

# the SHADOW

# 25¢

ISSUE NO. 1  
MARCH 1989

INFORMATION IS STRENGTH • KNOWLEDGE IS POWER

## TOMPKINS SQUARE TASK FARCE

On February 21, a public meeting of the Tompkins Square Park Task Force was held at Public School 15 at 333 East 4th St. The Task Force members present on the stage were: City Councilwoman Miriam Friedlander, Carol Watson (member of Community Board #3, member of RAIN/LESAC), Donna Ellerbee + Michael Farrin (members of Ave A Block Assoc.), Rick Carman (CB#3 member, Task Force Chairman), Sandra Trujillo and an unidentified man (both reps of Man.Borough President David Dinkins), Clayton Patterson (video filmmaker, local merchant, filmed most of TSP riot), Joel Meyers (political activist), and Harris Pankin (lead singer of rock group "Letch Patrol", attacked by police during the riot).

Also present at the meeting in the audience were several members of Comm.Bd.#3. Among them were: Anne Johnson, Phillip LaLumia, Kryctyna Piorkowska, and Margarita Lopez. Seated in the rear of the auditorium was Sgt. Dean Rasinya in uniform of "CPOP" (Community Patrol Officer Program), associated with the 9th precinct.

Before the meeting began, some Community Board members of the Task Force made an effort to get Mr. Pankin expelled, claiming that he had been missing too many meetings. Moments later, some people handed out copies of sign-in sheets from a secret meeting that took place on August 2, 1988 at the Midtown South police station between members of the Police Dept., members of Comm.Bd.#3, representatives of several politicians including Friedlander and Dinkins, and members of Tompkins Square Park neighborhood groups. This secret meeting was set up by Capt. MacNamara of the 9th precinct in order to garner public and neighborhood support for enforcement of a midnight curfew at Tompkins Square Park during the month of July and extending into the month of August, 1988. During the weekend before the

August 2nd meeting, skirmishes broke out between police and people protesting the curfew in the park. This led to a large demonstration which ended when the police suspended the curfew for the night. The real purpose of the August 2nd meeting was for Capt. MacNamara to use "public support" so he could mobilize his troops to avenge the affront to their manhood the weekend before.

A few Community Board members on the Task Force and in the audience were understandably surprised and shocked when they saw the sign-in sheets in circulation. This is probably because not only did these members whose names appear on the sheet deny knowing anything about the meeting, but some of them are actually members of the Task Force that was set up to investigate the very riot that their presence at that meeting helped come about, and now we know who they are!!

When Mr. Pankin read a copy of the sign-in sheet, he became very angry and marched back on the stage where the Task Force was sitting. The other board members relented and said nothing as he re-took his seat.

