinkins held his New York City Board of Elections Presidency post until June 1973.

In 1973, the Democratic Party clubhouse politicians successfully pushed Abraham Beame as their candidate for Mayor of New York City. According to **The Permanent Government: Who Really Rules New York?** by Jack Newfield and Paul DuBrul, "When came time for Mayor Beame to staff the government of New York City, he relied most heavily on the civil service and the political back rooms ... Beame appointed unqualified hacks for his own staff and as commissioners."

As a reward for securing votes for Beame in the 1973 Mayoralty campaign, Dinkins was named by Mayor-Elect Beame to be Deputy Mayor for Planning on November 28, 1973.

DINKINS' 1969-1972 INCOME TAX EVASION SCANDAL

Within a month after being named Deputy Mayor by Mayor-Elect Beame, however, Dinkins was forced by Beame to refuse the job because of the emerging "1969-1972 Dinkins Income Tax Evasion Scandal." During December 1973, it was revealed that Dinkins had failed to pay any federal, state and city personal income taxes in 1969, 1970, 1971, and 1972, and had failed to even file any federal, state, or city personal income tax forms during these same years. As a result, when Dinkins was appointed Deputy Mayor on November 28, 1973, he still owed about \$25,000 in taxes and penalties to federal, state, and city tax agencies from the income he took in from his law-firm job and his New York City Board of Elections political patronage job between 1969 and 1972. (Ironically, in 1978, Dinkins' wife, Joyce Burroughs, was named to be the Coordinator of Metropolitan Affairs for the New York State Division of Taxation and Finance.)

When asked at a December 28, 1973 news conference why he failed to file income tax returns between 1969 and 1972, Dinkins replied: "I was busy taking care of other people's business."

DINKINS' PERCY SUTTON CONNECTION

In its November 29, 1973 issue, *The New York Times* noted that Dinkins was "a consultant to Percy Sutton," the Manhattan Borough President from 1966 to 1977. Today, Sutton is the Chairman of the Board of the Inner City Broadcasting Corporation and a director of the New York Board of Trade and the New York City Partnership organizations of New York City's corporate establishment.

Percy Sutton's father, S.J. Sutton, was a principal of the Phyllis Wheatley High School in San Antonio, Texas, who also owned a cattle farm. Percy Sutton's brother, G.J. Sutton, entered Texas state politics and was elected to the Texas House of Representatives from San Antonio.

Another brother of Percy Sutton, Oliver Sutton, migrated north to New York City like Percy Sutton did and became a Justice of the New York Supreme Court. According to **The Permanent Government: Who Really Rules New York?**:

"Judgeships are not exempt from the subtleties of legal graft.... A politically beholden judiciary is essential to the clubhouse system, especially to disqualify opponents who want to run against the machine in primary elections, and to dispense fees and guardianships to the right lawyers.... State justices are chosen by party leaders in private brokered deals."

After attending Columbia University Law School, Percy Sutton served as a U.S. Air Force intelligence officer during the U.S. military intervention in Korea and then, in 1953, he set up a law partnership with his brother, Oliver, and a third partner named George Covington, which had law offices on 125th Street in Harlem.

Along with Harlem's current Congressional Representative, Charles Rangel, Percy Sutton formed the new Harlem Democratic Party political club in 1963 and Sutton was elected to the New York State Assembly from Harlem in November 1964. Less than two years later, Dinkins' political "godfather-rabbi," Tammany Hall leader J. Raymond Jones, appointed Sutton to be Manhattan Borough President. According to Jones in *The Harlem Fox*:

"The business of the Borough Presidency was easy.... My first choice was Percy Sutton.... The other five Manhattan Democratic Councilmen may not have been thinking along these lines, but I knew that once it was understood that I wanted Sutton, there would be little opposition."

Sutton was later elected to the Manhattan Borough Presidency in November 1966 and held the position until 1977, when he unsuccessfully attempted to get elected as Mayor of New York City, himself, on an "anti-crime" platform.

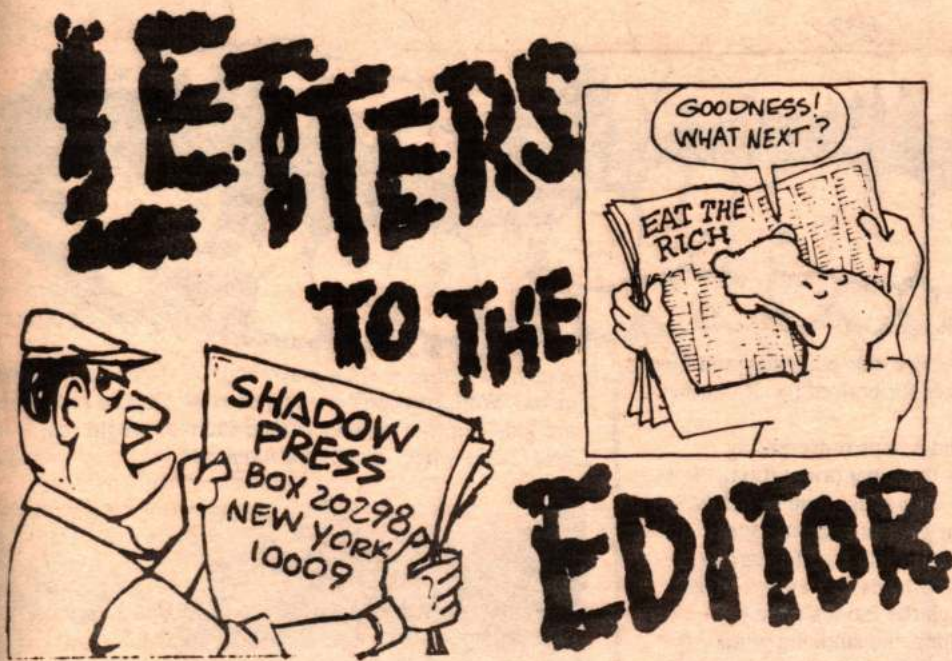
While they each held public office in the early 1970's, Manhattan Borough President Sutton and his consultant, David Dinkins, enriched themselves by forming a privately-owned broadcasting corporation, the Inner City Broadcasting Corporation.

THE DINKINS FAMILY'S INNER CITY BROADCASTING CORPORATION

On May 8, 1972 -- while holding a "public service" office of President of the New York City Board of Elections -- Dinkins became a founding shareholder of the privately-owned Inner City Broadcasting Corporation by purchasing 50 shares of stock for \$5,000. By December 31, 1985 -- while holding the "public service" office of New York City Clerk -- Dinkins had increased his holdings in the privately-owned Inner City Broadcasting Corporation to 588 shares.

By February 4, 1983, the market value of Dinkins' \$5,000 investment in Inner City Broadcasting Corporation stock had increased to \$1,009,230. The privately-owned broadcasting corporation which he and Sutton directed owned WLIB and 7 other radio stations in New York, Michigan, Los Angeles, San Antonio and Berkeley. That same year, a subsidiary of Sutton and Dinkins' Inner City Broadcasting Corporation, Queens Inner Unity Cable System, won the bidding for a lucrative cable-tv franchise in Queens.

See DINKINSGATE On Page 17



SHADOW Press,
I started working on my magazine in jail while serving on pot felony charges in California. I got beaten up, illegally searched and my hand is still fucked up a year later. I went to a doctor and he said I have nerve damage. The pig squeezed the handcuffs for over 30 minutes and my hand was totally numb for a long time.
PEOPLE NEED TO BE INDEPENDENT AND NOT GIVE IN TO THE OPPRESSORS. It's time to build the underground movement and become a vocal, unified force.
Let's Organize--Turn On, Tune In, Takeover!!
Anonymous

Dear folks at the SHADOW,
I'm making a plea for N.Y. anarchists to get their shit together and start working on a summer 1992 Inter-Continental Anarchy Fest Gathering Conference. I'd be willing to put a lot of organizing hours into it once I'm there. Think about it...spread the word around.
Emily M.--Sacramento, Calif.

Dear SHADOW,
Tompkins Square Park makes things here seem irrelevant, but we're fighting to abort our state legislature, David Duke running for governor, toxic wastes in the Mississippi River, and apathy among the general populace. I feel like a single grain of yeast in a sea of lethargic dough, but I know there are plenty of people like us out there **SOMEWHERE!**
Tim Maddog--New Orleans, LA

To The Editor:
"A brain for robots has been created on Amiga Library Disk 411. Join/Stop/Expose the Underground Movement towards a Cybernetic Economy: Republish this Message."
A.M.--Seattle, Washington

SHADOW,
I wish I could come smash some cops up in New York with you. The New Orleans Police Dept. is also really bad, though not as bad as the New York cops--yet! Keep fighting. The cool folks here in New Orleans certainly respect you all!
Smash The State!
SHADOWLAMP--New Orleans, LA

Dear SHADOW + Readers,
I was reading the SHADOW interview with David Gilbert (Issue #18--Ed.), and I was particularly interested because I am a student (and Anarchist) at Barnard College. I thought I might update you on the surveillance system at Columbia University, because it is specifically designed to prevent 1968 from happening again.
The Columbia University phone system is called ROLM (made by ATT) and it is designed to be tappable. This is no secret on campus, since if you call security they immediately know what room number you are calling from. I know my phone is bugged because of my involvement in the anti-war movement this winter and in various Anarchist and environmental groups.
One incident--on the same day as the Wall Street Action. I planned with 9 other people to stand by the West Side Highway at rush hour with signs forming the sentence "Your Car Makes Smog--Demand Better Mass Transit." None of the other people were Anarchists, but most were members of the Earth Coalition and the Anti-War Coalition. Not more than 10 people knew about this action, yet when we walked through Riverside

Dear People,
I first heard about Yolanda Ward and Spatial Deconcentration about two years ago when I visited the Freedom Press in England and picked up a copy of No Reservations: Housing, Space and Class Struggle. The article was written by the Midnight Notes Collective who happen to live in Jamaica Plain (Boston, my home town). Since then, I've seen the term "Spatial Deconcentration" in an occasional publication ("WWIII Illustrated," "FactSheet Five" and "Anarchy" come to mind). I have been frustrated since my initial discovery in uncovering any more information on the origin and history of gentrification, Yolanda Ward, or the documents she secreted from the government. If I can find a reliable primary source for this information, the members of the printing collective that I am a part of have agreed that we would like to publish a book by that source.
Roger D.--P.O.Box 143, Cutter Road, Temple, N.H. 03084

THEY SAY THE KOPS ARE HERE TO PROTECT THE PEOPLE...



