

the SHADOW

COPS CREATE CULT IN RAKOWITZ MURDER CASE--(Page 4)

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ISSUE #22

INFORMATION IS STRENGTH • KNOWLEDGE IS POWER

PAGAN GUTS FREE SPEECH!

"GANG OF FIVE" GANGS UP ON TOMPKINS SQUARE!! (Page 2)



FLASH FOTO

STATE SEN. MARTIN CONNOR, ASSEMBLYMAN SHELDON SILVER, CITY COUNCILMAN ANTONIO PAGAN, CITY COUNCIL PRES. ANDREW STEIN, ASSEMBLYMAN STEVEN SANDERS

SHADOW EDITORIAL

"I WANT TO BE PRESIDENT"--(City Councilman and gentrifier Antonio Pagan at City Hall press conference, February 28, 1992)

PAGAN AND PALS GUT FREE SPEECH!!



At a City Hall press conference on February 28, 1992, City Council person Antonio Pagan, accompanied by State Senator Martin Connor, and State Assemblymen Sheldon Silver and Steven Sanders and City Council president Andrew Stein, declared their plan for a one year moratorium on all permits issued for concerts and events taking place in Tompkins Square Park when it re-opens later this summer.

Addressing the mainstream press and also members of WBAI radio and the SHADOW, each elected official made a brief statement regarding the park.

Pagan began, saying they are "requesting a one year moratorium on concerts and activities in Tompkins Square Park" due to "riots stemming from permits issued to dubious organizations". He failed to mention that the riots have stemmed from police actions in and around the park over the past three years.

Stein said he was writing Parks Commissioner Betsy Gotbaum and Mayor David Dinkins "so people of the community can enjoy the park--I support my colleagues on the Lower East Side." Stein failed to elaborate on how concerts stopped people from enjoying the park.

Silver said that he believed "people on the Lower East Side should have access to the park", but failed to explain how they could have access since most of the park has been closed for almost a year, or how events and concerts could prevent people from having access to the park once the park is re-opened.

Connor parroted the others, saying that the park should be "a place that children and seniors can go into. Let the grass grow, let wounds heal, let the park be restored physically and historically." He too failed to explain how the children and elderly had not been able to use the park before it was closed or why the park was torn apart in the first place after major renovations had been completed only months before the closing.

Sanders said they want to return the "liberties to use the park and have the quiet enjoyment taken away from the community for the past three summers..." Like the others, he failed to explain that it was politicians like himself and Pagan who have tried to take the park away from the community since 1988.

When questioned by the press about First Amendment rights being violated, Pagan said that the First Amendment does not guarantee the right to use a city park for events and concerts. The politicians finished by saying they would send their moratorium request to Gotbaum and Dinkins and that after their one year moratorium, they "will see if the moratorium should be extended."

(Newsday reported the next day that Gotbaum was "concerned about anything that would infringe on First Amendment rights.")

OUTSIDE AGITATORS WITH HIDDEN AGENDAS

Who are these politicians, trying to convince the public that the most pressing issue in New York City is Tompkins Square Park and what may happen there when the park is re-opened later this summer?

Antonio Pagan, well known "developers' tool", gentrifier and real estate developer, who is against the homeless and HIV-positive people, was elected last year by a narrow margin of just under 100 votes, mostly due to recent re-districting which linked traditionally low-income neighborhoods with upper income neighborhoods up to 30 blocks away. Elected to Community Board Three by Dinkins, he has a long history of working for and with landlords and real estate developers in trying to gentrify the area around the park. His phony housing groups "Lower East Side Coalition Housing Development" and "Casa Victoria" receive federal and state housing funds to rehabilitate city-owned abandoned buildings which are given to his groups. Recently, the federal government began withholding funds when \$60,000 was discovered "missing". (When questioned by Newsday about the missing money, Pagan accused them of conducting a "witch-hunt") Not surprisingly, Pagan has been active in trying to evict homesteaders of city-owned buildings who do not receive government funding, as well homeless persons, since they all stand in the way of gentrification.

Andrew Stein (nee Finkelstein) is the son of Jerry Finkelstein, an independently wealthy political power broker who has been making and breaking politicians for many years. It was his father's influence that made possible a recent Stein fundraiser at the Waldorf Astoria hotel attended by hundreds of wealthy sponsors, real estate developers, corporate heads and celebrities. Stein raised a record \$10 million dollars for his upcoming mayoral campaign, circumventing public funding law guidelines in the process.

Sheldon Silver's district, which is south of East Third Street, does not include Tompkins Square Park or the neighborhood around it. The large city park that is in his district is Sara Delano Roosevelt Park on Houston Street, between Chrystie and Forsyth Streets, only three blocks from one of Pagan's apartments at 7 East 3rd Street. That park has long been in disrepair and is the site of garbage dumping and heroin dealing, yet Silver has never given this park the same attention he has given Tompkins Square Park, which is not even in his jurisdiction!!

Martin Connor is listed as a Brooklyn legislator, because most of his gerry-mandered district is in the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn, with a small chunk that includes the Lower East Side. (What does the Lower East Side have to do with Williamsburg?)

Sanders, whose office is at 201 East 16th Street, but who spends most of his time in Albany, has long been Pagan's mouthpiece and puppet, using his office to give Pagan's Tompkins Square Park fixation credibility. He has long sought to impose a curfew in the park. Failing that, he joined Mayor Dinkins in the June 3, 1991 blitzkrieg and closing of the park, in violation of the city charter, and with blatant disregard for the opposition of the community and local elected officials.

Pagan, Stein and Silver have long enjoyed the support of Lower East Side gangster Roberto Napoleon, the subject of a 1985 Village Voice article written by William Bastone which said: "Napoleon has been happy to work with (former mayor) Ed Koch and the most virulent anti-minority forces...to stunt Latin political growth and preserve white rule." According to the article, when he was Manhattan Borough President, Stein appointed a Napoleon sidekick to a \$20,000 year post as a "housing specialist" and another Napoleon ally to Community Board One. (Stein also appointed infamous right-wing landlord Krystyna PiorKOWska to Community Board Three.) The article says that Napoleon formed his own political club that received \$1,450 from Silver's campaign committee and \$1,300 from Connor's committee.

PIGS LOSE BIG IN MAYDAY TRIAL

(Editorial analysis by A. Kronstadt)

The verdict handed down on February 5 in the Mayday felony trial was a direct slap in the face of the police state which the City is attempting to impose on the Lower East Side. Every activist, every squatter, should breathe easier knowing that it is possible to stand up to creeping fascism and be exonerated by a New York jury. After seven million dollars to close Tompkins Square Park and one million dollars to railroad the Mayday defendants, the bastards still haven't beaten us!

The verdict was not an unqualified victory. It is true that Lori Rizzo and John the Communist, the two defendants who chose to argue their cases on a political basis, were acquitted of both the felony riot charges and the misdemeanors (in Lori's case, incitement to riot and in John's case, weapons possession). Kenny Tolia was acquitted of the felony riot charge in spite of a massive frameup involving no less than thirteen lying cops. He was, however, convicted of the misdemeanor incitement charge. Anthony, who distanced himself from the other defendants and wore a tie in court, was convicted of both felony riot and weapons possession. The jury failed to reach a verdict on Tom, a long-time Lower East Side resident who had nothing to do with radical politics but who wandered into the mess and said something critical to a cop. He still faces charges of riot, assault on an officer, and weapons possession and may be retried. There were, therefore, three acquittals and one conviction on the felonies, one misdemeanor conviction, and a hung jury. The Mayday 5 trial itself, however, was only the tip of the iceberg.

Twenty-nine people were arrested on the night of May 1-2, 1990. Eleven of these people were indicted on felony charges. Of these eleven, four accepted misdemeanor pleas and sentences of community service (120 hours working at an AIDS hospice). One pleaded guilty to felony assault and was sentenced to 500 hours of community service and five years probation. One more defendant jumped bail and disappeared. The 18 defendants who were not indicted were charged with a variety of misdemeanors and violations. Most of them pleaded out or took conditional discharges involving a few days of community service. Three of them hung in to the end, finally pleading to disorderly conduct and receiving unconditional discharges (no penalty at all) on February 24, 1992.

There are all sorts of reasons why people charged with crimes cop pleas, even when they are innocent or when they believe that what they did was right. The felony defendants who pleaded out were faced with a choice between a trial which would last for at least 8 weeks (it actually lasted 14 weeks), and essentially 3 weeks of community service if they accepted the plea. People may know that they are innocent, but have to get on with their lives. The state does not always extract its price through the sentence. The government also attacks people by putting them through the ordeal of trial. It extracts confessions by threatening people with a hell of unproductive uncertainty. Those who wish to prove their innocence must be willing to go through this ordeal.

Costly though the victory was, the Lower East Side political activists who went to trial were vindicated. They won because people in Manhattan are not stupid. The jury in the Mayday trial was composed of sophisticated New York residents who were not fooled by TV propaganda or frightened by buzzwords. Several of the jurors said upon leaving the jury room that they were well aware of the 1988 Tompkins Square police rampage and its implications in the Mayday case. One juror said in reference to the District Attorney "where does he think we grew up?"

The upcoming Memorial Day 1991 trial will be trickier to defend than this one. It will, however be decided on the same issues. There is a great deal of distrust of the police and government in New York City and in Amerika as a whole. It was this distrust of the State which saved the Mayday defendants, along with the respect which people in general have for those who stand up to illegitimate authority. We as activists must continue to earn this respect.

KENNY! FREE KENNY! FREE

FREE KENNY! FREE

Long time squatter and anarchist Kenny Tolia was convicted of incitement to riot on the testimony of thirteen lying cops who accused him of yelling "Resist" on the microphone as police were mounting the stage at the Resist to Exist/Squatter Mayday concert. The hundreds of spectators who were at the concert that night know that this is nonsense. Kenny was badly beaten by police on the stage that night and filed a million dollar lawsuit against Inspector Michael Julian and the NYPD. Julian singled Kenny out for particular attention, knowing that Kenny would have to be convicted of something or Julian's ass and bank account would be on the line. Hence the chorus of pigs--none of whom remembered any other word which was said on the stage that night, but all of whom remembered Kenny yelling "Resist". He faces up to a year in jail on this frame up.

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EDITORIAL



Continued From Previous Page

GENTRIFIERS' LONG TERM PLANS

This press conference is the latest installment in the long term plan by real estate developers, landowners and their well paid-for politicians who are seeking to gentrify the area around the park. Already, after illegally closing the park, they have destroyed the community bandshell, which was erected in 1967 to ease the racial tensions in the neighborhood and provide an outlet for cultural expression. As with other measures and laws made and passed by people with no basis in our neighborhood, the gathered politicians could not cite any neighborhood groups or constituency that requested this one year moratorium on park permits.

By denying the use of the park by the creative community even without the bandshell, the politicians working for the wealthy are trying to make the park available for only the small upper-income members of the neighborhood. Another of their future goals may include privatizing Tompkins Square Park, where only certain people would get keys to the park, as with Gramercy Park.

Already, many changes are taking place inside the park. Despite the false assurances of the mayor's office, some walkways have been moved, many trees have been cut down, and the familiar four foot high cast iron fencing surrounding the park is being removed. When the park re-opens later this year, there will be no community space for gatherings and shows, and the park will be surrounded by a new ten foot high iron fence to help impose the new 9:00PM curfew in the park.

All of this is being shoved down the throat of the neighborhood which has gone on record as opposing any curfew in the park, opposing any closing of the park, and opposing any changes to the park, especially the demolition of the community bandshell. Since 1988, the community, through street demonstrations, direct actions and confrontations with the pigs, have made it clear that they will not tolerate a curfew of their park.

PAGAN: THE SINGLE-ISSUE CANDIDATE

Like Congressman Richard M. Nixon in 1947, Antonio Pagan is an aspiring politician who has no political platform. By red-baiting his political opponents, Nixon was able to get elected to Congress on an anti-Communist platform, fanning the flames of the red scare. Pagan too, with no platform and no desire or ability to deal with real issues, has seized upon the political situation around the Tompkins Square area as his launching pad to higher political office. His backers, from Mayor Dinkins to various real estate interests, have helped him in his climb up the political ladder.

If the park was to re-open with no curfew and no conflicts between the police and residents of the neighborhood, Pagan and his people would have nothing to use to distract people from real issues like homelessness, rising rents, and police brutality.

To facilitate the spread of gentrification, Pagan and his backers want the area to be "cleansed" of the poor, homeless and politically active in order for real estate values and rents to rise. Until then, it is in the interest of Pagan, Stein, Silver, Connor and Sanders to serve their masters well and keep the Tompkins Square battle alive and milk it for all it is worth. Pagan and his pals are already trying to anger the people around the park before it is even re-opened. Pagan and his people would like nothing more than to agitate, then use the police to instigate some more riots around the park, as they did in 1988 and 1991, in order to use Tompkins Square Park to get re-elected when his term ends in 1993. (It is also no surprise that Pagan adamantly opposes the newly proposed Civilian Complaint Review Board to deal with pig brutality!!)

As we said in our last editorial ("Antonio Pagan 'Installed' In City Council"--SHADOW #21), Pagan can be removed from office in only two short years, but he will get major money pumped into his campaign from the gentrifiers and other criminals he is fronting for. It is up to all of us to organize against Pagan and the slimey politicians at the city hall press conference, as well as every other anti-tenant, anti-homeless and pro-real estate developer politician in any and every way possible!! (Use your imagination!!)

Instead of a one year moratorium on park permits, why not try a one year moratorium on cops in the park and neighborhood instead? This would prevent more cop-induced riots in and around the park and bring real peace to our neighborhood!!

(For more on Pagan and his handlers and on the closing of the park, see SHADOW #17, #18, #19, #20, #21)



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GRADY ALEXIS' MURDERERS GO FREE

By Nashua

The case of murdered artist Grady Alexis took a new turn on February 21st when New York State Supreme Court Justice Stephen Crane dismissed indictments against New York City Police Officer Richard Frazier and a companion who were charged in the May 14th, 1991 murder. The misdemeanor assault charges against Officer Frazier and Terry Presley were rejected on the grounds that 700 pages of Grand Jury minutes "failed to coherently explain" events on 8th Street and 5th Avenue where the killing occurred. A close friend of Alexis, Lori Lystina, said Crane ruled that Assistant District Attorney Jay Stein "totally mismanaged" the investigation and as a result Stein "could produce no useable evidence."

Frazier, who was off-duty, is a Golden Gloves Boxer and was scheduled to fly to the USSR the next day and represent the NYPD in an international boxing match. According to witnesses, Frazier was driving a red Jeep with license plate "BOXER 5" that cut-off Alexis and a companion, Julian Dodd, as they were crossing the street. One of the two men allegedly hit the vehicle with the back of a jacket prompting Frazier to jump out.

Terry Presley, a companion of Frazier in another car, also jumped out and a shouting match between the four men ensued. According to friends of Alexis, Officer Frazier struck Dodd while Presley struck Alexis, who later died of his injuries.

According to Lystina, the District Attorney has 45 days to reopen the case and new indictments could be handed down.

COMMUNITY BOARD THREE WATCH:

By Stuart Frankel

TSP BANDSHELL RESOLUTION

At its January meeting, Community Board 3 (CB3, the unelected body that is supposed to represent us to the city government, which usually ignores it anyway) passed two resolutions on Tompkins Square Park.

Overwhelmingly (only 1 person opposed; 3 abstained), the board resolved "that a response be given by the New York City Department of Parks and Recreation that addresses the legality of the issuance of a contract for work 'demolition' of the Tompkins Square Park bandshell that by-passes the competitive bidding process." The board had sent a letter to the Parks Department and the Corporation Counsel (the lawyers for the city) last fall asking whether the contract was legal. The city ignored the board then and they will probably ignore the board now.

CB3 also resolved overwhelmingly (5 opposed; 4 abstentions) that the Parks Department should reconstruct a permanent bandshell "that will be available to all members of the community." Many board members pointed out that the city's proposed mobile sound stage that will take the place of the demolished bandshell would freeze out groups who couldn't afford a hefty rental fee, or who the city found politically inconvenient, and that impromptu performances would be impossible. They said that it looked like the city is trying to deny First Amendment protections of free speech to the people in our community.

PAGAN DEBUT CLOSING AFTER FIRST ACT

The highlight of the January meeting was the first (and so far last) appearance of newly elected city councilperson Antonio Pagan, the "Developers' Special." He had brought his own cheering section, but was greeted with lukewarm applause, and his efforts to rouse the audience fell flat. So he resorted to mocking an eccentric elderly lady who is a familiar figure at CB3 meetings. "That's my girlfriend," he said when she got a little rowdy. "She dropped me a year ago, but she still gets mad at me."

People calling Pagan's council office speaking Spanish had been told to write a letter and the office would translate it, so CB3 member Donna Ellaby asked Pagan if he had a staff person who spoke Spanish. He lied and said he had, but he wouldn't tell this staffer's name. Pagan said that the staffer would be at the February CB3 meeting.

Pagan never appointed a full-time Spanish-speaking staffer. He appointed a part-time intern who is a college student. The student has classes on Tuesday nights, which is when the community board meets. So the staffer didn't make it to the February meeting. Neither did Pagan. This was the first CB3 meeting in years that the city council representative of the district had missed. Maybe he knew he had made an ass of himself at the January meeting, so he sent his community representative Renee Williams, who gave a stunning display of incompetence. She read her little prepared statement, then tried to cut off board members who were asking questions, then decided she should take the questions, then tried to cut off each board member.

Williams didn't know the answers to anything she was asked. Some of these questions were REAL HARD, like "What is the councilmember's position on a Civilian Complaint Review Board for the police?" (Pagan had run on a platform of being against civilian oversight of the police, which is why the cop's unions endorsed him.) Board members kept requesting that she return to the next meeting with answers, and she kept saying yes. This went on for 15 minutes, and she wasn't taking any notes! She did say that she was "dizzy." The SHADOW pays more attention to the Community Board than City Council "person" Pagan does!!

