

the SHADOW

DEFEND THE SQUATS!!

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OCT/NOV. 1991
ISSUE #20

INFORMATION IS STRENGTH • KNOWLEDGE IS POWER

PAGAN WINS: YOU LOSE!



FLASH FOTO

PIGS LOOK ON AS REMAINS OF "DINKINSVILLE" ARE BULLDOZED BY SANITATION DEPARTMENT



FLASH FOTO

NINTH STREET RETURNED TO "NORMAL" WITH HOMELESS ENCAMPMENTS REMOVED

DINKINSVILLE EVICTED!!

(See Page 4)

TOMPKINS SQUARE PARK BANDSHELL DEMOLISHED!!

(See Page 3)



TOMPKINS SQUARE BANDSHELL: 1966-1991

SHADOW EDITORIAL

"I ALWAYS BUY THIS PAPER TO SEE WHAT THE COPS ARE UP TO"--
(Beat cop buying the SHADOW at A-CENTRAL Books on October 24, 1991)

TOMPKINS SQUARE POLICE STATE (Continued)

The day after our last issue, which warned of impending city plans to demolish the Tompkins Square Park bandshell, which has served our community for 25 years, the pigs in City Hall had it torn down on Aug. 28th, in spite of protests and even pleadings from from all political sides of the community. To justify this complete disregard of the community, the Mayor's office claimed alternately that the bandshell was: "unsafe", too expensive to repair, the site of homeless people, drug dealing, and that it was "too large" for the park!! As any area resident knew, if the city wanted to stop the homeless from sleeping in the bandshell overnight, they could have simply repaired the electric roll down gate in front. This would have eliminated their other false arguments as well!!

In our last editorial, we explained how the police department wanted to create and enforce a police state in Tompkins Square with help from the city and the mainstream media. By provoking incidents in the area (harrassment, beatings, petty arrests, etc) that have resulted in outbursts of anger against them, and by getting right wingers to lodge complaints against people responding to the police state, the police department succeeded in getting a large number of pigs assigned to occupy the area. Claiming that Tompkins Square Park was the source of the "trouble" in the neighborhood after causing several skirmishes and riots there since August 1988, the pigs succeeded in getting the park closed. After they claimed that the bandshell was the source of the "trouble" in the park, they succeeded in getting it demolished.

After getting the first part of their plan in place, the pigs are now proceeding to the next step. To accomplish their ultimate goal to have the park destroyed and remodeled into a modern "policeable" park under the guise of unneeded "renovations", the pigs will try to remove the elements that have disrupted their plans and who try to stop the gentrifiers who want to "develop" the Lower East Side into the most expensive property in Manhattan. These elements include the homeless, political activists around the park, and the squatters near the park.

The homeless, already swept more than a dozen times from the park, were again evicted from vacant lots near the park when the pigs hit them on Aug. 15th. They now occupy streets, sidewalks and doorways around the neighborhood. Several activists have been hit with felony indictments, stemming from the May Day Pig Riot of 1990, which resulted when pigs rushed the bandshell stage to cut the power during a concert when they could have turned it off from several other locations. Sources tell the SHADOW that these people are being persecuted for their roles as activists against the pigs and the state, not necessarily because of anything allegedly taking place on May Day 1990. They are now on trial and face many years in jail if convicted. Other activists are harrassed and arrested for simply holding signs and banners, handing out leaflets, and hanging out with friends on sidewalks. Three squat buildings have been hit by pigs in the past few weeks: On Sept. 18th, Noah's Ark squat was raided and evicted at dawn by scores of riot pigs who blocked the doorway of another squat nearby. City crews were standing by, and had the interior completely gutted by the afternoon. On Sept. 30th, 3BC squat was threatened with eviction by fire pigs, who waited for cops to come. When the cops didn't show, the fire pigs left. On Oct. 23rd, Fetus Squat was raided by pigs with guns drawn, allegedly looking for a defendant in the May Day 29 felony case. The SHADOW heard from a high ranking cop source that the pigs are planning to hit several more squat buildings soon, as long as the city has demolition crews ready to destroy them immediately.

After these targets are removed, next will be the low-income and rent-stabilized and tenants who have been barely able to hang onto their apartments as rents in New York have skyrocketed around them, and who have been a pain in the asses of gentrifiers. Once the obstacles to gentrification are gone, Tompkins Square Park can be re-opened. With the redistricting in place and the primary election for City Council won by Antonio Pagan, the servant of right wingers and the developers, it looks like their plans are falling neatly into place, if we allow it to happen!! It is now up to all of us to stop this scenario in any and every way possible!! Support those who fight for our rights, help the homeless, and stop Antonio Pagan from getting elected to the City Council in November. If you vote, select anyone else running for election, if you value our neighborhood!!

WHAT HAPPENS NEXT IS UP TO YOU!!



MAY DAY 29
ON TRIAL NOW

100 Center Street
15th floor Part 38

Tuesday - Friday 9:30 - 5 PM Thru Mid November

On May 1, 1990 police stormed the stage of the four-day RESIST TO EXIST SQUATTER MAYDAY Festival and beat-up community activists in full view of 300 people. 7 people are now on trial in NY State Supreme Court as the police attempt to frame us with their violence. Prosecutors will call 37 police to the stand as well as Pagan piglets Sam Turvey, Elizabeth Acevedo and others to tell their lies. The MAYDAY defendants and their lawyers are well prepared to answer these phoney charges with the truth about what happened that night, but hundreds of political prisoners in US jails speaks to the fairness of the "Amerikan Just Us" system. In other words, ANYTHING COULD HAPPEN!

This summer, the cops took the park, then the bandshell, then the lots... and now they are after us! But it's not too late to stop the police state. What made us powerful on MAYDAY was the way we fought to defend each other. When the front lines of community defense have been drawn around the squats, we have been there. Now, we need you to be in court for us.

COMMUNITY DEFENSE IS NOT A CRIME
FREE THE MAY DAY 29!

Funds are urgently needed for leaflets now that the trial has begun. Please send whatever you can afford to contribute to TOMPKINS SQUARE/MAYDAY 29 DEFENSE COMMITTEE 228 E. 10th St. #24, Loisa, NYC 10003

SEE STORY ON PAGE 9

FUCK THE DEMOCRATS!

By A. Kronstadt

Is anyone not yet convinced of the utter moral and spiritual bankruptcy of the Democratic Party in New York City and nationwide? Is anyone still in doubt about its impotence to do anything meaningful to improve the lives of poor and working class people? Once upon a time, during the Great Depression of the 1930's, the rich in America felt threatened by a mass uprising of poor people who had nothing to lose. The more enlightened among them decided that it was better to part with some of their profits and make a few concessions than to lose everything in a bloody revolution. A New Deal was proposed in which those on the bottom of the heap were thrown a few crumbs to give them an illusion that the system was working for them. The dispenser of these crumbs was the Democratic Party. For many years the Democrats gained votes by sprinkling crumbs around. They gave the impression of a humane, generous party bent on preserving a social contract where everyone could find a niche and eventually rise up into the mainstream.

As time passed, the crumbs became more expensive for the rich. They found themselves in cutthroat industrial competition with nations where workers were not treated generously: nations where bullets rather than welfare were employed to control the discontented. The rich put Ronald Reagan in the White House and gave him a mandate to cut off the bounty, to put it back in the hands of the rich so that they could reinvest it and grow richer.

Where did this leave the Democrats? Crumbless, with no more patronage to ladle out, their liberal, generous rhetoric began to sound like hot air. It became more and more difficult to distinguish them from the Republicans. These Republicrats, in places like New York, became administrators of austerity and repression. This is how the Democrats went from building huge housing projects in the '50's and '60's to building fences to keep the homeless out of vacant lots in the '90's.

The Democrats are coming to town next summer. These con artists want to hold their convention in a city where their dominance is taken for granted-and they think that New York is such a place. We are witnessing stepped up repression against street people, peddlers, panhandlers, pot dealers-everyone who is trying to survive by hustling a few dollars. All of this is being carried out by a Democratic administration which doles out more money to keep people from helping themselves than to help people. Much of this repression is intended to "clean up the streets" for the convention--to present the image of a squeaky-clean liberal-Democratic success story instead of the reality of a raunchy, fetid Democratic Party fiasco.

We say stick it to them. The summer of 1992 will be a summer of rage, and in New York the appropriate target for that rage is the Democratic Party. The angel of austerity, Mario Cuomo, is being presented as the new liberal Messiah. The butcher of City University, the patron of the James Bay environmental disaster-in-the-making-is now being groomed as the big daddy of the new enlightenment. The Democrats should not be allowed to have their convention here, and if they do have it, they should be forced to have it in the midst of a three-ring political circus in which the whole mess that they have created in New York is smeared in their faces!

TRASH THE CONVENTION-1992!!

DUE TO THEIR INVOLVEMENT IN THE MAY DAY 29 CASE NOW ON TRIAL, ATTORNEYS RON KUBY + WILLIAM KUNSTLER WERE UNABLE TO PROVIDE THEIR "DOWN BY LAW" COLUMN FOR THIS ISSUE. "DOWN BY LAW" WILL CONTINUE IN OUR NEXT ISSUE.

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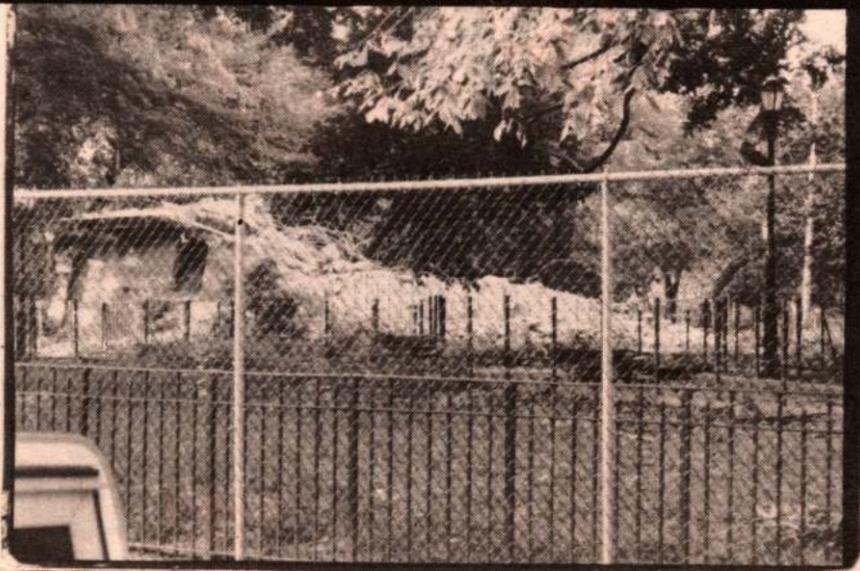
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TOMPKINS SQUARE PARK BANDSHELL DEMOLISHED!!

By Chris Flash

FLASH FOTO



Days before a planned rally and concert to protest the imminent demolition of the Tompkins Square Park bandshell and despite last ditch legal efforts to prevent the demolition, the bandshell was demolished on the morning of August 28th.

The bandshell, built by the city in 1966 in response to increasing tension in the community, served as a forum for the cultural expression of various ethnic groups and performers, hosting such name musicians as the Fugs, Richie Havens, the Grateful Dead, the Jefferson Airplane, as well as countless local groups from salsa to samba to reggae to funk to punk.

By the 1980s, the bandshell became a focal point in the culture of resistance to gentrification which has been sweeping the neighborhood. The bandshell hosted events such as the annual Squatter MayDay, Housing is a Human Right Festival, Homes Not Bombs, as well as the transexual Wigstock Festival. As a result of the counter-cultural gathering and organizing, the conservative elements in the neighborhood and City Hall decided that the bandshell had to go. Citing false reports of too costly repairs (the bandshell had no structural or electrical defects--only the roll down gate in front, designed to keep the homeless out, needed repairs), the Parks Department announced that the bandshell would have to be replaced with a new mobile stage that would be wheeled out whenever future shows take place in the park, whenever the park is eventually re-opened.

During the demolition, approximately 25 people gathered, with some along Avenue A protesting and others on East 7th Street yelling at the demolition crew from SANTORA

CONSTRUCTION, of Corona, Queens. According to a reliable SHADOW source, SANTORA received only \$15,000 for the job, low by industry standards, in the hopes of beating out other contractors on future city projects.

After a man was arrested for blocking traffic on Avenue A, cops claimed that another young man riding a bicycle threw an M80 at a cluster of "white shirts" (commanding officers) near the corner of 7th Street and Avenue A. He was run down by a pig on a scooter and then taken into a waiting pig van where his head was cracked open by a pig hitting him with a helmet.

Soon after, Captain Charles Hanley had Seth Tobocman, editor of WIII magazine, arrested for pacing back and forth with a sign, charging him with "disorderly conduct". A local photographer, John Penley, confronting Hanley after being called a "faggot" by Hanley, was also arrested for "disorderly conduct" and was put through the system for 24 hours. (Hanley claimed that Penley shouted obscenities that caused the crowd to block the sidewalk). In the paddy wagon, Penley and another man he was cuffed to were assaulted and choked by pigs when the punk mouthed off to them.

A total of 8 people were arrested, including members of the band "Human Sewage". Some were charged with possession of fireworks after cops found a bag full on the sidewalk. One young punk in custody was hosed down by the pigs in the 7th precinct. when he pissed in his pants after being refused permission to use the toilet. Later that afternoon, a group of people from the neighborhood invaded the offices of Park Commissioner Betsy Gotbaum, at the Arsenal Building in Central Park, occupying it for several hours.



CAPT. HANLEY (Left) ORDERS ARREST OF PHOTOGRAPHER JOHN PENLEY AFTER CALLING PENLEY A "FAGGOT"

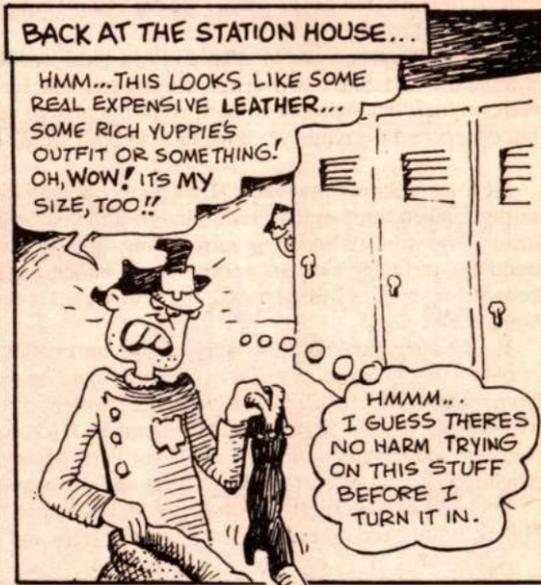
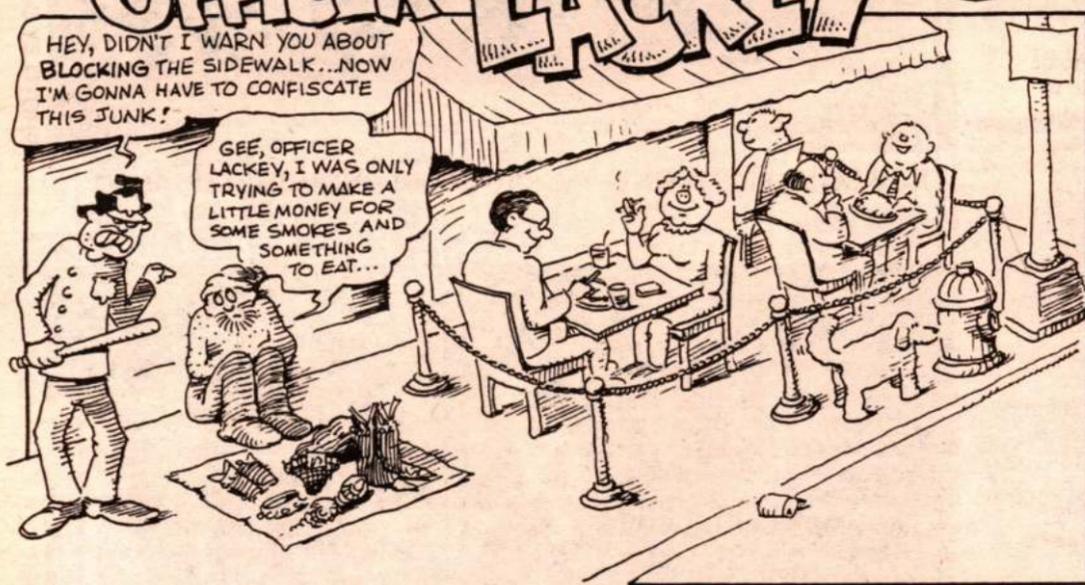
PHOTO BY JACK DAWKINS

OFFICER LACKEY



IN "TRICK OR TREAT"

BY COSMO



DINKINS EVICTS DINKINSVILLE



By Chris Flash

In the early morning of October 15th, hundreds of riot pigs arrived by the busload with emergency and bomb-squad vehicles, accompanied by a fleet of trucks and bulldozers from the Sanitation Department, descended upon and evicted three homeless encampments near Tompkins Square Park. The camps, located on East 8th Street between Avenues B and C, and 8-9th Streets between Avenues C and D, were mostly inhabited by homeless residents of Tompkins Square Park who were evicted on June 3rd when the park was closed and fenced off by the city. The 8th Street lot, "home" to a community of about 100 people, was dubbed "Dinkinsville," in dishonor of the mayor who had the homeless removed from the park.

The raids had been expected for several weeks, as the Daily News and the New York Post increased their vicious editorials and slanted articles against the homeless. (The Post is owned by the Kalikow family, real estate developers and landlords who own large amounts of property in New York City, and who used to own some around Tompkins Square Park.) Adding to the calls for the removal of the homeless were calls and letters to the mayor's office from Community Board Three Chair Rick Carman.

In the days before the raid, the portable toilets were removed from "Dinkinsville" as flunkies from the city's shelter system, calling themselves the "Human Resources Administration" (HRA) stepped up their presence in the camps. Under the guise of offering "referrals" to the homeless, they exist only to place the homeless in dangerous city shelters. In past homeless evictions, HRA workers have offered shelters as part of their "outreach program," so that the mayor could tell the media they had tried to help the homeless before kicking them into the streets.

By the night of October 14th, it became obvious that the homeless would be hit the next day as word was leaked to the homeless and their supporters through city officials, rogue cops, and city workers. At approximately 4:00AM on October 15th, word came through the Eviction Watch Hotline that the pigs were mustering at the Police Academy on East 21st Street for their raids on the lots. Activists and homeless supporters were called to help defend the homeless against eviction, and about 75 responded. By 6:00AM, people had erected barricades at both ends of 8th Street to stop the cop vehicles. As a small bonfire burned in the middle of "Dinkinsville," some homeless residents began packing. Before the pigs arrived, some tents were set on fire by homeless residents, spreading to other tents and threatening a nearby apartment building. Activists took down the barricades and called for the Fire Department as others tried to put out the fires with buckets of water. In a prime example of "divide and conquer," some homeless people accused the supporters of causing them trouble by focusing the pigs' attention on them!!

Soon, the pigs arrived, marching down 8th Street behind Captain Frey, pushing the homeless and supporters down 8th Street, which was "frozen" and blocked off with pig barricades. Local and mainstream reporters and photographers with press passes were forced to leave, but police press reporter Betsy Herzog, who sells photos to the N.Y. Post, was allowed to stay.

Also on the scene was Manhattan Boro President Ruth Messinger, who seemed to be against the raid. She was overheard trying to make sure that the homeless were able to retrieve their belongings, but many were not able to get them back. Soon, the Sanitation bulldozers had everything in huge piles in both lots as the pigs stood guard over them.

At the 9th Street lots, a few HRA people helped the homeless remove their belongings as pigs picked through their tents, and tore their shacks apart, looking for people sleeping inside. Pigs were stationed on surrounding roofs, but were denied admission to several buildings, including a squat. Another squat building near the corner had its doorway boarded up by pigs with plywood, but it was quickly removed by residents still inside the building.

By the afternoon, both lots were empty, surrounded by pigs still watching over the piles of belongings being prepared for removal, including mattresses, carts, tarps, and wood from makeshift shacks, as work crews erected fences around the lots. Homeless people who were promised city-owned apartments by HRA workers were instead sent to nearby shelters. Some headed toward East River Park, while others scattered throughout the neighborhood, along surrounding streets and doorways.

The next day, more than a dozen people rallied for three hours on the steps of City Hall to protest the raid on the lots. Carrying signs and banners, the demonstrators passed

The bum next door

Although offered room in shelters, many of the people evicted from Tompkins Square Park have camped out elsewhere in the neighborhood. Their shantytowns share space with debris and trash and rats in city-owned vacant lots. The city should have seen this coming. But the city was wearing blinders.

If you kick druggies off your block, they'll take their dirty business elsewhere -- usually nearby. If you boot derelicts and squatters from a public park, what do you think will happen? You guessed it. Unfortunately, the city didn't.

Try a little foresight. New York bureaucrats -- in the form of some fences to keep the lots squatter-free. Surely, even in a tight-budget time, there's some pence for fences. And surely the city can also get rid of the rats and trash, too.

Instead of one cesspool, the Tompkins Square area now has a bunch of them. And the government -- smart and right in clearing Tompkins Square Park -- is left looking dumber than dirt.

TYPICAL ANTI-HOMELESS EDITORIAL IN THE DAILY NEWS--6/10/91



PHOTO BY DAVID SORCHER

DINKINSVILLE RESIDENT PACKS UP BELONGINGS AS TENTS ERUPT IN FLAMES BEHIND HIM, BEFORE PIGS ARRIVE TO EVICT.