Park at 7:30AM Monday morning, there were 5 police cars waiting for us. They followed us to the highway and stayed there with us (a police helicopter joined them as well) until we left at 9:00AM. They then followed us through the park and over to Broadway and sat down next to us in the coffee shop we stopped in! The only way we got rid of them was to split into 5 different groups and take different subways and buses to meet at a spot uptown. In addition, at rallies and demonstrations uptown, people without press badges constantly attempted to photograph me.
Unfortunately, most students involved in political activity on this campus are unaware of surveillance and know little about the history of COINTELPRO at Columbia. I myself was pretty naive as a first-year student last fall. The Anti-War Coalition and its direct action group had open, publicized meetings all year long--and no doubt there are numerous informers. I hope this letter can be a warning to those of you active on college campuses in New York City!
(Name withheld by Editor)

It seems to us that anyone planning an effective demonstration or action would be best able to avoid detection, infiltration, set ups, etc, by working in "cells" (tight knit groups of people that know each other very well for a long time, who never reveal their existence or actions to anyone outside of the cell). Avoiding telephone conversations, conspiratorial or action planning correspondence in writing, and discussing militant politics with strangers is also advisable. Several such cells are much more effective than hundreds or thousands marching in a demonstration--If the pigs don't know you're there, they can't stop you!--Editorial Staff

Dear SHADOW,
One of the most important homeless groups here has been HOB0 (Helping Our Brothers Out). At the start, it was fairly independent and may have been started by the homeless themselves, but that certainly is not true anymore. The group seems to be more and more under the grip of the city with paid and selected bureaucrats as staff and so forth. I do not believe that any of the original staff are still there. A lot of people feel that changes in HOB0 are due to the mayor (now ex-mayor) who was the same person who gave the key to the city to racist ex-president of Rhodesia Ian Smith and who blocked the anti-war resolution in the city council. The reason I raise questions about HOB0 now is that two women were expelled from the staff recently because they were lesbians. One had been a paid employee, the other a volunteer. The paid employee was also told that she was fired for wearing tee shirts with anti-police statements and leaving copies of "Anarchy" magazine for the homeless to read. The response to "Anarchy" by the homeless had been very positive. All of this at a time when HOB0 is perpetually inept at providing for the homeless and often understaffed.
For a city without politicians, housing without landlords, and life without slavery, Stuart--Austin, Texas

WANT A RIGHTIST? HIRE A LEFTIST!
Many seem "surprised" and "betrayed" by Mayor David Dinkins and the Democrats. Why? It's always the "liberals," "leftists," and "socialists" who are the most adept and suave at imposing social control and keeping the underclass quiet. Did you know that Dinkins is/was (at least until recently) a member of the yuppie Democratic Socialists of America (DSA)? Dinkins was favored as Mayor by city financiers because they knew that being "a man for the poor, labor, etc." he'd more easily impose austerity measures. And he is doing it, with very little street strife. (Except Tompkins Square, but as of this writing, even that's been quiet.)
I knew about Dinkins from the farcical attempted ban of bikes from midtown a few summers ago. The Independent Courier Association (a bike messenger labor group) met with reps from his office when he was Manhattan Borough President to discuss the issue. (At the time, wimp Dinkins wouldn't take a position on the ban.) Clearly, they were trying to maneuver us into a compromise situation where we'd agree to some sort of licensing and control and the ban would be called off.
After a meeting, I confronted a Dinkins leftoid staffer and had this "conversation":
Me: Dinkins is with DSA and is a supposed Socialist, right? So what right does he have trying to engineer the working class? Aren't Socialists for the working class?

Dinkins' Staffer: (Silence)
Me: Are you with DSA? Are you a Socialist?
Dinkins' Staffer: (Silence)
Me: (Various threats, heh, heh)

The messengers never compromised and the ban was never imposed.
Leftoids, from Muddlization for Survival to the Communist Party, all nerdily ran around trying to get Dinkins elected. They succeeded, and now many "leftists" are in City Hall. And look at where we are: Capitalism, gentrification and the corporate state would never have been so strong and severe under rightist Mayor Koch, but it took the "left" to make it that way under a "progressive" administration.
Everyone knows what happens when Communists come to power: unions are outlawed, strikes are banned, people are jailed and killed. Real "pro-labor", huh? The fucking Workers' World Party, who regularly attack Anarchists physically in New York City, support the former Romanian dictatorship. Could someone please explain to me the difference between that regime and classical Nazism? Guess who's in the forefront these days in Romania calling for the expulsion of Jews and Gypsies? Yep, Communists. Socialist parties in Europe are renown for coming to power, and then imposing austerity. My point is that the "left" often out-rights the right. A mirror image of the right, the "left," whether in its liberal or Leninist variants, is out for manipulation, power and control, plain and simple. Some use electoral politics, some guns, and the rest of us are shit on either way.
The "left"? Fuck them. There are plenty of Anarchists, autonomists, radical greens and non-defined militants these days. To think that we need to merge with the "left" is to engineer and accept our own defeat. Anarchists, etc only have themselves to blame for allowing the "left" to out-organize us.

Leave the clowns on the "left" to themselves, to their voter registration tables, or to selling the "Revolutionary Wanker." No doubt the next possible leftoid bandwagon will be supporting a "progressive" running against President Bush. Some people love to be losers. Unfortunately, some of us who should be thinking more clearly, allow ourselves to go along with such charades--allow ourselves to be co-opted self-defeatingly into the somnolence of the system. I can see it now: the same buffoons who put hope in Dinkins will push for a "progressive" challenger to him in the next mayoral round. And round and round and round they'll go.
The Who were right when they said "meet the new boss--same as the old boss." But they were wrong when they said "we won't get fooled again." Many thrive on getting fooled. It's direct action that gets the goodies: squatting, strikes, riots....
Leftoids: don't dare try to flag me down with either your fucking voter registration form or your RCP newspaper. Those distractions often do more harm than all the club swinging pigs in the world could.
Joey Homicides--New York

RAINBOW GATHERING 1991

By Free-I

After my first week on site at the 20th Annual Rainbow Gathering in Vermont, Jimmy and I drove our rental van back down to NYC to pick up more friends. We stopped by "Dinkinsville" where many of our homeless friends who had been kicked out of the park were now staying and invited them along; "Everything is free, and the only blue is sky. Come on!" Twenty-one people and six dogs made the trip with us. Dozens of other people from the Lower East Side streamed in, a few even walked most of the 400 miles to the site in the Green Mountain National Forest. They settled in camps called Sage Hollow (a vegan kitchen), LES Scum Camp (for punx) and Wandering Lotus (a pagan/vegetarian kitchen and rainbow mainstay). Our camp was called Tompkins Square Everywhere.

I spent much of the first week immersing myself in physical labor, which helped me exorcise some of my frustration over the Tompkins Square park situation. Hard work seemed to have the same effect on others of us, as many Lower East Siders got involved in the difficult and crucial task of setting up the water system. This involved climbing up the mountain we were camped on and into the next, then running a three mile long pipe from a small waterfall in a mountain stream, alongside the ridge and down into the site of the Gathering assuring all of good, clean water. A real piece of Rainbow ingenuity, with plenty of Lower East Side muscle in the house!!

When we arrived at the main gate of the Gathering, we were met by many friendly faces who welcomed us "Home" and helped us load our stuff into a horse drawn wagon which made the two mile hike up hill a lot easier. Wendy, Allen and Uncle Yippie hiked ahead and chose our sight at the top of the main path in the woods between two meadows. We set up tents and tarps, dug a firepit and started to gather firewood for our kitchen. Ironically, the rainbow police (Shanti Sena) attempted to evict us from our campsite shortly after we got there. They said something about it being a "designated quiet space" and I guess they were assuming we were gonna be wild. We explained why we were particularly sensitive to evictions and stood our ground, although we agreed to scrap our plans to put in a coffee kitchen. In a few days the woods around us were so crowded by tents, camps, kitchens and drum circles that there was no way they could blame us for making all the noise. The weekend came, and the party began!

On July 1, the Gathering officially opened; no less than 60 kitchens began pumping delicious, healthy food, each offering its own specially chosen delicacy. Tacos, popcorn, pancakes, even donuts! Donut Factory fried up many a tasty confection. Donuts filled with fruit, chocolate, all kinds of delights...and not a cop in sight. (The cops would've hated this donut stop, too many free people and you had to walk straight up a very steep hill to get there.) Further up the hill at Taco Mike's, people lounged among the tall pines waiting for tacos or tea. On top of the hill, Lovin' Oven prepared sour dough bread and rolls with a 500 year old yeast culture. Providing almost all of the bread, cake and cookies for the

Gathering meant keeping four big ovens going day and night. Lovin' Oven also prepared cakes for both of the Rainbow weddings.

There were kitchens and camps representing everything from regional tastes to sexual orientation. At a fork in the path to both Faerie Camp and Pancake Palace you'd find a sign reading, "Your Choice - flat or faerie" A "straight" arrow pointed you to pancakes, and an arrow shaped like a dick pointed you towards the faeries. Both were really cool camps, although the faeries were my favorites for hanging out, laughing and smoking joints. A new feature at the 20th annual gathering was the Peace & Social Justice Center, a political info center where activists from all over met and exchanged ideas and observations. A demonstration was even organized during the gathering supporting Native People's fight against the Hydro-Quebec power plant. By far and away, the favorite hang out for all of us from LES was Mudd Camp. It was a natural! A 24 hour-a-day coffee kitchen run by the coolest brother, Walking Man, Mudd was a never ending source of wisdom, strong coffee and the only place you could absolutely find a cigarette, if you didn't mind rolling it yourself. At Looney Saloon you could get a hot shower (more Rainbow ingenuity) and at the trading circles where tobacco, snickers bars, crystals and buttons could be traded for pipes, jewelry, drums or hunting knives - no Babylon Money allowed! Looking for a place to sneak away and find some peace, I happened upon a sweatlodge where you can sit in complete darkness, to meditate and to sweat out impurities in your body. When I emerged from the hot lodge and jumped into the cool stream which flowed around it, I felt more than just physically cleansed and refreshed.