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**IF YOU DON'T SEE THE SHADOW, ASK FOR IT!!

COPS CREATE CULT IN RAKOWITZ MURDER CASE!!

By Nashua

Who murdered Swiss dancer Monika Beerle? Once again the mainstream media would have you believe the bloody murder and dismemberment of Beerle was the work of a self-styled devil worshipping cult operating on the Lower East Side.

The gruesome murder, estimated to have occurred in August of 1989 in an apartment building at 700 East 9th Street, owned by infamous slumlord/speculator Emil Braun, was not investigated by police until many weeks after Monika's neighbors came forward with their concern over her disappearance. Her roommate Daniel Rakowitz was finally arrested and charged with the murder in a media circus aimed at tarnishing the alternative cultural scene on the Lower East Side. However, the media failed to report that police hadn't acted on numerous tips pointing at 29-year-old drifter Daniel Rakowitz weeks earlier.

In an exclusive interview with the **SHADOW**, former 9th precinct Commander (recently promoted to Inspector) Michael Julian responded to charges of police incompetence. He said that repeated police searches of the apartment before Rakowitz's arrest found no evidence of foul play.

Julian claimed that even after repeated searches of the apartment and three interrogation sessions by detectives of Rakowitz before his arrest, no evidence of Beerle's remains could be found. Rakowitz was free for at least a week after the third interrogation before police decided to pick him up without having found the body. Julian said that Rakowitz repeatedly denied that he had killed the woman until the final five hour interrogation session.

Detectives told Rakowitz that Beerle's parents in Switzerland were distraught and wanted to bury her remains. Rakowitz then shocked them by agreeing to lead police to a Port Authority bus terminal locker where he had stored the skull and bones.

RAKOWITZ'S STRANGE HISTORY

The tortured history of Daniel Rakowitz as reported in the media reveals a person well known to authorities as violent and unstable. Rakowitz's obsession with the police seems to have begun during his childhood along the gulf coast of Texas after he was turned in to authorities by his deputy sheriff father for possession of marijuana. Even as a teenager, Rakowitz was known to torture and kill his pets and he took to carrying around live chickens. A stint in the army was followed by an unexplained general discharge. Army officials have admitted they have files on Rakowitz that contain much more than his anti-prejudices.

In addition, Rakowitz took 14 weeks of military police training while he was in the army. After his discharge, he returned to Texas and tried to enlist with the police in his hometown. Reportedly, he was turned down and soon afterward, Rakowitz appeared in different parts of the country. In 1977, Rakowitz was picked up, questioned and released by FBI agents in Maryland investigating a kidnapping. In 1983, he appeared on the Lower East Side, where he took a room in a city-run rat-trap called the Palace Hotel on the Bowery.

He was recognized as deranged within minutes by most people who bothered to speak with him. If allowed, Rakowitz would go off endlessly explaining how he believed himself to be "worse" than the biblical Antichrist because the numbers of his birthdate represented the numbers 966, which he said are worse than 666, the number that's supposed to represent Satan. Despite his weird ramblings, most people didn't take Rakowitz seriously and he managed to find a niche in a neighborhood known for its toleration of people who fall outside the mainstream of racist Amerikkkan society.

Police officials say they were aware of Rakowitz's strange behavior for months before the August 1988 police riot in Tompkins Square Park. Inspector Michael Julian said Rakowitz had come to the precinct headquarters on East 5th street looking for a "police job" while former Commander Gerald McNamara was in charge. (In an unrelated development, McNamara was later demoted and transferred to a distant police post in Queens after he was charged with falsifying overtime pay records for officers under his command.)

Julian claimed that Rakowitz was not hired and that Rakowitz later threatened to "cut my heart out," a threat Julian said he did not take seriously. Apparently, the authorities are now taking Daniel Rakowitz seriously.

Julian said the detectives don't believe Rakowitz could have "done the job" of dismembering Beerle "unless he had experience." Julian said detectives and Emergency Service officers went into the apartment three times looking for evidence and found nothing. According to Julian, the crime was so well concealed that detectives believed that Rakowitz had done this kind of thing before. Julian added that the FBI was brought in on the case and they've been trying to link Rakowitz to other murders.

Julian also said police are on the lookout for "other fringe elements" that are "like Daniel," attracted to the neighborhood by the publicity surrounding Tompkins Square Park.

POLICE CREATE LOWER EAST SIDE "CULT"

More than two years after Rakowitz was sent to the Kirby Forensic Psychiatric Center on Ward's Island after being acquitted in Beerle's murder by reason of insanity, the strange case of Daniel Rakowitz has again exploded in the print and television media, with the arrest of an alleged "cult member" that police say participated in the murder and dismemberment of Beerle with Rakowitz and others.

On February 14th, police arrested Charles "Randy" Easterday in Easton, Pennsylvania, after receiving "an anonymous tip." Police in New York say he was a member of a "cult" that killed Beerle. They are now seeking his extradition back to New York.

Adding to the bizarre circumstances surrounding the Beerle murder are two recent mysterious deaths: Carl Stone, a local anarchist pacifist found shot in the head in Ohio in August 1991, and Max Cantor, an aspiring journalist who took an obsessive interest in the underground culture of the Lower East Side and in the Beerle murder in particular, found dead in his apartment October 3, 1991, with a used syringe by his side. Both were connected to the Beerle murder through their associations with Easterday and Rakowitz in the summer of 1989.

The talk on the street was that Cantor had almost finished writing a book on the murder, naming people he thought were involved in it, and that he was killed by someone named in the book trying to cover up their role in the murder. The book reportedly was missing from Cantor's apartment when his body was discovered.

See RAKOWITZ On Page 15

SATAN SELLS

By A. Kronstadt

Witch hunting is back in fashion these days. In this age of biotechnology and instant communication we have retrogressed morally and socially to the level of the seventeenth century, when the ignorant persecuted those who they did not understand as "witches." At one time, the term "witch" was applied to midwives, herbalists, pagan priests, lesbians, early scientific experimenters, and all sorts of other people who taught and practiced things contrary to the established religions. These people were demonized because they threatened the established order and its hold over people's minds. They were accused of worshipping the devil--a rubberstamp accusation which meant that they had social and religious practices which other people didn't understand. The non-conformists were slandered, vilified, and murdered in cold blood by the state. In Medieval Europe and in Russia as late as 1912, Jews were slandered with the infamous "blood accusation" of killing Christian children and drinking their blood or using it to make "matzoh" (unleavened bread) for Passover. These accusations were the basis for mass executions and pogroms.

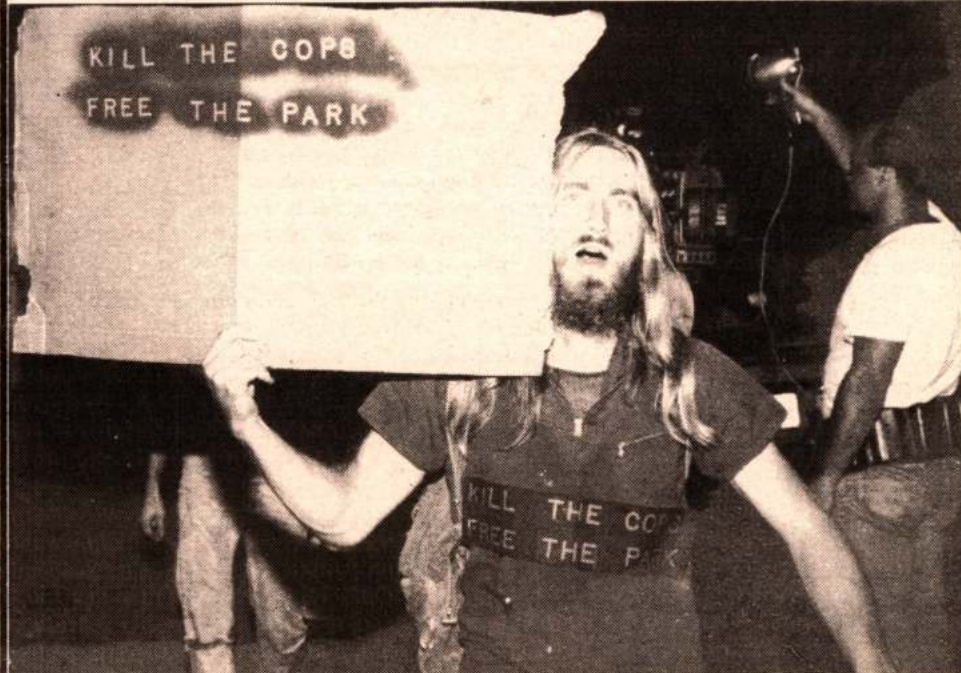
In 1992, we have not progressed much. A literal witch hunt (and it isn't even a metaphor here) has been unleashed on the Lower East Side by shady publicists pandering to superstition. Content to reflect the public ignorance, publications like *Newsday* have hyped the arrest of a young Black man, made by the police on the information provided by psychopathic racist Daniel Rakowitz, into a general smear against the Lower East Side counterculture.

According to the liberal and enlightened *Newsday*, there is supposed to be a cult at work in the neighborhood which worships Satan and eats human flesh. The cult is made up mostly of people who have long hair, smoke marijuana and listen to strange music. Implicated in it all is a pot-smoking cult called the Church of Realized Fantasies. Local video artist Clayton Patterson sold some videotape to the networks showing a guy dressed in a black bathrobe pouring some kind of liquid into cups and lighting candles. Patterson himself comes on the tube, intoning solemnly about the Dark Side of Things and about how he believes in the devil. The camera pans idly over Lower East Side walls, catching a large pentagram with a circled A in the center. Obviously a cult symbol, and there's where those lousy anarchists fit in. Everybody sees this shit on the 6:00 News and says: "Wow, I bet they're all devil worshippers down there in that neighborhood -- they should tear that place down and build condos for normal people."

What's the evidence for all this? Zero! The detective investigating the case, Det. Richard Abbinenti of the Ninth Precinct, publicly denied believing (in the *New York Times* of February 19th) that a cult was involved. He said that he had some information that some kind of ritual had been performed, but nothing about a cult. Privately, the police have been leaking the story of a cult to the mainstream media, targeting alleged members of this cult in their "investigation." Where did this cult business come from? We can only suspect that it sprang from the diseased mind of Rakowitz himself. Daniel Rakowitz had crept out people in the Lower East Side for months before his arrest, claiming to be the Antichrist and the second coming of Charles Manson and everything else--why not the blood-engorged guru of an East Village devil worshipping cult? It's right up his alley.

Watching the 6:00 News on Wednesday, February 18th, we were treated not only to the Rakowitz cannibal cult kaper but also to the prosecution of the famous Voodoo Substitute Teacher. She is accused of waving a cross in front of her second grade class and making the kids break out in hives. Then there was the top story: the Catholic school boys in Clifton, New Jersey, who throttled one of their ex-friends with an extension cord while intoning the Hail Mary. The sheriff of Clifton pondered: "I don't understand it, this looks like a cult thing but I don't see any black candles or other Satanic stuff around." This Satan thing panders to fear of the one who is different--the outsider. The insiders commit far more murders, but the outsider is the scapegoat for it all.

The media wants to present the Lower East Side as the Lower Dark Side. Face it, neighbors, they hate us and want to sanitize our community the way Hitler "cleansed" Berlin in 1934. They'll call us druggies, faggots, dykes, Satanists, street scum, mental cases--whatever works to stir irrational fears among the public. *Newsday* and the rest of the pack are just creating excuses for more state repression against the dissident community which has traditionally populated Lower Manhattan. There are those of us who believe that news should do more than reflect public ignorance and superstition. We at the **SHADOW** continue to defend the right to be different without being smeared with epithets like "cult" and "Satanist."



RAKOWITZ JOINS DEMO AGAINST PARK CURFEW--(AUG. 27, 1988)

PHOTO BY JACK DAWKINS

DHORUBA REMAINS FREE ON APPEAL !!

FLASH FOTO

By Chris Flash



To the thunderous applause and cheers of more than 100 supporters inside his packed courtroom and several hundred more outside, State Supreme Court Judge Peter McQuillan ruled that former Black Panther Party (BPP) leader Dhoruba Bin Wahad could remain free on his own recognizance pending the outcome of a hearing to decide whether or not the reversal of his 1973 conviction for the attempted murder of two New York City policemen will stand.

Dhoruba, who spent 2 years in jail before and 17 years after his conviction, which came after two mistrials, appealed the conviction in 1988, based on documents he obtained in a civil suit which showed that the FBI had targeted him and the Black Panther Party for "neutralization" under COINTELPRO (Counter-Intelligence Program) and that the Manhattan District Attorney had illegally concealed evidence in his "trial". The DA later admitted that they had failed to turn over to Dhoruba or his attorneys reports detailing interviews with the prosecution's chief witness, Pauline Josephs. Although at the time the law held that this alone was sufficient grounds for reversal of Dhoruba's conviction, the New York State Supreme Court refused to do so.

On March 22, 1990, a month after the New York City Appellate Division, 1st Department, ordered Judge McQuillan to review the withheld evidence in order to determine if it had been turned over to Dhoruba or his attorneys, McQuillan released Dhoruba on his own recognizance a week after reversing his conviction.

The District Attorney's office moved quickly to appeal the reversal, trying unsuccessfully in the Appellate Division, then getting their "leave to appeal" granted on June 17, 1991 by Associate Judge Fritz W. Alexander, the only Black judge sitting on the Court of Appeals, and now Mayor Dinkins' "Deputy Mayor for Criminal Justice"!!

On December 19, 1991, the Court of Appeals decided that if a defendant's direct appeals are exhausted (as in Dhoruba's case), the defendant must prove that the evidence withheld would have affected the decision of the jury that voted to convict him, thereby putting the burden of proof on the defendant. This ruling also reinstated Dhoruba's original conviction.

On February 7, 1992, Dhoruba was out of the country and he failed to appear in court for a hearing to decide whether he would remain free to fight his conviction. Instead of executing an arrest warrant, Judge McQuillan set a new date for February 13th. According to one of Dhoruba's attorneys, the Assistant District Attorney fully expected Dhoruba to flee the country and was shocked to see Dhoruba appear and again be released on his own recognizance.

Before being framed in the cop shooting in 1971, Dhoruba had been arrested in 1969 along with 20 Black Panther Party members for "conspiracy", in what was known as the "Panther 21" case. After becoming the focus of a government assassination plot, Dhoruba jumped \$100,000 bond and went underground in February 1971. On May 13, 1971, after the longest political trial in New York City history, all 21 were acquitted of all charges after only 45 minutes of jury deliberation. A month later, Dhoruba was arrested and charged with attempted murder of two cops guarding the home of DA Frank Hogan.

The District Attorney's office probably hopes to force Dhoruba underground again with the threat of reimprisonment, and thus claim that this would prove he was guilty. Apparently, they fail to understand that twenty years later, there is more support for Dhoruba by a public made wiser by Vietnam, Watergate, Contragate, and revelations of the government's actions under COINTELPRO.

Two days after his latest court appearance, Dhoruba met with his supporters on February 15th at the P.S.122 community center on the Lower East Side along with his wife Tanaquil Jones and Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR) attorney Joan Gibbs for a discussion on political prisoners, sponsored by QUISP (Queers United In Support of Political Prisoners). (QUISP collected over 1,000 signatures at the Peace For Cuba rally on January 25th demanding that Dhoruba be freed.)

Tanaquil told the audience that all Black activists risk becoming political prisoners: "As you become a threat, you become targeted." She described Dhoruba's case, telling of the coerced testimony of his co-defendant Augustus Qualls, whose mother was threatened with jail by the pigs, and of Pauline Josephs, an emotionally disturbed woman who had told the pigs they had the wrong man before they picked her up and held her in different hotels for two years until she was used to testify against Dhoruba.

Joan read names of political prisoners, explaining that the U.S. denies the existence of political prisoners. She said that since the demise of the Soviet Union, racism has become a bigger issue in Europe and the U.S., and she warned that fascism can re-emerge there and here.

Rather than speak about himself, Dhoruba told the audience about the case of political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, a journalist now on death row in Philadelphia after a 1982 conviction and death sentence for allegedly shooting a cop, despite contradictory "eyewitnesses." Mumia had been a Black Panther in Philadelphia in 1972 when Pig Chief Frank Rizzo's goons raided BPP headquarters after the Black Panthers announced they would attend the constitutional convention there. He urged people to galvanize around Mumia's case, start letter writing campaigns, and send petitions to the United Nations, which he said must respond to petitions by making an inquiry to the U.S. government, which would embarrass the U.S. (More on Mumia Abu-Jamal in an upcoming SHADOW--Ed)

He and Tanaquil described a new coalition against crime in New York City, composed of different organizations and political groups, dealing with crimes by the NYPD, the welfare department, the criminal justice system "which dispenses with justice versus

dispensing justice", as well as normal street crime. They added that people should take the most progressive, not the least controversial position and then challenge politicians to take those positions, such as political prisoners, suppression of dissent in the media, the death penalty, etc.

Since his release in 1990, Dhoruba hit the ground running, appearing at countless events and speaking engagements, explaining his case and bringing attention to other political prisoners in the U.S. When African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela appeared in New York City in 1990, after spending 27 years in jail in South Africa as the world's most famous political prisoner, Dhoruba warmly embraced him and told the crowd that South Africa is not the only country that has political prisoners, comparing Black political prisoners and freedom fighters with the ANC in South Africa. As Dhoruba spoke, nervous Secret Service agents behind him shifted back and forth. Not surprisingly, Dhoruba's speech was cut from the live national television broadcast of Mandela's visit, replaced by commercials!!

By not keeping his mouth shut and not disappearing after being framed and losing 19 years of his life, and by becoming an inspiration to a whole new generation of political activists, Dhoruba has once again become a thorn in the side of the government. It is no surprise that in spite of the revelations of false testimony and evidence against him, the illegal concealment of that evidence from Dhoruba's defense, and the District Attorney's subsequent admissions, the government is continuing their efforts to put Dhoruba back in jail on a technicality (that he had exhausted all of his direct appeals).