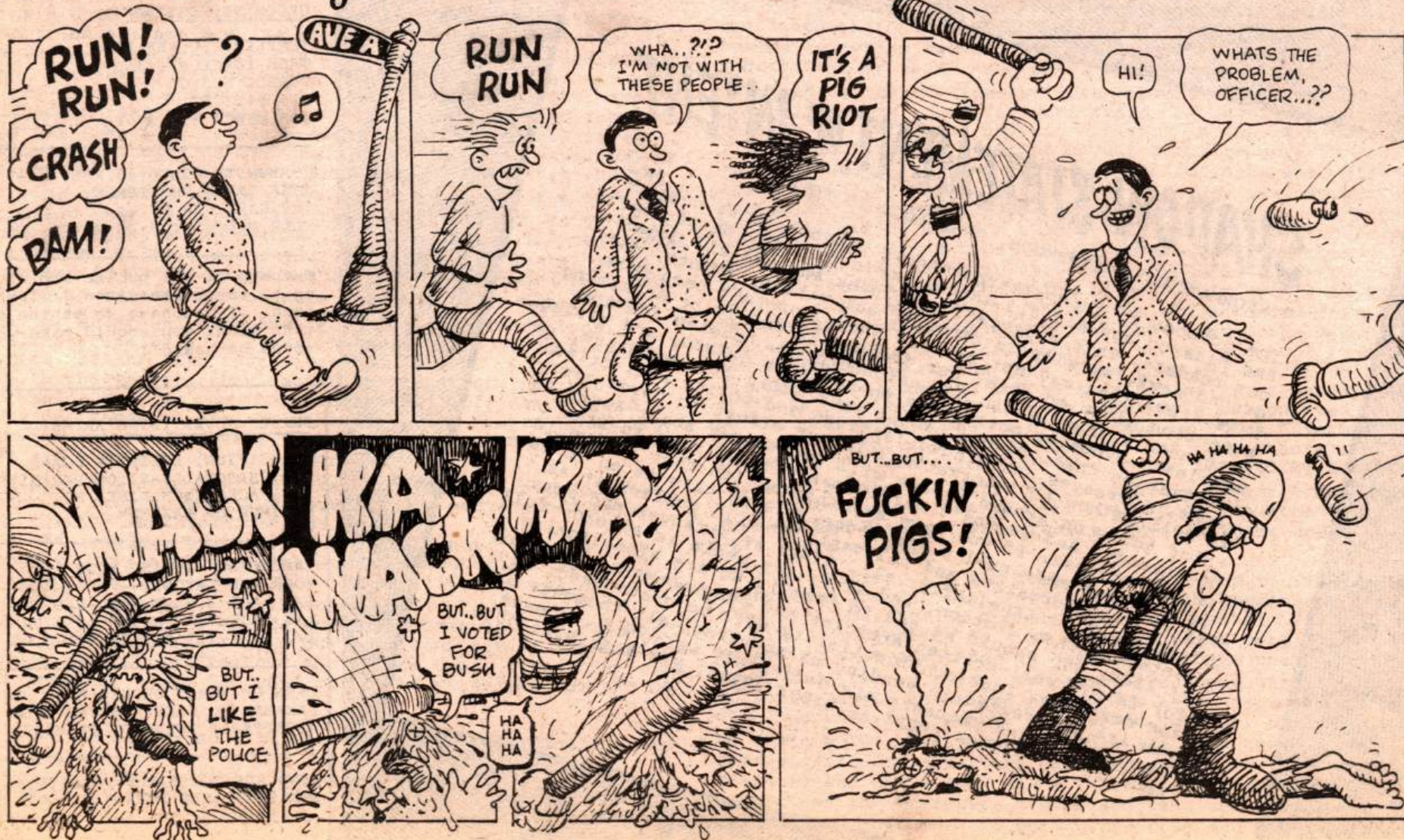
One of the first speakers was Community Affairs Officer Jean Mathus, representing Inspector Gelfand (now of the 9th Pct), who did not appear. She heard questions from the audience, but was unable to answer any of them, saying she didn't know the department's policy, but that she would ask Insp. Gelfand.

Next came Borough Commissioner of Parks Pat Pomposello, who told us about the status of maintenance in the park, but was put on the defensive when he was repeatedly questioned about

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

## One Fine Day on Ave "A"

By FLASH and COSMO 89





# the Shadow EDITORIAL

## CCRB: RESIGN!

There are only six weeks left before the CCRB's final report to Police Commissioner Benjamin Ward and out of 120 complaints, only 14 cops have been recommended for departmental charges. At the last meeting of the Tompkins Square Park Task Force held on Feb. 21, CCRB Chairperson Mary Burke Nicholas told the audience that the CCRB's biggest accomplishment thus far has been renaming the CCRB to "Civilian Complaint Bureau"!!!!

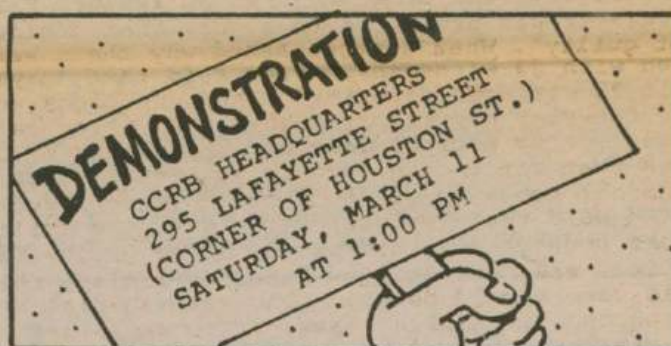
At the TSP Task Force meeting, Father Kuhn of St. Brigid's Church suggested that the CCRB members resign en masse, issuing a public statement of protest, since he felt that some good people on the board are being used. THE SHADOW supports Father Kuhn's proposal as the first step toward creating a truly effective CCRB, once enough attention has been given to the fact that the current CCRB is totally inept and unable and sometimes even unwilling to deal with legitimate civilian complaints.