Our camp had all the best drummers at the Gathering; I don't think that anyone would dispute this when they heard what the brothers and sisters from Tompkins Square could kick out at the drum circle. We could lead the rhythms and riff along side them. In the shade of many birch trees, our drummers slept away the mornings and woke to the food we had cooking on the fire. Terry and Dave sat about the campsite wrapping tape around their fingers to prepare for the night's music while Artie, Kirk or I got supper together. After dinner, our conversation was interrupted by the first sounds of evening drums. Linden would exclaim, "They're calling me!" and we'd all head towards the main circle where the rhythms went deep into the night and we danced by the light of the fire, the moon and a million stars.

Lower East Siders initiated two flag-burnings to mark July 4th. One came out of our camp shortly after the morning's "Ceremony of Silence" ended at noon. We walked down the hill dragging a flag behind us and encouraging others to walk, spit, shit...on the flag and join in our fun. People were really into it, with very few exceptions. (One sister suggested I hug the flag, rather than burn it. I told her I would hug an Iraqi but not a bloody rag!) When we got to the Main Circle, I torched it, and people shouted their satisfaction. Many had never actually seen a flag-burning before; in fact, I was told this was the first time anyone had ever burned a flag in the twenty year history of the Gathering. A Rainbow video artist interviewed me afterwards about it; I told him, "In a year in which the US has slaughtered over 250 thousand Iraqi people, I find burning a flag is a more appropriate expression of my rage than sitting in silence." Just when I thought the fun was over, the guys at INFO gave me an even bigger flag to burn. "We're anarchists, too," they explained, "Just be sure you give everyone a chance to step on it first before you set it off."

The old dried-up rag made a great flame! Several hours later, another group of flag-burners marched up the path walking behind a "coffin" draped with the red, white & blue and a banner which read, "Death to Amerikkka". Claiming to be far more "militant" than the initial group of flagburners, this crew seemed bent on being abrasive. They marched right into the drum circle and threw their coffin/flag into the fire, filling the air with smoke. An argument broke out between the demonstrators and some of those who objected to the interruption of their drumming, as well as what they called "hateful/negative energy". It was one of the most interesting political debates I had heard in over a week.

At its peak, there were an estimated 10,000 people at the Gathering, and for the most part, all lived in peace and harmony. Speaking for those of us who stayed in Tompkins Square Camp, I can say we wanted for nothing. I got up at a council after we first arrived, explained a little about the situation we were in back home and asked if people could help us out with tents and tarps. Within the hour, we had all we needed. People who heard about our park from all over the continent stopped by to find out what really went down in Tompkins Square. Copies of THE SHADOW went out in a flash. Philben, a young brother from Vermont, spent many hours hanging out at our camp. He had an insatiable hunger for stories about New York City street living. He says that

one day, he will produce a play about us, and we will all be famous. Well, you can be a cynical New Yorker and say, "Sure kid," but as a brother named Plunker taught me, "Expect some magic, and magic happens!"



PHOTO BY "Q"

The people's generosity was awesome. One night at the Sunrise kitchen, I came upon a brother who was really jonesing for a joint, so I rolled one and passed it to him. He insisted that I trade him for some real sweet doses, but I wasn't having it; "Look, I want to give you this joint. I am not interested in trading." Then I insist on you taking these kind doses as a gift. Cool! "Hey, anyone need a cigarette," I asked after the joint was gone. Someone added "I've got some zoo-zoos," (rainbow name for candy). Then a sister took out a vial of oil called "peace and serenity" and anointed all our faces making the air all around us smell especially wonderful. As all the gifts went around the circle, I was trippin' on how I had never been to a better christmas party in my entire life!

Arriving in Vermont directly from Police State Loaisaida, all these good vibes blew my mind! It takes a few days to adjust to being loved when, at home, you are among the outcast. Then, just as you are starting to get used to it, it's time to leave. We broke camp Sunday morning in the rain. Someone uncovered a delicious pineapple which made the plain oatmeal we had much more palatable. Out along the main path, I watched the storm clouds glide across the sky and down the mountain, and there was the sun, streaming beams around those clouds and lighting up the rain. I was barely awake because I had been up all night, but I strained my eyes to take in as much of this beauty as they could stand before I had to turn down the path and head back to NYC.

The Rainbow Gathering is by no means paradise, but its contradictions are readily apparent and they don't make any excuses. "Rainbow elders" admit that their tribe needs to move further towards equality for women. One of the older women was asked, "Do you think that the human race is evolving?" She replied, "I didn't used to think so, but just yesterday I overheard a brother say 'Never take a drum from a sister,' so I am beginning to change my mind." There are those within the tribe who'd prefer to just retreat into the woods and condemn those who live in the city as "children of babylon", but there is also a growing movement to reach out to homeless people from the cities and invite them to Gatherings. As the tribe becomes stronger, its capacity to heal will grow as well. I believe we are just beginning to understand that there is nothing we can't do when we do it together. If you look past these few clouds, a Gathering will provide you with a glimpse at what the world will be like when we have whipped inequality and injustice from the planet. I left feeling stronger because I knew more about what I was fighting for, and hungry for the day when we will all live in freedom and equality - in harmony with the planet.

See ya'in Colorado, 1992!

(Look for the drum circles every sunny Sunday in Central Park, 2:00 PM at Frisbee Hill, behind Sheep Meadow. Also, the Rainbow Family Picnic happens there every year on the 3rd Sunday in May!)



PHOTO BY "Q"

BERKELEY RESIDENTS KEEP MARIJUANA ORDINANCE INTACT

(Special report from NORML--National Organization for the Reform of Marijuana Laws)

The registered voters in Berkeley, California, have decided to cast their vote in favor of marijuana--by not casting any vote at all. By ignoring a drive on the part of a local organization to place an anti-marijuana initiative on the November ballot, Berkeley residents upheld their 1979 Marijuana Ordinance.

That 1979 ordinance, in effect, orders Berkeley's police force to make marijuana enforcement its lowest priority item. While the ordinance does not actually change existing marijuana laws in that city, it nonetheless stands as a strong community statement regarding the acceptability of the drug.

A Berkeley organization known as the Black Property Owners Association (BPOA) filed an initiative to repeal Berkeley's Marijuana Ordinance. But the organization was unable to bring in the necessary 2,100 signatures required by July 11, 1990, to get the measure on the November ballot. Ironically, the same BPOA was able to get 3,700 signatures to place an anti-rent control initiative on the ballot.

"I was worried that the (BPOA) initiative might make it on the ballot because there has been such a strong conservative trend among students in recent years," said California NORML Coordinator Dale Gieringer, also a Berkeley resident. "But this is a major victory in that local residents obviously felt that marijuana is not as dangerous as the Bush Administration makes it out to be."

In 1979, when the Berkeley Marijuana Ordinance passed, 70% of the voters there supported the measure. Gieringer feels that vote served as a precursor to the possibility of legalization of marijuana in California.

With more and more influential Americans coming out in favor of the legalization of marijuana, as well as a number of political candidates, perhaps Berkeley's decision not to change its Marijuana Ordinance is a sign of things to come.



In ancient times, a Toltec of royal blood discovered a miraculous potion in the heart of the spiked maguey plant. He called it "honey water" (caquamiel in Spanish), for when it was fermented it produced a wondrous effect. (The sap of the maguey is still referred to as "aquamiel" when making pulque, a fermented, mildly alcoholic beverage consumed fresh, like draft beer, in Mexico). To win favor with the king, he prepared a flask of this magic brew and sent his young and beautiful daughter, Princess Xochitl, to present this gift at the royal court. History does not tell us what the king thought of the brew, but he was quite taken with Xochitl who soon became Queen Xochitl and bore a son they named Montezuma.

From these auspicious beginnings have come pulque, which is probably the first alcoholic brew to originate in the New World, and later, after the Spanish conquistadors imported the art of distillation, mescal and its more refined cousin, tequila.

As you might have guessed, most tequila is produced in and around the town of Tequila, Mexico, about 35 miles from Guadalajara in the state of Jalisco. (This is also the same area where most of Mexico's marijuana is grown.) It is distilled from the juice that is extracted from the heart of the "blue agave" (Agave tequilana Weber) which is just one of the more than four hundred varieties of the agave or maguey plant. Out of this extensive plant category only a few types of maguey may be used to produce mescal and only one, blue agave, is used to make J.T. Peddler's Tequilajuana:

- 1 qt. (4 cups) tequila
- 1 oz. marijuana
- 1 cup sugar syrup (see below)

Put marijuana in bottom of quart jar and fill to top with tequila. Store jar in a DARK cabinet for 30 days. 3 or 4 times a week take jar and turn it over and shake it a few times to blend tequila and THC. After 1 month strain liquid through coffee filter until clear and free of floating particles. Add 1 cup of sugar syrup and return to cabinet for AT LEAST 10 days to allow for aging. (Sugar syrup: bring 3/4 cup white granulated sugar and 1/4 cup bottled or distilled water to a boil and stir until all the sugar is dissolved and the mixture is clear. ALWAYS cool before adding to alcohol mixture; heat causes alcohol to evaporate.)

MARIJUANA SUNRISE:

- 1 1/2 oz. J.T. Peddler's Tequilajuana
- juice of 1/2 lime
- 3 oz. orange juice
- 3/4 oz. grenadine
- lime slice
- 1 small marijuana leaf

Mix all ingredients except grenadine, lime slice, and marijuana leaf in a shaker or blender with cracked ice and pour into a tall collins glass. Slowly pour in grenadine. Garnish with lime slice and marijuana leaf.