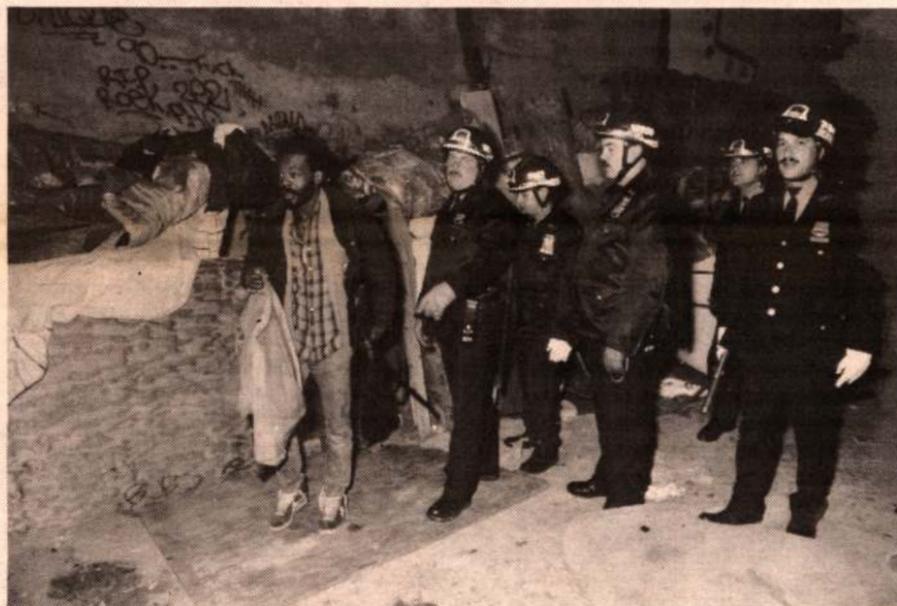


PHOTO BY DAVID SORCHER

HOW MANY PIGS DOES IT TAKE TO ROUST ONE HOMELESS MAN?



PHOTO BY DAVID SORCHER

MEANWHILE, AT THE 9TH STREET LOT, PIGS TEAR APART SHANTIES AND TENTS, LOOKING FOR PEOPLE STILL SLEEPING INSIDE.

out leaflets explaining the true causes of homelessness and the housing shortage while pitching a symbolic tent in front of City Hall.

After the raids of the day before, a cardboard sign in the street in front of "Dinkinsville," read: "Who are the real criminals? The rulers of this country, that's who! The 'greatest' 'richest' 'most powerful' country in the world, imperialist America, is a country whose only driving force is power for profit. This country's history from DAY ONE is based on criminal domination and destruction of people all over the world. The system uses people and throws them away like garbage. NOW THAT'S A CRIME!"

SQUATTER'S MARCH



On Saturday, October 12, a squatter rally and march was held, starting at the 7th Street and Avenue A entrance to the park. Armed with props, signs and costumes, approximately 100 squatters, squatter kids, and squat supporters rallied to demonstrate to their neighbors that squatters are good neighbors who have found alternatives to homelessness and letting the city's abandoned buildings sit vacant and rot.

Resembling the marches in support of Adam Purple's Garden of Eden destroyed by the city several years ago, people dressed in wild costumes, made silkscreens reading "Defend The Squats," played musical instruments, rode homemade bicycle carts and carried effigies of gentrifiers. After a pathetic attempt at blocking them off on Avenue A, cops stayed far away from the marchers, who took entire streets, marching over to Washington Square Park, and then back to Tompkins Square Park, where a few adventurous people scaled the fence at Saint Mark's Place and Avenue A. Suddenly, the pigs appeared and trashed the props, and pushed people around with their clubs, but there were no arrests.



FLASH FOTO

FLASH FOTO



This comes from a leaflet distributed through the neighborhood by Squatters:

THE SQUATTERS ARE YOUR NEIGHBORS

The Squatters -- We are your neighbors. People have been squatting buildings in this neighborhood for over fifteen years. There are currently about 500 people squatting on the Lower East Side. Probably a lot of people you see on the street every day are squatting and you don't even know it. Not all squatters fit into the stereotype of squatters; we are young and old, white and black, Latino, Asian, Native American, gay, straight, single people and families. We are people with many different beliefs. We think it is important for the good of our community that the different groups of people who live here communicate and work together. That is why we are approaching you. We hope that this leaflet will help to dispel some of the misconceptions about us.

Squatting Creates Housing. Squatters take abandoned, City-owned buildings that have been neglected for years and turn them into homes. Through our collective initiative, hard work and imagination, we restore buildings that would otherwise be left to rot, or be demolished. We have invested long hours and our own money, and have not asked for any handouts from the government.

By recycling materials, squatters restore buildings at a fraction of the regular costs. We are constantly improving our environment -- by making our buildings safe, by helping clean up our blocks, by establishing community gardens and recycling centers. We try to cooperate with our neighbors. Squatters have shown that given enough time we can restore a building to a high standard of safety and quality.

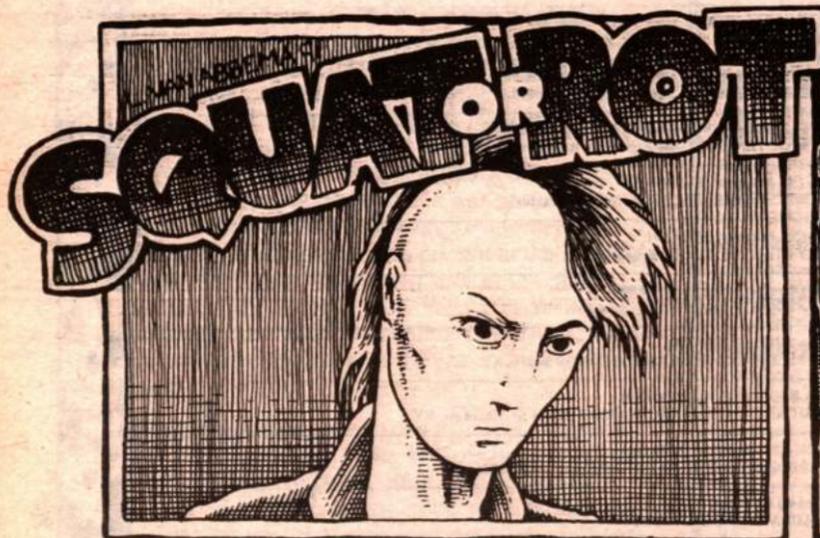
In this process, people learn many skills (plumbing, electrical, masonry, carpentry and organizational) including some which are vanishing (plastering, glazing, woodworking, blacksmithing, etc.) so that squatting is also a form of vocational education.

This is a viable alternative for the people of this neighborhood because it allows people to get a home through their own efforts, even if they have little money. At a time when the government has neither the money, vision nor will to solve New York's problems, we are solving these problems ourselves.

Inspired by our belief in the resources of the individual and the strength of community, we are trying to create a living example of how society can be improved.

We could do all of this a lot better were it not for the hostile policies of those in City government -- their constant threats of eviction, their disinformation campaigns against us. These are demoralizing and discouraging. We believe self-help programs are constructive and should be encouraged.

To be on the Eviction Watch Phone Tree, call: (212)713-5743 or 254-2814.



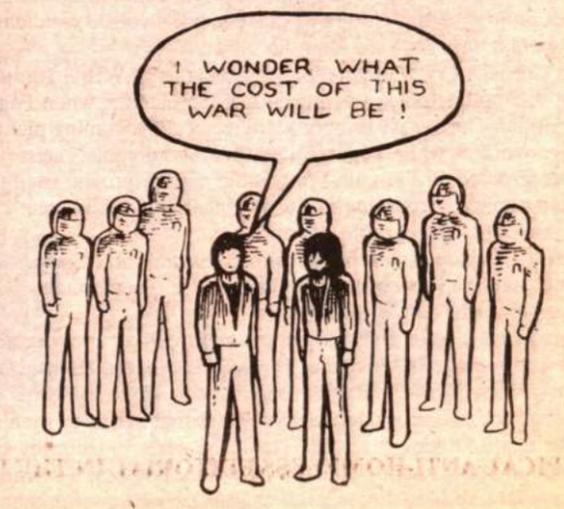
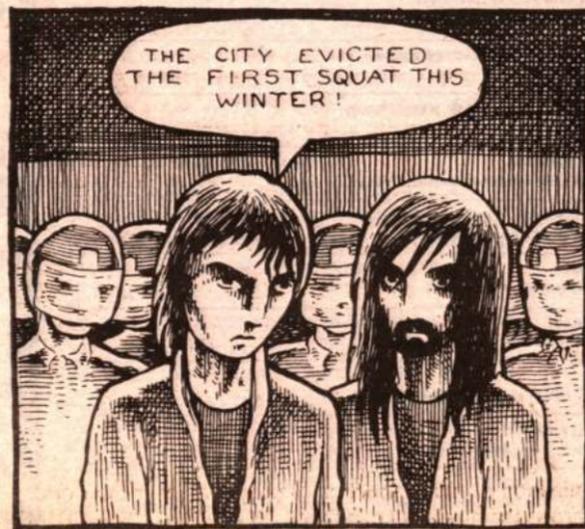
BEFORE DINKINS WAS IN OFFICE HIS RIOT GOONS EVICTED ABC COMMUNITY CENTER



IN THE SUMMER OF '91 DINKINS CLOSED TOMPKINS SQUARE PARK AND DESTROYED THE BANDSHELL



NOW WITH PAGAN ELECTED DINKINS BOYS CAN INCREASE THEIR WAR AGAINST SQUATTERS





CITY COUNCIL PRIMARY ELECTION: JUDGE THROWS OUT CHALLENGE TO PAGAN'S SUSPICIOUS VICTORY

By Nashua

The September 12th primary election has been heralded as a victory for democracy in New York City due to the overturning of the old Board of Estimate and the redrawn election districts for the newly expanded City Council. But in the 2nd Council District, now encompassing the areas along the East River north of Houston Street, around Tompkins Square Park and reaching past the white, middle-class enclave near Gramercy Park, charges of irregularities in the voting led incumbent City Council member Miriam Friedlander to challenge the results in court. The challenge has been rejected by the Board of Elections, the Appellate Division, and the Court of Appeals, the highest court in New York State.

The four-way race pitted 18 year incumbent Friedlander against pro-development former Community Board Three member Antonio Pagan, wealthy Gramercy Park attorney Philip Howard, and long-shot conservative Hyman Dechter.

Soon after the polls closed, cheers could be heard from the crowds of Pagan supporters at his campaign headquarters on 2nd Avenue. Pagan was leading his flock in cheers of "Gracias Shelly!" to honor one of the candidate's most important backers, State Assemblyman Sheldon Silver. Pagan had apparently won the bitterly contested primary election: by then, he had received 4,444 votes.

Around the corner, at Friedlander's office on East 4th Street, the mood was somber. The vote total was clear, the incumbent Councilwoman who is known for her liberal views was losing in a surprise upset to Pagan. When the final totals from the voting machines were added up, the gap between Pagan and Friedlander was 118 votes.

As ecstatic as Pagan's supporters were, Miriam Friedlander defiantly expressed her determination to challenge the results. Frieda Bradlow, Friedlander's campaign manager, said the next step is to await the final counting of paper and absentee ballots. As we go to press, the final but unofficial tally is Pagan 4,605, Friedlander 4,481.

Bradlow says challenges to the results may then be filed, including a check of every voter to insure that all the voters in the primary were in fact registered Democrats. Even the Board of Elections admits that there are usually slip-ups and human error in election night voter tallies.

According to Bradlow, the election day irregularities fell into three broad categories. She maintains that the Districting Commission, which redrew the Council District lines, was late in getting boundary information to the Board of Elections, resulting in confusion among some voters who had their regular polling places changed at the last minute.

Bradlow says, "We received reports of people who were sent to the wrong polling place. Some people were moved who had been voting at the same place for 40 years". Secondly, two major polling places were closed and changed, with only two days notice, forcing voters to travel far from their homes to vote. Bradlow says "Elderly people were discriminated against," by having to travel up to 10 blocks to vote.

Eighteen years ago, Miriam Friedlander won her first election to the City Council by defeating Sheldon Silver by a slim 45 votes. Silver then lost a court battle challenging the results. After the September 12 primary, Assemblyman Silver told the *New York Times* that an election can only be invalidated when candidates demonstrate three voting irregularities for every vote that separates the top two candidates.

Frieda Bradlow says that "well over 300 voters are registered in places with irregularities and 300 could have been denied a chance to vote." Friedlander said at a September 24 Community Board 3 meeting that she planned to challenge the validity of every vote cast in the primary election. Rumors are floating of a write-in protest candidacy against Pagan in the November general election.

THREATS AND VIOLENCE FROM PAGAN CAMP

The final category of election irregularities, according to Bradlow, was "a good deal of harassment and intimidation." Bradlow says she "Never faced such harassment and in some instances violence as seen in this election."

In particular, Bradlow cites Roberto Napoleon, a political associate of Sheldon Silver and supporter of Antonio Pagan, as "one of the more violent men in the city." Bradlow claims that two of "his [Napoleon's] people attacked two of our people in Baruch Houses." She says the two barely made it to their car, which was badly damaged in the confrontation.

Napoleon is associated with the Baruch Houses Tenant Association, an organization that shares its phone and offices with the government-funded Concilio Puertorriqueno Day Care Center. Napoleon had been the center's administrative director until an investigation forced his resignation due to charges that Napoleon had falsified his resume. In a 1985 *Village Voice* article written by William Bastone, it was revealed that Napoleon's political club received more than \$1,000 from Sheldon Silver's campaign committee.

Bradlow says she's received additional reports that two women wielding sticks came out of the Concilio Puertorriqueno Day Care Center and attacked two female Friedlander supporters who managed to escape uninjured. Bradlow adds that the incidents of violence were not limited to Napoleon's associates, but involved candidate Antonio Pagan and his campaign manager Howard Hemsley.

John Curtis, a Friedlander campaign worker, told WBAI Radio he was passing out palm cards at one polling place the morning of the election when Pagan showed up with a photographer. Curtis says the photographer began snapping pictures of Friedlander campaign workers while Pagan called them "communist racist pigs." Pagan's wrath, Curtis says, was directed at a female Friedlander supporter who tried to turn her back to avoid the photographer. According to Curtis, Pagan told the woman, "It doesn't matter. I already have file photographs of you."

In another incident, Joseph Serrano, a resident of a Cooper Square building on East 3rd Street, says he was accosted by Pagan's campaign manager Howard Hemsley at about 1:30 a.m. the night before the election.

Serrano says a large group of people were milling about on the street in front of Pagan's 2nd Avenue office and as he passed he heard Hemsley's voice shouting in his direction. When Serrano turned around he saw Hemsley with a 3 foot long bamboo poll which he struck on the ground. Serrano says that Hemsley then said, "If I ever see you by my office again I'll kick your ass." Then Serrano says Hemsley added, "I have no compunction about kicking your ass right here and now." Serrano says he went to the 9th Precinct where he filed a complaint charging Hemsley with menacing and harassment.

Political consultant Hank Sheinkopf is representing the Pagan campaign. He says that Friedlander's camp is just expressing sour grapes over the election outcome. He says of Friedlander's supporters: "They lost, she was decisively defeated in Grand Street Houses and in the Hispanic parts of the district. They don't own the council seat."

When asked about the Friedlander camp's assertion that election districts were improperly divided between the new council districts, Sheinkopf said that the "same thing has happened to Hispanic and Black candidates." He questioned why "white liberals" were the "first to scream when a Hispanic candidate defeats them."

Asked about reports of "intimidation and harassment" by Pagan, Hemsley and Napoleon, Sheinkopf said "If Pagan did it, and I tend to doubt it, things happen in a campaign. It's no different than when the left intimidates its opponents." In the final analysis Sheinkopf emphasizes that Friedlander "lost" and none of the charges against Pagan are "a reason to overturn the election."

Sheinkopf says Friedlander lost because she "ran a lousy campaign and Pagan ran a good campaign." In fact, many Friedlander supporters do agree that, in the words of Joseph Serrano, Friedlander "sat on her laurels" and didn't take Pagan and his supporters seriously.

Frieda Bradlow lays the blame elsewhere. She says "redistricting began the whole mess." Bradlow adds that "we oppose the districts as they were set up. They split up the Village into three different districts. All three had people who were loyal to Miriam."

Other 11th-hour incidents that may have influenced the campaign included literature distributed by the Pagan forces in the predominantly Jewish Grand Street Houses, a strong political base of Assemblyman Silver, that accused Miriam Friedlander of not voting for city council resolutions calling for justice for Soviet Jewry. Also instrumental was a *New York Times* endorsement of Pagan written by Roger Starr, notorious among Lower East Side activists for coining the phrase "planned shrinkage" for the budgetary strategy of closing firehouses and cutting back on other services, seen by activists as a ploy to force inner city minorities into outer boroughs. Finally, the day before the primary, a fight broke out on the ABC Radio show hosted by Guardian Angel vigilante group leader Curtis Sliwa, where Pagan threw a cup of ice and water at conservative Jewish candidate Hyman Dechter. Dechter had taken Pagan to task for a double standard in openly acknowledging his homosexuality only when politically convenient.

UPSETS IN OTHER DISTRICTS

In the new 1st Council District, carved out of part of Miriam Friedlander's former district in Chinatown, Asian candidate Margaret Chin was easily defeated by community activist Kathryn Freed. The 1st Council District was supposed to be "Asian influenced," but the poor Asian and Latino voters in Friedlander's old district were easily outvoted by well organized white liberals in Soho and Tribeca.

In the new 3rd Council District in the West Village, drawn as a "gay district," openly HIV-positive activist Tom Duane easily defeated his prime challenger Liz Abzug, daughter of the famous Representative Bella Abzug. At Duane's campaign headquarters on 8th Avenue, the victory party was visited by mayoral hopeful City Council President Andrew Stein and Housing Preservation and Development Commissioner Felice Michetti.

PARTIAL LIST OF CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTORS TO THE COMMITTEE TO ELECT ANTONIO PAGAN:

- MARIE + JAMIL ADAMS--77 Prospect St, Stamford, CT 06901 (\$100.00)
- CAROL MANAGEMENT--600 Madison Ave, NYC (Real Estate Management)
- WILLIAM BATISTA--Brooklyn, NY 11228 (\$100.00)
- NEW YORK POLICE DEPARTMENT--(Police Officer)
- MITCHELL BERMAN--(No Address) (\$1,000.00)
- TOWNE PLUMBING & HEATING CORP--69 Franklin Ave, Valley Stream, NY
- PETER BLAKE--(No Address) (\$500.00)
- BLAKE ELECTRICAL CONTRACTING--311 East 50th St, Bronx, N.Y.
- RICHARD BOODMAN--54 Second Ave, NYC, 10003 (\$1,500.00)
- SELF-EMPLOYED--(Real Estate Broker)
- LEE BORRERO--39 West 38th St, NYC, 10018 (\$200.00)
- SELF-EMPLOYED--(Architect)
- FREDERICK BROKAW--68 St. Mark's Place, NYC, 10003 (\$200.00)
- SELF-EMPLOYED--(Property Manager)
- DONALD A. CAPOCCIA--72 East 3rd St, NYC (\$200.00)
- 176 HOPKINSON CORP--601 West 51st St, NYC (Builder)
- STANLEY G. DINNER--88 Second Ave, NYC, 10003 (\$250.00)
- SPORTSPAGE RESTAURANT--88 Second Ave, NYC, 10003
- FREDDIE ELLIS--388 Eighth St, Brooklyn, NY, 11215 (\$100.00)
- REAL ESTATE MAINTENANCE--388 Eighth St, Brooklyn, NY, 11215
- ERIC GRAVES--(No Address) (\$1,000.00)
- EASY ROCK--4305 Carpenters Ave, Bronx, NY (Contractor)
- TIM HIGGINS--(No Address) (\$500.00)
- KAMCO SUPPLY CORP--80 21st St, Brooklyn, NY
- ILIAS KALOMBOS--(No Address) (\$100.00)
- COOPER SQUARE RESTAURANT--87 Second Ave, NYC
- JACK LANE--(No Address) (\$500.00)
- WASTE SERVICES, INC--350 Beach 80th St, Howard Beach, NY
- FRANK LA SALLE--(No Address) (\$300.00)
- ALLAN ELECTRICAL CONSTRUCTION--133-57 242nd St, Rosedale, NY
- MORRIS LESNIK--(No Address) (\$500.00)
- MIGDAL PLUMBING & HEATING--82-29 215th St, Hollis Hills, NY
- YIP LI--(No Address) (\$750.00)
- PHEBE'S RESTAURANT--361 Bowery, NYC
- CARMINE PAMPALONE--640 East 11th St, NYC (\$100.00)
- JEFFERSON PLUMBING--640 East 11th St, NYC (Manager)
- JONATHON POSNER--90 University Pl, #3, NYC 10003 (\$100.00)
- REAL ESTATE--44 Greenwich Ave, NYC (Realtor)
- KAREN + DORON RESHEFF--215 East 68th St, #23E, NYC (\$200.00)
- RESHEFF, INC--215 East 68th St, NYC (Builders)
- WENDY SCHWARTZ--(No Address) (\$250.00)
- TOTAL ELECTRIC DISTRIBUTION--388 South Ave, Staten Island, NY
- RICHARD SPODEK--(No Address) (\$500.00)
- BROADWAY BUILDING MATERIALS--517 West 42nd St, NYC
- JACK TEICH--(No Address) (\$250.00)
- ACME STEEL--513 Porter Ave, Brooklyn, NY (Contractor)
- SPIRO TSONIS--(No Address) (\$400.00)
- PREVAIL PAINTING & DECORATING--145 Frost St, Brooklyn, NY
- ED TYASS--(No Address) (\$250.00)
- COLEMAN ELECTRICAL SUPPLY--609 Fountain Ave, Brooklyn, NY
- NESTOR VARELLA--(No Address) (\$700.00)
- MOZART IRON CRAFT--39-39 29th St, Long Island City, NYC
- HAROLD ZUCKERMAN--(No Address) (\$250.00)
- E & M HARDWOOD FLOORING--P.O. Box 180, Middle Island, NY

ANTONIO PAGAN

ANTONIO PAGAN

PRO-CHOICE MARCHERS "CROSS OUT"

ANTI-CHOICERS' MARCH!!