Dhoruba plans to defeat the government's frame-up and prove to the world that there are political prisoners in the U.S. On April 16th, Dhoruba will once again appear in Judge McQuillan's courtroom at 100 Center Street, 11th Floor, at 9:30AM. It is strongly recommended that everybody pack the court to show their support!!

WWP VIOLENCE BREAKS OUT AT "PEACE FOR CUBA" RALLY!!

(Exclusive Eyewitness Report by José X)

It seems that under increasing pressure from the so-called "Death of Communism", the radical "left" is showing little or no tolerance for dissent. On Saturday, January 25th, two WBAI-FM radio producers attempting to hand out an open letter urging human rights reform in Cuba were forcibly ejected from the Peace For Cuba event at the Jacob Javits Center on Eleventh Avenue by security goons provided by the Stalin worshipping Workers' World Party (WWP).

Ms. Avila and a friend were thrown out of the Javits Center shortly after they managed to hand a copy of Ms. Avila's open letter to former Attorney General Ramsey Clark, an organizer of and speaker at the event. They had been standing with other media professionals in a press detention area, waiting to be officially escorted into the event when they spotted Clark as he entered. The "Peace For Cuba" staff member running the press area demanded to see a copy of the flyer, and after approximately eight seconds, determined that an open appeal for human rights had no place at their rally. He immediately summoned over two large white men who physically dragged Ms. Avila to the door and then the street as she shouted out human rights slogans.

When her friend attempted to follow the goons who were assaulting her, he was grabbed by two other large security types who forced him out another door. He began shouting "This is the same treatment gay activists get in Cuba! Close the HIV detention camps!", and the "Peace For Cuba" security grabbed him in a police-style arm lock in order to eject him as quickly as possible.

Once outside, the pair continued to hand out flyers to those waiting to enter the rally, enduring abuse and insults such as the racist "gusano" moniker used almost exclusively by white amerikans on the line, and responses of "so what?" when the issue of homosexual detention camps was raised.

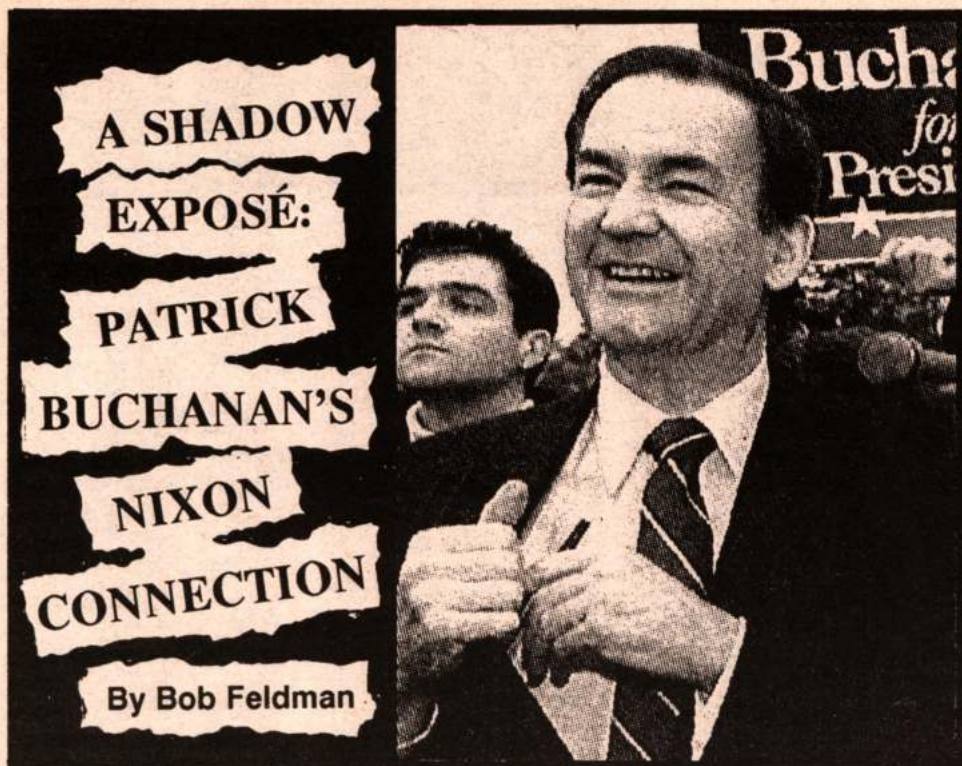
Ms. Avila, a WBAI poetry producer, had recently returned from a two week trip to the Latin American Film Festival in Havana, Cuba. Unlike most visitors from the American left, Ms. Avila was born in Cuba, and was able to visit family in both Havana and a small town near Santiago De Cobé, in the south of the island. Coming from WBAI and having studied with the Antonio Maceo Brigade (a Marxist study and work group for Cubans in America), she expected to find an island and a people struggling but united in their resolve to survive shortages caused by the 30 year U.S. embargo and the recent withdrawal of aid from the former Soviet bloc.

Instead, what she found was a system held in place by political repression and government informers, repressing not just gays (the infamous "cocos", or homosexual detention camps), but also those who had attempted to work within the system to create a socialism where freedom of speech and criticism of bureaucratic mismanagement and elitism were not a crime.

She saw numerous cases of repression, and was told of many others that no tourist would ordinarily be privy to, including poets, intellectuals, and writers imprisoned under "La Ley De Peligrosidad" (the Law Of Danger To The State); gays and lesbians expelled from universities, removed from their jobs, given electroshock, and evicted from their homes; even a Marxist scholar who was imprisoned for writing a criticism of elitism in the upper echelons of the Communist Party.

Unfortunately, pointing out these abuses has never been popular. The usual reaction by the American left ranges from lame justifications ("Well, the U.S. embargo creates an emergency situation, so gay detention camps are an understandable by-product of U.S. policy.") to outright denial of any problems or dissatisfaction whatsoever. What tourists in Cuba may not realize is that no Cuban will speak honestly with them for fear of being turned in by the tourists themselves. The Cuban people have learned that amerikans on holiday with their Marxist study groups may be likely to report them to the authorities, resulting in long jail terms for violating "La Ley De Peligrosidad". "Dissing the revolution" in any way has become a crime, to the extent that persons committed to socialism have been jailed for even suggesting the existence of corruption or mismanagement.

These Stalinist tendencies appear to have had an influence on the workings of amerikan "left" groups, blinding them to criticism of both the police state in Cuba and the very similar tactics they use at home. Those here fighting against human rights violations in Cuba get insults from the left, rejection by the right, and racism from both sides, who can't believe that a nation of brown people might actually be able to run their own country without the "advice" of elitists on both ends of the political spectrum.



"Our primary objective in the second term should be making of the President, the Republican FDR, founder and first magistrate of a political dynasty, to dominate American politics long after the President has retired from office... The President should use the mandate to impose upon the nation his own political and social philosophy..."

"Shall we acquiesce forever in left-wing control of communications media from which 50%-70% of the American people derive their information and ideas about their national government?..."

"What I would like to do in this area is work with those of a similar cast of mind to develop, quietly, a media strategy for dealing with the Left combination of the networks -- and other powerful organs of opinion. It would include ... a thought-out program for cleaning out public television of that clique of Nixon-haters who have managed to nest there at taxpayer expense."

"We have to begin to make permanent the New Majority that returned the President to office. That new majority essentially consists of the Republican base nationally, the Nixon South, the ethnic, blue-collar, Catholic, working-class Americans of the North, Midwest and West..."

"If we accede to these pressures -- for example, for a higher percentage of blacks and women in top-level positions, etc. -- we will be wasting our energies on a politically sterile and foolish game. Our future is the Democratic working man, Southern Protestant, and Northern Catholic -- and ethnic..."

"There is an overriding need for this Nixon Administration to create a new 'cadre' of Republican governmental professionals who can survive this Administration and be prepared to take over future ones."

--Patrick Buchanan, in a November 10, 1972 memo to President Richard Nixon

Before becoming a U.S. Establishment mass media "commentator" in 1975, Patrick Buchanan was an employee of Richard Nixon for at least 9 years. During the Watergate Era of U.S. history, this right-wing extremist presidential candidate worked as a Nixon speechwriter and political strategist and was called before a Senate investigative committee to testify on Republican Party "dirty tricks". According to *Pat Nixon: The Untold Story* by Julie Nixon Eisenhower, Buchanan's testimony "came on the heels of three days of leaks from the committee that set him up as the architect of dirty tricks". According to Richard Nixon's daughter, Buchanan did such a good job of attempting to justify Nixon's Watergate Era crimes that "my father invited him to stop by the White House immediately following his testimony" and "as soon as she saw Pat," Nixon's wife "gave him a brief hug and whirled him around in a little dance."

The son of a politically conservative certified public accountant, Buchanan grew up in the white, upper middle-class suburb of Chevy Chase, Maryland. Buchanan was suspended from Georgetown University during his senior year when he "became involved in a fracas with police officers after a minor traffic accident in the Georgetown district" of Washington, D.C., which left him with a broken hand and a \$25 fine, according to the *1985 Current Biography Yearbook*.

After his one-year suspension from college had ended, Buchanan finally completed his senior year at Georgetown University in 1961. Buchanan then enrolled in the U.S. Establishment's Columbia University School of Journalism and secured an Ivy League master's degree in 1962. Less than 10 years later, while attempting to manipulate the U.S. mass media on behalf of Richard Nixon, Buchanan would write the following in a February 24, 1971 letter to Columbia Graduate School of Journalism Dean Elie Abel:

"As an alumnus of Columbia School of Journalism, I wanted to drop this strong recommendation that the next issue of the *Journalism Review* re-run the splendid piece on the Panthers, done by Edward Epstein for *The New Yorker*."

The piece referred to had defended the Nixon Administration against the New Left charge that it was waging a war to destroy the Black Panther Party during the late 1960's and early 1960's.

After graduating from Columbia's School of Journalism in 1962, Buchanan worked for three years as an editorial writer for the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* newspaper before Nixon hired him as an executive assistant and researcher in January 1966. After moving to New York City, Buchanan then began to work in Nixon's Manhattan corporate law office as Nixon began to campaign for the 1968 Republican presidential nomination.

According to the *1985 Current Biography Yearbook*, "Buchanan was the first to bring to Nixon's attention Spiro Agnew, who eventually emerged as the Republican vice-presidential candidate, and served as Nixon's press secretary through the 1968 primary campaign, but he made his main contribution as a speechwriter on such immediate campaign issues as law and order."

After Nixon moved into the White House, "Buchanan's main responsibility ... was the preparation of the 'President's Daily Briefing Book', which summarized what the media were saying about the world and the Nixon Administration," according to the *1985 Current Biography Yearbook*. Buchanan also used his White House Staff position to agitate for right-wing extremist control of the U.S. Establishment's liberal mass media and increased censorship of anti-war movement coverage. According to the *1985 Current Biography*, "observers believed that it was 'Buchanan' who wrote the stinging attack" on the liberal Establishment mass media which Nixon's Vice-President Agnew delivered in November 1969 to discourage it from being too anti-war in its news coverage.

Another way that Buchanan and other Nixon White House staff people sought to pressure the Establishment's mass media to cover Nixon and his Republican Party apparatus favorably was by preparing "letters to the editor and to key television personalities that were disguised as coming from some members of the public," according to *From The President: Richard Nixon's Secret File*, which was edited by Bruce Oudes. According to the same book, "Buchanan told [Watergate conspirator and White House staffperson] Haldeman on July 21, 1969 in a 'very confidential' memo that a letter had been sent 'special delivery to the [Washington] Post early this afternoon for which we have a volunteer signer, an old friend of mine from Bethesda.' The letter signed by John S. Toland begins: 'Your whitewash Monday of the episode involving Teddy Kennedy in which a young woman's life was lost is the worst kind of collaborationist journalism.' At the same time, a letter written by Buchanan and signed by a volunteer was sent to the *Washington Star* complaining about a Mary McGrory column."

Under his "Jack Toland" pseudonym, White House staff assistant Buchanan also wrote a fraudulent letter to Paul Conrad of the *Los Angeles Times*, according to Buchanan's September 17, 1969 memo to Ken Cole, which stated the following:

"September 16, 1969

Dear Mr. Conrad:

Re: Your cartoon of September 5, 'The Ho Chi Minh Trail'

"Thanks for being one of the editorialists with guts enough to remind folks that 'gentle, sissy Uncle Ho who smokes Salems' is the same ruthless little S.O.B. responsible for the death of hundreds of thousands of his countrymen -- soldiers and civilians alike. Your cartoon was worth a thousand of the kind of editorials that disgraced the pages of the *New York Times* and *Nation* magazine."

"Keep calling them as you see 'em.'"

Sincerely,
Jack Toland
Bethesda, Maryland"

Buchanan also urged White House staffperson and Watergate conspirator Ehrlichman, and Bud Krogh, to use their political influence to withhold federal funding from New York actor Ossie Davis because of Mr. Davis' anti-Nixon politics. In a December 13, 1971 memo to Ehrlichman and Krogh, Buchanan wrote:

"On page 21 of the weekend news summary, one learns that Ossie Davis, the old fellow traveler, has landed the drug office's contract to produce the anti-drug film. This, it seems to me, could well be filed under 'More Horrendous Examples of Administration Subsidies To Its Political Enemies.' Is there not something we can do to take this considerable patronage away from a fellow, one of whose characteristics is 100 percent opposition to Richard Nixon and the political goals which he pursues?"

Buchanan also recommended that Nixon White House staffperson and Watergate conspirator H. R. Haldeman attempt to push *Time Magazine* to name Nixon as its "Man of the Year", in an October 14, 1971 memo to Haldeman:

"Clearly the President should be in line this year as one of the top two or three nominees for *Time's* Man of the Year..."

"We ought to ascertain -- perhaps from Jim Keogh who worked at the top echelons of *Time* -- as to how they go about selecting the top man ... When we find out, we can touch those levers, and begin a gradual letter campaign, etc., as we attempted in 1966."

After the Nixon White House staff's Watergate burglars were arrested for breaking into Democratic Party National Committee headquarters in the Watergate Office Building in Washington, D.C. during Nixon's 1972 campaign against George McGovern, Buchanan wrote the following memo to Watergate conspirator and White House staffperson Charles Colson on June 25, 1972:

"... Let's wait for McGovern to say something about this, as he will. At this point in time, we should fall all over McGovern -- who gives a damn about the [Washington] Post -- and say this SOB is raising hell about a couple of Cubans stealing papers from Larry O'Brien's office, when George McGovern himself personally urged Daniel Ellsberg [sic], the thief of secret Government documents, to fence those documents with *The New York Times*, who published them. McGovern is a hypocrite. To him stealing Government documents and publishing them to undermine his own Government is just fine -- but a couple of screwballs stealing Larry O'Brien's documents is immoral."

Buchanan also recommended to Ehrlichman, Haldeman and Colson that the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) fire an employee because of his anti-Nixon politics, in a September 20, 1972 memo:

"My understanding is that the anti-Nixon weasel John Pemberton is now being politically cleared -- once again -- this time for the job of Deputy General Counsel at EEOC. Repeatedly, about a year ago, it was pledged that Pemberton would be 'on the street' in two or three weeks because of his anti-Nixon activities."

"My recommendation is that we call the General Counsel and the head of that Agency and simply tell them that if Pemberton is not permanently removed from the list of employees, come November, there will be a house-cleaning of the entire Agency."

See BUCHANAN On Page 13 --(P.6)

ARKANSAS GOVERNOR BILL CLINTON-PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH-CIA-DRUGS FOR GUNS CONNECTION

A SHADOW Exposé By Paul DeRienzo

ARKANSAS AIRPORT CALLED "HUB" OF CIA DRUGS AND GUNS PIPELINE

An independent group of researchers in Arkansas are charging that Governor Bill Clinton is covering up an airport used by the CIA and major cocaine smugglers in a remote corner of the Ozark mountains. According to Deborah Robinson of *In These Times*, the Intermountain Regional Airport in Mena, Arkansas continues to be the hub of operations for people like assassinated cocaine kingpin Barry Seal as well as government intelligence operations linked to arms and drug smuggling.

In the 1980's, the Mena airport became one of the world's largest aircraft refurbishing centers, providing services to planes from many countries. Researchers claim that the largest consumers of aircraft refurbishing services are drug smugglers and intelligence agencies involved in covert activities. In fact, residents of Mena, Arkansas, have told reporters that former marine Lt. Colonel Oliver North was a frequent visitor during the 1980's. Eugene Hasenfus, a pilot who was shot down in a contra supply plane over Nicaragua in 1986, was also seen in town renting cargo vehicles.

A federal Grand Jury looking into activities at the Mena airport refused to hand down any indictments after drug running charges were made public. Deborah Robinson says that Clinton had "ignored the situation" until he began his presidential campaign. Clinton then said he would provide money for a state run investigation of the Mena airport. But according to Robinson, the promise of an investigation was never followed up by Clinton's staff. In fact, a local Arkansas state prosecutor blasted Clinton's promise of an investigation, comparing it to "spitting on a forest fire."

DISPOSABLE ASSETS

Clinton's involvement in the drug and arms running goes even further than a mere cover-up of the deplorable activities that went on, and are still going on, at the airport in Mena. A federal mail fraud case against an Arkansas pilot-trainer who participated in illegal arms exports to Central America relied on a key Clinton staffer as a chief witness. The case was dismissed for lack of evidence when the CIA refused to allow the discussion of top secret information about the arms transfers.

Terry Reed, a former employee of the CIA's *Air America* operation in Laos during the Indochina war, claims to have been recruited as a pilot trainer into the Iran operation by Oliver North. In an article written by David Fallis and published last year by *Covert Action Information Bulletin*, Reed said that in 1983 he had agreed to supply North's operatives with "certain items."