GUADALAJARA:

- 1 1/2 oz. J. T. Peddler's Tequilajuana
- 2-3 oz. grapefruit juice
- 1 teaspoon almond extract
- dash lime juice
- dash triple sec or cuarcaco
- mint springs
- 2-3 small marijuana leaves

Mix all ingredients, except mint and marijuana leaves, in a shaker or blender and pour into chilled wine goblet. Garnish with mint and marijuana leaves.

22nd ANNUAL WASHINGTON D.C. SMOKE-IN

(Special Report From the Revolutionary Toker, the voice of the Green Panthers, 1718 M Street NW #322, Washington, DC 20036)

Approximately 400 pro-pot activists held the 22nd Annual Fourth of July Smoke-In at high noon in Lafayette Park, across from the White House, in what was seen as the greatest political focus by the crowd since the Vietnam War.

The purpose of this year's Smoke-In was to express outrage at the announced decision by the Department of Health and Human Services to phase out the medical marijuana program that provides access to marijuana for the seriously ill.

Speakers at the event included Green Panthers National Coordinators Loey Glover and Terry Mitchell, and Tom Estrada-Palma of the campaign for a Fully Informed Jury Amendment. (Also known as FIJA, the objective is to make juries aware of their legal power and moral duty to vote with their conscience if they believe a defendant is innocent, regardless of what the law says. This would effectively nullify all repressive laws.)

A large contingent of US Park Police stood ready to scoop up pot smokers. The first of two attempted arrests resulted in the cops being surrounded by hundreds of people shouting "Fuck this shit!" and "Let him go!" The size and defiance of the crowd intimidated the police into releasing their suspect.

The second arrest try was successful only because the police ran full power away from the pursuing crowd, who chased them several hundred yards and were finally blocked by police on horses, allowing them to complete the arrest. The police appeared nervous and compelled to show that they were in control of the situation. The Washington Park Police Chief was on the scene to prevent any incident that might expose the fact that this Smoke-In has continued uninterrupted for 22 years, "Drug War" or no "Drug War."

At 3:00, rally participants marched to the Lincoln Memorial for a free concert in support of legal access to medical marijuana. Police at the concert stepped up their harassment which angered concert attendees to the point where police were met with a hail of bottles and cans when they tried to arrest "law breakers." Shortly thereafter, the police left the area in search of less stressful duties.

UPCOMING SMOKE-INS:

September 12--New York State Capitol, Capitol Park East, Albany, New York. From 4:00-7:00PM. For info, call Terry at: (518) 436-7098.

October 31--(Halloween) Washington Square Park, New York City. From 6:00PM-???? Traditional joint toss and effigy burnings.

First Saturday in May--The one and only genuine Fifth Avenue Pot Parade!! Gather at Washington Square Park in front of the arch at high noon for live music, speakers, and of course, real pot!!

HALLOWEEN HARVEST FESTIVAL



THURSDAY OCT. 31
MARIJUANA RALLY AT
WASHINGTON SQ. PARK 6 P.M.

METHADONE IS GENOCIDE

By A. Bertoli

(Dedicated to Political Prisoner Mutulu Shakur)

Burning people in ovens is not the only type of genocide. "Genocide can also take the form of drug addiction, alcoholism, forced sterilization, unnecessary surgery, poor quality foods, drugged childbirth etc."--(Black Acupuncture Association of North America, 1979). Everyday, thousands of mostly poor people, enslaved to a methadone addiction sanctioned by the US government, dutifully consume that which can only do them harm, if not kill them.

Methadone was invented by Nazi chemists and psychiatrists at Adolf Hitler's request as a substitute for morphine, which was impossible to obtain due to World War II. It was called "dolophine" in honor of Hitler. According to well-documented sources, it is believed that the most probable use for such a drug, other than to treat wounded soldiers, was to de-sensitize those persons (and their underlings) responsible for mass murder and torture. It has also been documented that many of the Fuhrer's associates were morphine/methadone addicts.

In 1947, immediately following WWII, the US-based Eli Lilly and Company mysteriously obtained exclusive patent rights to the German drug, which for a time they continued to refer to as "dolophine." Eli Lilly and Company, a giant narcotics profiteer based in Indianapolis (1-317-276-2000), manufactures methadone on the order of 5,000 pounds a year. The company also manufactures the "anti-depressant" Prozac, which has been linked to numerous suicides and violent anti-social behavior. It has one of the highest profit ratings of any US company, and with operations in at least 26 countries, including South Africa. The family of President George Bush is heavily invested in Eli Lilly, as is the family of Vice President Dan Quayle.

During the 1960's, Rockefeller University doctors Vincent Dole and Marie Nyswander developed the methadone "treatment." Their approach was to become policy for decades in New York City. In the early 1970's, the Nixon White House encouraged the use of methadone. Under the direction of the NYC Addiction Services Agency, many clinics were opened. The use of methadone was sold as a legal way to overcome heroin addiction while at the same time providing enough of a buzz to keep people coming back. In fact, methadone is many times more addictive than heroin. Withdrawal can last up to three months. Methadone "maintenance" means that a person is given large daily doses of methadone in order to "block" the desire to use heroin. Methadone has all the physical and psychological effects that heroin does. Tolerance develops, so there is no real blocking.

Common effects of regular methadone use include constipation, excessive sweating, swollen hands, sexual impotency, insomnia, abnormal menstrual periods, slurred speech, drowsiness and lung failure. Current information on methadone related deaths is hard to find. It is believed that thousands of methadone-related deaths have occurred since 1971. On November 10, 1972, then NYC Health Services Administrator Gordon Chase announced that no new statistics on methadone deaths would be forthcoming "because the publicity has been damaging to City programs." In 1987, NYC hospital emergency rooms treated over 1000 methadone overdose cases. It is estimated that 200 persons a year die from methadone overdoses and/or the effects of prolonged use of the drug. In fact, more people die from methadone overdose than from heroin.

Degenerative brain damage has been found in methadone victims. Some years ago, Doctor Roizen, a neuropathologist, examined the brains of 14 persons who had died of no causes other than methadone overdose. He discovered degenerative brain damage in young people comparable to changes usually associated with 80-year-old people. No other barbiturate or narcotic causes these changes.

Recently, methadone has been hailed by its proponents, including the New York Times (which has consistently editorialized favorably about the benefits of methadone), as a means to limit the spread of AIDS. In fact, methadone contributes to the spread of AIDS: due to its severe toxicity, it depresses the immune system, thus predisposing users to opportunistic infections. The selling of methadone (obtained through Medicaid) for cocaine has ignited an explosion in intravenous cocaine use, thus increasing the potential for transmitting AIDS via unclean needles. In NYC, 100,000 persons have become infected through IV drug use.

New York City's \$80 million methadone system, the largest in the country, provides the cheapest form of "drug treatment" for addiction available. Spending an average of \$1,000-\$3,000 per year per "patient" (compared to \$15,000 a year per person in drug programs in white, middle class communities), the 36 clinics city-wide, do nothing but dispense methadone, and offer no counseling or guidance other than to mandate a "lifetime commitment" to the "orange handcuffs." These clinics generate millions of dollars in profits for loosely regulated programs run by absentee doctors, private entrepreneurs, so called non-profit groups and others, whose finances are rarely, if ever, audited. Since 1985, two methadone clinics (in East Harlem and Times Square) have collected more than \$8 million in Medicaid payments and other fees for Doctor Richard Koepfel and Doctor Eugene Silberman, monies which were invested in condo real estate schemes in Queens (see NY Newsday, 6/12/89).

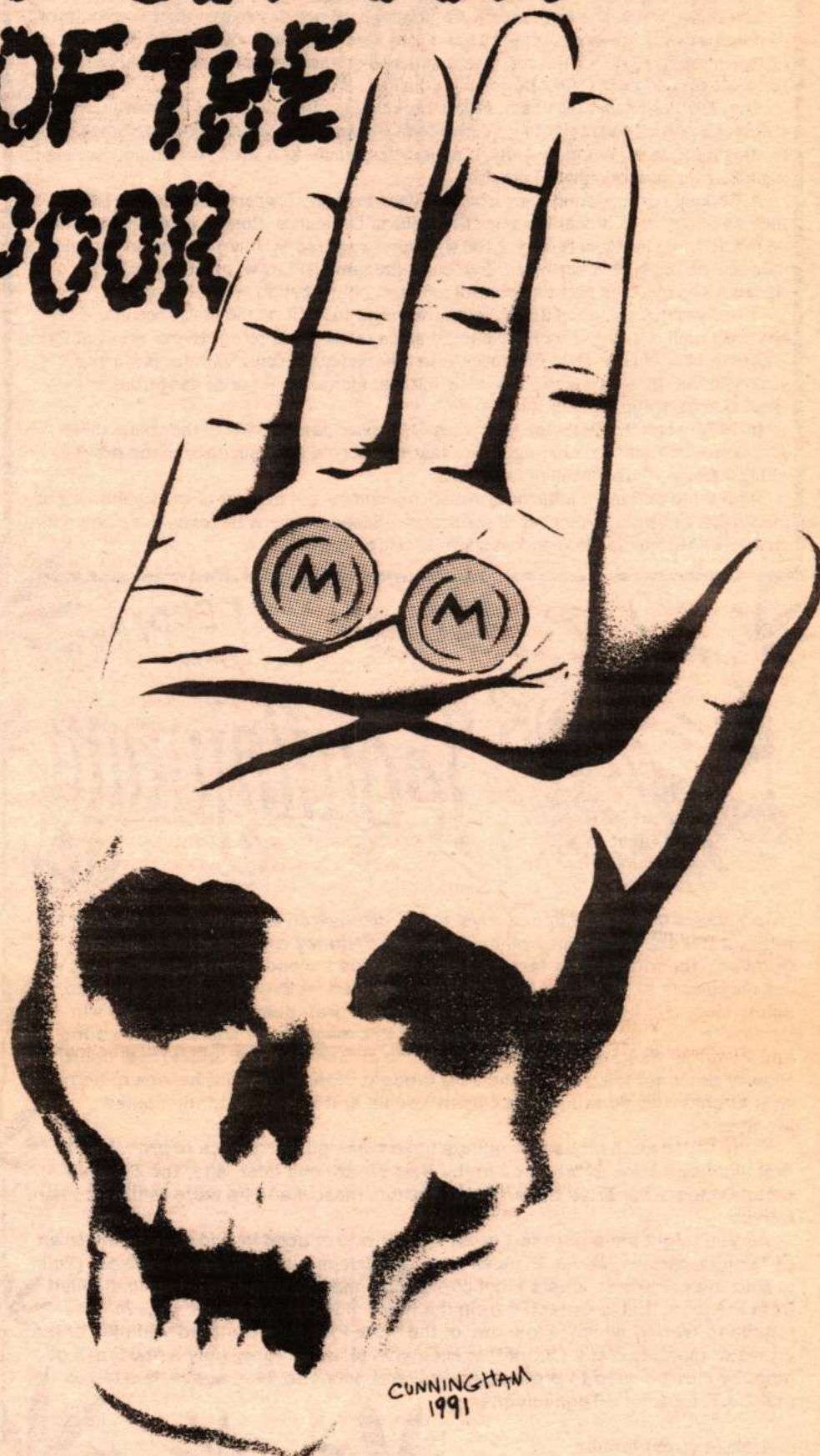
The New York State Division of Substance Abuse Services (55 West 125th Street, 212-870-8362) monitors the so-called clinics which distribute methadone in NYC. Over 31,000 registered persons are on "the program." This number excludes those thousands who obtain methadone through illegal means.