By Suzie Miles

There is a civil war currently raging in the USA. It is dividing citizens in often bitter confrontations in homes, the workplace, polling booths, in churches, in colleges and in the streets. The issue for the 90's has become the right for women to choose whether or not to have an abortion. Abortion has become a political hot potato which crosses economic, social and racial lines. One side of the issue says that they are for women's reproductive freedom, the other side says they want to end abortion on demand, because abortion kills children.

On Sunday, September 29, pro-choice supporters rallied at Columbus Circle in New York City for a march down Fifth Avenue to protest the human "Life Chain" organized the same day by Metropolitan Life Chain and Metropolitan New York Right To Life Foundation. Life Chain, an offshoot of the California-based organization "Please Let Me Live," describes itself as a legal, non-confrontational, compassionate, prayerful, and peaceful presence. In a press statement, John Short, one of the Anti-abortion organizers from Metropolitan New York Life Chain, predicted that 6,000 - 10,000 "Right To Lifers" would line both sides of the streets and form a human cross to run along Fifth Avenue from Washington Square to 72nd Street and across 34th Street from Third to Eighth Avenues. Instead, far fewer abortion opponents showed up. Although Life Chain organizers stated that they had over 2,700 people participate, police estimate that only 1,200 abortion opponents actually showed. The thickest concentration of anti-choice people centered on Fifth Avenue between 59th Street and 34th Street, and along 34th Street between Fifth and Sixth Avenues. Over 200 Life Chains have been held to date across the U.S.

Although the Catholic Church endorses the Pro-Life Movement, a spokesperson for Monsignor Woolsey, the Director of Family Life for the New York Archdiocese, said that the Catholic Church, contrary to a press release that was circulated by the Right To Life Foundation, did not actually endorse the Life Chain and said they were not involved in the organization of the event. She said that parishioners took it upon themselves to participate and organize.

WHAM! (Women's Health Action and Mobilization) countered the Life Chain demo with a show of strength estimated by police to be around 4,000, although WHAM! stated that attendance was closer to 6,000. WHAM! started organizing the counter-demonstration as soon as they heard about the proposed Life Chain demo. They had two meetings with police, the first about a week before the scheduled action, to discuss their intentions. Sue Davis, a member of WHAM! who has been active in the struggle for reproductive rights since 1970, was involved in the organization of the Pro-choice march. She felt that the police were uncooperative. Originally, police allowed the Pro-choice activists a small (50-200 persons) counter-march down the sidewalk of Fifth Avenue, walking two by two, with no police barricades to separate the two opposing groups. A second meeting was held with police the Thursday before the march. At this meeting, a framed photograph of Cardinal John O'Connor was spotted in a police official's office. Mary Gundrum, an attorney with the Center for Constitutional Rights present at the meeting, told the New York Post, "There he (Cardinal O'Connor) was ... surrounded by about 40 cops. It gave us an idea of the power of the other side." According to WHAM!, police refused to guarantee the safety of the pro-choice activists at this meeting.

WHAM! organizers proceeded to garner support for their counter-demonstration. They told the press about the photo of O'Connor in the police office, that police would not allow them to march down the street nor clear one side of the sidewalk for the pro-choice demonstrators. WHAM! contacted Manhattan Borough President Ruth Messinger, who has a Reproductive Rights Task Force. Messinger called Police Commissioner Lee Brown, and urged him to reconsider allowing the pro-choice demonstration to proceed down the street of Fifth Avenue. Mayor David Dinkins' office was also contacted, and a pro-choice statement was issued from his office. Publicity efforts included a city-wide poster campaign with the slogan "Oh Toto, They're Not In Wichita Anymore!" in reference to recent anti-abortion actions in Kansas, and tabling efforts by NARAL (National Abortion Rights Action League) volunteers.

On the morning of the march, subways and streets were filled with pro-choice activists carrying signs and banners heading for the Columbus Circle rally. The atmosphere grew festive as more and more people came dressed in their favorite pro-choice T-shirt, carried banners and signs, painted their faces with a "No Hangers" symbol of a coat hanger with a line through it, banged on drums, pots and pans, blew whistles and adorned themselves with

pro-choice stickers which were liberally handed out to the crowd for a token donation. Many came in costume. A group of men attired in grandmotherly dresses, wearing heels, gloves and veiled hats gathered behind the "Church Ladies For Choice" banner. The devil, the Wicked Witch of the West and a Good Fairy all put in an appearance and staged impromptu mayhem near the anti-abortionists along the demonstration route.

At 11:45 A.M., the Police asked Sue Davis, who acted as WHAM! liaison with the Police, if her 200 people were ready for the march. "No," she replied. "We can't deal with that yet." At that point, pro-choice demos were still arriving at Columbus Circle in droves. As the crowd grew by hundreds, and then thousands, they cheered speeches by Bella Abzug, City Councilman candidate Tom Duane, Guardian Angel Lisa Sliwa, NARAL Executive Director Kelly Conlin, performance artist Penny Arcade, and others. As each speaker raised his or her voice, the crowd greeted them with thunderous response. Emotions were running at a high pitch, and tears were running down the faces of many people in the crowd. Barbara Ehrenreich, a columnist and author, attacked the religious overtones of the right-to-lifers: "Wake Up! You're not in Kansas now. We don't want your cross in our City. This is also a City of the Star of David and the Crescent of Islam, and we like it that way. If the Cross is your symbol, let the Torch and the Statue be ours."

By 1:30 P.M., pressure from Manhattan Borough President Ruth Messinger, as well as the overwhelming turnout of marchers, convinced city officials to allow the entire Pro-choice march to proceed down Fifth Avenue. Two lanes of traffic were opened for the march as women, men, old people, young people, black, white, asians, gays, straights, women with strollers, men with canes, homeless with shopping carts, members of the clergy, nuns, yuppies, anarchists and all types of people in between noisily took to the streets to demonstrate to the city and the rest of the country that New York is a pro-choice town.

By this time, Life Chain members assembled curbside along the sidewalks of Fifth Avenue as if they were watching a parade. They were noticeably sparser and inconsistent in number. Sometimes they filled the entire block, as they did in front of St. Patrick's Cathedral -- which has become a rallying symbol for the Right To Life movement -- and sometimes they seemed to disappear completely for blocks at a time, reappearing further along the march. Although Life Chain seemed to be mostly comprised of older white women, younger women, men, and many members of the clergy, some blacks and asians also participated.

Police marched along on either side of the pro-choice demonstrators, keeping close to the marchers to avoid confrontations between the two groups. They appeared to virtually ignore the Life Chain group. Despite police efforts to corral the pro-choice march within its two lanes, activists continually broke ranks and dashed across the street to heckle anti-abortion protesters. Most of the anti-abortion protesters maintained a stoic and determined stance, even in the face of screamed and often obscene epithets such as "You kill women," and "Fuck You." The anti-choicers held identical signs reading, "Abortion Kills Children" (the NY Right To Life office said that over 4,000 signs were distributed) and murmured prayers as they fingered rosaries. It seemed that the harder pro-choice activists tried to ruffle their feathers, the harder Life Chain

dug their toes into the concrete. Both sides were determined to hold their ground. John Short of Life Chain said in the face of constant verbal bombardment: "If you listen to what they're saying, you'll know who's here in a prayerful and peaceful manner, who respects life and who doesn't."

Street theatrics continued, with many pro-choice demonstrators holding opposing signs next to or over the heads of the anti-abortionists. Others managed to obtain the "Abortion Kills Children" signs and changed them to read "Abortion Saves Women". At one point, performance artist Penny Arcade knelt beside an anti-abortion protester saying a Hail Mary. Arcade held out a cross made out of a coat hanger and rallied the crowd to shouts of "Not the Church, Not the State: Women Will Decide Their Fate." The press and other photographers were quickly hustled away by police from this poignant photo op.

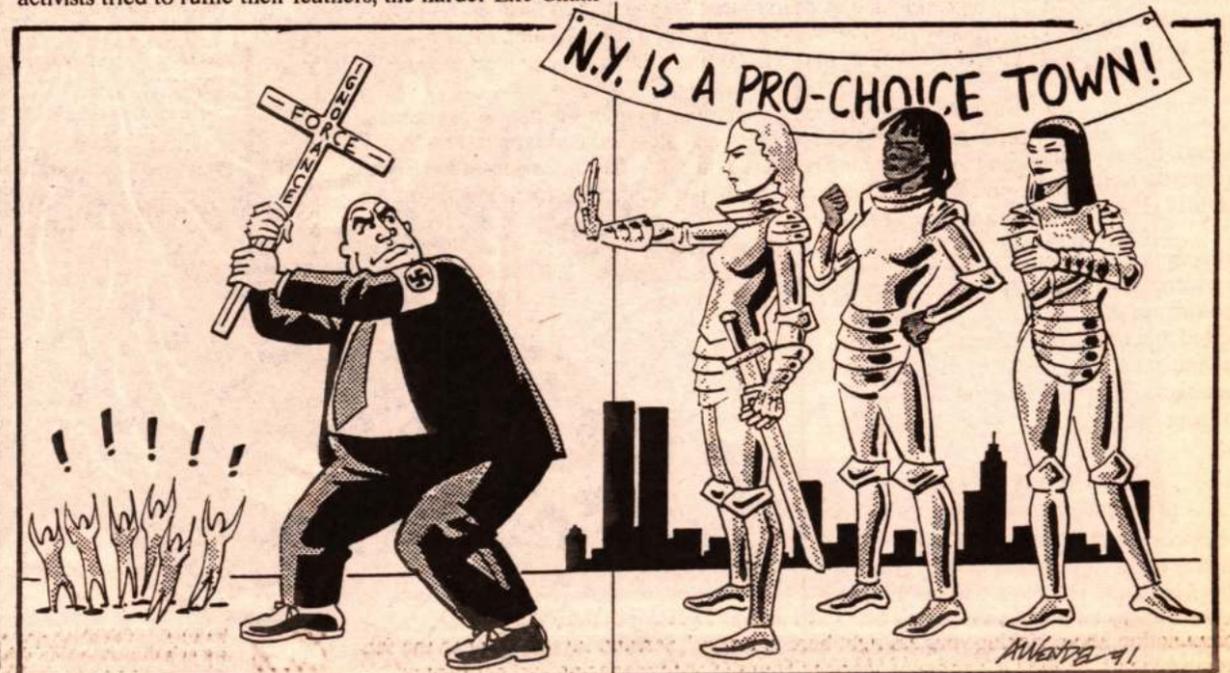
The Life Chain had theatrics (albeit subdued) as well. Many women held babies with signs that read, "I was saved." Others held graphic photos of aborted fetuses and shouted "Murderers" at the marchers.

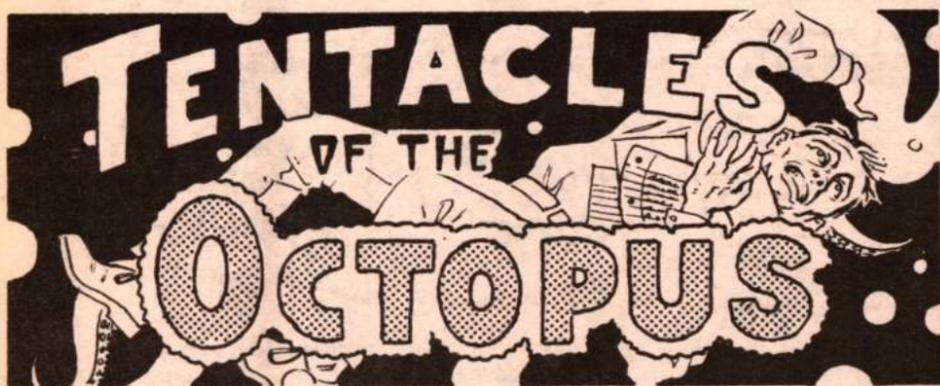
Many people along the route showed solidarity for the pro-choice marchers. When shoppers along Fifth Avenue were greeted with chants of "Out of the Boutiques and Into the Streets"; and "Join Us," many did just that. Others cheered and gave the thumbs up signal. One of the high points of the march was when a group of beefy construction workers high up on scaffolding several stories above the street, waved and shouted encouragement.

Pamela Franklin, a young pro-choice demonstrator, and an editor for New Directions for Women, summed up the feelings of many of the marchers when she said: "I feel that it is a waste of my time to yell at these fanatics, but on the other hand, we have to be here in full force to prove that New York is pro-choice. We need to mobilize our efforts to make sure that Roe vs. Wade will never be overturned. We need to continue to support pro-choice candidates in all levels of government, and we need to boycott corporations who support Right To Life, like Domino's Pizza, (and the Marriott Corporation, which owns Roy Rogers and Kentucky Fried Chicken, among other companies--Ed.) to prove to big business that we mean business, and we have the economic clout." Another woman stated, "Whether abortion is right or wrong is not the question here. Personal choice is the question. And if they take away our choice to have our abortion this year, what will they take away from us next year? They have already compromised the choice of poor and young women by imposing restrictions on the clinics and withholding funding from clinics who do not adhere to these restrictions."

Although there were several heated skirmishes between the groups in which police intervened, the march kept moving and was relatively peaceful. It seemed that the police were expecting much heavier action than occurred because they had approximately 450 officers on foot, horseback, scooters, motorcycles, in plainclothes, with many communications vehicles and paddy wagons in evidence. When the march reached 34th Street, police braced for a confrontation in front of the Manhattan Right To Life Committee office at 19 West 34th Street (Telephone #:947-2692, Fax #:947-7617) by "penning" pro-

See PRO-CHOICE MARCH On Page 19





**JOURNALIST'S DEATH EXPOSES
SECRET GOVERNMENT**
by Paul DeRienzo

Joseph (Danny) Casolaro was a poet, author and investigative journalist who was found dead on August 10th, apparently from his own hand, in a West Virginia motel. Although a short suicide note was found near the body, his friends and family cast doubt on the coroner's version that Casolaro had slit his own wrists at least ten times while sitting in a bathtub.

Casolaro was planning to write a book that would expose the story behind the 1982 theft by the Department of Justice of a case management, tracking and workflow management computer software package called PROMIS (PROsecution Management Information Systems) for use by public prosecution agencies. Software that is still in use today and allows prosecutors to quickly and accurately track cases winding their way through the courts.

The investigation had taken the 44 year old divorced father of one into a misty world of organized crime, corporate greed and possibly CIA covert operations that may have led Casolaro over his head into a conspiracy by men with connections to the highest level of the United States government. A conspiracy that Casolaro called the OCTOPUS because its tentacles led from the covert action branch of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) into the heart of the most infamous scandals of our age.

Casolaro maintained until his death that the PROMIS software was stolen and modified by the government for sale to the intelligence agencies of various countries throughout the world. He based his theory mostly on the testimony of a scientist, Michael Riconosciuto, who told a federal court that the software had been taken to the Cabazon Indian reservation in southern California.

Riconosciuto told the court that he was hired to modify the PROMIS software for sale to intelligence agencies in a number of countries, including Iraq, Egypt, Canada, Israel and Jordan, by Dr. Earl W. Brian, the head of Infotechnology Inc, a New York-based holding company financed through the junk bond market by big institutional investors such as Merrill Lynch. Among the myriad of companies controlled by Infotechnology is United Press International and, until recently, the Financial News Network.

Dr. Brian has denied the charges, which he calls a "tissue of lies", but according to Maggie Mahar, the senior editor of the prestigious business journal Barron's, Brian's advice to the wife of then Reagan advisor Edwin Meese to buy stock in Infotechnology was the focus of investigations that nearly derailed Meese's nomination as Attorney General. It was during Meese's tenure as Attorney General that the theft of the PROMIS software occurred.

Riconosciuto predicted that his testimony would anger powerful figures in the government, and soon after he gave his deposition in the Inslaw case, he was arrested and charged with running a methamphetamine laboratory in Tacoma, Washington, where he is currently imprisoned.

THE INSLAW AFFAIR

PROMIS software had been developed by a Washington DC-based company called Inslaw, founded by Bill and Nancy Hamilton. Hamilton had begun work on case management software for the government in the 1970's with financing

from the now defunct Law Enforcement Assistance Agency (LEAA).

The Justice department, under President Ronald Reagan's Attorney General and long time associate Edwin Meese, purchased the software from Hamilton for \$10 million.

According to Hamilton, as soon as the Justice Department took delivery of the 1980's version of PROMIS, they reneged on the contract and withheld payments, forcing Inslaw into Chapter Eleven bankruptcy. The Justice Department then launched what Bill Hamilton called "a covert effort" to completely liquidate Inslaw. Inslaw retaliated by suing the Department of Justice in Federal bankruptcy court, and after a three week trial, Judge George Bason ruled that officials of the Justice Department "stole" forty-four copies of PROMIS, "through trickery, fraud and deceit", and then tried to drive Inslaw out of business.

A federal appeals court later upheld the facts in the case, but overturned the decision, based on a technicality, saying that the lawsuit was brought in the wrong jurisdiction. That decision is being appealed to the Supreme Court. However, Bill Hamilton says ten years later, he hasn't "received a penny" for PROMIS, while forty-four federal prosecutors offices across the country are still using the software.

A month after Bason's ruling in favor of Inslaw, the judge learned the shocking and bizarre news that his

See **TENTACLES OF THE OCTOPUS** On Page 14

SHADOW INTERVIEW

INTERVIEW WITH AUTHOR ALFRED W. McCOY
"THE POLITICS OF HEROIN: CIA COMPLICITY
IN THE GLOBAL DRUG TRADE"

By PAUL DeRIENZO

Paul DeRienzo: How did you come to write "The Politics of Heroin: CIA Complicity In The Global Drug Trade"?

Alfred McCoy: In 1971, I was a graduate student doing Southeast Asian history at Yale University. An editor at Harper & Row, Elisabeth Jakob, read some articles in a volume I had edited about Laos which made some general references to the opium trade in Laos.

She decided this would be a great idea for a book and asked me to do a background book on the heroin plague that was sweeping the [armed] forces then fighting in South Vietnam. We later learned that about one third of the United States combat forces in Vietnam, conservatively estimated, were heroin addicts.

I went to Paris and interviewed retired general Maurice Belleux, the former head of the French equivalent of the CIA, an organization called SDECE [Service de Documentation Exterieur et du Contre-Espionage]. In an amazing interview, he told me that French military intelligence had financed all their covert operations from the control of the Indochina drug trade. [The French protected opium trafficking in Laos and northern Vietnam during the colonial war that raged from 1946 to the French defeat in 1954 at Dien Bien Phu.]

The French paratroopers fighting with hill tribes collected the opium and French aircraft would fly the opium down to Saigon and the Sino-Vietnamese mafia that was the instrument of French intelligence would then distribute the opium. The central bank accounts, the sharing of the profits, was all controlled by French military intelligence.

He concluded the interview by telling me that it was his information that the CIA had taken over the French assets and were pursuing something of the same policy.

So I went to Southeast Asia to follow up on that lead and that's what took me into doing this whole book. It was basically pulling a thread and keep tucking at it and a veil masking the reality began to unravel.

PD: What was the CIA's role in heroin trafficking in Southeast Asia?

AM: During the 40 years of the cold war, from the late 1940's to this year, the CIA pursued a policy that I call radical pragmatism. Their mission was to stop communism and in pursuit of that mission they would ally with anyone and do anything to fight communism.

Since the 1920's, the League of Nations, the forerunner of the United Nations, and the United States, have prohibited opium and cocaine products from legal sale. These products had already emerged as vast global commodities with very substantial production zones and large markets; large demand for those commodities both in the third world and the first.

The historic Asia opium zone stretches across 5,000 miles of Asian mainland from Turkey to Laos along the southern borders of the Soviet Union and the southern border of communist China. It just so happened that one of the key war zones in the cold war happened to lay astride the Asian opium zone.

During the long years of the cold war, the CIA mounted major covert guerilla operations along the Soviet-Chinese border. The CIA recruited as allies people we now call drug lords for their operation against communist China in

See SHADOW INTERVIEW On Page 14



MAY DAY 29 TRIAL TAKES OFF!

By A. Kronstadt

The warped wheels of injustice have finally begun turning in the case of the Mayday 29. The Mayday 29, as *SHADOW* readers know, are political activists arrested when police, ordered by former Ninth Precinct commandant Michael Julian, attacked the stage of the Resist to Exist/Squatter Mayday concert in Tompkins Square Park on the evening of May 1, 1990, while the last band was still playing, in spite of concert organizers receiving an extension beyond the time limit. Cops claimed that they were requested to do so by Parks Department representatives five minutes after the original 9:00 deadline, even though there were other ways to cut the power to the stage without entering the stage. The MC and stage manager of the concert were clubbed and arrested in front of 300 onlookers, and a riot ensued, which left more than two dozen cops injured. Twenty-eight people were arrested that night and one more was picked up by undercover police two weeks later. Those arrested included several of the most visible participants in the struggle against gentrification and creeping fascism on the Lower East Side.