In pursuit of the Reagan administration's contra war against the Sandinistas, the CIA had planted mines in Nicaragua's harbors. In 1984, Congress passed the Boland Amendment, which cut off US aid to the contras. According to Reed, it was during this period that North asked him to become involved in a covert operation called "Project Donation". Reed was told he would be reimbursed for supplying the contras by insurance companies that were linked to North's operation.

Shortly afterwards, Reed reported the "theft" of Piper turbo-prop aircraft and he filed a \$33,000 claim on which he eventually collected almost \$7,000.

In late 1985, Reed received a phone call from an *Air America* buddy, William Cooper, a pilot working with *Southern Air Transport*, another CIA front company. Cooper also was working with soon to be murdered drug kingpin Barry Seal at the same time he was flying re-supply missions for the contras. In 1986, he was shot down and killed over Nicaragua along with co-pilot Wallace Sawyer. The plane's cargo-kicker, Eugene Hasenfus, parachuted into the arms of waiting Sandinista soldiers. Video images of his capture spanned the world and forced an airing of a tiny part of US covert operations.

Sandinistas who recovered the downed cargo plane searched Cooper's pockets and found phone numbers linking the re-supply operation with Felix Rodriguez, an associate of George Bush, best known for murdering Che Guevara after his capture in Bolivia. To this day, Rodriguez, who works for the CIA, wears Che's watch as a trophy.

Reed says that Cooper told him that the stolen Piper would soon be returned and that he should store it in a hanger at Mena until the Hasenfus mess blew over. "There was a lot of contra stuff going on in Arkansas," said Reed, "it was the hub."

Meanwhile, Reed went into business in Mexico with the blessing of Rodriguez, who was overseeing the contra air re-supply operation in El Salvador. Reed's company used Mexico to export arms to the contras, in violation of the Boland Amendment. Reed went down to Mexico and his operation continued for a year after the Iran-Contra story broke.

According to *Arkansas Committee* researcher Mark Swaney, in the summer of 1987, even as the ContraGate hearings were going on in Congress, Terry Reed began to suspect they were using his front company for something other than smuggling weapons. One day, he was looking for a lathe in one of his warehouses near the airport in Guadalejara and he opened up one of the very large airfreight shipping containers (they are about 28' long, about 7' high and about 8' wide), and he found it packed full of cocaine.

Swaney reports that Reed realized he was in a very precarious situation because he was the only person on paper who had anything to do with the company set up to run guns to the Contras in Nicaragua out of Mexico and there was nobody to say that he did not know anything about what was going on. Reed decided he wasn't going to play the part of a patsy.

Swaney says that Reed's contact man for the CIA in Mexico was Felix Rodriguez, whom Reed confronted. Reed said that he hadn't bargained for getting into narcotics smuggling and that he was dropping out all together. Soon afterward, his legal problems began.

In a series of mysterious events, Reed was charged with mail fraud for claiming insurance for an aircraft that was used by North's network under *Operation Donation*. Reed, who was eventually acquitted of the charges, was picked up by the FBI after the missing plane was discovered in the Mena hanger where Reed had put the plane at Cooper's suggestion. The discovery was made by Clinton's security chief Buddy Young. Young testified that his discovery of the stolen plane was coincidental, an assertion federal Judge Frank Thiel said was unsupported by the facts.

Reed was charged with mail fraud for collecting insurance on the plane, but the CIA prevented prosecutors from releasing information they called "top, top secret," about the Rodriguez, North, *Southern Air Transport* connection. In November 1990, the prosecution admitted they couldn't prosecute Reed without the secret documents and Judge Thiel ordered Reed acquitted on all of the charges.



SCOTT CUNNINGHAM

SEX, DRUGS and LOW INTENSITY CONFLICT

Allegations of Governor Bill Clinton's extra-marital sexual exploits originated with a 1990 lawsuit by Larry Nichols, a former Arkansas state employee. Nichols was fired by Clinton in 1988 after reporters discovered Nichols had been lobbying on behalf of the Contras from his office as head of the Arkansas Development Finance Authority.

The suit claimed that Clinton had lied when he said Nichols was fired because he was phoning the Contras directly from his state office. Nichols claimed he only called Washington to lobby on behalf of the Contras. In the suit, Nichols also revealed the affair between Clinton and office secretary Gennifer Flowers.

The suit was dropped by Nichols on January 25, 1992, after Gennifer Flowers went public with her story of the affair. Nichols told reporters that he decided to drop the suit after meeting with Clinton security chief Buddy Young -- the same man who found Terry Reed's missing Piper aircraft at the Mena airport.

According to *Arkansas Committee* researcher Mark Swaney, Nichols said that Young had told him he was a "dead man," prompting Nichols to drop the suit. In public, Nichols says he dropped the suit because "the media have made a circus out of this thing and it's gone way too far."

CLINTON'S BCCI CONNECTION

In court documents recently released by Manhattan District Attorney Robert Morgenthau, it has been revealed that Jackson Stephens, a billionaire banker in Little Rock, Arkansas, and one of presidential candidate Bill Clinton's main supporters, may have played a key role in setting up the illegal purchase by the Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI) of two American banks.

Both First American National Bank, the largest bank in Washington DC, and Georgia National Bank, were purchased by BCCI front man and Stephens business associate Gaith Pharon. Stephens' family bank, the Worthen National Bank, recently extended a two million dollar loan to the Clinton campaign.

Stephens, who is an avid golfer and chairman of the prestigious Masters Tournament Committee, is named in the court records as having brought Pharon together with Stephens' close friend Bert Lance. Lance was a former cabinet official under President Jimmy Carter who was forced to resign due to a banking scandal.

According to newspaper reports, BCCI founder Agha Hasan Abedi was introduced to Lance by Stephens. Stephens, Lance, and First American Bank director and longtime Democratic party power broker Clark Clifford all maintain that they did not know the group of Pakistani and Saudi investors headed by Pharon, which they were dealing with, were actually fronting for BCCI. Clinton's staff has refused to comment.

OZARK DUMPING GROUND

Bill Clinton's environmental record has been as dismal as his record in the Iran-Contra scandal. He has supported the incineration of extremely toxic chemicals at a site in the city of Jacksonville, 20 miles from Little Rock, that is reputed to be the most polluted spot in the United States. Jacksonville was the site of Hercules Inc., a company that produced the two components of Agent Orange, 2,4,D, which is still used in agriculture and 2,4,5,T, which was banned by the federal government in 1983 as a carcinogen. Agent Orange was used to defoliate Vietnamese forests during the Indochina war and its production yields the by-product dioxin, the most toxic chemical known on earth.

Hercules sold the operation in 1976 to Vertac Inc., which closed the plant in 1987, leaving behind 20,000 barrels of the chemicals. Gov. Bill Clinton supports a plan to incinerate the waste, a plan that is being vigorously opposed by the residents of Jacksonville.

In *These Times* reporter Deborah Robinson says that Clinton has allowed Arkansas to become a dumping ground. "Arkansas" she says, "is still kind of a backwoods state and there's a lot of room for someone to set up whatever they want to set up and Arkansas has been exploited by people who have things they want to do that they might not get away with somewhere else." Robinson adds, "there are a lot of questions about what somebody like Clinton would do for a country when he couldn't do anything for his own state."

ERIC DROOKER



Well, here we are yet again! Kop activity has been quiet around Tompkins Square lately, with the exception of the heavy kop surveillance at the corner of Avenue A and 7th Street as the city has the 4 foot high cast iron fence surrounding the park removed. The word is that these will be replaced by similar fencing that is more than 10 feet high in order to serve several purposes. One is to help the kops enforce the new 9:00PM curfew slated to take effect when the park is re-opened later this summer. The other is to be able to corral demonstrators inside the park in the event of another kop-induced riot. By stationing kops at each entrance, people inside will no longer be able to escape by hopping the fences. Good idea, huh?

It took long enough, but finally a truly civilian Civilian Complaint Review Board (CCRB) is coming another step closer to reality, thanks largely to the efforts of American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) head Norman Seigel. The current CCRB, stacked with kops and kop sympathizers, has made it difficult for victims of kop brutality to get their complaints acted on, and the few kops that get penalized get slapped on the nose like good pit bulls. Of course, the kops, their unions, and newly-erected city councilman Antonio Pagan are violently against it! (Pardon the pun!)

Speaking of violence, a Kop-Watcher reports that a bystander who told a kill-crazy kop to holster the gun he was waving around recklessly was treated to a good old-fashioned kop stomping near the corner of Avenue A and 6th Street. It seems that on February 27th, at about 12:30PM, a man with a knife was chasing another man up Avenue A. When they passed a kop standing at the corner of St. Marx and A, the man with the knife put it in his coat and ran away toward 6th Street. He was chased by the cop who waved his gun wildly in all directions telling the knife man to stop. At that

moment, several school children were walking on the sidewalk in the direction of the waving gun barrel. When kop cars caught up to and arrested the knife man in front of the Sidewalk Cafe at 6th Street, several bystanders told the kops to put away their guns. An older man with a white trimmed beard apparently said this to the wrong kop and he was jumped and beaten by the kop, who was then joined by several more kops in front of the SYP deli on Avenue A, who punched him in the stomach and kicked him several times for good measure. Soon, all but one of the kops let go of the knife man to join in the bystander beating, all the while telling him to "Shut Up!!!" over and over. In spite of all this, he didn't shut up, and kept telling the kops to put away their guns. Finally, the kops struggled to cuff him and after several unsuccessful attempts, they stuffed him into a kop car after picking him up by his feet. As they cleared the street of outraged witnesses, they said he was being arrested for "Disturbing the Peace!!" The knife man and the man he was chasing later received desk appearance tickets!!

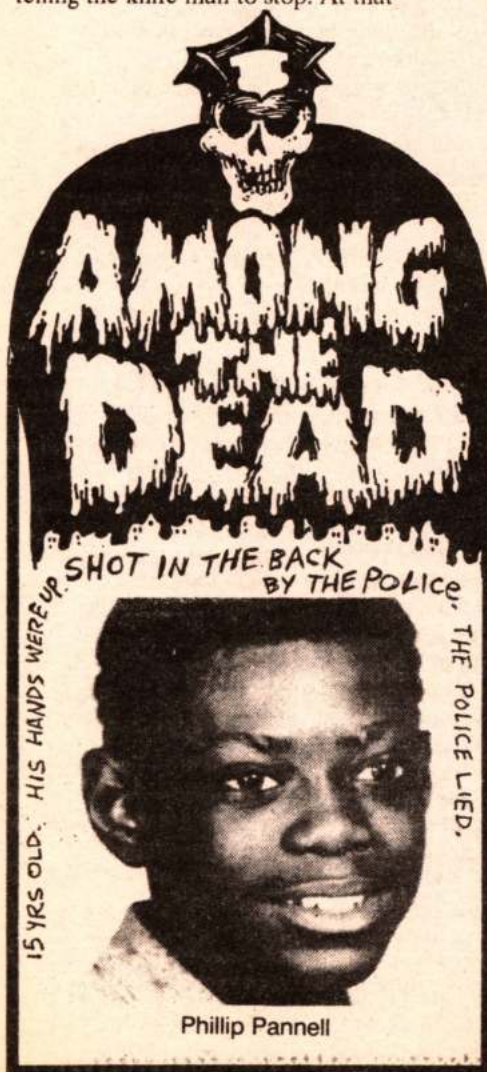
As always, thanks to all of our Kop-Watchers who have been sending us info on the kops. Anyone can be and should be a Kop-Watcher too!! If you have any information, reports, stories, photos, plate numbers, addresses, telephone numbers, and any personal details you'd like to see published and added to our files, please send it all to the SHADOW, P.O.Box 20298, New York, N.Y. 10009, or call us at:(212)971-9611.

Man Sues For \$15M In Attack At Rally

A man who claims he suffered brain damage when he was beaten during a Feb. 11 anti-gay bashing demonstration at the Midtown North Police precinct filed a \$15-million federal lawsuit in Manhattan yesterday against the police department and four officers involved in the fracas.

Christopher Hennelly, 28, who was a marshal at the demonstration by the AIDS activist organization ACT UP, is asking for \$7.5 million in compensatory damages and \$7.5 million in punitive damages, claiming the officers violated his civil rights, according to the complaint filed in U.S. District Court.

A Manhattan Criminal Court judge threw out criminal assault charges against Hennelly in October after he ruled that Hennelly had done nothing to deserve the assault and charges of resisting arrest that police filed against him after the protest. Judge Edgar Walker called the behavior of the police "lawless" and said Hennelly had done "absolutely nothing before he was clubbed to the ground."



Phillip Pannell

DOWN BY LAW



PART 2: "I SUE," THE ANCIENT ART OF SELF-DEFENSE AGAINST THE POLICE

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

Last time, if you will recall, you were beaten to a pulp by six officers while peacefully chanting "Pagan is a liar." Fortunately, you had a copy of the Shadow with you. You knew enough to seek medical care, document your injuries, and note down the names, addresses and telephone numbers of witnesses. You wrote down the badge numbers of the cops who beat you, as well as those who looked on and ate donuts. You have already filed your one-page Notice of Claim to preserve your right to sue. Now what?

Not surprisingly, the system provides relatively little recourse for victims of police violence. The usual mechanisms relied upon by the State to control crime--arrest, prosecution, and incarceration of dangerous malefactors--are seldom utilized when the attackers wear blue. Police violence is so endemic to New York City that juries have imposed a sort of rough parity--persons who fight back against police attack often get acquitted either on a theory of self-defense (e.g., Larry Davis) or because the police are disgusting liars (e.g., the MayDay 29 Case). Of course, fighting back has its own problems--like ending up dead.

CIVILIAN COMPLAINT REVIEW BOARD

The name "Civilian Complaint Review Board" is somewhat misleading. The CCRB is run by police officers who judge other police officers. It has no subpoena power (so it cannot compel testimony or grant immunity), and the stiffest punishment that it can impose is dismissal from the police force.

On its face, the CCRB system is a weird one and should inspire no confidence. Imagine a "Drug Pusher Complaint Review Board" where a panel of crack dealers adjudicates neighborhood complaints made against other dope dealers.

Procedurally, the CCRB stinks too. After you file a complaint, you will be contacted by a hostile investigating officer who will ask you lots of tricky questions. If you are lucky, the matter will go to a hearing--where all participants (except you) are police officers. Good luck. Your complaint will be found to be "unsubstantiated" and the "charges" will be dismissed.

There are, however, two good reasons to go through the CCRB process, if you have the stomach for it. The number of CCRB complaints is the most common yardstick used by the media and civil liberties groups to gauge the level of police brutality. Hence, if you do not file, you won't be counted and the cops look that much better. Second, even unsubstantiated complaints go in the cops' file. It may be important years later when the cop in question finally goes so berserk that someone has to take notice.

CRIMINAL PROSECUTIONS

New York does not have any private prosecutors. It is the District Attorney who is responsible for bringing all criminal cases to trial. This is the same DA who relies on the police every day to investigate cases, collect evidence, and prepare for trial. A DA who has incurred the wrath of the police cannot function. Accordingly, brutal police officers are almost never prosecuted. When public pressure is so great that there has to be some prosecution, the cops face reduced charges, are tried by a single judge without a jury, and almost always get acquitted after a lackluster performance by the putative prosecutor.

If you do end up trying to file a criminal complaint against the police, you should have your own lawyer to help you negotiate the maze. This does not require a great deal of legal work--mostly watching out after you and making sure that it is the cop, rather than you, who ends up on trial.

SUE THE BASTARDS

The only effective recourse against the cops is filing a lawsuit, for money damages, against them and against the New York City. The theory is that monetary penalties against the police provide a financial dis-incentive for them to bust heads. This does not work, of course, because the City indemnifies (pays the legal expenses and fines) of the cops. The theory behind suing the City is that NYC's Wise Rulers will figure out that it is cheaper to hire decent cops and give them proper training than to pay for lawsuits caused by bad cops. This expects a little much from a government that spent over seven million dollars to evict 150 homeless people from Tompkins Square Park. Nonetheless, every year New York pays out tens of millions of dollars in jury awards and settlements in brutality lawsuits. Yours can be one of them!

Before you begin parlaying that bruise into a Caribbean cruise, there are a few realities to face. Generally, the more serious the injury the greater the recovery. Along the same lines, if you are a white, professional man you have a greater chance of winning a large settlement than a Black homeless woman. Any recovery you may win is at least one year and maybe many years down the road. Before you go ahead and decide to sue, make sure that you are willing to spend the time and energy necessary to see it through.

You absolutely need an attorney if you are going to sue. Shopping for one is just like shopping for any other product. They come in a bewildering array of sizes, colors, and shapes. They vary dramatically in quality. The best place to start looking is by contacting the National Lawyers Guild and get a copy of their referral directory. Interview a few different attorneys before signing a contract with one. Attorneys who do police brutality cases generally work on contingency fee--they take a percentage of the recovery.

With perseverance, determination and a little luck, you can send an expensive message to New York City--prosecute killer cops with the same zeal that you prosecute cop killers, or go bankrupt.

SHADOW INTERVIEW

SHADOW INTERVIEW

MICHAEL LEVINE:
EX-DEA AGENT AND
AUTHOR OF "DEEP COVER"

By Paul DeRienzo

Michael Levine is a veteran of 26 years of undercover work for four federal agencies. He is the recipient of many Justice and Treasury Department awards for his work undercover, including the International Narcotics Enforcement Officer Association's Octavio Gonzales Award. He is also the subject of Donald Goddard's book *Undercover: The Secret Lives of a Federal Agent* (Dell, 1990).

Joining the DEA (Drug Enforcement Administration) after discovering his brother's heroin addiction which eventually killed his brother, Levine was the most successful agent in DEA history. By 1977, he had made 3,000 drug arrests going undercover to set up buy and bust operations against New York City heroin and cocaine dealers. This led to his assignment as DEA station chief in Buenos Aires, Argentina.