In 1978, the South Bronx based Lincoln Detox Center, a holistic drug detox program which rejected methadone in favor of acupuncture and political education, was attacked by Eli Lilly and New York Mayor Edward Koch's administration. Initiated by the revolutionary Puerto Rican Young Lords Party, a radical, socialist, liberation organization, and other community based health groups, the Center was an alternative health approach to the problem of drug addiction and revolutionary struggle. In November of that year, Koch and Company were successful in shutting the program down, but not before Doctor Richard Taft, a member of the Center's staff, was found murdered in his office closet, with a heroin needle sticking out of his back.

Doctor Robert G. Newman, currently linked to the Beth Israel Medical Center in NYC, authored the influential "Methadone Treatment in Narcotic Addiction" (Academic Press, 1977) which helped to rationalize and justify the boom in the methadone industry. In April 1989, the Federal Food and Drug Administration (Regulatory Management Branch 1-301-443-6245), along with the National Institute on Drug Abuse (1-301-443-6245) proposed the setting up of "interim" clinics modeled on the Beth Israel Medical Center's Harlem clinic. These "cop and bop" operations obliterate any pretense to social service and do nothing but dispense methadone--to those who can pay, of course.

Beth Israel, which is the largest methadone provider in NYC with 23 clinics, has played a predominant role in the promotion of methadone. The head of the hospital's Board of Trustees, Doctor Morton Hyman, actually approves sites for clinics in his capacity as chair of the NY State Public Health Council. He, along with Doctor Newman,

OF THE POOR



whose letters consistently support the pro-methadone editorial stance of the NY Times (most recently, "This Drug Treatment Works," 4/8/90), are some of the most ardent advocates of "lifetime commitment" to methadone. Doctor Hyman's dad, Morton Hyman Sr., head of a powerful oil family, is linked to the Overseas Shipbuilding Group. Apparently, like the Bushes and the Quayles, the Hymans recognize the utility of wealth and power in oil and pharmaceuticals.

DESTROY THAT WHICH DESTROYS YOU!!

The US Government, which for years shipped heroin to American ghettos in the caskets of Vietnam war dead, and whose current policy is to glorify and profit via cocaine for arms deals, is actively involved, alongside the corporate drug profiteers, in widespread chemical warfare against the poor, especially African and Latino oppressed nations within the US.

These drugs allow the state to criminalize large segments of the community, providing the climate and the pretext for police intervention and occupation of these areas by the "colonial army," while all along rationalizing to the racist middle classes the overt police repression designed to "stop drugs."

These drugs are the weapons of a "health establishment" whose enslavement to profits and the needs of the white ruling class spell death and genocide for the poor. The so-called clinics, mental health offices and correctional liaison are the appendages of a medico-psychiatric apparatus of repression which criminalizes deviance as readily as it creates it.

These drugs, ideal consumer products, are primary instruments of social control and genocide, which meet a real, if thwarted need for a new world, a new reality. The problem is that these drugs make it impossible to resist and actually realize a new world, making clear thinking impossible while dulling the high of concrete revolutionary struggle.

These drugs, second only to bombs in overall GNP, provide the basis for a market that offers the State, via legal and illegal means, the way in which to prop up a crisis-ridden economy where drug infusion equals capital infusion. They assist the State in its efforts to stabilize poor communities, creating grass roots survival economies which along with military recruitment lessen the pressures of high unemployment.

SHUT DOWN THE CLINICS AND THE WHITE HOUSE PUSHERS!!

GET HIGH ON REVOLUTION!!

DINKINGATE

Continued From Page 12

which was awarded by the New York City Board of Estimate. Inner City Broadcasting Corporation Chairman of the Board Sutton, of course, had been a member of the Board of Estimate for over 11 years prior to getting it to award his company the lucrative Queens cable-tv franchise. According to **The Permanent Government: Who Really Rules New York?**:

"Advances in satellite, electronics, and computer technology have made this the period in which fortunes can be made in cable television.... A 20 percent return on investment is predicted for the companies that win the bidding."

Today, Inner City Broadcasting Corporation brings in over \$19 million per year from its annual business operations and Chairman of the Board Percy Sutton's son, Pierre Sutton, is the Inner City Broadcasting Corporation President while Mayor Dinkins' son, David Dinkins, Jr., is a major stockholder.

DINKINS' CITY CLERK PATRONAGE POST

In September, 1975, Mayor Beame appointed Inner City Broadcasting Corporation Director Dinkins to the New York City Clerk patronage post. According to the 1990 **Current Biography Yearbook**, "the 'City Clerk does little besides process marriage licenses and the financial disclosure forms of public officials, but the plum patronage post afforded Dinkins an opportunity to rehabilitate his reputation and establish political ties that would later prove useful."

Dinkins held his City Clerk patronage post from 1975 to 1985, during which time he sought election as Manhattan Borough President three times.

When his Inner City Broadcasting Corporation business partner, Sutton, decided to run for Mayor in 1977, Dinkins unsuccessfully attempted to succeed him as Manhattan Borough President and thus keep the post in the Inner City Broadcasting Corporation business family. In 1981, Dinkins again attempted to win election as Manhattan Borough President and again the Inner City Broadcasting Corporation Director/New York City Clerk/Carver Clubhouse politician lost. In 1985, however, after receiving an additional patronage appointment from white corporate establishment interests to the New York Urban Development Corporation (UDC) in 1983, Dinkins finally was elected Manhattan Borough President. In his 1985 campaign for Manhattan Borough President, Dinkins was supported financially by real estate developers Donald Trump and Peter Kalikow.

DINKINS' URBAN DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION CONNECTION

In 1983 -- two years before he finally succeeded in winning election as Manhattan Borough President -- the 56 year old Dinkins was named to be a director of the New York State Urban Development Corporation (UDC). During the two years Dinkins served as a UDC director, UDC contracts were given to his business associates, according to **Commentary** magazine. The **Village Voice** also indicated in 1985, after Dinkins announced his support for Denny Farrell for mayor, that some UDC contracts were given to Dinkins' associates while he served as a UDC Director.

According to **The Permanent Government: Who Really Rules New York?**:

"With \$500 million in bonding authority and \$1 billion in construction projects, the UDC has become a secretive, unaccountable, self-perpetuating fourth branch of government. It has become almost a private bank that financed luxury and leisure projects for permanent government insiders."

In the early 1980's, the UDC dished out \$1 million to finance the Theatre Row development project on 42nd Street, \$80 million to finance Donald Trump's Grand Hyatt Hotel, \$375 million to finance the 34th Street Convention Center, and \$241 million to finance the luxury Portman Hotel at 45th Street.

As a member of the UDC board of directors, Dinkins voted for the Times Square Redevelopment Project.

In a telephone interview, Assembly member Jerrold Nadler said he felt the Times Square Redevelopment Project, by raising assessed taxation values of midtown real estate, encouraged commercial landlords to raise the rents for garment and other manufacturers in Manhattan, and thus led to a further decrease in blue-collar manufacturing jobs in New York City by encouraging manufacturers to relocate to cities where commercial rents are cheaper. In Nadler's view, for the last 11 years public officials in New York City have neglected to create the kind of manufacturing zones within New York City that would provide a sufficient amount of blue-collar employment opportunities for City residents.

"The City administration under Koch and Dinkins has been injurious to the blue-collar manufacturing industry and to blue-collar jobs," Nadler said.

"To get the idea out" that, unless government funds were used to create super-manufacturing zones instead of for UDC projects like the Times Square Redevelopment Project, New York City's economic decline and loss of blue-collar jobs would continue, Nadler decided to run for Manhattan Borough President in 1985 against Dinkins.

When a local government agency had announced plans to subsidize the building of 7,000 units of luxury housing in Hunter's Point, Queens -- an area of New York City that has traditionally been a blue-collar manufacturing center and a source of employment for African-American, Latino-American, and white working-class industrial workers -- Nadler had gone to Dinkins' office and urged him to speak out against the Hunter's Point development plan.

"I asked him to hold a press conference. Break this open. But he wouldn't lift a finger to oppose the Hunter's Point development plan," Nadler said.