Jury selection began on October 17 for six defendants still facing felony charges. These charges include riot and assault on police officers. Many of the original defendants had their charges reduced to misdemeanors, and they face a separate trial. Two of the original felony defendants accepted a plea bargain to misdemeanor riot in exchange for sentences of 120 hours of community service. This "bargain" seemed all the more attractive to the defendants since the trial is expected to last up to eight weeks and could lead to sentences of up to seven years. Six defendants are maintaining their innocence of all charges and are prepared to prove it. They are John Squat, Lori Rizzo, Kenny, Thomas, Rob, and Anthony. (One other defendant is being sought on a warrant for failing to show up in court. On October 23, cops entered a squat building with guns drawn in search of the defendant, even though he is not a squatter.)

Defendant Lori Rizzo, acting in her own defense, introduced a motion during the pre-trial proceedings several months ago that the American flag at the front of the courtroom be removed on the grounds that the presence of the same flag on the uniforms of the police and behind the judge's bench implies an affinity between the court and the police. Judge Richard C. Failla, New York City's first and openly gay judge on the N.Y. Supreme Court, and former head of the Homicide Division in the Manhattan District Attorney's office responded to this motion on the morning of October 17. He stated: "I thought of taking down the flag--it's pretty worn out and dirty anyway, but it matches the decor of the building. However I will order the police to remove the flags from their uniforms when they testify." Word of this immediately reached headquarters at 1 Police Plaza, no doubt leaked by court officers. That afternoon, DA Counsel Paul Schechtman (known to *SHADOW* readers through his memo urging Assistant District Attorneys to seek maximum charges against Tompkins Square activists arrested at demonstrations--see issue #19--Ed) barged into the courtroom along with the attorney for the Patrolman's Benevolent Association (PBA), protesting Judge Failla's decision. Failla attempted to keep the issue narrow, stating that the cops would all be testifying in plainclothes anyway. This flap over the flag made its way into the New York Post the next day, though the Post completely passed over what the case was about.

A great deal of the "evidence" the prosecution has in its possession are depositions from cops suing the city for compensation for injuries allegedly sustained during their riot and testimony of cops before the Grand Jury. This all has been placed in the hands of attorneys and defendants (this is called "Rosario Material", named for the 1960's case "People vs Rosario", in which the court ruled that all witness statements pertaining to a defendant's case must be turned over to the defense). It is clear that the prosecution's case rests on the testimony of cops and little else. The depositions given by police generate reams of ignorant and contradictory statements, demonstrating their prejudice against the defendants and failure to understand anything about the Lower East Side and the people who live here.

For example, the funk band Spy vs. Spy, the band playing when the cops raided the stage, is described by one officer as a "skinhead band singing kill-the-cops music" (Spy vs. Spy's Black lead singer has dreadlocks). Concertgoers are referred to several times as "swarming rats". A bullhorn is called a "blowhorn". Nowhere does anyone, including the bleeding heart liberal Inspector Julian, betray any comprehension of what the concert was all about. Apparently what the prosecution intends to do is to rely on a few buzzwords like "punk rockers", "rowdies", "fanatics" and the ever-popular "anarchist". The State thinks it can rely on people's prejudices, and this is precisely what the defendants and their attorneys will not permit them to do.

The 47 witnesses due to testify against the May Day 29 felony defendants include 37 cops, 4 doctors and 6 civilians. The cops' names are: Det. Richard Abinentti, P.O. Michael Bourke, P.O. James Burke, P.O. Glenn Clark, P.O. Eileen Cunningham, P.O. James Demanti, Sgt. Vincent DiDonato, P.O. Anthony Discala, P.O. William Fisher, P.O. Kevin Flynn, Insp. Elias Gelfand, P.O. John Grebe, P.O. Harry Hernandez, Insp. Michael Julian, P.O. Michael Kelly, P.O. James Knoble, P.O. Vincent LoBracco, P.O. Phillip Lam, P.O. James Lehar, P.O. Jon Licari, P.O. Carl Lopez, Sgt. Steven Marron, Sgt. James Martin, P.O. Ronald Moore, P.O. Steve Olah, P.O. Jose Ortiz, P.O. William Polatayne, P.O. Joseph Quinn, P.O. David Redmond, P.O. Frederick Rios, P.O. Michael Rollo, P.O. Frank Scotti, P.O. Peter Smeding, P.O. Lester Staubit, Capt. John Sullivan, P.O. Scott Walburger, and P.O. Theresa Wilson.

The civilians, who have a history of confrontations with several of the defendants over the past three years and who are tied in one way or another to Antonio Pagan and his Tompkins Square Neighborhood Coalition (an anti-homeless group responsible for the closing of the park) are: Ms. Elizabeth Acevedo, Mr. John Lizza, Ms. Lisa Ramacci, Mr. Robert Rohr, Mr. Sam Turvey, and Mr. Stephen Vincent. It remains to be seen what these right wing assholes will claim to have witnessed and how they will perjure themselves.

Can a group of people like the Mayday defendants receive a jury of their peers? While radicals who are called for jury duty usually feel free to express their feelings concerning the police and the government, narrow-minded people usually are usually reticent about their cultural biases. The former are usually excused from juries while the latter decide people's fates. The prosecution will have to depend on getting a jury which responds to Willie Horton type imagery of people who are just plain bad and enjoy violence. Our defense has to be essentially educational. When the jurors know what is going on in the Lower East Side, when they know what the Resist to Exist/Squatter Mayday concert was about--they will see our side of the story. Meanwhile, come to court and see your favorite pigs turned into mincemeat by your favorite radicals. See the oily Inspector Julian choke on his own contradictions. Marvel as the defendants and their attorneys humiliate the reactionary morons who closed our park and sneaked Antonio Pagan into office. Supporting the Mayday 29 is not only a revolutionary duty - it's more fun than watching TV.

MAYDAY TRIAL - TUESDAY-FRIDAY STARTING 9:30 A.M.
100 CENTRE STREET PART 38 JUDGE FAILLA

BATTLE OF PEOPLE'S PARK CONTINUES

(A special report by JACK STRAW in Berkeley, California)

The part of Berkeley which adjoins a contested lot "legally" owned by the University of California ("UC"), known as People's Park, is under virtual martial law. The supposed civil liberties guaranteed by bourgeois law have essentially been suspended as the University attempts to reassert control over this territory.

Before 1967, the lot, located just south of the campus, was the site of houses and apartment buildings. Many of the residents were "hippies" and political activists, whose target was frequently the University. U.C. used the process of eminent domain, the takeover of private land for necessary public use, to force the owners of the dwellings to sell the land at below-market price, for the expressed purpose of constructing new dormitories, even though existing dormitories had many vacancies (students in that era often couldn't stand to live in the regimented University residences). A more honest assessment by the Board of Regents, a group of corporate bigwigs appointed to run U.C. on behalf of the state, described the impacted area as a "hippie concentration". The structures were razed, but, not surprisingly, U.C. did not construct the planned dorms. This was an illegal use of eminent domain, but the statute of limitations on challenging the University had expired before anyone knew this was so.

In April, 1969, an assorted group of local residents, street people, students, etc, began to turn the empty lot into a park, complete with a garden and a children's playground. Within weeks, University police moved in to destroy the park and fence the lot. Private seizure of common land, a process known as the enclosures, was the essential basis for the imposition of the capitalist system. Any moves in the opposite direction cannot be tolerated by the powers-that-be. Attempts to reassert public control were met by violent force, resulting in well-known riots which led to one death, one blinding, hundreds of injuries, and the imposition of martial law on the entire town by a huge force, which included National Guard units equipped with armored vehicles and tear gas-spraying helicopters.

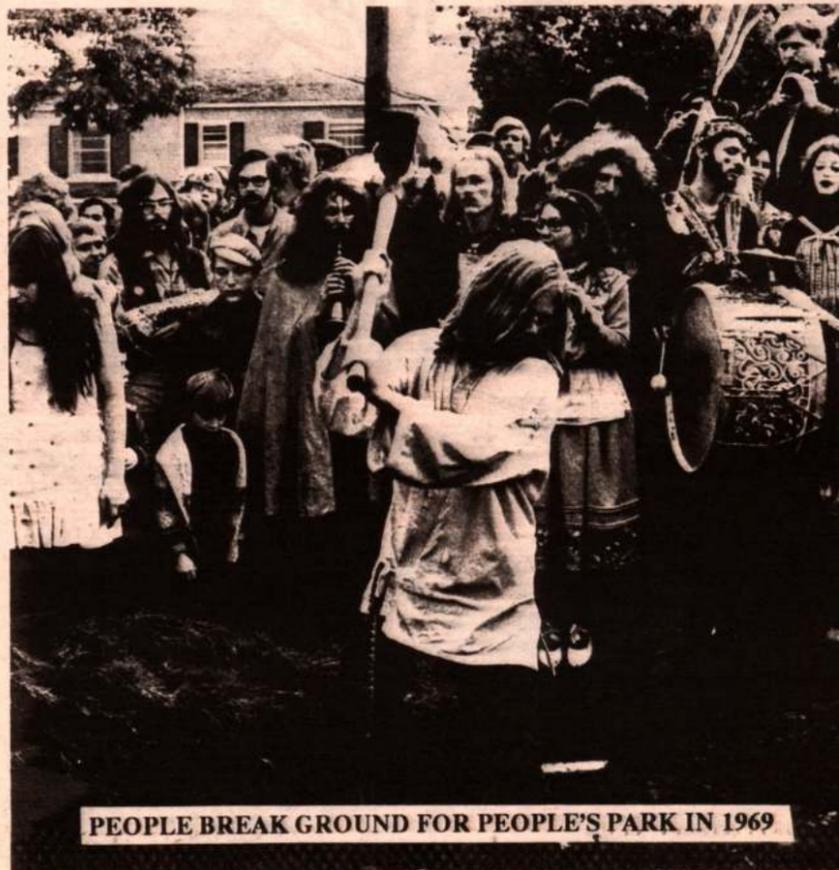
The lot was paved over and a basketball court was constructed on it, but the community generally boycotted it. Several times in the next three years, attempts were made to take the park back. In May 1972, in the wake of a massive anti-war demo, several thousand people knocked down the fence, pried the surfacing off, and dug up the ground, recreating the park. During the intervening years, the University shied from any attempt to reclaim the lot, but prevented any moves which would seem to indicate acceptance of the park as common land, such as the construction of fixed bathrooms or water fountains, and the placement of children's playground equipment. These policies ensured that the park, which had become a dwelling for the growing numbers of homeless people, deteriorated. It became associated in the public mind (thanks, in large part, to a media campaign) with hard-drug dealing and crime. It had another side -- that of a secure, free-speech zone, often used for rallies, organizing, free concerts and the feeding of homeless people.

Within the last couple of years, the University has sought an agreement with the supposedly "progressive" Berkeley city government regarding the park's future, in no small part to help facilitate its planned expansion. This culminated several months ago in a deal to divide the park, with the University getting the open space in the middle, and the city getting a lease on the two ends (including the "Free Speech" stage) for five years, at the end of which the University could assert complete control if it wasn't satisfied with the situation. U.C. announced that it would use its portion to construct sand volleyball courts (a la Southern California) and a basketball court.

University police began enforcing a 10PM curfew on the park, arresting violators, eventually even people who were standing on the adjoining sidewalk. They were assisted by City police who also arrested 100 protestors who had taken over the City Council chambers in the wake of its approval of the agreement. This was done at the request of "leftist" mayor Loni Hancock.

On July 27th, 1991, a large crowd prevented groundbreaking ceremonies for the volleyball courts. Later that day, an unrelated arrest of a person in the park by City police provoked a confrontation, resulting in a lengthy siege and damage to a police vehicle.

See BATTLE OF PEOPLE'S PARK On Page 11



PEOPLE BREAK GROUND FOR PEOPLE'S PARK IN 1969

COP WATCH

Well, here we are again!! With the park sealed off and guarded against the community, the kops have been looking to other targets to serve their masters in the ultimate goal of gentrification. One easy target: the street peddlers. Not the people fencing stolen stuff near St. Mark's and Second Ave (they just move a block away when the kops come), but the poorest peddlers trying to eke out a living along Second Ave, First Ave, and Avenue A. Every night, the kops keep up their strange ritual of scattering the peddlers, who have no choice but to set up elsewhere.

Meanwhile, the kops keep their eyes on the fence around the park, especially when the Free Speech Speak-Outs take place at 7th Street and Avenue A. Apparently, they weren't watching too well during one Speak-Out when a crew of about 10 youngsters jumped the fence from the inside!! They had entered the park from the 10th Street side and jumped over on the 7th Street side, right in front of the kops. The kops could only grab one of them, but he got away after the Speak-Out people "unarrested" him!!

Ever wonder why "The Beat Cop Is Back", (to coin the phrase being advertised all over the city on billboards, buses and subways)? Why, to give out more parking tickets, of course!! How else, do you expect the city to pay for all those newly hired rookie kops?

A Kop Watcher found this out on October 22nd when he saw a man trying to stop his car from being taken by a city tow truck. (He already had his parking ticket and was reading it when they quickly hooked his car up to take it away, to get even more money out of him.) Within minutes after the tow truck driver's call, 3 kop cars, a kop scooter, and then 2 ESU ("Emergency Services Unit"--better known as the "SWAT" Team) trucks--a total of 11 kops, arrived to separate this "dangerous criminal" from his car!! During the two hour stand-off, during which the man refused to leave his car, people standing nearby could hear radio reports of crimes in progress, including "shots being fired", among other things the kops could have been responding to. One woman wondered aloud why it took the kops more than two hours to respond to her call days earlier about a man threatening people with a knife. Apparently, it's easier and safer to help the city extort money than it is to stop crime!! In the end, the man left his car and was taken to the 9th precinct to be booked for "Obstruction of Justice"!!

Speaking of the City Budget, after cutting so many social programs and services for the public in order to save money, the city has seen fit to purchase a whole fleet of brand spanking new stream-lined Chevy Caprice kop cars, and even unmarked cars. Of course, at the 9th precinct, Commanding Officer Captain Esposito gets to "test drive" his (Plate Number C3L-685) before the other kops get theirs. (Until then, the kops will still be using the old Plymouth Gran Furys.)

These cheerful kops were seen outside Tompkins Square Park, probably wishing they could get inside and chill out, like the rest of the neighborhood would like to:



Congratulations and a tip of the black scarf to the folks who put out the "COPWATCH Report" in Berkeley, California. Stemming from the recent kop riot in and around People's Park in order to make the streets safe for yuppie jocks wanting to play volleyball, COPWATCH's summer issue is jam-packed with reports on the violence and shooting of people by kops, including photos. They can be reached at: 2022 Blake Street, Berkeley, CA 94704 (Telephone:415-548-0425). Every town should have their own COPWATCH!!

Do you like monitoring the kops? BE A KOP-WATCHER!! Join your neighbors in watching every move they make. If you have info, stories, incidents, photos, plate numbers, addresses, telephone numbers, personal information, 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.

Chief Walsh, ashamed over his role in getting Tompkins Square Park closed and fenced off, strikes a familiar pose outside the park:



(Or could it be that he's still crying over getting passed over for promotion by outgoing Chief Johnson?)

These plainclothes kops, seen outside a Grateful Dead show at Madison Square Garden in September practically begged to be included in the next issue of the SHADOW:



INTRODUCING The "PATRIOT" Helmet

-EXCLUSIVELY DESIGNED FOR THE TOMPKINS SQUARE PARK AREA

1. RADAR SCANNER DETECTS INCOMING "MISSILE"...

2.. BOTTLE IS INTERCEPTED IN FLIGHT, AND...

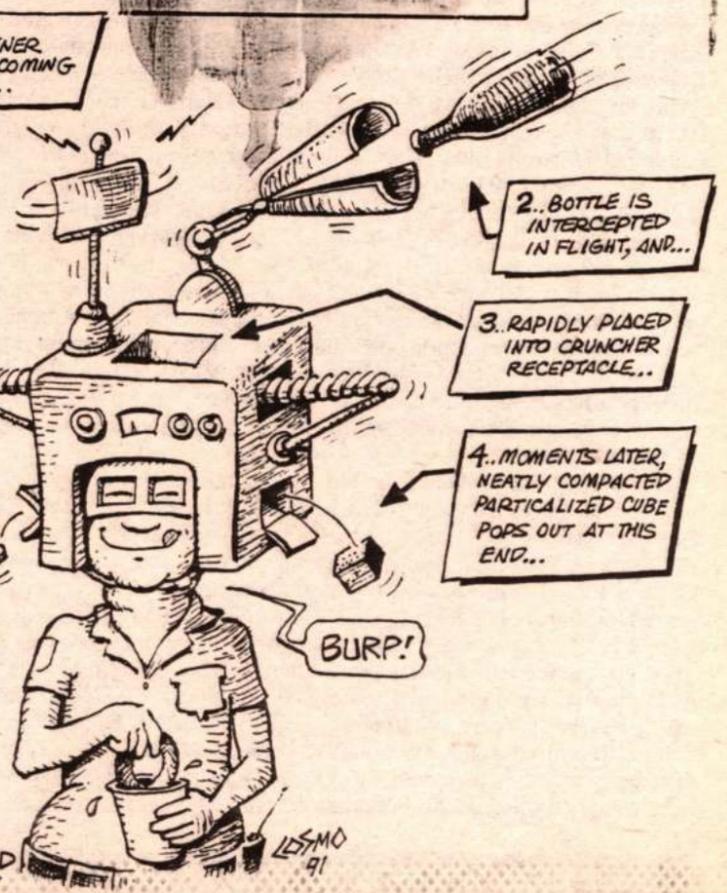
3.. RAPIDLY PLACED INTO CRUNCHER RECEPTACLE...

4.. MOMENTS LATER, NEATLY COMPACTED PARTICALIZED CUBE POPS OUT AT THIS END...

5. WHILE DEPOSIT OF .05¢ EXITS HERE...

BURP!

...THUS ALLOWING OFFICER TO ENJOY COFFEE AND DONUT UNINTERRUPTED DURING RIOT!



THE BATTLE OF PEOPLE'S PARK IN BERKELEY CONTINUES!!

Continued From Page 9

On July 31st, the heat came down. Hundreds of cops from both the City and the University, as well as several other cities and University campuses, and Alameda County sheriffs (known as Blue Meanies), moved on the park, cleared a large area (arresting some 35 people), fencing it off, and bulldozers proceeded to destroy the park (the construction company is non-union). The hole being dug for the court's foundation was large enough to serve as a building's base, which showed that the courts are a mere beachhead for future construction plans. An anonymous University employee reported that U.C. Chancellor Tien decided on a confrontation course because of the success of the strategy employed by George Bush in the Gulf War: You don't negotiate; you simply attack.

Throughout the day, the crowds grew, as did the rage. Late in the afternoon, a truck carrying dirt out of the area was blockaded and then attacked with rocks. Police counter-attacked, driving the swelling crowd into the nearby Telegraph Avenue shopping area, where many people proceeded to selectively trash and loot stores, largely limiting themselves to corporate outlets and the University store, and to build bonfires in the streets. Police attacks split the rioters into smaller groups, but those re-grouped, blockaded street corners, set fires, and conducted guerilla raids against campus targets. Police violence was often directed against passers-by and observers, who included many students. A 14-year old girl was hit by a speeding cop car. A man pushing a senior citizen in a wheelchair was attacked, and his arm broken. The entire campus had a surreal air. One could walk for several blocks and see nothing except others walking, only to suddenly run into a group of several hundred rioters, and just as suddenly, to run into rampaging cops.

August 1st: Police commanders warned that anyone watching the goings-on was aiding the rioters, and hence, inviting an attack by the police. Late in the evening, a generally peaceful crowd was attacked by the cops using rubber and wooden bullets.

August 2nd: A large evening march was surrounded, but then allowed to disperse. Around 11 p.m., the crowd in the park was again attacked by cops swinging clubs and firing bullets, frequently fired at the backs of retreating demonstrators. Beverly Kelly, a member of the Berkeley Police Review Commission, an outspoken supporter of the police, was attacked and beat up by a Berkeley cop.

August 3rd: A crowd of 500-1,000 gathered in the park. We attempted to march through the city, but were stopped right outside the park by a massive police force. The first few lines set down, and were set upon by club-swinging thugs. Two women were beat up and arrested. One was knocked unconscious by her assailant, who had to be pulled off by his commander. Most of the people proceeded to infiltrate around police lines, and began blockading Telegraph Avenue, which was full of weekend shoppers. The cops attempted to clear the street with charges, assisted by a motorcycle squadron. But we re-grouped after each charge, and moved the blockade to another corner. Many shoppers were attacked by the cops. After about two hours, the cops suddenly gave up and withdrew. What a rush! At one point, many were chanting, "Turn The Streets Into A Volleyball Court!" A demonstrator produced a bright-colored ball, and people started playing, using a police line as a "net".

That night, a march around town attracted several hundred supporters. We ended up in the park, and thought the day was done. But the cops moved to clear us out at around 11:00. They pushed the crowd up several blocks. As soon as we showed some resistance, they opened mass fire with rubber/wooden bullets and the motorcycles charged into the crowd. I ran for over ten blocks as bullets whizzed by. The cycles often chased people into private driveways in residential neighborhoods, and cops broke into apartment buildings. Criticism of police mounted.