By 1989, after having several of his operations stopped by higher ups who allowed his targets to get away, Levine quit the DEA in disgust. Levine then wrote the book *Deep Cover* (1990, Delacorte Press), describing his experiences that led to his leaving the DEA, exposing the government's phony "War on Drugs".

Levine tells a chilling story of treachery by members of his own agency, and the CIA, men Levine calls the "suits" who he says use the War on Drugs as a cynical cover for covert foreign policy adventures. Levine says that since he began speaking out against the War on Drugs he has been threatened by high level DEA agents and has been the target of campaigns meant to discredit him.

His most recent book, released by Dell earlier this year, is *Fight Back: How to Take Your Neighborhood, Schools and Family Back From the Drug Dealer*. Levine is currently working on his third book, *Queen of Cocaine*, about his experiences as DEA attaché to Argentina during the "Dirty War".

This interview with Michael Levine took place on November 9, 1991, during the Causes and Cures Teleconference On the Drug War, sponsored by the Christic Institute, at the Marble Collegiate Church in New York City.

Paul DeRienzo: How did you become a DEA agent? Was it like Miami Vice?

Michael Levine: I was wild, I was a very bad kid from the South Bronx, really bad. By some miracle I never got into heroin. Heroin was already big in the 50's in my neighborhood.

My brother David became a heroin addict at 15. I was a wino who joined the military, a very violent kid looking for some direction. In the Air Force I became a boxer.

My odyssey began with a fight I had with another guy in the Air Force, we were both military policeman, it was over a three dollar hat. He stuck a gun in my stomach, pulled the trigger and it misfired. Of course everyone was arrested, the gun was test fired and it fired every time after that.

I considered from that point on my life a gift and I became a fatalist. I thought I must be here for something, this was too fantastic that I survived. From that incident evolved someone who was terrified of reaching the end of life and having to say the words "I wish I had." I wanted to experience everything, I wanted to go everywhere, I wanted to taste everything. I was in a rush to live.

How I ended up in 1965 graduating from Hofstra University, married, with a baby, with a degree in accounting, I don't know. I was a very depressed young man when I ran into a buddy of mine who was carrying a little folio in his pocket that read "take the Treasury law enforcement test, be a G-man." I saw a picture of a guy on this folio that looked like James Bond. My imagination went wild, I thought that's the key to adventure, to leading the good life and I took the Treasury test.

Incredibly, I found myself on a job with the Internal Revenue Intelligence Division in 1965. My job was working undercover in the Organized Crime Wagering Division. I would ride around wearing a little hat betting with bookmakers and arresting them. It was a lot of fun, but I became very disenchanted and depressed. I kept asking myself if I had been saved for this.

Toward the end of my first year in intelligence I found out my brother was a heroin addict. The discovery destroyed my whole family and it caused me to jump into the war on drugs feet first. I believed in the war on drugs because I wanted to do something, and I took it as my mission.

I listened to all this inflammatory stuff that "they're killing us, they're dropping white death bombs on our country, they're invading us." I believed all that and I became an undercover agent and started locking up people by the droves. The government credited me with 3,000 arrests until 1977.

PD: Wasn't that dangerous?

ML: I was naive and kind of crazed and angry, I took the drug war very personally, I was akin to a Japanese kamikaze, someone who believes they're on a mission from god.

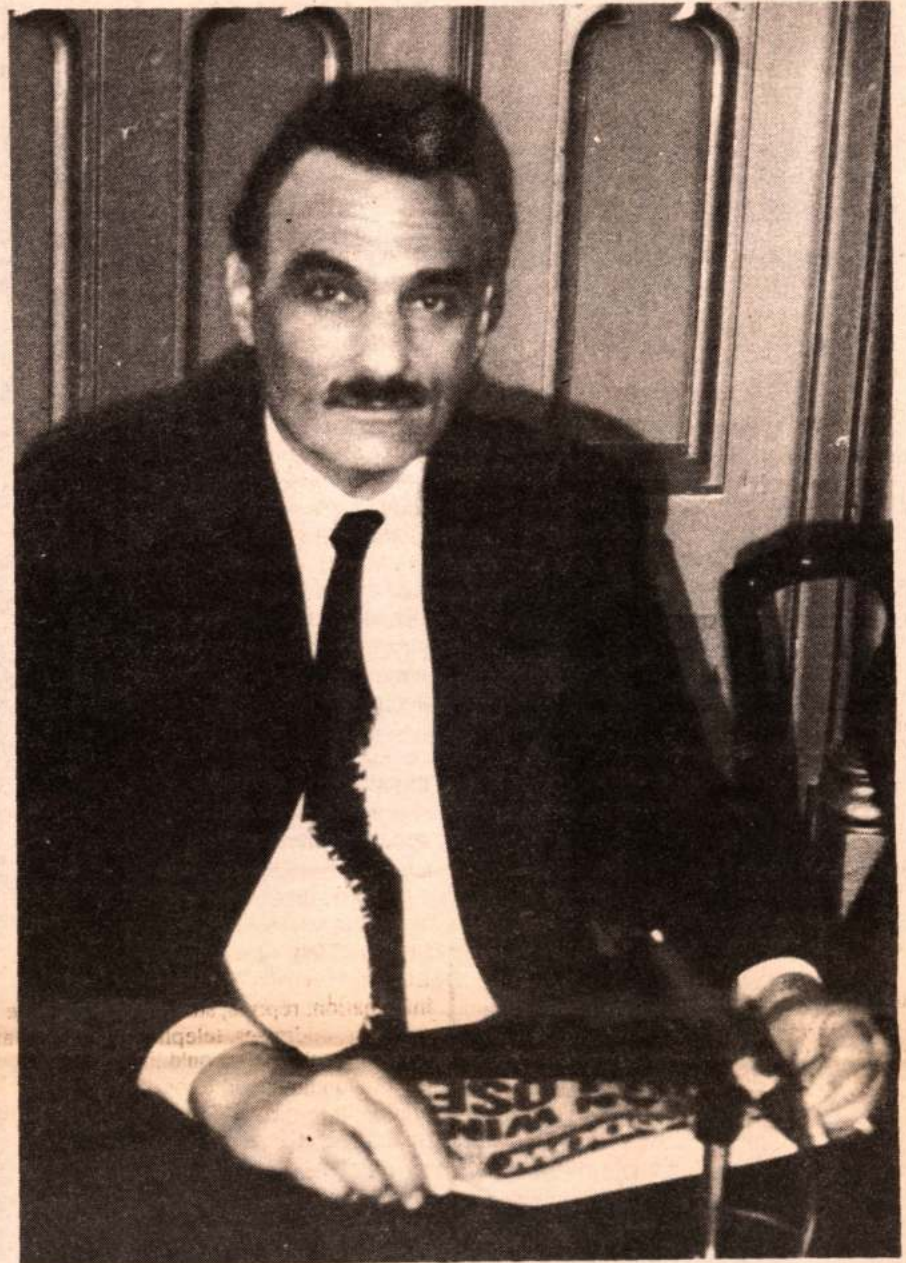
PD: What was the secret to your success?

ML: As a police lieutenant said many years later, "you know what the thing is with you Levine, you're a guy who should have gone bad, you should have been a gangster, but somehow you turned out right."

I thought about it and I thought of my youth and the way I grew up and I realized there was a lot to it. I was from the street, the street was in me, there was a thin line between me and the guys I was working on. That line was so thin that drug dealers couldn't see it. The line that separated me from being suspect as an agent was so thin that drug dealers could never believe I was an agent. That's something you can't teach.

PD: How did you wind up doing foreign operations?

ML: I began working undercover in Southeast Asia in 1970 and 1971, just being really good at what I do. I was asked to cover different assignments.



PD: Alfred McCoy, who wrote *The Politics of Heroin: CIA Complicity in the Global Drug Trade* (see interview in SHADOW #20--Ed.), said his book influenced the way you thought about the work you were doing in Southeast Asia.

ML: The first time I ran into CIA and other U.S. influences in this war on drugs was an undercover case I did into Bangkok, Thailand in 1971.

I successfully conned the hell out of Chinese drug dealers who were also the source of an investigation on a case titled "The William Henry Jackson Organization". In essence, a bunch of GI's from Vietnam were buying heroin in Thailand and putting the heroin in dead bodies of GI's killed in Vietnam. They were using the bodies of 19 year old Americans killed in that other holy war as conduits for heroin.

The Chinese drug dealers, who really bought my act, wanted to invite me to a laboratory in Changmai where they were producing hundreds of kilos. This was a time when the biggest heroin seizure was the French connection, 65 or 67 kilos of heroin.

Here are people inviting me to a factory that produces hundreds of kilos of heroin a week and mysteriously, I was instructed not to go and the case was ended with the Chinese dealers in Bangkok. I was told that there are a lot of things I didn't understand, there were other priorities and of course I accepted that because I was the good soldier.

What I point out with Alfred McCoy's book is that even if I had his book in my hand in 1971 and 72, a book that clearly pointed out why I was not allowed to go to Changmai, what an incredible thing that is to accept. That my own government could protect people who were using the dead GI's as heroin conduits. How could I accept that?

If I had McCoy's book in my hand I would have considered it a un-American thing to read. That's why I can understand what happens to young men who are in law enforcement, why they refuse to look at the reality of the situation. It's just too much for Americans to accept, it's too much for young narcotics agents.

You don't take jobs like this for civil service security, you take it because you believe in it and most of these guys do believe. When events happen and they are told that there are priorities they don't understand and when they see around them things like Oliver North, who had 500 pages on drug trafficking in his notebooks, they don't want to accept this because to accept it is to realize that your career is a lie.

PD: So then you were assigned to South America?

ML: In 1978 I was stationed in Buenos Aires, Argentina, and I was the country attaché for the Drug Enforcement Administration and I covered Argentina and

EVENTS

and Announcements.

MARCH 2--STOP THE INCINERATOR PLANNED NEXT DOOR!!--Join the Lower East Side Coalition for a Healthy Environment in stopping the city from building a giant mass burning facility in Brooklyn Navy Yard. They will meet at the Graffiti Church, two doors east of Avenue B, at 7:30PM. For info, or if you miss it, call (212)420-0621.

MARCH 3--JFK ASSASSINATION FORUM--Roundtable discussion with movie director Oliver Stone, lawyer and author Mark Lane, authors Nora Efron and Edward Jay Epstein. \$10 + \$15 at Town Hall, 113 West 43rd Street, 8:00PM. (212)840-2824.

MARCH 3--WETLANDS RAINFOREST ACTION GROUP--Working on campaigns to save tropical forests from Malaysia to Brazil, planning an alternative response to the 1992 Earth Summit in Brazil. Next meeting 5:00 PM at Wetlands, corner of Hudson & Laight in Tribeca. (212) 966-4225.

MARCH 4--AMANAKA'S AMAZON NETWORK BENEFIT--The Amanaka's Amazon Network is organizing Amazon Week, a series of events to be held in late March on the imperiled Brazilian rainforest. Come to a benefit dinner party for Amazon Week with traditional Brazilian food, 6:00 PM at Loeb Center, 516 LaGuardia. \$10 donation. (212) 219-2704.

MARCH 5--TRANSPORTATION ALTERNATIVES GENERAL MEETING--Get down with auto-free travel, at 92 St.Marx Place, 6-8:00PM. Bike videos too!!

MARCH 6--SHAMANIC & PSYCHOTROPIC PHARMACOPIA OF PERU--High Times editor Peter Gorman explores the psychoactive wild plants of the Peruvian rainforest. 7:30 PM at the Open Center, 83 Spring St. \$10. (212) 219-2527.

MARCH 8--INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY CELEBRATION--Speaker panel discusses women challenging bureaucracy, the global impact of democratic upsurges in the Eastern Bloc. At the Lesbian/Gay Community Center, 208 West 13th Street at 1:00PM, donation \$1.50 low-income, \$3.00 regular. Noon brunch, \$7.00 donation. For info, call (212)677-7002, 491-5163.

MARCH 8--INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY RALLY--All women, men and young people are invited to join the celebration and rally for a healthy planet, peace, economic justice, women's rights, and human rights for all. At Columbus Circle, 59th Street and Broadway, 1:00PM. Initiated by Women's Environment & Development Organization (WEDO). For info, call (212)759-7982.

MARCH 9--AUTO-FREE NEW YORK COMMITTEE MEETING--Director of Mayor's Office of Transportation will describe the city's transportation policy. At 625 Broadway, the Environmental Action Coalition, 2nd Floor conference room, 6-8:00PM.

MARCH 10--OIL SPILLS: THE LEGAL PERSPECTIVE--EPA, Natural Resources Defense Council and oil industry representatives at a panel on legal aspects of oil spills. Come and tell the industry reps what you think! 26 Federal Plaza, room 305, at 3:30 PM.

MARCH 11--REDEFINING WOMEN'S SEXUALITY--The Women's Health Education Project leads a workshop on new liberating perspectives and basic anatomy of women's sexuality. 6:00 PM at Judson Memorial Church, 241 Thompson St. near Washington Square. \$5 donation requested, open to all women. (212) 633-0946.

MARCH 10--RALLY TO FREE TIBET--Demonstrate to liberate Tibet from Chinese occupation. 10:30 AM at Ralph Bunch Square across First Ave. from the United Nations.

MARCH 10--COMPLETELY MAD--The history of Mad Magazine and how its brand of irreverent satire influenced the counterculture. 8:00 PM at Wetlands, corner of Hudson & Laight in Tribeca, \$6.00 admission.

MARCH 15--"FREE TOMPKINS SQUARE PARK" SPEAKOUT AND DEMONSTRATION--At 7th Street and Avenue A, 2:00PM.

MARCH 20--GAS MASQUERADE DEMONSTRATION--Join Transportation Alternatives as they serve summonses to polluting auto drivers and award merit badges to cyclists and pedestrians for commendable transportation. In Brooklyn at Grand Army Plaza, Prospect Park entrance, 5:00PM.

MARCH 24--COMMUNITY BOARD THREE MEETING--Come see the ineffectual "community" board that acts as a rubber stamp for the mayor's and real estate developers' plans and that is disregarded if they dare vote against those plans. Civilians are permitted to speak for three minutes during "public session", which means nothing since the board doesn't give a shit about what you have to say!! At the Village View Houses, 175 East 4th Street, 6:30PM.

APRIL 4--RADICAL WALKING TOUR OF CHELSEA--Conducted by radical historian Bruce Kayton. See the historical sites where radical/underground history was made. Meet at the Chelsea Hotel at 222 West 23rd Street at 1:00PM. \$6.00 fee includes free 20 page packet of articles and illustrations. For info, call (212)941-0332.

APRIL 5--NOW MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS--National Organization for Women (NOW-NYC) is sending buses to the "We won't go back" rally in Washington DC for women's reproductive rights. Advance tickets are \$25-\$35. Call (212)807-0721.

APRIL 6--MAYDAY DEFENDANT SENTENCING--Kenny, one of the only felony defendants convicted in the MayDay 29 trial, resulting from the pig riot in Tompkins Square Park on May 1, 1990, needs your support in court as he gets sentenced by Judge Failla. Come to 100 Center Street, Part 38, 16th Floor, 9:30AM.

APRIL 16--DHORUBA BIN WAHAD IN COURT--Help pack the court to show your support for former Black Panther Dhoruba who the state is trying to put back in jail after serving 19 years for a pig shooting frame-up. Come to 100 Center Street, 11th Floor, Judge McQuillan's courtroom, at 9:00 AM. For info, call (718)624-0800.

APRIL 16--ACT-UP DEMO AGAINST THE DEMOCRAT CANDIDATES--Join AIDS Coalition To Unleash Power (ACT-UP) in forcing the democrats to confront real issues with an old-fashioned confrontation!! Call (212)620-7310.

APRIL 22--EARTH DAY CELEBRATION--Traffic closed all day along 42nd Street, east to west, free bus service too.

MAY 2--19TH ANNUAL FIFTH AVE POT PARADE!! This is the big one!! HIGH NOON rally and concert under the arch in Washington Square Park, march begins at 2:00. Special musical groups include pot rappers Cypress Hills, and other surprise guests. Plenty of free pot for all!! Sponsored by the New York Grassroots Cannabis Coalition, which includes the SHADOW and High Times Magazine. For info, call (212)533-8308.

MAY 29-31--VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR: 25TH ANNIVERSARY--Weekend program includes memorial service, rally and concert featuring Country Joe McDonald. For more details, call (718)788-2009. **NOTE: This is the genuine VVAW, not associated with VVAW-AI, which is a Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) front!!**

SUBVERTISEMENTS:

(20 cents per word, no minimum or maximum)

MATTHEW COURTNEY'S ELECTION YEAR S&M CAFÉ--Monday nights in March at Dixon Place, 258 Bowery, 8:00PM. For five Mondays, Matthew is your host, your tool, your guide to interesting LES performers.

COMING CONCENTRATION CAMPS REPORT \$5.00. BRAIN IMPLANT & HOSPITAL DANGERS \$6.00. HUGE EXPOSÉ REPORT CATALOG \$1.00. BOX 2207, GARDEN VALLEY, ID 83522

LOOKING FOR A PERSON to live happily ever after with, single female, under 35, anarchist, mellow, smart, etc. Looking for a sister, partner, lover, etc. I am like a regular man, ask questions and I will tell you about me. Jer Dumas, 1032 Irving St, Box 814, San Francisco, CA 94122.

QUIET GENTLEMAN, descent Northern Irish, teetotaler, age sixty, ex-squatter with "RAGE-ON!", looking for shared living space on Lower East Side ever since 1950. Able to afford only \$152.40 monthly without extras this year. Please contact R. Redding at through the SHADOW. Thank you!

FREE! "REVENGE OF THE SQUIRRELS" STICKER! Send postage stamp to: Occupant, P.O. Box 20157, Tompkins Sq. Station, New York, N.Y. 10009

WANTED--Performance spaces to hold benefits for local community groups. Can give part of door money as fee. Contact Chris Flash through the SHADOW.