Although Nadler's basis for running for Manhattan Borough President against the Trump and Kalikow-backed Dinkins in 1985 was his disagreement with Dinkins about the best strategy for New York City's economic development, Nadler noted that "I was accused of being racist just for running" by certain liberal Democratic Party Establishment officials. It appears that certain liberal yuppie Democratic Party politicians felt in 1985 that it was not "politically correct" to oppose on political grounds a pro-Establishment, Donald Trump-backed African-American candidate such as Dinkins, even if his politics were classist and against the economic interests of both African-American working-class people and white working-class people.

Nadler also recalled that during Dinkins' successful 1985 campaign for Manhattan Borough President, it was revealed that Dinkins' campaign organization failed to pay the taxes it was obligated to pay in relation to its \$7,000 per week payroll disbursements.

THE DINKINS-INNER CITY BROADCASTING CORPORATION STOCK TRANSFER

After his 1985 election as Manhattan Borough President, Dinkins transferred his 558 shares of Inner City Broadcasting Corporation stock to his son, David Dinkins, Jr. Although Dinkins told **Newsday** reporter Paul Moses in 1986 that the stock was given at "no charge," a few years later he told a federal grand jury and a Special Deputy Commissioner investigating the stock transfer that he "sold" the stock to his son at a

bargain-basement price.

In a recent telephone interview, Paul Moses stated that he stands by the accuracy of his September 26, 1986 **Newsday** article in which Dinkins said that he transferred his Inner City Broadcasting Corporation stock to his son "at no charge." Moses was unwilling, however, to be interviewed by government investigators looking into the Dinkins stock transfer issue because he felt that speaking to government investigators in relation to a news story would compromise his integrity as a journalist.

The recipient of Dinkins' stock transfer, David Dinkins, Jr., also refused to speak to Special Deputy Commissioner Elkan Abramowitz and his staff when they conducted their investigation of the Dinkins Inner City Broadcasting Corporation stock transfer in 1990 -- although David Dinkins, Jr. is not a journalist. If David Dinkins, Jr. was actually given the Inner City Broadcasting Corporation stock by his father in late 1985 as a gift, then there's a possibility that New York City's mayor would have to be indicted both for testifying falsely before a grand jury and for failing to pay an appropriate gift tax on his Inner City Broadcasting Corporation stock transfer.

PROTECTING SUTTON AND DINKINS FAMILY INTERESTS AS MANHATTAN BOROUGH PRESIDENT

After he had transferred his Inner City Broadcasting Corporation stock to his son, Dinkins -- while serving as Manhattan Borough President -- continued to maintain contact with his former Inner City Broadcasting Corporation partner Sutton. According to the January 10, 1991 **Report of the Special Deputy Commissioner Concerning The Transfer of Inner City Broadcasting Corporation Stock By David N. Dinkins**:

"In mid-1986, Mr. Sutton began lobbying Mr. Dinkins on behalf of Queens Inner Unity Cable System in which Inner City Broadcasting Corporation (through a wholly-owned subsidiary) had a 40% interest and Mr. Sutton had a 10% interest.

"In 1983, Queens Inner Unity Cable System had been awarded a contract for the development of cable television service in a portion of Queens. By mid-1986, its franchise was in serious jeopardy, and Mr. Sutton was not shy about trying to find help.... The Board of Estimate had awarded the franchise to Queens Inner Unity Cable System, and could take it away. Mr. Dinkins, as Manhattan Borough President, had a vote in the Board of Estimate."

On August 1, 1986, Sutton visited Dinkins in the Manhattan Borough President's office, along with the Irish-born former New York City Council President Paul O'Dwyer, who was the Queens Inner Unity Cable System's lawyer. According to the **Report of the Special Deputy Commissioner Concerning The Transfer of Inner City Broadcasting Corporation Stock By David N. Dinkins**:

"... It was clear that Mr. Sutton was there seeking to promote the interests of Queens Inner Unity Cable System. Queens Inner Unity Cable System was under pressure from the Bureau of Franchises because it had failed to raise the financing required by its agreements with the City."

The Report of the Special Deputy Commissioner also noted that after Dinkins' August 1, 1986 Manhattan Borough President's Office meeting with Sutton, "correspondence between the Bureau of Franchises and Queens Inner Unity Cable System continued to arrive at Mr. Dinkins' office with personal Percy Sutton buck slips addressed to Hon. David N. Dinkins, see, e.g., letter dated January 21, 1987."

After Sutton had arranged for a partnership to be formed between a subsidiary of Warner Communications and Inner City Broadcasting Corporation's Queens Inner Unity Cable System subsidiary, which needed to be approved by the Board of Estimate, Sutton sent "a hand-delivered letter dated September 21, 1987, addressed to Mr. Dinkins" which "outlined the new partnership" and "announced that the matter would be placed before the Board of Estimate on October 1, 1987 or October 26, 1987," according to the Report of the Special Deputy Commissioner.

On November 3, 1987, Sutton again sent a hand-carried letter to Dinkins, and enclosed a copy of the final agreement between Warner and Queens Inner Unity Cable System which was to be considered at the November 19, 1987 Board of Estimate meeting. In this hand-carried letter to Dinkins, Sutton also offered to meet with Dinkins again and "answer all questions to your satisfaction, prior to the November 19th Board of Estimate meeting."

The "Report of the Special Deputy Commissioner Concerning The Transfer of Inner City Broadcasting Corporation Stock By David N. Dinkins" also noted that on June 12, 1989 "a committee consisting of Percy Sutton and representatives of Time and Warner came calling on Mr. Dinkins" to discuss the scheduled June 15, 1989 Board of Estimate vote required for Time-Warner to merge previously competing cable-tv companies into a potentially more lucrative city-wide cable-tv monopoly. According to the Report of the Special Deputy Commissioner, "after a short private meeting between Mr. Dinkins and Mr. Sutton, Mr. Dennis deLeon (the Deputy Manhattan Borough President under Dinkins) was asked to come back into the room for a ten minute meeting with Mr. Dinkins and Mr. Sutton" and "on June 15, 1989, Mr. deLeon," on behalf of former Inner City Broadcasting Corporation Director Dinkins, "joined in the unanimous vote approving the changes in ownership of the New York City franchises caused by the merger of Time and Warner."

On December 18, 1985, Dinkins had attended his last Inner City Broadcasting Corporation board of directors meeting prior to moving into his Manhattan Borough President office. At this December 18, 1985 meeting, an extensive presentation was made to the Inner City Broadcasting Corporation board regarding the construction of an office building in Harlem between the Bishop Office Building and the Apollo Theatre. The Harlem Commonwealth Council, Inc. (HCC) was seeking a zoning change from the Board of Estimate, upon which Dinkins was to sit, in order to construct the Harlem office building as a joint venture with the Inner City Broadcasting Corporation, in which the Dinkins family owned stock. Dinkins' Inner City Broadcasting Corporation was to be both an investor in the Harlem development project and a prime tenant in the office building for which the Board of Estimate's zoning change approval was to be sought.

On the day before the Board of Estimate was to vote on the proposed zoning change, Deputy Manhattan Borough President Sally Hernandez-Pinereo met with Dinkins. The next day, June 30, 1987, Hernandez-Pinereo -- on behalf of former Inner City Broadcasting Corporation Director Dinkins -- cast an "aye" vote in the Board of Estimate in support of the Inner City Broadcasting Corporation-Harlem Commonwealth Council, Inc.'s Bishop Annex construction project zoning change.

SPONSORING DINKINS' 1989 CAMPAIGN FOR MAYOR

On December 7, 1988, **The New York Times** reported that "Donald Trump is prepared to spend \$2 million of his own money on anti-Koch television commercials in next year's mayoral race" because he "says Koch has systematically mismanaged New York City and allowed it to become a cesspool of corruption and incompetence." (In 1985, Trump had backed Dinkins in his successful campaign for Manhattan Borough President.)

The following day, December 8, 1988, **The New York Times** reported that "Boro President David Dinkins comes close to announcing his candidacy for New York City

See DINKINGATE On Page 18

WHO IS ANTONIO PAGAN?

Continued From Page 6

The cost of construction is an exorbitant \$80,000 per unit, which is the typical cost of "low-income housing" being constructed in New York City. In a recent article, even the pro-development New York Times called the high construction costs of such housing "obscene."

Under the terms of financing for Pagan's latest projects, arranged through the Rockefeller-dominated New York City Partnership, after 15 years the housing can be sold for whatever price the market would allow. Coincidentally, Districting Commission chair Frank Macchiarola is a former director of the New York City Partnership.

Although Pagan adamantly denies he intends to allow these LESCHD projects to enter the private market; his actions have inspired mistrust among Lower East Side housing activists -- in large part because Pagan has built himself a notorious reputation by his predisposition towards the use of force to gain control of city-owned properties.

In one case last September, LESCHD received permission from Community Board 3 (CB3) to acquire several buildings that have been inhabited by homesteaders for several years. In a letter to Department of Housing and Development (HPD) Assistant Commissioner Kathleen Dunn, Pagan requested that HPD "promptly evict the squatters."

The move by CB3 to hand over the buildings to Pagan led to an uproarious meeting where hundreds of squatters and renters were denied entrance by phalanxes of riot police. Soon afterwards, both Pagan and the Board allowed the matter of seizing the buildings to drop.

Contributors to Pagan's campaign include members of the now defunct organization, Before Another Shelter Tears Us Apart (BASTA). BASTA was formed in 1987 to pressure the city into closing the city's Human Resources Administration (HRA) East 3rd Street homeless men's shelter intake facility.

Pagan lives at 7 East 3rd Street, almost directly across the street from the facility, and joined BASTA as president of the 3rd Street Block Association. The Block Association was formed by **Bill and Susan Tatum**, who live down the block from Pagan at 34 East 3rd Street. Bill Tatum, a behind the scenes Pagan supporter, is a former city official and local real estate developer as well as owner of the Amsterdam News. He bought his present home, a 23-room triplex from the city in 1967 for \$4,000 and used drug treatment patients as laborers on the site. Around the corner, at 41 Second Avenue, Tatum bought a 6,000 square foot building from the city for \$57,000 which he completely renovated for about \$500,000, and is now warehousing.