August 4th: Telegraph Avenue was lined with cops, and most stores were boarded up. Liberal politicians pleaded for a cease-fire on both sides (even though the violence had been one-sided since the first night), and a halt in construction. The Alameda County Sheriff announced plans to sue U.C. for the costs of his end of the operation, charging the University instigated the violence with its actions. U.C. accepted the cease-fire, and sent home the out-of-town forces, but refused to stop its destruction of the park. The volleyball court was completed and opened on the 8th. An attempt to conduct a sit-in on it resulted in a dozen arrests.

August 10th: A growing crowd increasingly heckled volleyball players, most of whom were students employed by the University's Athletic Program. One ball was taken away and stuffed into a nearby portable toilet, resulting in an arrest. The crowd of over two hundred marched around, then came back and took over the court, tearing down a net and court markers, constructing castles in the sand and throwing garbage on it. A police charge cleared the court. Several were arrested, including some who were later nabbed individually by the cops in sporadic raids into the crowds.



PEOPLE RIP DOWN FENCE AROUND PEOPLE'S PARK IN 1972

August 11th: A concert was scheduled in the park. U.C. police prevented the organizers from setting up the sound equipment on the "Free Speech" stage, even though the stage is inside the City part of the crowd. When the "stage" was re-set on a truck in the street, and a power cable connected to a nearby store, the cops shut off its power, and threatened the store owners. A generator was brought in and the concert began. The attempts to stop use of the courts continued. The police instituted a new rule: touch a volleyball, go to jail. One man was arrested as he reached for a ball, before he managed to even touch it. As a friend of mine quipped, "not only are the cops protecting the courts, they're enforcing the rules of the game". A woman was arrested for vandalism after she scratched the redwood court fence with her fingernails. The cops continued to pick off suspected "ringleaders" with occasional raids into the crowd.

By August 15th, 150 had been injured, including 8 cops, and over 200 arrested. It seems like U.C. has the momentum. The opposition has only managed to attract hundreds, instead of the thousands of yesteryear. Some of the supporters have become more conservative with age and yuppiedome, but most of those missing have been driven out of town, and even the Bay Area, by rising costs, especially for housing. The liberal-left has been unsupportive, as exemplified by derisive comments on the local leftist radio station, KPFA. Even some radicals in the region have dismissed this battle as '60s nostalgia; they can only be involved, apparently, in something which takes place far away. Little do they understand the essential part which control of land plays in this system.

After August 15th, things seemed to quiet down for a while, except that on the 19th, a crowd of 25 confronted U.C. Chancellor Tien as he tried to greet new students on campus. Faced with persistent questions re the park, Tien gave up after five minutes, and retreated under police guard to his on-campus castle.

On September 5th, a community meeting was held on the Berkeley campus, attracting 4-500 folks. Virtually all the speakers called for U.C. to leave the park, for user-development, and for the resignation of city manager, Michael Brown, under whose orders the police used rubber/wooden bullets.

On the 8th, after a show by an improvisational theatre group in the park (in fact, as part of the show's finale), a crowd of 75-100 stormed the volleyball courts, and managed to destroy the net and the tarp which covers the courts at night, and filled the courts with garbage. The cops made four arrests, and injured several people, but were generally caught off-guard. At one point, they were forced to resort to spraying folks with a garden hose.

On the 14th, a group of people began to dig up a nearby vacant lot, right on the corner of Telegraph Avenue, the area's main street, and claimed it as People's Park Annex. The lot used to be the site of The Berkeley Inn, home to many low income residents. Its owner torched the building a few years back, forcing the residents out (mostly into the streets) and then torched the vacant structure last December. The location was changed from a garbage dump to a nice garden with flowers, trees (including a tree uprooted by construction of the courts), vegetables, and an area with tables and chairs. Last week, the owner finally complained to the city, which indicates it plans, at some point, to evict us squatters. Early on the morning of the 22nd, a crowd of about 100 attacked the courts, covering the wood with graffiti, and burning a section with the use of firebombs.

So far, the park's defenders have managed to avoid incorporation into the politics-usual racket. Decisions are made at a daily meeting by those present. Sects have been prevented from imposing their own agenda. And an increasing number of participants are discussing the nature of property relations symbolized by this confrontation. On the negative side, many participants are ideological (vs. tactical) pacifists, and, all too often, their arguments take the nature of moral sermons regarding the homeless and how uncaring the University and the City administrators are.

The effort to re-enclose People's Park will continue. Starting today, no meetings will be allowed in the park without permits from both the City and the University. More construction is slated for the Fall. Many, if not most, residents, especially the students, have been persuaded that the park is an eyesore/crime area, and the City-U.C. agreement is in the best interests of everyone. In the post-Gulf War period, social opposition is "out" as far as most people are concerned. So, it looks bleak. But we intend to continue fighting.

(For More Info, Write to the PEOPLE'S PARK DEFENSE UNION at: 1711 Martin Luther King Highway, Suite D, Berkeley, CA 94709. Or call (415)848-6466 or (415)841-7460)





OCTOBER 26--BATTLE OF PEOPLE'S PARK--Video showing at the Minor Injury Gallery, 273 Grand Street, Brooklyn, 8:00PM. For info, call (718)782-5259.

OCTOBER 26--RADICAL WALKING TOUR OF GREENWICH VILLAGE--Conducted by radical historian Bruce Kayton. See the scenes involving Emma Goldman & Alexander Berkman, the Weather Underground, the Black Panthers, the Stonewall Riot, and more. Meet under the arch at Washington Square Park at 1:00PM. \$6.00 includes free 20 page packet of articles and illustrations. For info, call (212)941-0332.

OCTOBER 27--HUMAN RIGHTS AND AIDS IN THE SOVIET UNION--Report and video by Int'l Lesbian & Gay Association members of recent Soviet conference on human rights and AIDS. At 208 West 13th St, 6:00PM. For info, call (212)620-7310.

OCTOBER 31--SLOW DEATH IN THE CITIES: TOWN MEETING ON ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES--Pacifica Radio hosts forum on the urban crisis, waste incineration, lead poisoning, sewage treatment, air quality, and more, featuring many panelists, open mike and listeners' phone calls. At Triplex Theater, Manhattan Community College, 199 Chambers Street, at 9:00PM. Also simulcast on PBS-TV and WBAI Radio (99.5 FM). For info, call (212)279-0707.

OCTOBER 31--HALLOWEEN POT PARADE--Meets 8:00PM under the arch in Washington Square Park. Unlike other make-believe Pot Parades, this one will have plenty of free pot for all!!

NOVEMBER 4--EVICITION WATCH PRESENTS A SQUATTERS' BALL--With music, literature and food. A presentation revolving around squatter issues and struggles. At the Living Theater, 272 East 3rd Street, 7:00PM. **FREE!!**

NOVEMBER 4--AUTO-FREE CENTRAL PARK PLANT-IN--Bring potted plant to Central Park at the 6th Ave + 59th St. entrance for demonstration to extend the summer park hours until Central Park becomes auto-free. 5:00-7:00PM. For info, call (212)941-4600, or write Transportation Alternatives for future events at: 494 Broadway, NYC, 10012.

NOVEMBER 9--CAUSES AND CURES: A NATIONAL TELECONFERENCE ON THE NARCOTICS EPIDEMIC--Led by the Christie Institute, covering the war on drugs, gov't complicity in the drug trade, and alternative approaches. With special guests Michael Levine and Alfred W. McCoy. At the Marble Collegiate Church, 5th Ave and West 29th St. For info, call the Christie Institute at (202)797-8106.

NOVEMBER 9--RADICAL WALKING TOUR OF GREENWICH VILLAGE--(See October 26). For info, call (212)941-0332.

NOVEMBER 21--NEW YORK WORLD ORDER: A CITY IN CRISIS--Talks by journalist Bill Weinberg (of SHADOW and Downtown news), and housing activists Fran Luck and Raphael Bueno. At Penn South Community Center, 369 Eighth Ave. For info, call (212)979-8353.

DECEMBER 19--6TH ANNUAL CHAOS DAY LECTURE--"Lost American history: Antinomian and Anarchist traditions", featuring Peter Lamborn Wilson (WBAI radio's resident Anarchist and co-editor of "Semiotexte"). At Penn South Community Center, 369 Eighth Ave. For info, call (212)979-8353.

MAYDAY 29 ON TRIAL--Imagine a ludicrous pig plan to start a riot and then prosecute the victims and you'll get an idea of what's happening here. Not satisfied with invading our neighborhood repeatedly since the August 1988 Pig Riot, they now are trying to press false charges against the Tompkins Square activists who have been organizing against pig violence. Watch 47 witnesses perjure themselves against people guilty of only trying to defend their community. This time, the pig state is going for convictions!! Come and show your support every day except Mondays and weekends at 100 Centre Street, Part 38, Judge Failla's courtroom, starting at 9:30AM. Look for "Peo v. Anthony Baldini, Et Al".

WOMEN: HAVE YOU BEEN SEXUALLY HARRASSED BY THE POLICE?--If so, please report it to the Ad-Hoc Committee Against Sexual Harrassment By Police, at 151 First Ave, #101, New York, N.Y. 10003.

HALLOWEEN STREET THEATER ACTION TAKES ON "OCTOBER SURPRISE"--Adelante Street Theater Project is looking for participants for Halloween Parade skit dealing with Reagan's 1980 Election scandal. People needed to portray "hostages", "terrorists", etc. Call (212)674-9499.

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.

RADICAL WOMEN, an international socialist feminist organization, presents feminist events and discussions on a regular basis, and an anti-war coffee house on Friday nights, 7:00-10:00, for free or low cost. For info, write to Radical Women at: 32 Union Sq. East, NYC, 10003, or call (212)677-7002, or 491-5163.

FREE SPEECH SPEAKOUTS--Still happening 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/ ALTERNATIVE VIDEO NIGHT--Wednesday nights at A-CENTRAL BOOKS, 208 East 7th Street, 8:00PM. Only \$1.00 Donation requested.

RECYCLABLES NOW BEING COLLECTED--At new recycling center in lot at 211 East 7th Street, between Avenue B + C, across from A-CENTRAL Books.

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

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

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

FREE CLOTHING AVAILABLE FOR HOMELESS AND SQUATTERS--At A-CENTRAL Books, 208 East 7th Street, 1:00-6:00PM.

ABC NO RIO COMMUNITY SPACE--Open to groups for performance, meetings, info center, etc. Write to at 156 Rivington St., New York, N.Y. 10002, or call (212)254-3697.

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

UNDERGROUND PRESS REVIEWS--On WBAI Radio (99.5FM), the first and third Monday of every month at 11:45PM, with the station's resident Anarchist Peter Lamborn Wilson.



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

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Presidential Speeches--(202)456-7198

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The State Department--(202)647-6575

Supreme Court--(202)479-3000

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Senator Jesse Helms--(704)322-5170

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



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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

SHADOW PRESS
BOX 20298
NEW YORK
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To Chris Flash--
PAGAN WINS! YOU LOSE, ASSHOLE.
Guess who has the last laugh now?
HA
Your smear campaign backfired, your posters won votes for Pagan because smart voters knew anyone so hated by the anarchists must be a good candidate.
We just can't wait to read the next issue of the SHADOW.
(Unsigned Asshole)

You pathetic piece of shit:
Pagan may have won the primary election for City Council, but he has yet to win the general election. If Pagan wins, we don't lose, EVERYONE loses, you mindless asshole!!
Pagan didn't win the primary because of our investigative reports or because of anyone's posters, but rather because enough people have lost faith in the government and it's electoral system, so they no longer bother to follow the meaningless ritual of voting for "the lesser of two evils". Besides, your people probably stuffed the ballot boxes with multiple voting and illegitimate/false voters. What does the law mean to a bunch of corrupt thieves like yourself and the other Paganites? Not much with the pigs in your pockets!!
Pagan is just another in an endless line of politicians who serve the wealthy and powerful while lining their own pockets with "contributions", payoffs, kickbacks, etc, as the poor shmucks who vote for them get the shaft, as always, along with everyone else. We know that all politicians are the same, but those who vote think they can make a difference by voting for someone else. (Luckily for Pagan, Anarchists don't vote!!)
If he gets into the City Council, Pagan will prove himself to be the gentrifying fascist pig of his dreams and of the neighborhood's nightmares, but he too will fall, as the system crumbles a little bit more. Then it is we who will have the last laugh!! (If people like you and Pagan weren't such a threat to the community at large, you would be funny!!)
So, keep on reading the SHADOW (or have someone read it to you)--our articles on Pagan will never stop as long as that crooked piece of shit is on the scene.
(We just can't wait till Pagan and all the rest of you pigs are homeless, hungry and living on the streets!!)
Chris Flash, Editor

Dear SHADOW,
The enclosed letter was sent to the Daily News in reply to a recent banner headline attacking squatters as arsonists. As it seems unlikely that they will publish it, its contents may therefore be of appreciable interest to you.

Dear Letters Editor:
"FIRETRAP! Squatter held as Bravest's arson killer"--Banner headline, Daily News, 9/14/91
Would your newspaper dare to publish headlines such as "JEW/BLACK held as arson killer"? Of course not. It would imply that Jews/Blacks as a class are inherently criminals. Such an act would be instantly recognized as deliberate incitement to hatred and violence against an entire class of persons.
Demonization of squatters and homeless as a class in banner headlines under the guise of "freedom of the press".
With the closure of Tompkins Square Park and eviction of homeless and squatters, your headline serves to justify police action in a New World Order where victims are increasingly demonized as criminals.
Discovery,
Sidney Simon

PRISONER MAIL:
Dear Friends,
I was sent to prison for the alleged theft of a \$200 fuzzbuster-CB unit. Have you ever wondered where some of your tax money goes to fight this "War on Crime"? To keep a notorious criminal like me locked in a cage, the state claims a cost of \$15,000 each year. While in prison, I was in college 3 years with a year to go to complete my 4 year BA degree at a cost of \$40,000. My first parole hearing is in 1994. The compassionate judge sentenced me to a maximum of 20 years in prison; the possibility exists that the state may claim an expense of over \$340,000 in tax money to destroy 20 years of my life, and all because someone may have taken a \$200 item from a parked car. Make sense to you?
I was recently placed back into the prison general population after serving 6 months in solitary confinement. During half a year in this isolation I existed from hand to mouth on the very worst of prison food, with no fresh fruits-vegetables. I had no direct sunlight, no fresh air, and no meaningful exercise. All books, magazines, newspapers, TVs, radios, and other sources of news was denied to me. Prior to transfer to solitary confinement, I had been in the college program with a 4.00 GPA from Wilmington College.
I had a few personal items, such as TV, radio, tape player, typewriter, etc, to help take my attention away from the misery of imprisonment, but when they locked me in that isolation cage, I lost those few personal things and they were never recovered. I am a strong-willed individual and I intend to survive to prove my innocence. I can never recover the years lost to false imprisonment. In my case the punishment does not fit the crime. Who are the victims of this inept system anyway? What's the answer?
Robert "Doc" Creager
P.O.Box 45699 209-007
Lucasville, Ohio 45699-0001

SHADOW;
I've just arrived at my new "home". Getting here was a real trip! I've spent the last couple of months in a hellish trek across the vast chain of the gulag Archipelago as a "guest" of the federal marshals. I was cuffed and shackled 8-14 hours a day while being transported in their fleet of 747s (nick-named "Con Air"). This went on for weeks as we stopped in just about every labor camp this government has, dropping off and picking up new "gulag laborers".
What a way to see the USSA!
The spirit of Tompkins Square cannot be crushed by the closing of the park or the occupation of a neighborhood by the swine. The spirit of Tompkins Square survives in spite of oppression.
Take care and keep up the struggle!
James Daniel Armstrong #04617-051
F.C.I. Englewood
9595 W. Quincy Ave
Littleton, CO 80123-1100

Dear SHADOW,
The budget here has been cut way way down-Iowa is on it's ass-can't even feed the prisoners-meals are cut way down-today they removed the paper napkins from the tables-budget cuts.
Last week they took me to Iowa City Medical Center (Iowa State Hospital). Of course, they handcuffed me, only with a new twist-belly chains and a metal cuff to go over the keyholes in the cuffs so no one can pick them-makes one have to hold arms away from body-for 8 hours-if one relaxes and pulls arms in-it cuts off circulation, making my left arm numb all the way to my fingers-been 4 days and has not returned to normal-also, if one has to urinate, he must do so with cuffs and belly chains on-an impossibility-I was told it can be done. I finally gave up-figured I would just piss in my pants, right in the hospital.
Power to the People,
David Kemmerling #104380
Iowa State Men's Reformatory
Box B
Anamosa, IA 52205

Dear Comrades,
We were informed that the american press and TV present the July 18th riot in Athens as a "riot over the nationalist issue of Cyprus" and that the rioters were "the leftist minority of the NATIONAL STUDENT UNION". This is nothing but **BULLSHIT**.
This is what really happened: The government wanted to present an image of "social peace" during the "visit" of GEORGE BUSH. The whole police force of Athens (11,000 pigs) was on alert. All demonstrations during the 18th and 19th of July were forbidden. Athens was a city under police occupation. A meeting was held July 16th attended by all Anarchist groups and squatted houses of Athens. It was decided that our aim was to destroy the image of "social peace", our only way was violent direct action.
We decided: 1) Not to participate in leftist protests and bureaucratic "games" (only one group joined the leftist demonstration); 2) Occupy POLYTECHNIC and use it as **INFORMATION and ACTION CENTER**.

For the next two days, using the POLYTECHNIC'S XEROX machines, thousands of communiques and posters were printed and distributed. More than 100 molotovs were prepared and stones were gathered. Passing buses were stopped and they "carried" our graffiti all over Athens.
18th OF JULY: The day of Bush's arrival. The demonstration organized by leftist students was attacked by the cops and-as usual-leftists didn't fight back. Only the few Anarchist participants reacted and set on fire the AMERICAN EXPRESS BANK.

ANARCHIKOI

When they gathered around POLYTECHNIC, Anarchists (600-700) were informed about the police attack, and the "usual party" began: barricades, fires, CS tear gas, molotovs, burning banks' buses and luxurious cars. The area around POLYTECHNIC became a battlefield. Later that night, hundreds of nazis and right-wing bastards tried to invade POLYTECHNIC. They were smashed.
All the arrested comrades are now free. **THAT'S ALL.**
Anonymous--Athens, Greece

SHADOWS,
Your June/July issue fantastic but shows futility of fighting (validating?) police-state. Un-led un-programmed encounter groups are the solution.
A community of learners, then the excitement has been almost beyond belief. Free curiosity, individuals charge off in new directions--Carl Rogers Reader.

But let me take no luster from your June/July issue. You make Lev ("Anarchy" newspaper in Missouri) and Fifth Estate look sick.
Congratulations from D. Stevens

AN OPEN LETTER TO "THE SHADOW":
To quote a famous comic, "You don't have to be Fellini to figure this shit out".
A row of squats on 13th Street have become "Pagan Buildings", and one of them, 537, becomes the office of Karen Takasch, Pagan's henchwoman. Takasch, a so-called housing lawyer, formerly of GOLES ("Good Ole Lower East Side", a tenants rights help group--Ed), is a very close friend of Susan Lee Like, (also formerly of GOLES, and now Pagan's financial campaign manager).
Takasch has maintained an office in 537 East 13th Street since fall of 1990, literally days after Pagan announced that he wanted the row of buildings for his development. The point is, why does Takasch have a law office in a building which is supposed to house the homeless when she has at least two apartments and plenty of money too? Takasch's presence on 13th Street, in the guise of a pro-housing organization called "ATLES GROUP" is a block to unity. She maintains this place without the consent of the majority of squatters.
It is apparent that a select few benefit from ATLES to begin with. The presence of this vested interest in the squatter community is a threat to any person who is actually fighting for his life, and is trying to hold the buildings for future generations, and not for the developers. We insist that people finally pay attention to this injustice.
A.R.

TOM DUANE TAKING FREE CHOICE FOR GRANTED & THE CASE FOR ANDREW MAGIDSON

At the Wigstock Festival on September 1st at Union Square Park, I asked Tom Duane, the Democratic Party candidate for City Council 3rd District, if he thought hemp (aka marijuana) should be legalized.
His response amounted to a cop-out and complete equivocation (he obviously wanted to "sit on the fence"). For this reason, Tom Duane's political opponent, Andrew Magidson, has my support. Magidson supports the legalization of drugs and gambling.
Even though most of his economic policies and philosophies are not consistent with mine, Magidson is not a Nixon, Reagan, Bush, D'Amato or Helms Republican. When one stops to consider how many mainstream Democrats, who are darlings of "the Liberal establishment", take things for granted, supporting the few Republicans who are consistently supporters of free choice and willing to oppose the heinously fascist war on drugs is something that freedom loving people should seriously consider.
Respectfully submitted,
Freddie Redpants



SHADOW INTERVIEW

Continued From Page 8

northeastern Burma in 1950, then from 1965 to 1975 [during the Vietnam war] their operation in northern Laos, and throughout the decade of the 1980's, the Afghan operation against Soviet forces in Afghanistan.

Powerful, upland political figures control the societies and economies in these regions and part of that panoply of power is the opium trade. The CIA extended the mantle of their alliance to these drug lords and in every case the drug lords used it to expand a small local trade in opium into a major source of supply for the world markets and the United States.

While they were allied with the United States, these drug lords were absolutely immune to any kind of investigation. If you're involved in any kind of illicit commodity trade, organized crime activity like drug trafficking, there is only one requisite for success, immunity, and the CIA gave them that. As long as they were allied with the CIA, the local police and then the DEA stayed away from the drug lords.