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

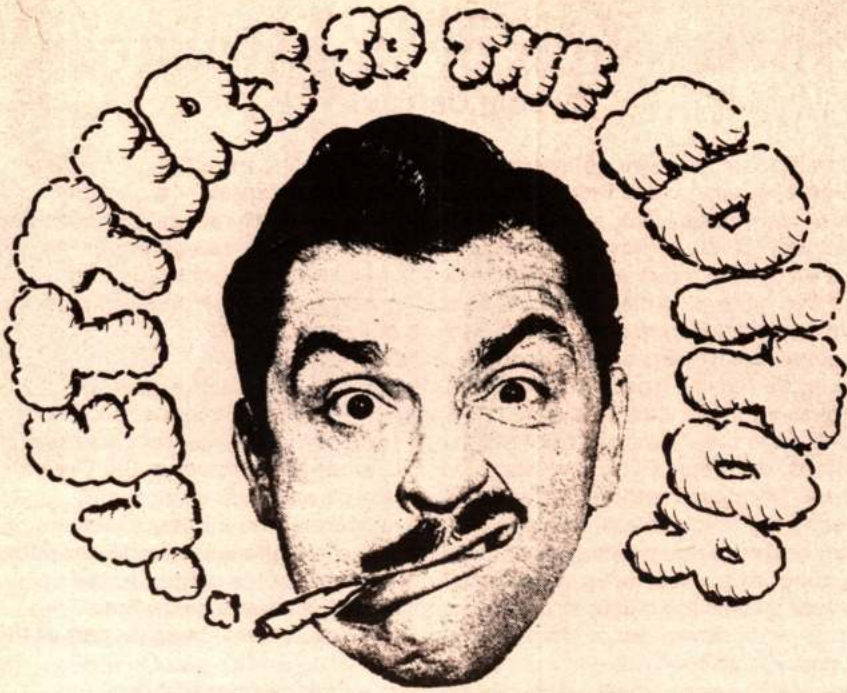
THE NEW YORK GRASSROOTS CANNABIS COALITION
(THE CANNABIS ACTION NETWORK • GREEN PANTHERS NYC • HIGH TIMES
ARON "PIE MAN" KAY • FREEDOM FIGHTERS • DAVID PEEL • THE SHADOW
AND YIPPIE N.Y.C.)

PRESENT

the 19th ANNUAL 5TH AVE. POT PARADE



Ernie Kovacs



WRITE: THE SHADOW, BOX 20298, TOMPKINS SQ., NEW YORK 10009

WORKERS' WORLD PARTY: "WORMS" ON THEIR MIND!

Workers' World Party (WWP), a violent Stalinist cult, did what they do best at their large pro-Castro rally at the Javits Center on January 25th: promote tyranny and stifle dissent.

I was part of a group of ten anarchists including members of Neither East Nor West and Love And Rage newspaper. We leafletted both the pro-Castro crowd lining up outside Javits and a much larger crowd of anti-Castro Cubans counter-demonstrating a block away.

We handed out two leaflets, one protesting the fact that Cuban Green Path (an anti-authoritarian green group) members Orlando Polo and Mercedes Paez are being refused readmission to Cuba by Castro after visiting the U.S., and the other by Cuban anarchist exile Gustavo Rodriguez (part of our crew) that criticized Bush/CIA, rightwing Cubans and the left in their positions on Cuba, calling instead for unity with anti-authoritarian anti-U.S. Castro forces like the Green Path.

As I started to leaflet, a group of anti-Castro Cubans approached the WWP rally and were repulsed by WWP goons. I crossed the street to leaflet the Cubans and then returned. That's all it took for WWP to begin surveillance of me with a video camera and earn me the tag "gusano". ("Gusano" means "worm" in Spanish and is a solely leftoid perjorative for anti-Castro Cubans and their friends of whatever political stripe. It is often objectively used in a racist manner.)

Throughout the day we were peppered with the "Gusano" insult (yep, it's just us "worms" here!) This, while at the anti-Castro rally we were called "communists"! A Cuban woman "worm" got the worst of it. She's a leftist who we befriended as she was handing out anti-Castro leaflets. She was followed by WWP security and when she implored the mostly white ticket holder line not to support Castro because of Cuba's anti-gay policies, she got heavily "wormed". Later, a WWP wanna-be pig fingered me to the real pigs, claiming I'd been seen with "worms" and was "disruptive" (i.e. exercising free speech) and the pigs forced me away from Javits Center. I circled around back to Javits only to find WWP nerds running around looking for me, their favorite "worm"! The day ended with myself, Gustavo, and others being refused admission to their cult rally by a white racist WWP'er who couldn't stop repeating "worms!, worms!, worms!", until I shut him up with "Don't you think it's racist for whites to be so liberally using an insult intended solely for Cubans?" (I can still see the blood draining from his face!)

Meanwhile, inside the rally, Cubans were beaten up by WWP for chanting and unfurling a banner. WWP claimed their rally was a victory for "free speech" as the Javits Center tried to cancel it. I'd call it a model of the dictatorship WWP has in store for us "masses"--it was a microcosm of Castro's dictatorship.

At the rally, an anarchist debated me, implying that we should support Castro because "he provides a haven for U.S. political prisoners". I rebutted: "So the Cuban people have to suffer under dictatorship just to help you?!"

The day was a success as we put ourselves on the map as an alternative to both leftoids and rightoids. A Cuba solidarity group is in formation, including U.S. and Cuban Americans. Our activity has already made leftoid bastions such as WBAI and the Guardian very nervous.

The Green Path members mentioned need help. Please write protest letters demanding for them demanding that they be allowed to return to Cuba and we'll send them to Cuban authorities. Send them to: WORMS/Neither East Nor West, 528 Fifth Street, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11215. Join the worms!
Bob McGlynn, Brooklyn, N.Y.

Fired for Questions

A TV reporter who challenged President George Bush at a news conference in Texas was fired the next day, and a management official said the reporter had been "a little too persistent" in his questioning.

Brian Karem, 30, said he was fired by KMOL-TV, an NBC affiliate, for his handling of an exchange Thursday with Bush outside McNay Art Museum in San Antonio, where the president and six Latin American leaders were concluding a two-day drug summit.

Karem questioned the summit's merit, saying he had spoken with narcotics agents last week who "don't believe the war on drugs can be won."

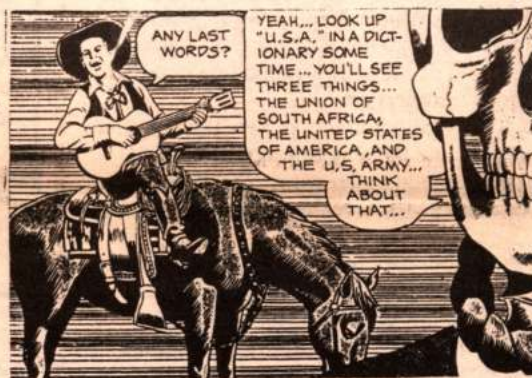
NEWSPY-3/1/92

Dear SHADOW,
I am writing to tell you about a serious abuse of the Eviction Watch list. Recently, during a tenant eviction, we called a local activist responsible for the list. The Eviction Watch could have prevented the loss of these tenants' possessions. Instead of calling people to arrive en-masse, this unlucky activist made only one call: to a person suing one of the evictees. This malicious abuse is, frankly, disgusting. What happened to squatter and tenant unity?
Thank You,
K+D

PRISONER MAIL:

Hello to all of you at the SHADOW:
I am currently confined in the control unit at Waupun Maximum Security Prison in Wisconsin. I've been down since April 1987 for taking direct action against animal abuse and experiments. Even though I'm down I'm not out. I maintain contacts with as many anarchist groups as possible to keep up on the fight. This is also why I'm in the control unit again. I refuse to kiss the pigs' ass so I am working on my third year in the hole "for hope I will reform". They can take my freedom but I'll never give them my mind! I plan to rejoin the movement upon my release which will be between June 92- July 94, depending on the parole board, but from my past experience with them it will probably be 94.
May the future bring unity and desire to defeat a capitalist society.
David Nelson #185296
WCI, P.O. Box 351, Waupun, WI 53963

Dear SHADOW,
I did 28 months in prison for selling CDs. I was released and sent back in two months for a dirty urine. I am a non-violent drug user. Now I've been back 10 months and parole wants to put me in a 6 month drug program. It will cost \$15,000 and it will FAIL. First they spend \$50,000 to house me for 28 months for just over \$100 worth of CDs. Then they let me go, bury me back, spend another \$20,000 to house, now they want to spend \$13,000 to CURE me. That's \$83,000, tax payers. Wake Up America.
James Charles, New Jersey



Dear SHADOW,
Will Newsday have sufficient courage to publish the enclosed letter? Only the SHADOW knows....

"Tailor loses two fingers after homeless man shoves him in front of train"-- NY Newsday headline 2/7/92

Would Newsday publish "...after Jew/Black shoves him in front of train"? Of course not. Such a headline would be a blatant demonization of Jews/Blacks as a class. Flagrant criminalization of an entire group of persons.

Yes, it's true that eminent colleagues at the NY Post have indeed published headlines such as 'Homeless Man Seized In Bellevue Murder', 'Homeless Man Shot Dead Texas Cop', etc.

But surely Newsday is on a higher plane than the Post. Newsday does not knowingly employ 'Freedom of the Press' as a pretext to demonize the homeless. Or does it?

If Newsday were on the verge of bankruptcy like the Daily News, it might be understandable that in a desperate effort to survive, it would knowingly criminalize the homeless, hoping thereby to acquire additional real estate ads and to attract homeless hatemongers to its readership. Is Newsday about to join the Macy's Parade of bankruptcy? Does it have any Robert Maxwell skeletons hidden in its financial closet?"

Discovery,
Sidney Simon, New York

Greetings,
Yes, we could surely use some modern superheroes to fight the goddamn bastards who are turning this country into a Gestapo/KGB fascist communist totalitarian slave/robot dictatorship! Ha!
For the Free,
David, Idaho

Dear SHADOW,
America is a classless society where a homeless man and Harry Helmsley (a senile NY real estate mogul--Ed) both enjoy the inalienable right to pay the same railway fare.
Token democracy at \$1.25!
J. Arthur Pretzelburger
Professor of Jurisprudence

BARNYARD SOCIALISM

Once upon a time there was a little Red Hen who scratched about and uncovered some grains of wheat. She called her barnyard neighbors and said, "If we work together and plant this wheat, we will have some fine bread to eat. Who will help me plant the wheat?" "Not I", said the Cow. "Not I", said the Duck. "Not I", said the Goose. "Then I will", said the little Red Hen and she did.

After the wheat started growing, the ground turned dry and there was no rain in sight.

"Who will help me water the wheat?", asked the little Red Hen.

"Not I", said the Cow. "Not I", said the Pig. "Equal rights", said the Goose. "Then I will", said the little Red Hen and she did.

The wheat grew tall and ripened into golden grain. "Who will help me reap the wheat?", asked the little Red Hen.

"Not I", said the Cow. "Not I", said the Duck. "Out of my classification", said the Pig. "Not I", said the Goose. "Then I will", said the little Red Hen and she did.

When it came time to grind the flour, "Not I", said the Cow. "I'd lose my unemployment insurance", said the Duck.

When it came time to bake the bread, "That's overtime for me", said the Cow. "I'm a dropout and never learned how", said the Duck. "I'd lose my welfare benefits", said the Pig. "If I'm the only one helping, that's discrimination", said the Goose.

"Then I will", said the little Red Hen and she did. She baked five loaves of fine bread and held them up for her neighbors to see.

"I want some", said the Cow. "I want some", said the Duck. "I want some", said the Pig. "I want my share", said the Goose.

"No", said the little Red Hen. "I can rest for a while and eat the five loaves myself".

"Excess profits", screamed the Cow. "Capitalist leech", screamed the Duck. "Company fink", grunted the Pig. "Equal rights", screamed the Goose. And they hurriedly painted picket signs and marched around the little Red Hen, singing "We shall overcome." And they did.

For when the farmer came to investigate the commotion, he said, "You must not be greedy, little Red Hen. Look at the oppressed Cow. Look at the disadvantaged Duck. Look at the underprivileged Pig. Look at the less fortunate Goose. You are guilty of making second class citizens of them."

"But, but, I earned the bread", said the little Red Hen.

"Exactly", said the wise farmer. "That is the wonderful free enterprise system; anybody in the barnyard can earn as much as he wants. You should be happy to have all this freedom. In other barnyards, you would have to give all five loaves to the farmer. Here you give four to your suffering neighbors."

And they lived happily ever after, including the little Red Hen, who smiled and clucked, "I am grateful. I am grateful."

But her neighbors wondered why she never baked any more bread.



ART: COSMO IDEA: GREG REX

PUBLIC HEALTH WARNING:
COPAROACH INFESTATION!!
THEY'RE EVERYWHERE AROUND TOMPKINS SQ. PARK

MOHAWK !! WARRIORS SENTENCED

By Paul DeRienzo

The case of three Mohawk warriors on trial in Quebec ended with a mixed verdict on January 22, 1992. The three men were the first of 40 Mohawk women and men and one of their non-Mohawk lawyers (Lower East Side activist attorney Stanley Cohen--Ed.) tried in connection with the 77-day armed stand off at the Mohawk territory of Kanesatake near the town of Oka about 20 miles west of Montreal.

Named after the drug rehabilitation center where the Mohawks held out against 1,000 Canadian army troops, the Treatment Center 41, or TC 41, collectively faced several hundred charges stemming from the conflict. Three members of the group were singled out for the most severe charges.

Ronald Cross, who was known during the confrontation by the nom de guerre of "Lasagna," was convicted of six charges of weapons possession and 15 counts of assault and was acquitted of 29 counts, including threats against soldiers. On February 19th, Quebec Superior Court Judge Benjamin Greenberg sentenced Lasagna to 4 years and 4 months. Cross had faced a possible maximum of 14 years in prison.

Gordon Lazore, who used the name "Noriega," was convicted on nine assault charges and acquitted on another 40 charges. He was sentenced to 23 months of a possible four year prison sentence. Ronald Lazore, called "2020," was acquitted on all charges.

A report in the *Montreal Gazette* quoted Judge Greenberg as saying that he tempered the sentences because he "understood the pressures the men were under."

Most of the charges against the three were the result of a fight with Francis Jacobs, a Mohawk from Kanesatake who is connected to the elected Band Council. According to some Mohawks, during the armed standoff, Jacobs formed a "community police patrol." Some Mohawks accused Jacobs of being an informant for Canadian authorities. Jacobs was the government's central witness at the trial, where he testified that he was beaten by Noriega, Lasagna and 2020.

POLICE RAID BACKFIRES

The conflict began in March 1990, when a group of investors tried to expand a private golf course onto land belonging to the Mohawk community of Kanesatake. Relying on the decisions of the traditional Longhouse government, where the Clan Mothers appoint Chiefs, local Mohawks set up barricades on the main road to Kanesatake.

The tense showdown between the Mohawks and the Quebec Provincial police, also known as the *Surete de Quebec* or SQ, continued into the summer. Then, without warning, on July 11th, about 100 SQ officers armed with assault weapons challenged the Mohawk barricades. Mohawk spokespeople say they attempted to negotiate, but the SQ attacked behind a barrage of tear gas while firing in the direction of Mohawk women and children. Mohawk fighters also armed with automatic weapons returned fire.

Journalists at the scene say an unexpected change in wind direction blew the gas back toward the advancing line of police. As the gas cleared and the shooting stopped, an SQ corporal was found shot to death. Mohawks claimed the fatal bullet came from a police weapon, a charge denied by the SQ. However, no charges were ever brought in the officer's death.

Later that same day, another group of Mohawks from the community of Kahnawake (just across the St. Lawrence river from Montreal), closed down the Mercier Bridge in support of the Kanesatake Mohawks. The seizure of the bridge, which carries 70,000 commuters a day, sparked a backlash by some white French-Canadians in the suburban town of Chateauguay. Enraged at being forced to take a two-hour detour to get to work in Montreal, local racists (stirred up in part by Ku Klux Klansmen from over the border in the US) held demonstrations at the southern ramp of the bridge, where they burned a Mohawk in effigy. On September 2nd, a 71-year-old Mohawk named Joe Armstrong died of a heart attack after being struck by a stone.

POLITICS OF SOVEREIGNTY

Joe Deom is a Mohawk representing Kahnawake in a three-member legal defense coordinating team for the TC 41. Two other Mohawks represent Kanesatake and the Mohawk community of Akwesasne which straddles the US-Canadian border.

According to Deom, the issue of jurisdiction is at the heart of what he calls a "political trial." He says "our contention is that we are sovereign, we have jurisdiction over our own people and lands within our territories."

"Unfortunately," Deom says, "the trial of the three men was run strictly on criminal lines and the issue of sovereignty was hardly broached." But Deom admits that attempts to raise the issue of Indian sovereignty were doomed from the start because "we knew that the judge would rule against us. If he had ruled in our favor he would have had to admit that we were in fact sovereign." Deom maintains that due to their convictions, Cross and Ronald Lazore are now political prisoners.

Among the Mohawks themselves the issue of jurisdiction has prompted a bitter internal struggle that was overshadowed by the events in Oka. While the armed struggle that occurred in Kanesatake was sanctioned by the Longhouse traditionals represented by the Clan Mothers, there are other competing jurisdictions that have been established on both sides of the US-Canada border. In Canada, the government has sponsored the Band Council system and in the US there are the Tribal Councils. Both are elected legislative bodies with close ties to various government agencies of both countries with responsibility for Indian affairs.