The BASTA lawsuit was successful and the intake center, which processed thousands of homeless men into the city shelter system, was moved to Brooklyn. However, a lawsuit by the Coalition for the Homeless forced the city to move the intake shelter to the Bellevue men's shelter. Before this, the Bellevue shelter had unofficially evolved into the city's only shelter for frail and elderly men. To make room for the displaced intake center, hundreds of men were shipped either to unsafe congregate shelters or to Camp LaGuardia, a former women's prison in upstate New York.

BASTA spokesman **Howard Hemsley** donated \$2500 to Pagan's campaign and has been paid for \$1500 in campaign-related services. Hemsley was a key supporter of Pagan on Community Board 3 before they resigned last Spring together with Roberto Caballero.

Another contributor is local landlord **Krystyna PiorKOWska**, a Pagan ally on CB3 and BASTA stalwart, appointed to CB3 by former Borough President Andrew Stein. PiorKOWska has close ties with police officials and defended police actions during the August 1988 riot in which more than 50 people were injured by cops.

BASTA supporter Yip Li, the owner of Phebe's restaurant at Bowery and Fourth Street, donated \$750 to Pagan's campaign. A contribution also came from the owner of the Cooper Square Restaurant at East Fifth Street and Second Avenue, and from the owner of the Sportspace Restaurant across the street. (The Sportspace was the target of a gambling raid in its basement several months ago. In spite of receiving orders to stay away, cops from the nearby 9th precinct continue to patronize the Sportspace.)

BASTA attorney and District Leader **Elizabeth Shollenberger** and her husband, attorney **Timothy James**, contributed to Pagan's campaign. They are also founders of the conservative **Village Reform Democratic Club (VRDC)**, which pressured the city to flood Washington Square Park with police and impose a nighttime curfew.

Opponents of Shollenberger say she is fond of dirty tricks when it comes to political campaigns. Sherry Donovan says she lost the 1986 race for District Leader "due to ugly tactics" by Shollenberger, who was also aided by an influx of money from supporters of former Mayor Edward Koch.

Donovan, whose father is a prominent rabbi, said that in the last week of the campaign, Shollenberger's supporters circulated a letter saying Donovan was "anti-Israel" because of her involvement with the National Lawyer's Guild.

Donovan said the last minute timing of Shollenberger's letter prevented her from refuting its contents before the election.

Pagan is a founding member and leader of the **Tompkins Square Park Neighborhood Coalition**, an organization begun to pressure the city into kicking the homeless people out of the park and enforcing a curfew in the park. **Samuel Turvey**, a corporate attorney and Pagan contributor, lives in a luxury building at 131 Avenue B that was used for low-income housing until, according to former residents, goons hired by the landlord forced the tenants out.

A block away is the 19-story luxury Christodora building, which was built in 1928 for use as a children's hospital and neighborhood social services center. It was abandoned in the late 70s and sold in 1986 to private developers. Pagan contributor and Christodora resident **Lesley Hazelton**, joined a letter writing campaign on behalf of Pagan in which she wrote an op-ed piece appearing in New York Newsday, accusing anarchists of putting a bullet hole through the front door of Pagan's building. (A resident of Pagan's building later revealed to the SHADOW that the broken glass resulted from a tenant hitting the door from inside the building.)

The treasurer of the Committee to Elect Antonio Pagan is **Susan LeeLike**, founder and former director of GOLES, a tenants-rights group on East Sixth Street. LeeLike was convicted on charges of fraud in February and fined \$6,000 for collecting unemployment benefits after claiming she was fired by GOLES, when in fact she had resigned in September of 1989. Her attorney was **Samuel Turvey**.

Board of Elections records show that between January 12 and July 11, incumbent Miriam Friedlander raised \$13,037 which she added to a cash balance of \$28,734 from contributions collected before January. Antonio Pagan reported raising only \$2,570 in the period prior to January 12th.

Friedlander's largest contributors are municipal employee unions that donated \$11,850, including \$3,600 since January 12th. She has also received contributions of \$700 from New York Wholesale Fish Dealers, \$345 from the Odyssey House and \$475 from Manhattan Cable Television.

SHELTER WATCHER

THE SHADOW'S MAN IN THE SHELTER SYSTEM

BREAKING THE BACK OF HOMELESSNESS (Not their chops!!)

"Sweep The Parks": It seems that this is a battle cry taken up by virtually every aspirant for City Council, all drawing their support and comfort from one of the meanest, vindictive and **TREACHEROUS** acts undertaken by the city in recent times--the summary sweep of the homeless and closing of Tompkins Square Park!!

At a debate between City Council candidates Miriam Friedlander (the 18-year incumbent), Steven Rosen (Community Board 6 member), Phillip Howard (of Gramercy Square), and right wing anti-homeless slime Antonio Pagan at the Union Square Community Coalition on July 16th, much gusto and glee was expressed by Pagan, a self-described "Homeless Housing Developer" over the park closing. When questioned as to the volume of Homeless Housing he has actually developed, he turned out to be rather vague on the subject! It would seem he is quite proud of his role in transforming the old East Third Street Men's Shelter into an alcohol rehab center, operated by a so-called "private" corporation which gets the bulk of its funding from the city! However, the community at large may be interested to know that it is being operated more along the lines of a "Half-Way House" for criminal offenders, rather than its supposed original intention.

Much trepidation has been expressed recently by the Union Square Local Development Corporation, lest that park be occupied by "undesirables" after the "enormous investment" placed there. Close and frequent consultations to forestall this eventuality were promised with the "Authorities" (read "Cops").

Another relatively recent ploy in the old "divide and rule" game seems to be to split the "Incorrigible Homeless" (this is, according to the city's definition, "Homeless by choice") from the "Occasional Homeless" (this, likewise, "Homeless through circumstances beyond control"). The desire here would seem to be to re-classify the second category into the first!

Some things which should, and could, be undertaken right away: Establishment of a thoroughly revamped and reconstituted "Homeless Office," but not under the authority of the present one (whose chief task seems to be the channelling of city funds to shelters!), and most emphatically not under the authority of the corrupt and SCANDAL-RIDDEN "Human Resources Administration"! It could, very conceivably, be a unit of the Borough President's Office, working through the Community Boards to "localize" solutions. One of its primary functions should be the development of transitional housing from the extensive un-utilized "In Rem" stock (abandoned and tax-foreclosed buildings) held by the city of New York.

DINKINGSGATE

Continued From Page 17

Mayor" but "despite desire to run and favorable poll, Dinkins says he will wait 2 months to determine how much support and money he can get."

After Dinkins decided to run for Mayor in 1989, he was rewarded for the way, as Manhattan Borough President, he protected the special, private, corporate interests of the Dinkins and Sutton family's Inner City Broadcasting Corporation/Queens Inner Unity Cable System and their Time-Warner business associates.

On October 21, 1989, The New York Times reported in its back pages that "Percy Sutton, Dinkins' political mentor, Sutton's relatives and businesses with which he is connected have contributed over \$70,000 to Dinkins' New York City mayoral campaign." As of October 2, 1989, Percy Sutton and his family had donated \$23,150 to fund the Dinkins for Mayor Campaign and Sutton's Percy Sutton International firm had donated \$8,500 more to fund Dinkins' 1989 campaign. Another \$8,470 was donated to Dinkins by other officials of his family's Inner City Broadcasting Corporation. Another business associate of Sutton, Eugene D. Jackson of the National Black Network, donated \$5,500 to the Dinkins campaign.

The Times also noted that "officers of Time Warner Inc., part of the Queens Cable consortium, and a law firm representing it account for more than \$25,000 in Dinkins contributions." Six thousand dollars of this Time-Warner money for Dinkins was contributed by Time-Warner Co-Chairman Steve Ross and his wife. **The Permanent Government: Who Really Rules New York?** noted in 1981 that:

"Steve Ross is the president of Warner Communications. He contributed \$48,000 to (New York governor) Hugh Carey in 1978 and flies Carey around in his corporate jet. Ross wants cable television franchises and is interested in casino gambling."

Brooklyn Queens Cable Television President Richard Aurelio and his wife, Suzanne, donated \$6,250 of the Time-Warner subsidy for the Dinkins campaign. Aurelio was New York City's Deputy Mayor of the early 1970's. He later traded his political influence for a lucrative Warner Communications lobbying job in the late 1970's.

Another \$14,750 of the Time-Warner campaign funding for the Dinkins For Mayor 1989 campaign was contributed by another Time Warner lobbyist, Sid Davidoff, and Davidoff's law partners. In the early 1970's, Davidoff was the assistant of Mayor Lindsay who approved and monitored the bank that got interest-free deposits of City funds from the Lindsay Administration. In 1972, one of the banks, Century National Bank, gave Davidoff a \$9,000 unsecured loan so that he could get into the restaurant business. According to **The Permanent Government: Who Really Rules New York?**, Davidoff's "restaurant eventually went bankrupt and Davidoff was indicted for nonpayment of taxes to the state."

DINKINS AS MAYOR OF NEW YORK CITY

Predictably, since moving into his City Hall office in January, 1990, Dinkins has done nothing to suggest that "The Dinkingsgate Scandal" is not going to continue in New York City. And, true to his past role as a loyal puppet, when the white Establishment corporate/yuppie interests told him to use police violence in Tompkins Square Park and occupy Tompkins Square recently, Dinkins obediently issued the anti-democratic order.

But even if Dinkins has to rely on white cops from suburban Long Island, instead of rational political argument, to win acceptance of his political decisions, political activist folks in New York City won't have any moral or legal obligation to obey the anti-democratic decrees of his "Dinkingsgate" administration.



HIGHWAY RADAR JAMMING

By Roy G. Biv

Most drivers wanting to make better time on the open road will arm themselves with an expensive radar detector. However, this device will not work against a gun type radar unit in which the radar signal is not present until the cop has you in his sights and pulls the trigger. Then it is too late to slow down.