Finally, if there were any allegations about the involvement of their allies in the drug trade, the CIA would use their good offices to quash those allegations.

This meant that these drug lords, connected with the CIA and protected by the CIA, were able to release periodic heroin surges, [and in Latin America] periodic cocaine surges. You can trace very precisely during the 40 years of the cold war the upsurge in narcotics supply in the United States with covert operations.

PD: How does the CIA's policies affect drug interdiction? I've spoken for example to former Drug Enforcement Administration officer Michael Levine who has expressed anger that he was pulled off of cases because he got too close to someone who, while being a big trafficker, was also an asset of the CIA.

AM: Mike Levine speaks from personal experience. In 1971, Mike Levine was in Southeast Asia operating in Thailand as an agent of the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration [DEA]. At the same time, I was conducting the investigation for the first edition of my book.

Mike Levine said that he wanted to go up country to Chiangmai, the heroin capital of Southeast Asia, at that point, the finance and processing center and hub of an enterprise. He wanted to make some major seizures. Through a veiled series of cut outs in the U.S. embassy in Bangkok, instructions were passed to his superiors in the DEA who told him he couldn't go up and make the bust. He was pulled off the case.

He said it wasn't until he read my book a number of years later that he understood the politics of what was going on and he realized why he had been pulled off. All of the upland drug lords that were producing the narcotic, the heroin, were in fact CIA assets. Now he understands it.

That is not just a single incident, so let's go back to basics. What is the institutional relationship between the DEA and the CIA?

The Federal Bureau of Narcotics [FBN], was established in 1930 as an instrument of the prohibition of narcotics, the only United States agency that had a covert action capacity with agents working undercover before World War Two. During the war, when the OSS [Office of Strategic Services] was established, which is the forerunner of the CIA, key personnel were transferred from the Federal Bureau of Narcotics to train the OSS officers in the clandestine arts.

That close institutional relationship between the DEA [direct descendant of the FBN] and the CIA continues up to the present day. The long time head of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics, a man named Harry Anslinger, who headed that bureau from 1930 until his retirement in 1962, was a militant anti-communist who spent a lot of his time in counter-intelligence operations. There's a very close relationship between the two agencies.

During the cold war, the main priority abroad for the United States government was anti-communism and whenever the CIA mounted an operation, every other U.S. agency was subordinated to the CIA's covert operations.

That meant that when the CIA was running one of its covert action wars in the drug zones of Asia, the DEA would stay away. For example, during the 1950's the CIA had this ongoing alliance with the nationalist Chinese in northern Burma. Initially mounting invasions of China in 1950-51, later mounting surveillance along the border for a projected Chinese invasion of Southeast Asia. The DEA stayed out of Southeast Asia completely during that period and collected no intelligence about narcotics in deference to the CIA's operation.

Let's take two more examples that bring it right up to the present. [First] the Afghan operation: from 1979 to the present, the CIA's largest operation anywhere in the world was to support the Afghan resistance forces fighting the Soviet occupation in their country. The CIA worked through Pakistan military intelligence and worked with the Afghan guerilla groups who were close to Pakistani military intelligence.

In 1979, Pakistan had a small localized opium trade and produced no heroin whatsoever. Yet by 1981, according to U.S. Attorney General William French Smith, Pakistan had emerged as the world's leading supplier of heroin. It became the supplier of 60% of U.S. heroin supply and it captured a comparable section of the European market. In Pakistan itself the results were even more disastrous.

In 1979, Pakistan had no heroin addicts, in 1980 Pakistan had 5,000 heroin addicts, and by 1985, according to official Pakistan government statistics, Pakistan had 1.2 million heroin addicts, the largest heroin addict population in the world.

See SHADOW INTERVIEW On Page 17



TENTACLES OF THE OCTOPUS:

Continued From Page 8

reappointment to the court was being denied and that he would be replaced by S. Martin Teel, one of the justice department attorneys who unsuccessfully argued the Inslaw case before Bason.

Bill Hamilton traces his problems with the Department of Justice to a phone call he received in 1983 from Dominic Laiti, then the chairman of Hadron Inc. According to Hamilton, after identifying himself, Laiti said that Hadron was seeking a monopoly in providing law enforcement software and he wanted to "buy" Inslaw. Hamilton says Laiti ended the call by telling him that Hadron has, "very good political contacts in the current administration." When Hamilton declined to sell Inslaw, he says Laiti retorted, "We have ways of making you sell."

While Laiti has denied the phone call ever took place, Hadron definitely enjoyed some "very good political contacts." Hadron is controlled by Dr. Earl Brian's Infotechnology Inc.

MURDER ON THE RESERVATION

In the desert west of Los Angeles, near the city of Indio, lies the Cabazon Indian reservation. A tiny tribe, with only 30 members, with a huge clout. Until the 1980's, the tribe had no running water and no electricity and every tribal business was a failure.

The Cabazon's fortunes began to change after the arrival in 1978 of John P. Nichols, a non-Indian, as the tribe's chief administrator. Nichols, a self described intelligence operative who once served 18 months in prison for trying to arrange a contract killing, brought a major gambling operation to Cabazon land. The reservation, claiming sovereignty as an independent nation within the United States, soon sported a Las Vegas style casino and high stakes bingo hall, both financed by grants from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD).

According to the book *Inside Job* by Stephen Pizzo, which documents the Savings and Loan Scandal, John P. Nichols was a business partner with a major Savings and Loan player who got questionable loans from both the Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI) and the Colorado-based Silverado Bank, which had on its board of directors Neil Bush, the son of President George Bush.

A recent series of articles about the Cabazon reservation by Robert Littman in the *San Francisco Chronicle* reported that private investors were hoping to take advantage of the Cabazon's sovereign nation status. The investors, which included a Canadian group, built or planned to build a \$150 million power plant, a 1300 unit luxury housing project called Indian Village (with HUD funding), and a medical waste disposal incinerator, all without environmental impact statements that would normally be necessary in California.

The *Chronicle* article also describes an attempt by Nichols to start a joint venture with the Cabazons and the Wackenhut Corporation. Wackenhut, which counts many ex-intelligence agents among its directors, is the nation's third largest supplier of privately run prisons. The company's business expanded greatly during the Iraq war as executives and government agencies tightened their security. In recent years, Wackenhut has been replacing the U.S. Marine Corps as the security force for overseas embassies and they also provide security at nuclear weapons facilities such as Rocky Flats, Colorado and the Nevada nuclear test site.

A senior executive at Wackenhut told *Computerworld* magazine last April that while the company had entered into a joint venture with the Cabazons, it did not staff the operation and the venture folded when it did not win any contracts. However, *Chronicle*

Continued On Following Page

HALLOWEEN HARVEST FESTIVAL



THURSDAY OCT. 31
MARIJUANA RALLY AT
WASHINGTON SQ. PARK 8 P.M.

TENTACLES OF THE OCTOPUS

Continued From Previous Page

reporter Robert Littman told *Pacifica* radio in September that until recently, uniformed Wackenhut security guards could be seen patrolling on Cabazon land.

A chronicler of the Inslaw affair, Harry V. Martin, editor of the *Napa Valley Sentinel*, described Wackenhut during a *WBAL-FM* radio special on the Inslaw affair.

"If you saw the movie 'RoboCop', the corporation that was running that police department -- this is exactly what Wackenhut is becoming. In other words, it's taking over the functions of law enforcement on a contract basis. And they were formed by former FBI people. And some of the top CIA people went into that organization when they retired from their system."

According to the *Chronicle*, the Cabazon reservation was used to demonstrate night vision goggles for the Nicaraguan contras, the Cabazons also met with U.S. army officials about developing arms, they proposed security measures for a Saudi Arabian palace and solicited proposals for developing biological weapons.

The most alarming occurrence on the Cabazon reservation was the unsolved 1982 execution style murder of Fred Alvarez, a Cabazon Indian leader and two of his companions.

While John P. Nichols denies any involvement with the still unsolved killings, a California investigative reporter, Virginia McCullough, says the case has been recently reopened. McCullough, in an exclusive interview with the *SHADOW*, said California police have named John P. Nichols Jr. as the prime suspect in the murder.

McCullough told the *SHADOW* that Alvarez had begun to speak out against the misuse of the Cabazon people by Nichols and Wackenhut. Alvarez had also told associates that he was getting death threats and would probably die because of his outspoken opposition to the Nichols family.

Michael Riconosciuto says Alvarez was tied closely to the covert action side of events that were occurring on the Cabazon reservation. Riconosciuto claims that he was on the Cabazon reservation, rewriting the PROMIS software for Earl Brian at the time of the Alvarez murder. Speaking to *Pacifica* radio in late August, Riconosciuto gave the following statement in which he maintains that Alvarez was involved in the October Surprise, an alleged plot by the Reagan presidential campaign to steal the 1980 Presidential election, that Riconosciuto maintains was hatched on the Cabazon reservation.

Riconosciuto said that "Alvarez was present at all the meetings, and he was gung-ho behind Nichols (Dr. John P. Nichols), and everything that was going on there. OK? We were all red-blooded Americans, and we believed in the things that were going on!"

The way things were shaping up with the Reagan Election Committee and the things that were being orchestrated made us all concerned. And Alvarez wrote a detailed letter to Ronald Reagan expressing his concern. All the details of the October Surprise hostage issue were outlined in that letter. I mean, IN SPECIFICS."

The October Surprise is the name given the alleged plot by the Reagan election team to arrange for the government of Iran to keep 52 American hostages, already being held for more than one year, until after the 1980 presidential election, in order to help insure the election defeat of incumbent President Jimmy Carter.

Riconosciuto, who has a history as a brilliant yet somewhat erratic genius, went on to state that the Inslaw software theft was a payoff to John P. Nichols and Wackenhut Corp for assisting with the October Surprise.

"The ability to run with PROMIS from the inside, on a procurement track, was part of a benefit reward package to the Cabazon position for what they did in helping the Election Committee. Part of that was the artillery shells. Part of that was security contracts for Wackenhut.

Wackenhut has security jobs that traditionally the United States Marine Corps did. OK? Now, it's done on open bid to private companies, and Wackenhut consistently has gotten most of those jobs. And all our atomic weapons research and test sites are all guarded by Wackenhut personnel.

In the Reagan Administration, the shift went abruptly from Marine Corps and military personnel to Wackenhut personnel. It was an unprecedented move. And it's my position that this was part of the reward benefit package for co-operation and services rendered during the election situation."

MORE MYSTERIOUS MURDERS

The investigation of the Alvarez murder was taken up by the respected Canadian-based *Financial Times*, whose reporter Anson Ng went to Guatemala to find Jimmy Hughes, a Wackenhut security guard who was named as a witness in the killing. Ng was found in Guatemala dead with a bullet in his chest.

Soon after Riconosciuto's drug arrest, Dennis Eisman, a Philadelphia attorney who was on his way to Washington State to take on Riconosciuto's defense, was found shot to death in his car. Eisman was reportedly enroute to meet with a woman in a Philadelphia parking lot. The woman reportedly had evidence of threats against Riconosciuto by associates of Dr. Earl Brian.

According to Harry Martin, two weeks before Casolaro's death, a player in the affair, John Friedrich, was found dead with a single bullet wound to the head in Australia. Martin writes that Friedrich was a close ally of Lt. Col. Oliver North and Israeli counter-terrorist chief Amiran Nir and had "a lot of knowledge about the Iran-Contra and Inslaw cases." Nir died last year in a mysterious plane crash in Mexico.

THE OCTOPUS

The OCTOPUS was the name Danny Casolaro gave his theory explaining the Inslaw affair and its connection to the covert action arm of the CIA. Casolaro, who was planning to write a book on the OCTOPUS, called "Indio" (the town near the Cabazon reservation), had focused on reports that former national security advisor Robert McFarlane had actually given the PROMIS software to the Israeli government.

The reports were based on the allegations of former Israeli intelligence agent Ari Ben-Menashe, who said the software was given to the Israel Defense Force Signals Intelligence Unit in 1982. According to papers filed in the Inslaw case, the software was to be used to penetrate the computers of unsuspecting foreign companies that had also been provided with the same software.

(Ben-Menashe was the primary source for a new book on the Israeli nuclear arms program called *Samson Option* by former *New York Times* correspondent Seymour Hersh. The book, which claims that Israel has more than 300 nuclear warheads aimed at Arab and Soviet cities, quotes Ben-Menashe as saying that Israeli spies working in the United States stole secrets which were then passed on to the Soviet Union by the Israeli government).

McFarlane, who was deputy director of the National Security Council at the time, has denied the charges. The former national security advisor to Ronald Reagan, who also worked with Oliver North, pleaded guilty last year to lying to Congress in connection with the Iran-Contra scandal.

Ben-Menashe served 12 years in the Israel Defense Force, including two years as an intelligence consultant to Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir before, leaving in 1989. In an affidavit filed in the Inslaw case in March, Ben-Menashe said he attended a 1987 meeting in Tel Aviv where Dr. Earl W. Brian made a sales pitch for increased use of the PROMIS software by the Israeli defense establishment.

Also in a sworn statement, self-proclaimed Iranian arms dealer Richard Babayan told of the alleged involvement of Brian in the illegal sale of PROMIS to Iraq and South Korea.

Babayan, who was recently being held in a federal jail in Miami on fraud charges, also said former Air Force Major General Richard Secord was present at a 1987 meeting with Iraqi officials in Baghdad, during which Earl Brian made a PROMIS sales pitch.

THE CIA DRUG CONNECTION

In his book, *The Politics of Heroin: CIA Complicity in the Global Drug Trade*, Alfred W. McCoy tells how the CIA covert war in Laos, which began after the French defeat by the Vietnamese at Dien Bien Phu in 1954, paved the way for massive heroin shipments to the United States. The CIA offered protection for Hmong tribes in the mountains along the Chinese border to enlist them as soldiers in the early years of the Vietnam war.

In return, Laotian generals supplied heroin to the crime syndicates in Saigon. McCoy estimates that more than one third of all United States troops in Vietnam became addicted to heroin supplied by gangsters associated with the same South Vietnamese government U.S. troops were supposed to be protecting.

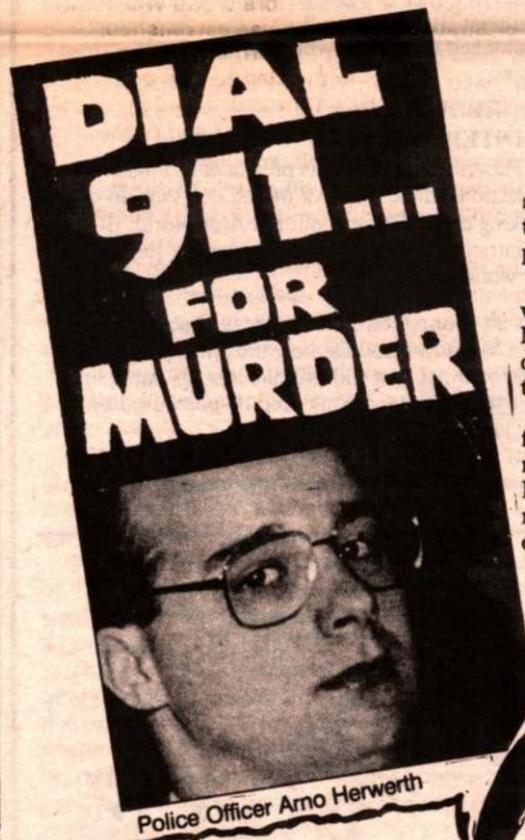
The CIA station chief in Laos at the height of the heroin operation, from 1966-1968, was Theodore Shackley, who exercised overall command of the CIA's secret war in Laos. A friend of Shackley and the deputy CIA station chief operative was Thomas Clines, who handled the details of the Laos operation. Secord was the air force liaison who supplied most of the aircraft essential for combat in northern Laos. Heroin was often shipped aboard aircraft operated by a CIA front company called "Air America", until revelations of the Laos operation forced a name change. The descendant of Air America became the air wing of the Central American contra war supply operation, a company known as "Southern Air Transport".

By 1977, the CIA had undergone a major reorganization by then President Jimmy Carter, responding to the disclosure of criminal activities by the CIA, including domestic spying and the activities of rogue CIA operative Edmund Wilson. After being convicted of running a private arms supply operation to Libya, Wilson was handed a life sentence.

Wilson was a good friend and associate of both Theodore Shackley and Thomas Clines from the days of the CIA's covert war in Laos. Because of the connection to Wilson and over the objection of senior CIA bureaucrats, Shackley and Clines were both demoted and forced to resign from the agency by then CIA director Stansfield Turner. After retiring, Clines and Shackley went into business arranging arms sales for various countries.

In the 1980's, when then Marine Corps Lt. Colonel Oliver North, who was operating under the command of National Security Council chief Robert McFarlane, formed a secret network to arm the contras fighting the Sandinista government in Nicaragua, he recruited recently retired General Richard Secord to operate the arms pipeline. Secord

See TENTACLES OF THE OCTOPUS On Page 16



Police Officer Arno Herwerth

Cheers, anger greet verdict

A Bronx judge last night acquitted Police Officer Arno Herwerth in the fatal shooting of a 41-year-old woman last year while responding to a family fight.

The verdict by state Supreme Court Justice John Collins was welcomed with cheers from about 25 of Herwerth's fellow officers and angry shouts from the family of the slain woman, Mary Mitchell.

Herwerth at first looked relieved when Collins announced his verdict, but his expression appeared fearful when he turned and saw a dozen members of Mitchell's family pointing at him shouting, "Murderer, murderer."

Cop Is Acquitted In Woman's Death

"I saw him beat her in the head. I saw him draw his gun. Why they going to let the man go? My aunt can't rest in peace."

The case hinged on whether Herwerth, who was called to Mitchell's Melrose apartment to quell a domestic dispute, was justified in firing the shot that killed her.

Herwerth testified he fired in self-defense because Mitchell had grabbed his night stick and was about to hit him. But the prosecutor said Mitchell posed no real threat and that Herwerth fired out of anger and frustration.



Mary Mitchell — shot

TENTACLES OF THE OCTOPUS

Continued From Page 15

went on to tell a congressional committee investigating the Iran-Contra affair that he recruited his former "close associate from CIA days", Thomas Clines, to assist in carrying out the contra war.

Massachusetts Senator John Kerry's subcommittee looking into allegations of cocaine trafficking by the pilots who were flying the arms shipments to the contras from the United States, heard testimony from five witnesses who claimed direct personal knowledge of the involvement of CIA operatives in the cocaine trade. At the heart of the allegations is an American, John Hull, who operated a ranch in Costa Rica used to stage contra attacks against Nicaragua.

Hull was named two years ago in a Costa Rican government investigation as a drug trafficker and was later banned from living in Costa Rica. Hull was also implicated by the Costa Ricans in an assassination attempt against a recalcitrant contra commander named Eden Pastora. The bombing killed several journalists who were interviewing Pastora at the time of the blast.

THE BANKS

In December of 1989, U.S. troops invaded Panama and seized Panamanian dictator Manuel Noriega, destroying a poor neighborhood and killing more than 3,000 civilians in the process. The purpose of the attack was to unseat Noriega, who had been indicted in Florida for allowing Panama to be used as a way-station for cocaine traffickers.

While several mid-level drug dealers with knowledge of the international trade recently interviewed by the SHADOW scoff at Noriega's role in the drug trade as "inconsequential", the role of Panamanian banks was and is still important. Panama has some of the world's least strict banking laws, which allow for the laundering of vast sums of drug money from the U.S. to the Colombian cocaine cartels.

In his book *Crimes of Patriots*, Jonathan Kwitney exposes the role of the Australian *Nugan-Hand Bank* in financing covert activities and heroin trafficking in Southeast Asia. The bank's mysterious growth and demise traces the reach of the tentacles of the OCTOPUS.

The bank was founded by Frank Nugan, an insecure and incompetent Australian lawyer, and by Michael John Hand, a man with a high school degree who had gone to Vietnam with the Green Berets. He had served in Laos in the 1960's as a contract CIA operative fighting with Thomas Clines, Theodore Shackley and Richard Secord, all very big names in the Iran-Contra scandal.

Michael John Hand worked with William Colby, who had been CIA director during the time Shackley was in charge of the CIA office in Laos. Colby went on to become legal counsel for the Nugan-Hand bank, where he worked with Michael Hand, who was also a veteran of the CIA-run Laos war.

After allegations of drug smuggling against the bank surfaced in 1977, the Australian government began a fraud investigation into the bank's operation, and in 1980 Frank Nugan committed suicide. The investigations uncovered a network of money laundering, drug and arms dealing and still mysterious ties to the CIA.

In 1988, agents of the United States Customs Office in Tampa entrapped officials of the Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI) into a drug money laundering scheme. In the ensuing years, the scandal widened until 1991, when the British government seized the bank on fraud charges.

BANK OF CREDIT AND COMMERCE INTERNATIONAL

BCCI was established in 1972 by Agha Hasan Abedi, who was president of Pakistan's largest private bank. Abedi had close connections to the rulers of the oil rich Persian gulf kingdom of Abu Dhabi and spread his banking empire throughout the Arab world. BCCI eventually grew to have branches in 73 countries and with \$20 billion in assets, BCCI became the 7th largest private bank in the world.

In July, the Senate banking committee held hearings on BCCI and called several investigators, former Customs chief William Von Rabb and Democratic party power broker Clark Clifford. It was revealed at the hearings that Clifford had lent his name in return for cash payments as a director of *First American*, a bank secretly purchased by BCCI in violation of United States banking laws.