Deom praises the Kahnawake Band Council which has funded four 24-hour checkpoints controlling access to Kahnawake since the racist attacks during the two month seizure of the Mercier Bridge. However, Deom insists that the recent election of a Band Council in Kanesatake is an example of "the same old story of inserting a colonized government within our territories." According to Deom, in Kanesatake, "the Band Council is non-committal as far as supporting the traditional movement." Deom says last fall's election of 12 Chiefs to the Kanesatake Band Council was flawed by a small turnout that he insists led to the election of a Grand Chief who isn't a Mohawk.

Deom says he isn't happy with the Band Council in Akwesasne either, which he says has been antagonistic toward the traditionals who fought to defend the treatment center. He says that in Akwesasne the Band Council on the Canadian side has worked "heavily with the Canadian government to undermine any movement toward independence" and that on the US side, the Tribal Government has been "sympathetic."

According to Deom, the grassroots feeling among Mohawks is in support of the traditional Longhouse government. Deom bemoans what he says is the image favored in the media that the traditional government is a "museum piece" and an unswerving support for elections as a definition of democracy. Deom criticizes the parliamentary system as a "dictatorship" for the five years between elections. "In our system," he continues, "it's the people that tell the leadership what to do and the leadership becomes in essence spokepeople."

A MILLENNIUM OF MOHAWK RULE

By Paul DeRienzo

The traditional Mohawk government originates with the founding of the five nation confederacy which French explorers named les Iroquois -- along the shores of Onondaga Lake, now in upstate New York near Syracuse. According to Mohawk legend, more than 1,000 years ago (some modern historians put the event at about 500 years ago), a man called the Peacemaker persuaded the warring five nations to make a "Great Peace" symbolized by the planting along the lake shore of a white pine -- the first Tree of Peace -- where the five nations weapons of war were buried.

To themselves, les Iroquois are the Haudenosaunee, or People of the Longhouse and their nation, based in upstate New York, once influenced territories from the Atlantic to the Mississippi River. The confederacy includes the Seneca, or Keepers of the Western Door, Onondaga, Keepers of the Central Fire, three "younger brothers" -- the Oneida, Cayuga and Tuscarora -- and completing the confederacy, the Mohawk, or Keepers of the Eastern Door.

At the center of the traditional government is the Longhouse, a large one-story log building, which serves as both a religious and legislative center. In the Longhouse gather the chiefs of the five original nations and a sixth, the Tuscarora who, driven out of North Carolina by white settlers, became part of the confederacy in about 1722.

There are 50 peace chiefs, each representing a lineage of one of the confederacy's original founders, who make decisions based on consensus after long discussions. Women play a leading role and the chiefs are selected and can be removed by the Clan Mothers -- membership in nation and clan is passed down through women.

WHO IS A TRADITIONAL?

In the early 1970's with the founding of the American Indian Movement and the violent siege of Wounded Knee by federal agents a nationalist movement grew among New York state's Mohawk community. In 1973 a group of Mohawk's who later became the Warrior Society began an armed occupation of a piece of traditional Mohawk land they called Ganienkeh. New York state officials negotiated a peaceful settlement but by the 1980's bitter divisions arose among the Mohawk people themselves over the divisive issue of legalized gambling. Claiming sovereignty some Mohawks, following a trend among some Indian nations, have built high-stakes bingo halls and casinos in states where gambling is illegal.

Opposed to the gambling economy set up by some Warrior leaders on Mohawk land -- a group centered around the newspaper *Akwesasne Notes* and the Akwesasne Longhouse began organizing against the gambling economy. This anti-gambling group became known as the "antis". By 1989 the tensions escalated into a series of confrontations that included the torching of the offices of *Akwesasne Notes*. In the Spring of 1990, the antis set up roadblocks to shut down the casinos and the short but bloody Mohawk civil war had begun.

Environmental activist Bill Weinberg has written extensively on the violence that erupted on April 24th. Weinberg writes that when the shooting was over two Mohawk men were dead, *Akwesasne Notes* editor Doug George was arrested for murder and 2,000 Mohawk refugees had fled the reservation for Cornwall Ontario. George was later acquitted in a Quebec court.

See MOHAWK On Page 15



BUCHANAN-NIXON CONNECTION

Continued From Page 6



Although Buchanan eventually admitted during his September 1973 testimony before Senator Sam Ervin's Watergate Investigation Committee "that some actions taken in behalf of Nixon's candidacy, including the Watergate wiretapping, were illegal or crossed the boundaries of propriety, he equated much of what was done with the 'hardball' tactics and pranks he considered normal in American politics," according to the **1985 Current Biography Yearbook**.

Yet, according to the 1973 book by William Dobrovir, Joseph Gebhardt, Samuel Buffone and Andra Oakes, **The Offenses of Richard M. Nixon: A Guide For The People Of The United States Of America**:

"The Nixon reelection campaign went beyond political 'tricks' to sabotage the Democratic candidates. It undertook a wiretapping and break-in program to spy on the opposition, without precedent in American campaigns, and which subsequently set off a national scandal."

And, according to a chapter by Robert Fink, "Some Unresolved Break-Ins, 1970-1974," which appeared in the 1976 book **Government By Gunplay: Assassination Conspiracy Theories From Dallas To Today**, that Sid Blumenthal and Harvey Yazizian edited:

"At least 100 break-ins apparently political in nature, occurred during the Nixon Administration. Clandestine invasions of homes and offices were made against numerous individuals and groups considered 'enemies' of the Administration. 'Enemies', both on and off the White House's prepared list, included media critics, radicals and liberals opposed to Administration policy, political foes considered threats, and foreign diplomats thought dangerous to American interests. Other break-in victims, not themselves 'enemies', possessed documents or other material possibly damaging to 'enemies' or to the Administration itself.

"Although the evidence linking the government to these break-ins is largely circumstantial, it is both striking and persuasive. Not only were virtually all the victims objects of Administration concern or suspicion, but the attacks against them followed a consistent pattern. The most striking characteristics of this modus operandi is that, aside from taking relatively insignificant trinkets, the intruders did not touch cash or valuables. They appeared to be under orders or to have a code of honor which precluded the stealing of material possessions. Instead, the burglars looked for information: correspondence, financial records, tapes, the contents of files. The break-ins uniformly occurred when the premises were expected to be empty: almost always at weekends, at night, or holidays. The targets were carefully studied in advance; the intruders appeared to know their victims' schedules and the general or precise location of their documents. Entry was usually forced; there was little effort to conceal the attempts -- at least where a break-in has been identified. When police were called, a perfunctory investigation was made, fingerprints were taken; the victim was told little or nothing; the case died."

The **1985 Current Biography Yearbook** also noted that "through the final months of the Nixon administration, Buchanan -- like ABC News Correspondent Diane Sawyer -- "remained steadfastly loyal" and, when Nixon finally resigned in August 1974, Buchanan "stayed on to serve his successor, Gerald R. Ford."

Like ABC Correspondent Diane Sawyer, Buchanan was able to soon move from an Establishment White House staff position to a lucrative U.S. Establishment mass media job slot. In January, 1975, Buchanan was hired by the liberal Establishment media "to write a thrice-weekly column of political and social commentary that would be distributed by Special Features, a subsidiary of **The New York Times Company**," according to the **1985 Current Biography Yearbook**. In 1978, he became both a syndicated columnist for the **Chicago Tribune-New York News Syndicate** and an NBC Radio "commentator". By the early 1980's, Buchanan was appearing on television as a "political commentator" on both a local Washington, D.C. station and on Ted Turner's **Cable News Network** "Crossfire" program. By 1982, Buchanan was also collecting liberal U.S. Establishment mass media money by appearing as a regular panelist on the McLaughlin Group television talk show. As a result of his post-Nixon White House Staff mass media career, Buchanan was earning over \$400,000 a year from lectures, writing and broadcasting by 1984, according to the **1985 Current Biography Yearbook**.

On February 5, 1985, however, Buchanan decided to shift his U.S. Establishment political role from mass media "commentator" to Ronald Reagan's White House Director of Communications. As Reagan's White House Director of Communications, according to the **1985 Current Biography Yearbook**, Buchanan influenced Reagan's decision "to visit a military cemetery in Bitburg, Germany, despite the discovery there of the graves of Waffen SS troops." As a "columnist", Buchanan "had been a foe of the Justice Department's Office of Special Investigation, which tracks down Nazi war criminals in the United States, and had opposed stripping American citizenship from staunchly anti-Communist East European emigres accused of war crimes on the basis of evidence provided by the Soviets," according to the same book.

Buchanan's wife during the 1980's -- Shelly Ann Scarney-Buchanan -- also has a Nixon connection. According to the **1985 Current Biography Yearbook**, Buchanan's wife "was a receptionist in the Nixon White House."

Even if Patrick "Right-Wing America First!" Buchanan fails to win the U.S. presidency or U.S. vice-presidency this year, he remains a threat to the cause of democratization in the United States. The right-wing extremist Buchanan seeks to perpetuate the rule of Richard Nixon's Republican Party Political Dynasty in the 1990's and early 21st century (although he had tactical reservations about using U.S. military forces to attack Saddam Hussein's military machine last year). And Buchanan has always been willing to use anti-democratic methods and increased mass media censorship of liberal, anarchist, and leftist voices to insure continued right-wing domination of U.S. political life. Civil liberties in the United States would likely be as threatened in the 1990's, as a result of "Buchananism", as they were during the 1950's, as a result of "McCarthyism."

ACT-UP HITS BUSH-BUCHANAN HEADQUARTERS IN NEW HAMPSHIRE!!

(Eyewitness report by A. Kronstadt)

Every four years, Manchester, New Hampshire, becomes the scene of a political three-ring circus as New Hampshire stages the first primary of every presidential election year. This year was no exception. Normally, this political circus is confined to electoral channels, but on Saturday, February 15, the politics spilled over into the streets of this usually sedate New England capital.

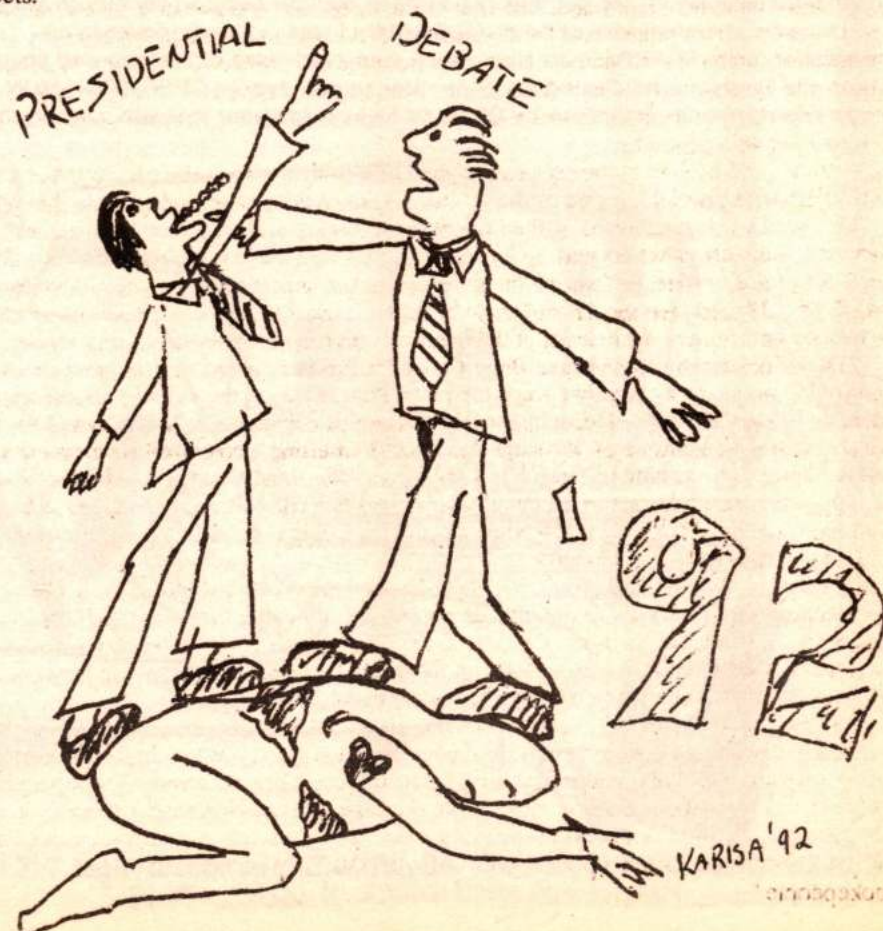
A demonstration by about 750 Haitians opposed to the U.S. government's decision to deport Haitian refugees back to their homeland took place at noon along Manchester's main drag, Elm Street. The demonstrators, most of whom came in from Boston, chanted "George Bush-Racist" and sang songs in English and Creole demanding democracy for Haiti. Signs and banners denounced last year's coup which overthrew the progressive elected government of Jean-Bertrand Aristide. One sign asked: "George Bush-Do Haitians Taste Like Broccoli to You?" The march passed by the offices of all of the candidates, but most of the animosity of the demonstrators was reserved for George Bush.

While the Haitian demo was winding up at the far end of Elm Street, a much larger demo of AIDS activists from all over the Northeast was massing at Veterans Park. This march, called by ACT-UP (AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power), was a protest against the silence of most of the candidates on the subject of AIDS, as well as the outright bigotry of some. Democrat Bill Clinton, for instance, signed legislation in Arkansas mandating HIV testing without consent, while Republican challenger Pat Buchanan blamed the AIDS epidemic on "militant homosexuals forcing their lifestyle on America." Once again, most of the hostility was directed at George Bush, whose attitude has been business as usual in spite of 133,232 AIDS fatalities thus far. ACT-UP's three basic demands are for massively increased research and speeded up testing of new treatments, universal free health care, and decent housing for everyone.

The demonstration was noisy and confrontational from the start. Straight off, a bunch of garbage bags stuffed with paper, each bearing the name of a candidate, were set on fire in Veterans Park. Protestors blew whistles and surrounded a flag-festooned car belonging to the Buchanan campaign, shouting "Shame, Shame" and not letting it move. The handful of Manchester cops assigned to the march were obviously not trained in dealing with large groups and would have been helpless to prevent the group from wrecking the Archie Bunker-mobile if they had wanted to, but the protestors confined themselves to throwing condoms at it. There were lots of strange props around. A guy came around wearing a white Pope's habit with placards front and back. The one in front said "Sex Expert" while the one in back said "use a second condom for the Second Coming." Some people from the Jerry Brown campaign joined the demo, but nobody else was carrying a sign identifying him or herself with any particular candidate.

The march took off and rolled down Elm Street, where all of the temporary headquarters of the various candidates were located. The marchers promptly took the whole street against the wishes of the cops, who were only offering a narrow lane. There was to be no business as usual in Manchester that afternoon. Some Jesus jerks and a couple of hardhats started heckling and were pelted with condoms. At Buchanan headquarters, the chant was, "Talk about AIDS, not who you fuck", and at the Bush headquarters "Suck my dick, eat my clit, George Bush is full of shit." A die-in was staged in which everybody laid down on the freezing cold pavement for a couple of minutes. People scrawled outlines of dead bodies on the sidewalk with chalk. Finally the crowd rushed an unprotected storefront being used by the Bush-Quayle campaign. The window was quickly covered with *Silence=Death* and *Fuck the New World Order* stickers. Then, the window went in, smashed by somebody in the crowd. The ACT-UP marshals were freaked out and pushed people back to let the cops in to guard the place, otherwise there would have been piles of Bush-shit burning in the middle of the street. In the course of this near riot, a rally broke out, with a few mercifully short speeches and free food by **Food Not Bombs**. Finally, part of the crowd straggled back down Elm Street (past a record store which was doing a brisk business selling T-shirts of Bush with a circle/slash across his visage and a bookstore with a "Draft Sununu" sign in the window) and went to fuck with the Buchanan headquarters. Buchanan himself must have been inside, because the place was guarded by honest-to-goodness Secret Service agents complete with the trenchcoats and sunglasses. The crowd made noise and covered the front of Bigot Central with ACT-UP stickers.

In any election in the U.S., the media attempts to prevent people from questioning the underlying assumptions, particularly where the particular batch of candidates that they are choosing among came from. Why Clinton, of all people, and why Tsongas, rather than Jane Q. Citizen who lives upstairs? This kind of disruption of the spectacle brings such questions into the foreground. This year, the questions which really matter will only be brought up in the streets.



SHADOW INTERVIEW

Continued From Page 9

Uruguay. This was during the year of the dirty war, La Guerra Sucia, when the Argentine hit squads were disappearing any number of young Argentines for being political activists.

I was there on a holy mission in the war on drugs and I was as focused on the war on drugs as ever. Blind to anything else, I was there for my country to protect the American children from the white death.

I've been criticized as being a low level DEA employee, which is not true. During my two years in Argentina I was the senior law enforcement representative in the southern cone, the FBI closed their office and I fielded their work, Bolivia closed down the DEA operations, I fielded their work, so I was the senior man during these years.

I quickly penetrated an organization called the Roberto Suarez cocaine organization that offered me thousands of kilos of cocaine a month when the biggest drug seizure at the time was 240 kilos of cocaine. The first man I met was Marcelo Ibañez, who was an ex-minister of agriculture in Bolivia, who told me there was a man named Roberto Suarez who was putting together all the drug producers in Bolivia under one umbrella organization, which later became La Corporación, the General Motors of cocaine.

I went to DEA and asked for funding and approval to set up a sting operation and I was called a liar. I was told that Roberto Suarez wasn't in the computer, neither was Marcelo Ibañez. I went to the CIA and checked his name and they had nothing on him. Of course, three or four months later on 60 Minutes, Mike Wallace called him the biggest drug dealer who ever lived.

There had to be something wrong at that point, but I continued to persist. At one point I was accused of trying to run a scam on DEA to get an all-expense paid undercover trip up to the States. But I kept meeting with these Bolivians, still pretending to be a half Sicilian, half Puerto Rican drug buyer and representative of the mafia.