A better method is to continuously jam any signal with a radar signal of your own. I have tested this idea with the cooperation of a local cop and found that his unit reads random numbers when the car approaches him. It is surprisingly easy to make a low power radar transmitter.

A nifty little semiconductor called a Gunn diode will generate microwaves when supplied with 5 to 10 vdc and enclosed in the correct size cavity (resonator). An 8 to 3 terminal regulator can be used to get this voltage from a car's system. However, the correct construction and tuning of the cavity is difficult without good microwave measurement equipment.

Police radars commonly operate on the k band at 22 ghz or more often on the x band at 10.525 ghz. Most microwave intruder alarms and motion detectors (mounted over automatic doors in supermarkets, etc) contain a Gunn type transmitter/receiver combination that transmits about 10 milliwatts at 10.525 ghz. These units work perfectly as jammers. If you can't get one locally, write to Microwave Associates in Burlington, Massachusetts and ask for info on "gunplexers" for ham radio use.

When you get the unit it may be mounted in a plastic box on the dashboard or in a weatherproof enclosure behind the plastic grille. Switch on the power when you are on the open highway. The unit will not jam radar to the side or behind the car, so don't go speeding past the radar trap.

An interesting phenomena you will notice is that drivers in front of you who are using radar detectors will hit their brakes as you approach large metal signs or bridges. Your signal is bouncing off these objects and triggering their detectors.

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MOVIE REVIEW:

Marc Levin's new film **Blowback** seems to be surrealist fiction. But informed viewers will note that **Blowback** interweaves fiction and reality, merely taking terrifying trends already in evidence in the real world to a possible conclusion in a fictional near-future. Set in the Miami of right-wing Cubans, big-bucks drug smuggling and CIA intrigue, most of the characters are thinly disguised movie versions of some of the real-world charmers that this milieu has actually produced over the years.

The lead, anal-retentive religious fanatic and high-level CIA operative Owen Monroe, is instantly recognizable as Lt. Col. Oliver North. Rios Montt, the former sado-evangelical tyrant of Guatemala is here, rubbing elbows with the wealthy ultra-right private patrons of Monroe's secret missions.

The bizarre Dr. Crack, drug lord and renegade CIA scientist with a secret lab hidden in a bunker below a sleazy brothel, is what Levin calls the "Dr. Strangelove of drugs and behavior modification." But just as Peter Sellers' Dr. Strangelove was based on Dr. Werner von Braun, the Nazi rocket scientist who was put to use by the Pentagon after World War II, Dr. Crack also has a real-world counterpart -- the hideously deformed Dr. Sidney Gottlieb, who headed up the CIA's 1950s LSD experiment program, MK-ULTRA, and who at one point really did run a San Francisco warehouse where unsuspecting patrons were dosed with acid. Gottlieb watched his human guinea pigs from behind two-way mirrors.

Monroe is in Miami on a double mission. First, he is to track down Emilio, another renegade CIA operative, who has been sitting on the elusive "Blowback file" for some 30 years. "Blowback" is a CIA term for an operation that backfires, and Emilio's file documents that it was the Cuban exiles and mafia kingpins recruited by the CIA to off Fidel Castro who ultimately decided to do in John F. Kennedy instead. Emilio -- and his incriminating evidence -- have to be eliminated before the second, and even more sinister part of Monroe's mission can succeed: to launch a bogus "narcoterrorist" attack on innocent Miami vacationers as a rationale for suspending the constitution and declaring martial law.

Absurdist fiction? Think again. Says Levin: "There's a whole history of the US government instrumenting incidents like this to meet its own political ends. There was the contrived battle at the Gulf of Tonkin which served as a justification for expanding the war in Vietnam. The CIA instructed the Nicaraguan contras to blame their atrocities on the Sandinistas." Even more chilling, Levin points out, are the plans which came to light during Congressional probe of the Conragate scandal to have constitutional democracy overturned, and government placed under the control of the elite Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA). In the post-Cold War era, Levin points out, drugs and terrorism are filling the void left by the dematerialization of the "Soviet threat".

During the FBI infiltration of radical groups during the late '60s and early '70s, says Levin, "the most violent provocateurs usually turned out to be agents. Riots and bombings were used as a rationale for a crackdown. I just made it a little wilder and crazier."

Rest assured -- the film does not end in a bloodbath. Monroe's own mission goes gloriously blowback, basically through the timely intervention of an unwitting operative who wises up at the last minute. This is the female lead, Jane Hamper, a sexually dependent recovering drug addict who has been used to lure information from Emilio, and who symbolizes for Levin "today's nihilistic youth, bursting with brash angry energy which could be a powerful force for social change if it were directed away from self-destruction and towards appropriate political targets."

Jane calls herself an "LSD baby" because her parents had been involved with early CIA acid experiments and her mom had actually tripped while pregnant with her. She

BLOWBACK: Director Marc Levin takes on CIA Double-Dealing in the "War On Drugs"

By Bill Weinberg

was born on Nov. 22, 1963, the same day JFK was shot. In another intersect with reality, that was also the same day that British author Aldous Huxley died, and was administered LSD on his deathbed, as per his request. Huxley, an aficionado of the drug, had first been introduced to it through scientists and intelligence agents who were closely monitored by, if not actually working with, the CIA's MK-ULTRA program.

In yet another intersect with reality, the film ends with a press conference in which Emilio is about to spill it. Levin got the footage from an actual press conference which was held when former Panamanian narco-dictator and renegade CIA operative Manuel Noriega was brought to Miami after the US invasion.

Levin describes Monroe's hit team as "programmed Manchurian terrorists," a reference to the 1961 thriller, "The Manchurian Candidate," in which Communist mind-control experts program an American war captive to assassinate the president. Today many CIA researchers suspect that the real "Manchurian candidate" was Lee Harvey Oswald, and his programmers were not Communists but ultra-reactionaries within the US intelligence community. Did the CIA get the idea from the movie?

A more chilling question: will "Blowback" prove to be to the 1990s what "The Manchurian Candidate" was to the 1960s? With the economy teetering and urban crises deepening, there are doubtless significant forces in the corridors of power salivating for an expedient justification to unleash martial law. Hollywood likes happy endings, so the Manchurian terrorists' missions fail in both the 1961 and 1991 versions. Reality has no such predilections.

There is lots of "insider" humor in "Blowback." CIA history buffs and conspiracy theorists will get a laugh out of references to Dr. Hoover, Dr. Anslinger, Southern Air Transport, and "the Barbie suite in the La Paz Hilton." However, a more potent ticket to box office success may be the film's shameless exploitation of the female lead's body. As one observer put it, "It should have been called *Blowjob*."



NANCY JONES (Jane Hamper), a rehabilitating addict, lays wrapped in her "One nation under rehabilitation" flag, after the final confrontation with her lover, CIA agent Owen Monroe, regarding the true nature of his highly classified mission, in "BLOWBACK", a film by Marc Levin, released by Northern Arts Entertainment.

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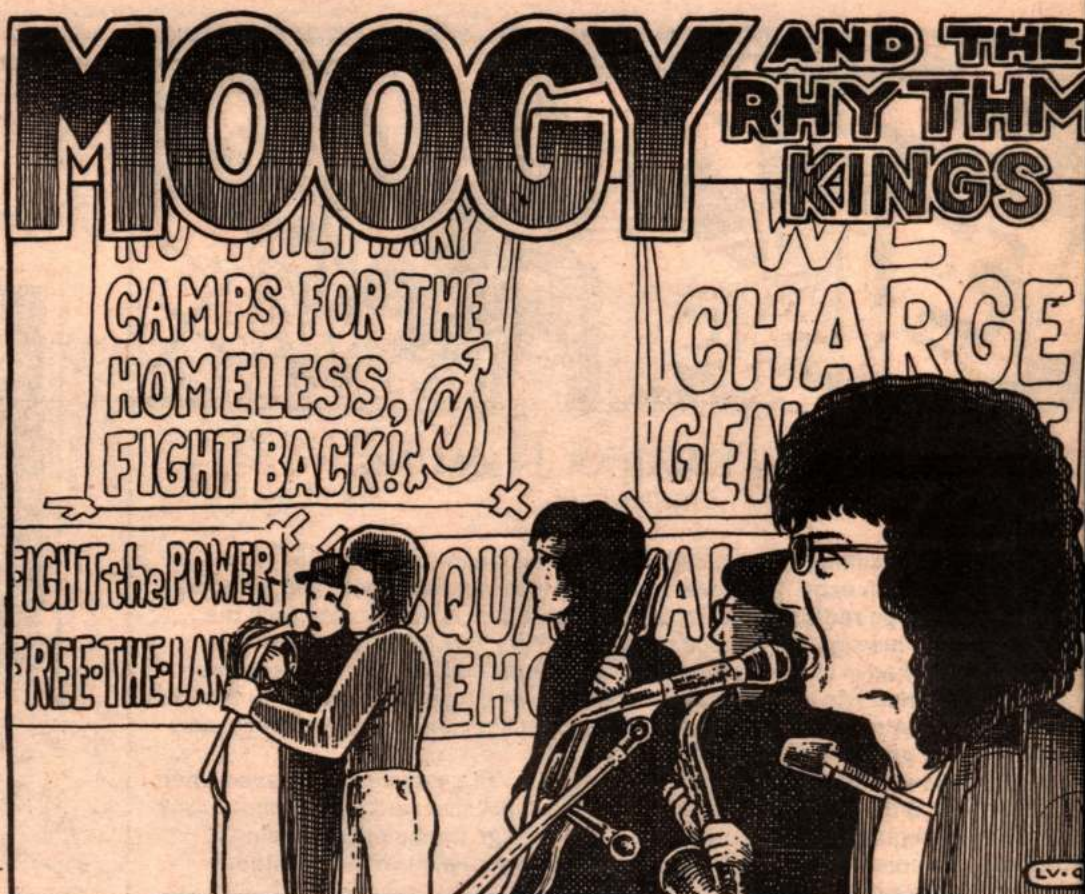
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