While the Senate brought up questions of impropriety by BCCI, the Senators avoided some of the most sensitive questions raised about CIA involvement in the bank. Author

Alfred McCoy discussed one of those unanswered questions with the SHADOW--the expansion of the heroin trade from Southeast Asia to the border region between Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Beginning shortly before the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, the CIA armed the small Afghan guerilla group under the control of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, a favorite of the Pakistani intelligence service and a Moslem fundamentalist noted for throwing acid in the face of moslem university women who refused to wear veils. Built up into a formidable military force by the CIA, the Hekmatyar army seized prime Afghan land and used it to grow poppy plants, the raw material for heroin production.

The size of the heroin shipments from Afghanistan grew with the involvement of the Pakistan military. By the time of the 1988 plane crash that killed Pakistani dictator Zia ul-Haq, heroin trafficking was widespread among the ranks of officers in the Pakistan military. Heroin trafficking from Pakistan soon outstripped shipments from Southeast Asia and by 1991, more than 60% of the heroin sold on the streets of New York City originated in Afghanistan.

Alfred McCoy speculates that if a congressional investigation would ask tough questions about BCCI, it would uncover drug trafficking and money laundering by United States allies protected from prosecution by the CIA. McCoy told the SHADOW: "I think what we'll possibly discover is that the CIA was shipping its funds into Pakistan through BCCI, protecting BCCI thereby from serious investigations elsewhere in the world. That the Pakistan military were in fact banking their drug profits, moving their drug profits from the consuming country back to Pakistan through BCCI."

"In fact, the boom in the Pakistan drug trade was financed by BCCI. The interrelationship between the Afghan resistance and the CIA and the Pakistan drug trade can all be seen through the medium of BCCI, the banker to both operations, the resistance and the drug trade."

The BCCI story brings full circle the theory of the OCTOPUS, the existence of a small group of intelligence operatives involved in the major scandals of our time, a theory developed by Danny Casolaro to explain the theft of PROMIS software by the United States Justice Department.

INSLAW AND BCCI

The next aspect of the investigation into the Inslaw affair is the connection to BCCI. Allegations have been repeated that monies raised through the illegal sales of PROMIS software were laundered through BCCI. McCoy adds: "It begs the question of how could BCCI be operating without the bank regulators doing anything about it when obviously there were flags going up and there was evidence going back seven, eight years that BCCI was involved in drug-running and in laundering of drug money, and in various nefarious schemes?"

The reason that the regulators and the Congressional hearings don't seem to want to touch upon is that, very possibly and probably, BCCI had direct ties to the Justice Department and to the regulators who were supposed to be watching the store. In fact, the reason that BCCI was not investigated and not prosecuted a lot earlier for its activities was because it was providing necessary services -- a full service bank. ●



It has come to the attention of the Shadow staff that some of you have acquired scanners and are listening to the goings on of the world that can ride into your life on radio waves. The Electronic Communications Privacy Act make listening in to some frequencies a crime. We thought we'd make you aware of some of the frequencies to avoid in the pursuit of being good, law abiding citizens.

Air Force One 6731 kHz, 6756 kHz, 8761 kHz, 9018 kHz, 11180 kHz, 13201 kHz, 13215 kHz, 13247 kHz, 15048 kHz, 18047 kHz...all LSB

415.70 MHz...UHF

Air Force Two 18390 kHz, 11055 kHz (Sec of State)

6818 kHz, 3116 kHz, 13247 kHz, 6898 kHz...all USB

President's Helicopter 46.75 MHz VHF

Secret Service President's Limo 164.8850 MHz

Air Force I Detail 362.6850 MHz

171.2350 MHz

Some DEA Freq's (Note: All kHz) 7657, 11076, 14686, 18666, 23402

(Note: All MHz) 163.185, 163.535, 165.235, 165.285, 165.290, 172.000, 172.005, 172.200, 415.600, 416.050, 416.200, 18.625, 418.675, 418.700, 418.725, 418.750, 418.775, 418.800, 418.825, 418.875, 418.900, 418.925, 418.950, 418.975, 419.000

Some Custom's Freq's (Note: All kHz) 5571, 8912, 11288

(Note: All MHz) 165.3275, 165.2875, 165.5375, 165.7375, 166.4375, 166.4625, 166.5875

Some FBI Freq's (Note: All kHz) 7905, 9240, 10500

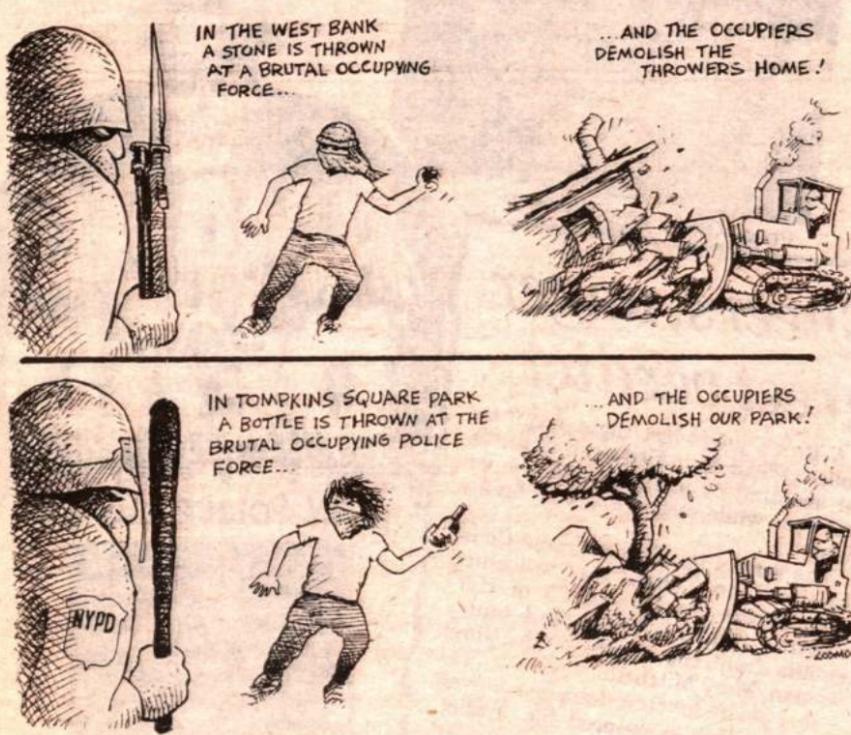
(Note: All MHz) 149.375, 163.310, 163.485, 163.810, 163.825, 163.835, 163.875, 163.885, 163.910, 163.925, 163.935, 163.950, 163.960, 163.975, 163.985, 164.260, 164.275, 164.410, 164.460, 165.525, 166.500, 167.150, 167.210, 197.220, 167.235, 167.250, 167.360, 167.275, 167.285, 167.300, 167.310, 167.325, 167.335, 167.360, 167.375, 167.385, 167.395, 167.400, 167.410, 167.425, 167.435, 167.450, 167.460, 167.475, 167.485, 167.500, 167.510, 167.525, 167.550, 167.560, 167.575, 167.585, 167.600, 167.610, 167.625, 167.635, 167.650, 167.660, 167.675, 167.685, 167.700, 167.710, 167.725, 167.735, 167.750, 167.760, 167.775, 167.785, 167.805, 167.845, 167.925, 167.985, 168.885, 406.200, 406.250, 406.275, 406.300, 406.325, 406.350, 406.375, 406.400, 406.450, 408.850, 408.875, 408.900, 408.925, 408.950, 408.975, 409.000, 409.100, 409.150, 409.175, 409.200, 409.250, 411.025, 411.075, 412.425, 412.450, 412.475, 412.500, 412.550, 412.575, 412.625, 413.550, 413.975, 414.000, 414.025, 414.050, 414.075, 414.100, 414.125, 414.150, 414.175, 414.200, 414.225, 414.250, 414.275, 414.300, 414.350, 414.375, 414.400, 414.425, 414.450, 414.475, 414.500, 414.525, 414.575, 414.750, 417.075, 417.150, 417.400, 417.450, 417.500, 417.550, 419.200, 419.225, 419.250, 419.275, 419.300, 419.325, 419.350, 419.375, 419.400, 419.425, 419.450, 419.475, 419.500, 419.575, 467.950.

Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms 165.2875 MHz

U. S. Marshal 163.200 MHz

Internal Revenue Service 165.950 MHz

C.I.A. (Note: All MHz) 163.810, 165.010, 165.110, 165.385, 408.600



IN 1933 IT WAS THE NAZI BROWN SHIRTS...IN 1991 ITS THE BLUE SHIRTS OF THE N.Y.P.D.
MALCOLM X WAS RIGHT: "I DON'T CALL IT VIOLENCE...SELF-DEFENSE IS INTELLIGENCE"
FROM SOUTH AFRIKA TO TIANAMEN SQUARE TO THE WEST BANK: TOMPKINS SQUARE EVERYWHERE!
KOPS GET OUT OF OUR NEIGHBORHOOD! FREE THE PARK!!

SHADOW INTERVIEW

Continued From Page 14

Who were the manufacturers? They were all either military factions connected with Pakistan intelligence, CIA allies, or Afghan resistance groups connected with the CIA and Pakistan intelligence. In May of 1990, ten years after this began, the Washington Post finally ran a front page story saying high U.S. officials admit that Gulbuddin Hekmatyar [leader of the Hezbi-i Islami guerilla group] and other leaders of the Afghan resistance are leading heroin manufacturers.

This had been known for years, reported in the Pakistan press, indeed in 1980 reported in McClean's magazine. In fact in 1980, a White House narcotics advisor, Dr. David Musto of Yale University, went on the record demanding that we not ally with Afghan guerilla groups that were involved in narcotics. His advice was ignored and he went public in an op-ed in the New York Times.

Another example: Let's take the cocaine epidemic. In 1981, as cocaine began surging north into the United States, the DEA assigned an agent named Tomas Zepeda, in June 1981, to open up an office in Honduras. By 1983, Zepeda was collecting very good intelligence indicating that the Honduran military were taking bribes to let the aircraft through their country to come to the United States.

Zepeda was pulled out of Honduras and that office was closed by the DEA. They didn't open another office in Honduras until 1987 because Honduras was a frontline country in the contra war. If Zepeda's reports about involvement of the Honduran military had been acted upon, the DEA would have been forced to take action against the Honduran military officers who were working with the CIA to protect the contras.

In short, there was a conflict between the drug war and the cold war. Faced with the choice, the United States government chose the cold war over the drug wars. Sacrificing a key intelligence post for the DEA in Honduras.

The same thing happened in Afghanistan. During the 1980's, from the time that heroin trade started, there were 17 DEA agents based in Pakistan. They neither made nor participated in any major seizures or arrests. At a time when other police forces, particularly Scandinavian forces, made some major seizures and brought down a very major syndicate connected with former president Zia ul-Haq of Pakistan.

PD: What is the role of banking in the heroin trade? What, if any, are the connections to the Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI) scandal?
AM: There have been three times in the past 15 years in which the CIA's money transfer activities have surfaced. The first came in the late 1970's when the Internal Revenue Service, the IRS, investigated a Nassau bank called the Castle Bank.

It's a very interesting bank. It was set up by a man named Paul Helliwell, a very senior CIA operative who had retired from the agency. He set up this bank and it grew into a Latin American network of banks. It was used by the CIA to launder money.

In essence, what appears to emerge from the investigation of the Castle Bank in the late 1970's was that the CIA did not want to move operational funds for covert operations through normal banking channels where they could be uncovered, either by the United States or abroad where they could come to the knowledge of opponents of the agency.

They preferred to work through allied banks. Banks that were secure, that were a little bit loose in their accounting procedures. When the Castle Bank was uncovered, the IRS announced a major investigation of the bank's money laundering activities. Suddenly, the IRS cancelled the investigation and the Wall Street Journal was told by informed sources in the IRS that the CIA had blocked the investigation.

As soon as Castle Bank collapsed, a small merchant bank based in Australia, operating offshore between Australia and southeast Asia, suddenly mushroomed into a global network of banks. Acquiring Latin American and European structures that had belonged to Castle Bank. This bank in Australia, called the Nugan-Hand Bank, began very quickly in the late 1970's to acquire a board of retired U.S. intelligence officials, either CIA or various military intelligence services. The most prominent example, the former director of Central Intelligence, William Colby, became the legal council of Nugan-Hand Bank.

The bank was founded by Frank Nugan, an insecure and incompetent Australian lawyer and by Michael John Hand, a man with a high school degree who had gone to Vietnam with the Green Berets. He had served in Laos in the 1960's as a contract CIA operative fighting with three of the people who became very prominent in the CIA's privatized operations, Thomas Clines, Theodore Shackley and Richard Secord, all very big names in the Iran-Contra scandal.

Michael John Hand was the one who worked with William Colby as legal counsel. One of their big operations was to buy a former U.S. naval base in the Turks and Caicos Islands in the Caribbean.

Australian police investigators who examined that contract, drawn up by William Colby for Michael John Hand, concluded that the plausible explanation they could discover for that contract was to establish a way-station for cocaine smuggling between Colombia and the United States.

We do know the bank was pioneering in the smuggling of heroin between Southeast Asia and Australia. In the late 1970's, Australia had very strict banking laws and anytime you got foreign exchange you had to account for it. The Nugan-Hand Bank helped Australian organized crime figures get their money overseas so they could buy heroin and ship the heroin back to Australia.

The Australian police investigators documented that Michael John Hand worked very closely with Australia's top criminal drug traffickers to finance the first shipments, the pioneering shipments, of heroin to Australia from Southeast Asia.

In 1980, that bank went belly-up and it collapsed, Frank Nugan committed suicide and then a really amazing event occurred. Thomas Clines, the former CIA chief of station from Laos, a man of great prominence in the Iran-Contra scandal, flew to Sydney, Australia, and he exfiltrated Michael John Hand. Michael John Hand disappeared in the United States and is never seen since.

Then we come to BCCI. Although we haven't gotten to the bottom of it by any means, we haven't even begun to ask the questions, much less get the answers. BCCI mushroomed in the 1980's and seemed to serve as a similar conduit as Castle Bank and Nugan-Hand Bank. The Manchester Guardian published an expose saying that the CIA paid its operations in the United Kingdom through BCCI and it's known that the CIA paid the Afghan guerrillas, who were based in Pakistan, through BCCI.

There's one rather large question that nobody is asking about BCCI. It's a Pakistani bank, it booms during the 1980's, in exactly the same period Pakistan

emerges as the world's largest heroin center. We know the Pakistan military officers involved in the drug trade had their accounts with BCCI. There's a three way relationship that really cries out, screams, demands, a congressional investigation.

The relationship between BCCI and the CIA operations in Afghanistan and Pakistan: how much money was the CIA moving through those accounts? Secondly, the relationship between the Pakistan military connected with that operation and BCCI. Thirdly, the relationship between the booming heroin trade of Pakistan and BCCI.

I think what we'll possibly discover is that the CIA was shipping its funds into Pakistan through BCCI, protecting BCCI thereby from serious investigations elsewhere in the world. That the Pakistan military were in fact banking their drug profits, moving their drug profits from the consuming country back to Pakistan through BCCI. In fact the boom in the Pakistan drug trade was financed by BCCI. The interrelationship between the Afghan resistance and the CIA and the Pakistan drug trade can all be seen through the medium of BCCI, the banker to both operations, the resistance and the drug trade.

PD: What are the alternatives to the drug war?

AM: In the 1980's, indeed over the last 20 years, society has been given two choices in the drug war. The escalating repression against the drug trade by Presidents Nixon, Reagan and Bush while the media gave airtime and space to only one sustained critique.

That critique put forth by the Drug Policy Foundation argues that the drug war wasn't working and therefore we should pursue a policy of legalization. Simply turn the whole policy of repression on its head, instead of trying to wipe out the drug trade, we legalize it.

Let me first of all review the drug war. Is it working? No it's not. The current drug war budget is \$11 billion, a very large amount of money. Of that \$11 billion, 86% is devoted to the suppression of cocaine trafficking between the United States and Colombia and cocaine trafficking in the U.S. as well.

However, while we're devoting 86% of our drug war budget to cocaine, use of cocaine has gone up by 15 percent. Every single indicator shows cocaine addiction is rising at the same time we are fighting this drug war.

The White House is claiming victory in the drug war, William Bennet, the drug czar who retired several months ago, claimed a victory, President Bush has alluded to a victory in the drug war, so has the current drug war czar Mr. Bob Martinez. What they claim as a victory is a victory over casual drug use. Well, let's face it: casual drug use doesn't count, if some kid tries drugs and doesn't like it, that's nice but that's not the problem.

The problem is repeated use, and every single indicator says repeated use is up. The drug war is not working. It's filling up our prisons. The prison population doubled under President Reagan and we now have over 400 prisoners per 100,000 population versus 35 per 100,000 in Holland. We have the largest prison population per capita in the world and it's going up. At the same time, our heroin use is going up and our cocaine use is going up.

The reason why is because our effort in the drug war has been concentrated in interdicting the supply of drugs in the United States and over the last 20 years we have fought this drug war on a bilateral basis. The United States in 1972 went into Turkey and said "wipe out your opium trade" and in the 1980's they went into Colombia and said "wipe out your cocaine processing industry". In the early 1980's, the U.S. went into Bolivia and said "wipe out coca cultivation in the western part of your country". This is bilateral interdiction, the U.S. as a sovereign power deals with another sovereign state and applies pressure on that sovereign state to get action on drugs.

There is a misperception about the nature of heroin and cocaine. These are not petty vices, these are complex global commodity trades involving vast areas of production and enormous consumption. It's a commodity comparable in every respect to coffee or tea.

When you bring down the baton of law enforcement on a complex global commodity trade something curious and something paradoxical, something almost magical happens. The genius of capitalism, it's magic, it's alchemy, transform the lead of repression into the gold of stimulus. Every time we apply repression upon narcotics production on this bilateral basis we stimulate production, ultimately we stimulate consumption because of the law of supply and demand.

In 1972, President Richard Nixon wiped out the Turkish opium crop with his first drug war, the grandmother of drug wars...and for a while it disrupted the French connection between Turkey which had supplied French labs in Marseille, which in turn supplied New York.

It looked like victory until you see what really happened. Turkey only grew 7% of the world's opium. Across the 5,000 mile band of mountains from Turkey in the west to Laos in the east, lay the rest of the world's opium production, the other 93 percent.

Turkey had a shortfall of production, that meant there was a shortfall in supply of illicit opium. So the price went up as would always happen; short supply and the price goes up. That meant farmers elsewhere in the opium zone, from Iran, Afghanistan, increased their production, as happens every single time. The repression creates a shortfall in supply which raises price and then stimulates production everywhere around the world. What then is the solution to the problem?

Somewhere between the poles of repression and legalization there is an alternative strategy which I call regulation. I don't think we should really fool ourselves to consider legalization. It's politically impractical, it's never going to happen.

If we legalize the drug we are not going to legalize it for kids, this is a country that just raised the drinking age for the socially acceptable drug, alcohol, from 18 to 21. You give me the name right now of one legislator who is going to stand up and say "I favor crack for kids, vote for my bill". Nobody will ever introduce such a bill. Even if by some miracle you got a legalization bill, it would exclude 21 year olds and it would mean that the big drug, crack cocaine, would have 89% of its clientele excluded from legalization.

I favor regulation because if cocaine and heroin are commodities, let's deal with them as such. You don't repress commodities, you regulate them. Accept the fact that there is no quick fix to this trade, it's been around for 200 years as a major global commodity, as an illegal commodity it's been around for 70 years, and it's likely to be around for another 70, maybe 200 years.

Recognizing that, you then cancel your bilateral interdiction efforts and transfer your funds to the multilateral effort being run by the United Nations. The multilateral effort by the United Nations actually does reduce production slowly, painfully over a period of decades.

Ultimately, we're going to have to seek an amelioration, not a solution, on the streets. We're going to have to address the complex of causes as to why people use drugs. That is where we have to concentrate our money.●

SHADOWS IN REVIEW

ALTERNATIVE FILM/VIDEO PRODUCERS TAKE ON HOMELESSNESS AND NUCLEAR POWER -- BUT IS AMERICA LISTENING?

By Bill Weinberg

President George Bush has proposed massive slashes in the United States nuclear weapons arsenal. The federal nuke plants which produce plutonium and other fuels for the Pentagon's bristling atomic system have almost all been shut down following revelations of corruption and mammoth radiation releases which had been hushed up for years. The Soviet threat has all but dematerialized. Meanwhile, U.S. inner cities are spiraling into a crisis of poverty, homelessness, drugs, AIDS, violence and despair. Is it time for the long-touted "peace dividend" at last? Will resources finally be redirected away from building gadgets of mass annihilation and towards addressing dire human needs in the devastated urban areas?

NOPE. The federal Energy Department has drawn up plans to centralize nuclear weapons fuel production at the Savannah River plant in South Carolina, which has a long record of hushed-up radiation releases. Meanwhile, the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) is dragging its heels on making buildings it is sitting on available to the low-income and homeless.

Two new film/video documentaries recently debuted in downtown Manhattan, aggressively taking on the issues of, respectively, nuclear weapons production and urban homelessness at this critical moment in history. But despite an enthusiastic response from the downtown activist community, it remains to be seen if either of these works will garner the big audience that comes with national broadcast.