Eventually, I forced DEA into setting up a sting operation which they did all they could to destroy, but I managed to rally a team of undercover agents, who like me, didn't believe that anybody could go against an operation like this. We got the support of elements of the Bolivian government, the Lidia Gaylor government, who were in 1980 genuinely anti-drug, to carry out a huge sting operation. It ended with the seizure of about 1,000 pounds of coke.

I paid \$9 million to José Roberto Gasser, one of the richest and most powerful Bolivians, from one of the most powerful Bolivian families, a family that had long been linked to the World Anti-Communist League and the CIA. He was arrested leaving the bank with my \$9 million along with Alfredo Gutierrez, a man who was in the DEA computer as one of the biggest drug dealers in the world.

Before I could get back to Argentina, my post of duty, the United States Attorney in South Florida, the man who is now prosecuting Manuel Noriega, Michael Sullivan, released Gasser without putting the case before a grand jury. These details will be in a forthcoming book, Queen of Cocaine. I couldn't write this in detail with the chronology of my life in my previous book Deep Cover for reasons I'll explain.

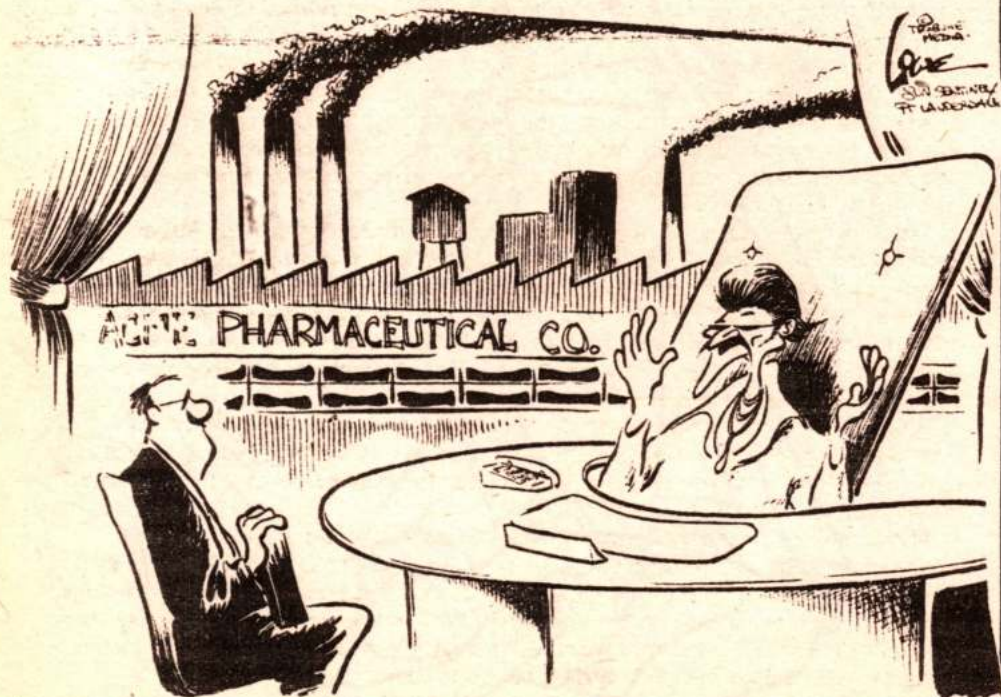
Gasser goes back to Bolivia and publishes an account of his release, making a laughing stock of the American drug war and within months Alfredo Gutierrez is released. So the "biggest drug sting in history", as it was called by Penthouse magazine, is left without any defendants, only the American people didn't know that.

Now what happens, José Roberto Gasser, Roberto Suarez, Gasser's father Erwin Gasser, have a meeting with the Bolivian military and begin to foment what became the cocaine coup, the 1980 Bolivian revolution, in which for the first time in history, drug dealers now took over their country. During that coup all the people who helped DEA in the sting were either exiled, killed or tortured. I learned that the CIA was a supporter of this revolution and that's why Gasser was released.

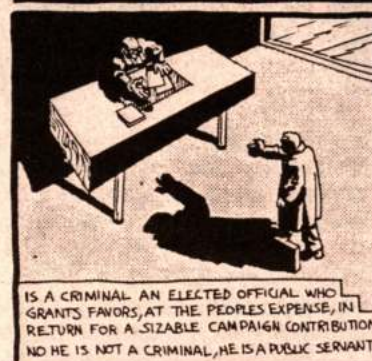
At that moment, for the first time in my life, I had no choice but to look at the truth, that this drug war was not for real. Then I began to complain and I wrote a letter to the media. A month later I was put under a very heavy personal investigation that went into every corner of my life.

I was falsely accused of everything from black marketing to playing my radio too loud in the American embassy. No stone was left unturned in trying to make me an incredible person and destroy my career, my reputation, my credibility. I managed to survive that but they did frighten me into keeping my mouth shut.

I was force transferred up to the U.S. where I was put undercover in an operation called OPERATION HUN which was even more of a fiasco and scandal than the Suarez case. During my entire time undercover in OPERATION HUN I was kept under investigation by DEA and I was frightened to death. During this



"I USED TO OPERATE A COCAINE LAB, UNTIL I DISCOVERED THAT THE PROFIT MARGIN WAS MUCH HIGHER IN LEGAL DRUGS."



same investigation we learned that my daughter had become a cocaine addict. Most of my attention then went to getting a hardship transfer back to New York and to forget everything that happened to me. I didn't want to believe what I had just lived through for the previous five and six years.

I probably would have gone to the end of my career keeping my mouth shut had not OPERATION TRIFECTA happened at the end of 1987 and the events described in the book Deep Cover. When Deep Cover happened, that was the straw that broke the camel's back and I decided I had to speak out.

PD: Have you been threatened because you decided to make these allegations public?

ML: It's such a sad commentary to spend almost 26 years of your life as a government agent, believing in what you were doing for a good part of that time and then come to the realization that I have to be more afraid of my own leaders than I ever was of a drug dealer.

I've been threatened throughout my life, but one of the scariest threats that I've ever had came in the form of advice from a friend of mine in DEA who is now one of the high level people in DEA. He called me during the hottest part of their investigation into me when I was criticizing the government. To fully understand what he said I need to tell a quick little story.

Sandy (Sante) Bario was DEA agent who was sent to Mexico. I considered him one of the top undercover agents in DEA. He became involved in all kinds of CIA type operations with drugs and eventually ended up being arrested while smuggling drugs. I won't even comment on whether he became corrupt or whether the whole system is so corrupt that no one can go into it without becoming corrupt.

Sandy was being held in a jail on the Texas-Mexican border when he took a bite of a peanut butter sandwich in the jail. He fell down in convulsions and went into a coma. The initial tests indicated that Sandy had been poisoned with strychnine. He died three or four weeks later and the final autopsy said death by asphyxiation on a peanut butter sandwich, he choked on the sandwich. That's incredible.

Half the DEA agents I knew believed that he was either offed by some covert agency in the government or possibly some elements within DEA. I didn't want to believe anything like that, I couldn't believe anything like that.

Cut to several years later, and here I am under investigation, criticizing my own government, and a DEA official calls me and says, "Mike I like you, remember a peanut butter sandwich". "Are you kidding?", I said, and he replied "Not at all, I'm only telling you this because I like you", and he and I never spoke again.

PD: What was OPERATION TRIFECTA?

ML: OPERATION TRIFECTA was a three-pronged probe into the top of the drug world. It went into La Corporación in Bolivia, where myself and another undercover agent, Jorge Urquijo, made a 15 ton cocaine deal with people who were producing 400 kilos of cocaine a day in their lab. They were only a small part of this corporation.

In the course of this operation we met the top money launderer in Panama, Remberto Rodriguez, where we were instructed to make our first \$5 million payment. Rodriguez was a man we then believed was closely linked to Manuel Noriega when the Panamanian dictator was being protected by the United States. This was three months before Noriega's indictment.

We then met with the grandson of the man who wrote the Mexican constitution, Mexican colonel Jorge Carranza, and I bribed him with \$1 million to land the first shipment of cocaine from Bolivia in Mexico with Mexican military protection to ferry the load up to the States.

The case in all three countries was truncated by my own government's actions. We were not allowed to go further then we went and that's when I wrote Deep Cover and then I retired from the agency.

Continued On Page 15

SHADOW INTERVIEW

Continued From Page 14

PD: What is the subject of your most recent book?

ML: It's called *Fight Back: How to Take Your Neighborhood, Schools And Family Back From The Drug Dealer*. The book's premise is that we have been fooled into aiming our efforts in the wrong direction. We have an \$11.5 billion budget that's mostly going against this war against drugs, war against the Medellin Cartel, war against Manuel Noriega. After my 25 year career, I concluded that the \$11.5 million was wasted as was the \$8.5 billion last year.

\$200 million was recently spent to bring Noriega to "justice" and what happened is that before his seat was cold, the drug situation, according to my sources that are still within the DEA and who still contact me, is much worse than when Noriega was there. We have to conclude that the \$200 million was wasted money.

If you add all the hundreds of billions of dollars that have been spent in this war on drugs, what you'll find is that hadn't we spent one nickel in the last 25 years the situation would not be any better or any worse. It had absolutely no effect, it was wasted money.

The thrust of *Fight Back* is that the only way to fight back is to take away this notion that a supply side war on drugs works at all. To examine what communities have done that actually works that hurts the drug economy. To examine what cultures like Japan have done, that quickly devastated the drug economy without going to war against drugs. To see if we can get these programs operating around the country and in essence take the war on drugs out of the hands of the suits, the lying politicians, the bureaucrats and into the people and local police and local communities. Where we will effectively destroy the drug economy.

Chief of Police Reuben Greenberg of Charleston, South Carolina is one of the examples I cite in the book. He said you got to attack it as a business. Drugs don't shoot and drugs don't fight, you can't go to war against drugs, although our leaders would have us go to war against drugs forever because that will maintain the bureaucracy and the drug economy. A hell of a lot of people want that drug economy to continue.

What Chief of Police Greenberg did was instruct his police officers to go down in the street and not make any arrests. They called it a shadowing operation. They would stand around near the drug dealers and followed them. They found that the users, 80 to 90 percent of whom are affluent buyers from outside the community, who are afraid of exposure, just turned around and left. Within a year, without making any arrests, Chief Greenberg significantly reduced drug related crime.

If you tell hard core drug abusers, like my baby brother David, that it's not your fault, then you're adding fuel to the fire, you're giving an impetus to the drug economy. If you don't aim any of our anti-drug efforts at this affluent majority market and you give them license to feel they're victims of this influx of drugs just like the black community, you're adding fuel to this fire.

If you target the affluent drug buyers, like the Morris Avenue block association in my native South Bronx, where the community took to the streets with video cameras and bullhorns and frightened away drug buyers. They were able to kill the drug economy in their neighborhood. It's the dollars of the affluent users coming into poor neighborhoods that bring the bullets, those dollars are what's keeping the Medellin Cartel in business, what's keeping La Corporación in Bolivia in business, the drug cartels in Peru in business.

One of the reasons I wrote *Fight Back* was when I heard of a poll taken showing that the majority of Americans are willing to give up their rights under the constitution to win the war on drugs. I said it's time to fight back. If we change this constitution, a guy like Mike Levine criticizing his government wouldn't exist. *Fight Back* is intended to stop this madness, to stop this militarization, to stop this erosion of our constitution.

It can't begin by waiting for George Bush, it has to begin on the street level. Communities banding together and not making it a racial issue, making it an issue for communities black and white, not to accept the drug economy.

If it were the car business, the dumbest thing we could do to stop people from driving and buying cars is go after the board of directors of General Motors. As long as there's people out there who want to buy cars, they'll go underground. But if we start seizing cars and we start publicizing the names of these people who have been untouchable, you'll see demand quickly drop to nothing. The same thing will happen if we make drug buyers accountable. I'm talking particularly about cocaine, not marijuana, because even though I'm against legalization of drugs, marijuana is a good case for possible legalization, but not cocaine, crack and heroin.

PD: You've been criticized by some who say your proposals take away some people's rights. What do you say to those criticisms?

ML: I'll have to disagree with you Paul. My proposals are not meant to take anyone's rights away. We've expressed through polls, and let me tell you our government is now doing it, that we're willing to take away our rights under the constitution and the government is now dutifully taking those rights under the banner of the drug war. What *Fight Back* is meant to do is to show America that you can end drug trafficking as a business without giving up a single right. You can do it in each community that wants to end it.

Glennville, Mississippi police have read the book because they have, for a population of 70,000 people, an horrendous drug problem. At the end of March we're going to begin a fight-back program organizing the local community with local police and without a war against drugs, we're going to make that city drug free. We're going to show the American people and the government that it can be done without killing people, without spending billions of dollars and without invading any country. Without a war against drugs.



MOHAWK

Continued From Page 12

The Longhouse government in Akwesasne asked New York state to intercede to stop the fighting and on April 29th State Troopers entered Akwesasne and shut down the casinos. However, the Warriors continue to operate high-stakes bingo halls.

According to a source close to the Warrior Society, the Warriors role in the Kanesatake standoff escalated after the July 11th battle between the SQ and local Mohawks. The story, which remains unconfirmed, is that unknown to the SQ the Kanesatake Mohawks were short of ammunition and could not repulse another government attack. The Warriors, based in Akwesasne, responded by loading automatic rifles and 40,000 rounds of ammunition on a boat which they used to cross the St. Lawrence river under cover of night.

As the Warriors crossed the river they met a Canadian customs patrol who were greeted by the unmistakable sound of several weapons being locked, loaded and readied for fire. The customs boat then made a quick U-turn allowing the Warrior boat to proceed with the reinforcements.

SUPPORT FOR KANESATAKE

Support for the people in Kanesatake took forms other than the blockading of the Mercier Bridge and direct military help. Roads were blocked in western Canada and a river passing through Indian territory in Alberta was diverted to stop an unwanted government dam project. There were reports of downed power lines in remote areas of the country causing major blackouts. Demonstrations in support of the Mohawks occurred worldwide and the Mohawks were inundated with letters and telegrams of support from Native peoples from South America to Australia.

Joe Deom says that Native peoples throughout Canada "saw the power that they could wield if people were unified and had a common cause." According to Deom, the events in Kanesatake showed that "we did have a common cause and that cause was an assertion of our inherent rights to our lands."

Deom acknowledges that there were differences among Native people over some of the tactics used by the Mohawks, but overall, he says that "people took a lot of encouragement from the actions that the Mohawks took in Kanesatake and Kahnawake. Maybe they didn't agree with the issue of weapons or the methods that were used to protest, but they did agree with the fact that protest had to be made."

The legal battle to defend the TC 41 has put a tremendous financial strain on the Mohawk people. The next trial will begin in March and funds are not available to pay lawyers. According to Deom, there is going to be a need to raise upwards of a million dollars to cover legal costs. Deom adds that the SQ still has about 200 arrest warrants they have to serve on Mohawk activists. The government's goal, according to Deom, is to cripple the Mohawks financially with continuous court battles. Letters of support and contributions can be addressed to the Akwesasne Defense Information, P.O. Box 633, Kanesatake, Quebec, Canada JON 1E0. For more information, people can call the Mohawk Nation Office at 514-638-4750.

RAKOWITZ

Continued From Page 4

On the morning of February 16th, ninth precinct detective Richard Abbinanti, accompanied by three plainclothes cops, two scooter cops and armed with a "search and seizure" warrant taken out the day before, raided the home of Clayton Patterson, video maker and host of the Manhattan Cable TV show "Clayton Presents." Abbinanti wanted video tapes featuring an interview with Patrick Geoffrois, an occultist and self-admitted devil worshipper, which had originally aired on Clayton's show in April 1991, and of an avant garde performance based on the Beerle murder, in which Geoffrois played a part in the background at the Palladium in December.

Suspiciously, the warrant authorized a search of the premises early in the morning, and the police arrived just one hour after Clayton left town. (The police could have learned he would be gone by tapping his telephone.) Clayton's wife Elsa decided at the last minute to stay home and she was met with threats by Abbinanti, who told her to open the door "or we'll kick it in." Abbinanti told her that if she didn't give them the tapes they wanted, they would take all of Clayton's tapes, which they could have done if she had not been home.

Later that day, police detectives also raided Geoffrois' apartment and stole several occult items used in black magic ceremonies. Geoffrois says that they threatened to arrest him for the Beerle murder if he didn't sign a confession. He refused to sign and the cops left.

Sources have told the SHADOW that the real reason behind the sudden police activity on the case is that they are trying to cover up their mishandling of the Beerle murder case from the very beginning. One source says that Abbinanti wants to prevent Rakowitz from getting released from custody when Rakowitz gets his next sanity hearing, and that police have been pushing the idea of a murderous "cult" in order to make their cover-up all the more effective.

From the beginning of the case, people have come forward to say that Rakowitz probably did not kill Beerle, and they have identified one or more possible killers and people involved in dismembering her body. Police chose to ignore these people and other evidence, and charged Rakowitz alone in the murder. Only now does Abbinanti and company seem interested in pursuing others in the case, but unfortunately, much of Abbinanti's information has been coming from Rakowitz himself. Accompanied by an FBI agent, Abbinanti has visited Rakowitz many times.

While Rakowitz has always contended that he did not commit the murder, his constantly changing stories and versions of what he says really happened make him an unbelievable and unreliable source of information. But police detectives don't seem to have a problem with that.

Meanwhile, the mainstream media has wasted no time in jumping on the "devil worship cult" angle with headlines such as "Sympathy For The Devil," "Murdered By Cult," and "Monster of Tompkins Square May Go Free," more designed for shock value rather than news value. Sources tell the SHADOW that this media hype is playing into the hands of the NYPD and enhances their strategy of eroding support for the political struggles on the Lower East Side and the battles to come.

Neighborhood residents interviewed by the SHADOW are more concerned about this latest smear campaign directed at demonizing the counter-cultural scene on the Lower East Side than they are about any alleged devil worshipping cult on the Lower East Side.

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