"BUILDING BOMBS"

Building Bombs, which recently opened at the Angelika Film Center on Houston Street, provides a chilling look at how the Savannah River Plant (SRP), one of the federal government's oldest nuclear plants, has changed the rural South Carolina environs where it opened in 1951. In 1951, early in the atomic age, scientists had little appreciation for how dangerous radiation really is. The five reactors at the plant -- which exist only to produce weapons fuel, not to generate electricity -- actually have no containment domes. Many other safety features at the plant are archaic and inadequate by today's standards. 230,000 cubic yards of radioactive and chemical waste have accumulated on the site over the years, and wastes have contaminated local ponds and aquifers. One of the most surreal scenes in the film shows Savannah River Plant personnel with Geiger counters tracking down radioactive turtles which had escaped from sealed-off contaminated ponds. In parts of the plant where human beings are rarely allowed, the concrete floor has turned gelatinous from 40 years of radiation bombardment.

When the federal government slated the site for the sprawling nuke complex after the World War II Manhattan Project, the entire town of Ellenton was picked up and moved. Land was seized by eminent domain *en masse*. One poor African American family which refused to sell out to the feds was forced off their land at gunpoint by federal marshalls and locked in a psychiatric hospital. The DuPont Corporation was brought in to build and run the plant. Virtually instantaneously, the local economy was transformed from cotton and peanut farms into a one-company, nuclear-industrial monolith.

Mark Mori, co-producer of **Building Bombs** with Susan Robinson, hails from Atlanta, just 125 miles from the SRP. He says that few local residents really understood what was going on at the SRP until the Energy Department scandal blew in 1989. "People thought it was some kind of power plant. Nobody knew they were making nuclear bombs." Mori says he himself only became aware of what was really happening at SRP when he met anti-nuclear activists organizing protests against the plant in the mid-1980's. Taking video footage of the SRP protests eventually developed into the **Building Bombs** project.

Eventually the protesters forged links with former longtime SRP employees who had become disillusioned with their work, and their stories make some of **Building Bombs'** most powerful footage. Says Evelyn Couch, a resident of Aiken, the town closest to the plant, "My mother told me when it was being built that it was a damnation on Earth. I didn't know what she meant, but I do now." Her husband George Couch worked for SRP for 22 years. By the mid-1970's he was experiencing blackouts, fatigue, swollen glands and chronic headaches. After taking some time off to get his strength back, he was fired for poor job performance. He has filed suit against DuPont for compensation, but his efforts to press SRP for a health study point to the inherent problems of trying to organize in a one-company town. When George and Evelyn circulated a petition demanding the study, few were willing to sign -- they were afraid of losing their jobs. Evelyn died shortly after the film was completed.

While some of the few former SRP employees who have been willing to speak out against the plant are primarily concerned with the health impact of working and living in a radioactive environment, others started to become inescapably aware of the moral implications of nuclear stockpiling. One longtime SRP employee, Arthur Dexter, spent years working his way up the corporate hierarchy as a physicist until he was granted

access to a highly restricted vault where containers of weapons fuel are stored. The vault contained 60,000 containers, each destined for use in a nuclear warhead. Dexter says that after that he had to wonder what the United States needs with 60,000 nuclear warheads. He quit the plant and started working with the anti-nuclear activists who were coming into the area to protest.

Building Bombs was produced with grants from the city of Atlanta and the rock group REM, among others. After it was completed two years ago, the Public Broadcasting System (PBS) requested a copy of it, and Mori thought that the odds for national broadcast looked good. When PBS stalled on making a decision to broadcast the documentary, the producers not only offered to let the network have it for free, but even to raise funds to pay for its broadcast. But PBS ultimately rejected it. A letter to Mori last September explained, "Basically, we feel that **Building Bombs** does not give adequate voice to those who are proponents of nuclear arms." The letter suggested that Mori resubmit the documentary to the PBS Point Of View show (POV), which has an eye for the controversial.

Building Bombs co-producer Susan Robinson counters that "We do present the other side. We can't help if it the other side sounds ludicrous." Mori and Robinson did resubmit **Building Bombs** to the POV program -- which also rejected it.

Mori believes that part of the problem may be that PBS programming underwriters include some of the same corporations which are pillars of the nuclear industry -- and even those who run the federal Energy Department weapons fuel plants. PBS corporate backers include General Electric, which formerly ran the federal nuke plant at Hanford, WA; Rockwell International, which ran the federal Rocky Flats plant in Colorado until it was shut following a surprise raid by the FBI two years ago; and DuPont, which ran SRP until the contract was switched to Westinghouse in the shakeup following the scandal.

Mori maintains an extensive file of instances in which, in his view, anti-nuclear viewpoints have been censored by corporate pressure. In 1985, PBS rejected **Dark Circle**, a documentary on the Rocky Flats plant. Five years later, it was broadcast by POV and won an Emmy. A **Dark Circle** director became a **Building Bombs** consultant. **Losing Control**, on the possibility of a Middle East crisis escalating to nuclear war, was rejected by PBS in 1989.

Moving from public television to the privately owned media, the situation goes from bad to worse. Last year, NBC's Today Show featured as a guest Tom Putnam of **National Boycott News**, a publication which keeps track of (and generally supports) boycotts from coast to coast. The Today Show hosts asked Putnam not to mention on the air one of the nation's most prominent boycotts: that of nuclear weapons contractor General Electric -- which also happens to own NBC.

The **Washington Post** recently reported that Santa Fe **New Mexican** managing editor David Mitchell was fired by publisher Robert McKinney after assigning and editing a series on corruption and environmental irresponsibility at Los Alamos, the Energy Department's nuclear weapons research lab in the New Mexico desert. After Mitchell was fired, McKinney barred the paper's staff from submitting the series for any awards. The **Post** reported that McKinney also killed a story on lack of affordable housing in Santa Fe.

Speaking of lack of affordable housing ...

"TAKEOVER"

Takeover, which recently debuted at the Film Forum, opens with slow-motion black-and-white footage of prisoners at Potter's Field burying the corpses of homeless people found on New York's streets. "UNKNOWN BLACK MALE," a worker writes in chalk on the side of one coffin. The flipside of the dizzying Pentagon budgets for nuclear "defense" is the wealth which has been sucked out of urban communities in this country. Whole neighborhoods have been destroyed by the synergistic crises of arson, violence, drugs and disease.

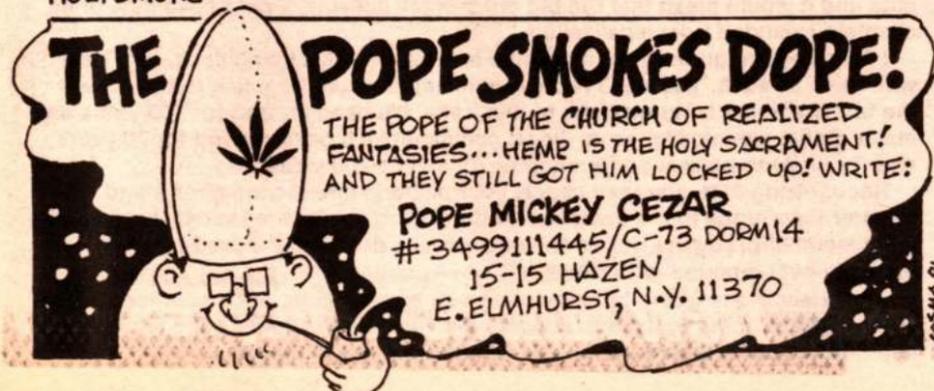
Takeover director Pam Yates had previously worked on documentaries about Central America -- as producer of **When Mountains Tremble** on Guatemala and director of **Witness To War** on El Salvador. "I had been in Central America and didn't feel much was really going on in the U.S.A. until I attended the Up & Out Poverty Conference in Philadelphia in July of '89. It was organized by the National Union of the Homeless, which had been started by the homeless people themselves rather than advocates telling them what to do or organizing them."

Yates' video of the conference, **Street Heat**, was used by the National Union of the Homeless in their efforts to rebuild the shattered sense of community from the streets and the shelters. "**Street Heat** was used to show people that they weren't facing these problems alone," says Yates. The National Union's organizing efforts ultimately resulted in 300 homeless folks marching from New York to Washington to personally confront Housing & Urban Development (HUD) chief Jack Kemp in October 1989. Kemp did meet with National Union spokespeople Leona Smith and Casanova, telling them he was committed to giving 10 percent of HUD housing to the homeless. After several months had passed and Kemp had still not made good on his word, the National Union organized a coordinated nationwide action. On May 1, 1990, National Union activists took over HUD-owned buildings in seven cities across the country -- Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, Minneapolis, Tucson, Oakland and Los Angeles. This action is the subject of **Takeover**.

National Union of the Homeless spokesperson Casanova is familiar to many Lower East Side activists as a former Tompkins Square Park tent-dweller. **Takeover** includes much footage of the now-closed Tompkins Square, including bands rocking in the park's now-demolished bandshell. It also includes footage of the police raid on the Tompkins Square Tent City in December 1989, in which the park dwellers were evicted on a frosty morning. Yates says that this event helped push the National Union of the Homeless toward action. "The clean-out of Tompkins Square Park exacerbated the situation. Everybody knew about it, and they knew that they were being dealt with very ruthlessly and that they couldn't expect very much from either local or federal government." A building was also seized on the Lower East Side in the action -- the only one which was not a HUD-owned building. **Takeover** includes excellent footage of the police storming the bandshell in the famous May Day Tompkins Square riot for which several local activists are now facing felony trials. The movie portrays the riot as a diversion to draw police attention away from the abandoned tenement which the homeless activists were taking over on 3rd Street at that moment. Lower East Side activists will find quotes

See FILM REVIEW On Page 19

HOLY SMOKE



FILM REVIEW

Continued From Page 18

from many of their friends in Takeover, including local poet Will Sales, and the late squatter Willie Butler who died of AIDS last year.

Most of the homes taken over in Takeover had wound up in the hands of HUD through foreclosures -- the owners had taken loans from HUD and couldn't pay them back, so they were kicked out. The film shows that there is more to taking over a building than taking a sledgehammer to the lock and barricading the door against police when they come to evict. The activists case each target before moving in, taking stock of the home's condition and how much needs to be rebuilt or repaired -- water, heat, electricity, structural problems. [[Because the aim is not merely to register symbolic protest through an act of civil disobedience. The aim is to get a home. The aim is to survive.]]

In contrast to the more clandestine tactics of many Lower East Side squatters, the Takeover activists broke into the HUD buildings publicly, notifying the local press beforehand. The idea was to fight politically for the right to keep the houses.

The activists met with varying degrees of success. One of the clear victories was Philadelphia, where the takeover garnered so much sympathy that Mayor Wilson Goode realized it was unwise to send in city police to make the eviction, and said that if HUD wanted the squatters cleared out they would have to send in federal marshals. The local neighbors were divided over the presence of the squatters, so negotiations ensued. After they had stayed in the house four months, the squatters accepted a deal from the city in which they would receive three Section Eight homes in exchange for leaving the one they were occupying.

In Minneapolis, the squatters kept their house, and even got a multi-million grant from the city government to renovate more city-owned houses as homes for the homeless. The Oakland activists got a similar joint city-state grant to renovate housing for the homeless. "They kept getting arrested," says Yates. "They'd get thrown in jail, they'd get out and take more houses, get arrested. The Oakland Police Department were really brutal. But the pressure mounted. So finally the city gave them the deal."

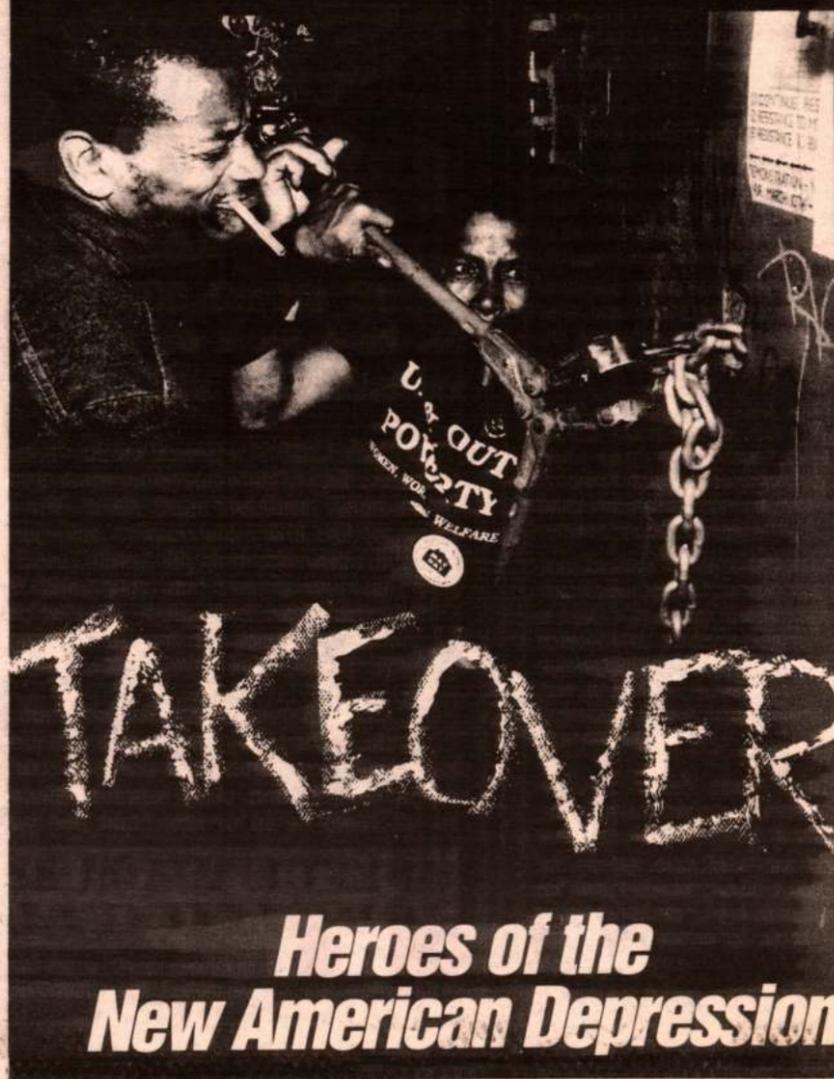
Yates hopes that Takeover will be the first in a series called Heroes of the New American Depression. She plans her next work, tentatively entitled Some Kind Of War, to be a series of interviews with Maridel LeSueur, the 90-year old author of Women of the Breadlines, a study of women organizing for self-help in the 1930s. The interviews will be interspersed with portraits of women leaders in what Yates calls the contemporary "survival moment."

Are we really in the "New American Depression"? It is pretty obvious to Yates: "I see more and more people on the street, more and more people poor, more and more of my middle class friends becoming more and more desperate. We're seeing things that we haven't seen since the '30's, like tent cities, people permanently unemployed, living years of their lives on the street."

Yates says she made Takeover so that "people who are in a desperate situation can see that there are other people who are fighting for their survival. The stories [of the May 1990] actions were all locally covered, but there wasn't any national media showing that it was a nationwide coordinated action."

The producers sell Takeover to homeless activists for the cost of reproduction. Casanova is currently working with a chapter of the National Union of the Homeless which he organized with help of a copy of Takeover in Kansas City. With such sexy financial backers as Bruce Springsteen, Takeover would seem ready to take on a national audience. But PBS has already rejected Takeover as "not broadcast quality." Yates says she is submitting the tape to POV and hopes for the best.

They came off the streets and out of the shelters...



"A NEW PERSPECTIVE ON NEIGHBORHOOD HOMELESSNESS"

(Report from the SHADOW's man in the Shelter System)

Lately, there has been what could be best described as a feeling of despair and "the dark night of the soul" concerning homelessness issues. Morale and energy are at an extremely low ebb and few, if any, fresh new innovative ideas are being aired. At the Municipal level, "Shelter Mania" carries the day with some sixty new shelters planned for construction yet, in apparent disregard for the existence of literally hundreds of empty City-owned buildings. Could not these be converted to habitable transitional housing and at much less cost?

The current malaise appears to be due to a number of factors, one of which being that, since its inception (now almost ten years ago), the homeless advocacy set-up became dominated by a new group of professional "experts" or "poverticians," careerists primarily interested in drawing their paychecks and playing their power games. They became something like a mirror-image, in miniature, of a government agency, with a bureaucratic mind-set, disdainful input from "clients" and refusing to see any alternative to the shelter/soup kitchen. Needless to say, by becoming isolated from the group they purported to serve, when the recent crisis developed they had neither the leadership nor solutions to offer!

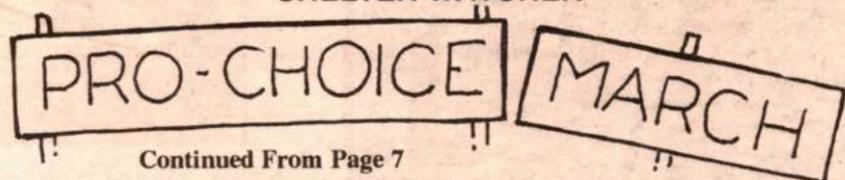
Although (and even among sincere supporters) there may be serious doubts as to the efficacy of homelessness being viable as a free-standing single issue, the fact remains that during the course of its history it has been largely ineffective primarily due to confusion about its role. The mistake of the grassroots, on the other hand, was in forfeiting the issue to mediation by stale bureaucratic norms!

That the homelessness issue is something closely associated with a host of other problems is an observation which most aware people will concede. It should be an integral and key part of a broad-based coalition dedicated to "community improvement," concerned residents working in and for their own communities. This would at least ensure that new ideas on the situation would be given a full and free airing, and some local solutions proposed. Community involvement in the issue could very well be an idea whose time has come and, anyway, isn't it worth a try?

With winter just around the corner, we should be giving some thought to new ideas to help some of our most hard-pressed neighbors, the community homeless. To those dedicated activists who, for one reason or another, are feeling low in spirit now, suffice it to say, banal though it appears to sound, that "it's always darkest before the dawn!"

Let's go to work on this starting yesterday!

SHELTER WATCHER



Continued From Page 7

choicers into the block between Fifth and Sixth Avenues with police barricades.

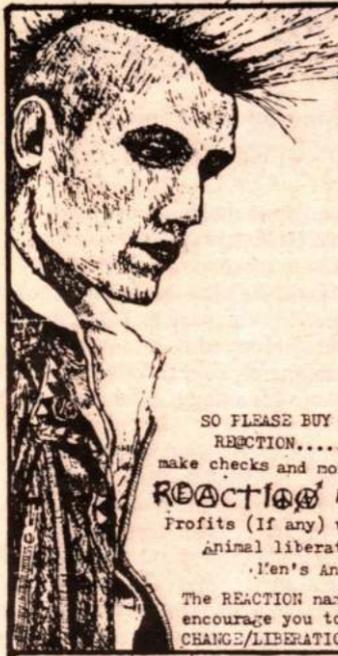
A stand-off occurred between the two groups, with a line of cops attempting to keep them apart. Tension was high on all sides, and there was a feeling that "anything might happen." Chanting and shouting reached a feverish pitch, with both sides losing composure. Shouts of "Dead Babies" and "Murderers" were countered with "Dead Women," "Shame!" and "How Many Babies Have You Adopted?" Fists were shaken, and the finger was given on both sides. A few blows were exchanged, but neither side seemed ready to start violence. Some people tried to keep a more upbeat pace, with one man rallying the crowd with his singsong chant to the anti-choicers: "Your Signs are Boring, So very Boring." Other people sat down in the middle of the street, while others danced to the drums and whistles. Although police reported no arrests, several pro-choice protesters were forcibly dragged away to chants of "Let Her Go, Let Her Go."

At this point, the police put into practice difusement tactics they have used during past political marches such as the anti-war demonstrations this past winter, the Queer Nation's "Take Back the Night" marches and demonstrations staged by Lower East Side activists. The demonstration was subdivided by officers and by barricades, and lost momentum at this point as anyone who left the "pen" was not allowed to return. Activists known to the Police were pointed out by "white shirts" and were moved out of the thick of the demonstration. Activists and card-carrying members of the press were sometimes pushed and shoved by the cops.

The Life Chain seemed to mysteriously melt away at this point. Suddenly, they were all gone, with just a few signs blowing in the wind. Some pro-choice protesters said that the "church people" turned tail and ran in the face of such heavy opposition, but a spokesperson for the Life Chain said that they had accomplished their goal of prayer and vigil and that "it was time to leave." Audery Nagron said that "Life Chain was just supposed to be a compassionate statement that 'Abortion kills children', and not a numbers game. We're not out to change laws, but we want to draw a moral sense that abortion is not birth control."

Sue Davis of WHAM! feels that the march was a success for pro-choice. "We definitely made our point with numbers, and also in terms of visibility. It is powerful to be out there with signs and noise. It was also a psychological victory for us that the Pro-choice move needed, coming on the heels of Wichita, which was perceived by many as an anti-abortion victory."





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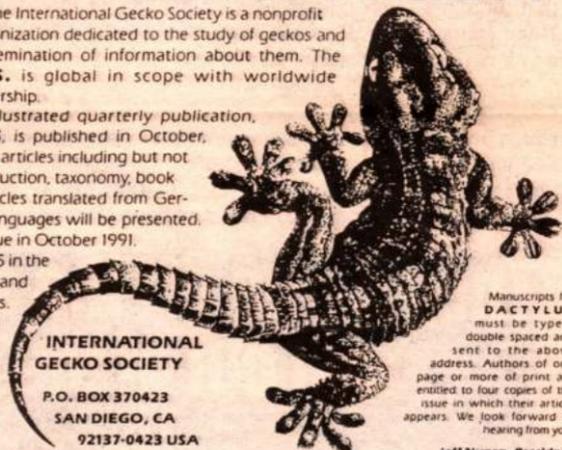
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