It is time for the CCRB to be re-organized into a panel of civilians, not people affiliated with the Police Dept. or various political groups or politicians. They must also be empowered to conduct far reaching and full scale investigations into all complaints of police abuse and brutality and corruption. Then their findings must be acted on by the Police Commissioner, not just leaving it up to his discretion, and if necessary, their findings must be turned over to the District Attorney who must also act upon them. The new CCRB must also be held accountable to the people of NYC for their performance, not the very people they are investigating, as they are now. It is painfully obvious that the CCRB, as it exists today, is completely ineffective in handling investigations into police brutality since they are relying on officers to inform on their fellow officers, and their so-called investigations only lead to recommendations that Ben Ward can refuse to act on, which happens more often than not.

A demonstration to protest the ineffectuality of the investigation into the Tompkins Square Park Police Riot of last August that has been conducted over the last six months by the Civilian Complaint Review Board (CCRB) will be held at the CCRB Headquarters at 295 Lafayette Street (also known as the "Puck Building" at the corner of Houston St.) on Saturday, March 11, at 1:00.

Part of the plan of the people who were really behind the Police Riot is for the community to lose interest as time passes. We must show them and everyone else that we will not forget the massive assault on our neighborhood last August 6-7 and that we are demanding justice. This is an issue that we will not let die!! One step toward getting justice is demanding the re-organization of the CCRB, and demanding that all officials responsible for the riot are identified and charged, not just the police flunkies that did their bidding. There is power in numbers, and the more of us that are there, the louder and stronger our message will be!!

*We are the Independent  
CCRB, We'll get some  
results someday,  
You'll see...*



### SHADOW STATEMENT OF INTENT

**"INFORMATION IS STRENGTH, KNOWLEDGE IS POWER"**

The purpose of this alternate news project is to collect and pass on any and all intelligence that may be of use to our readers. This especially includes any and all underground news, eyewitness reports, activities, events, and news items that may not be well known, or that need more attention given to them. Our focus will mainly be on living alternate lifestyles in our neighborhood, housing for the homeless, exposing corruption wherever it exists, and giving information that you can use in your daily life--sources, names, addresses, warnings, landlord and police activities, as well as "how to" information. In our effort to cover everything going on around us, we will print just about anything on anybody, and we don't care whose feet we have to step on in the process. If you have any information that you would like to see made public and relevant, we will publish it as long as it is true. (After all, truth is stranger and more fantastic than fiction, and since the media is already full of lies, why should we add to them?). We are also looking for fairly well-written articles and announcements of demos and concerts. Your confidentiality will be guaranteed. If you are interested in sending us anything (all thoughts and suggestions and requests are definitely welcome!), please send it to: SHADOW PRESS, P.O. BOX 20298, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10009

#### UPCOMING MEETINGS:

TOMPKINS SQUARE PARK  
TASK FORCE MEETING--  
PUEBLO NUEVO  
125 PITT ST.  
WED, MARCH 8, 6:30 PM

COMMUNITY BOARD #3 MEETING--  
JASA/GREEN RESIDENCE  
200 EAST 6TH ST.  
TUES, MARCH 28, 6:30 PM

Members of the public who sign up to speak are given 3 minutes each. If you have something on your mind, you should make your voice be heard!!

#### SHADOW ADVERTISING RATES:

CLASSIFIED, BULLETIN BOARD,  
AND PERSONALS--\$1.00 PER LINE,  
30 SPACES EACH LINE, NO  
MINIMUM OR MAXIMUM

LARGE ADS--(USING YOUR ART  
WORK AND LAYOUT)--  
1/8 PAGE-3.75 X 5IN.--\$30.00  
1/4 PAGE-7.5 X 5IN.--\$50.00  
1/2 PAGE-7.5 X 10IN.--\$100.00

CASH OR MONEY ORDERS MADE  
PAYABLE TO CASH ARE THE ONLY  
ACCEPTABLE FORMS OF PAYMENT

SEND ADS TO: SHADOW PRESS, P.O.  
BOX 20298, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10009



curfew enforcement and questions about his role in the secret pre-riot meeting of August 2nd came up. He said that he "didn't recall" several times when asked about the meeting, and played dumb when he was asked who painted the curfew signs at the entrances to the park. Then, when he said that the community asked for the curfew, Community Board member Margarita Lopez leapt to her feet and loudly announced that the community did not request the curfew. As the questions continued, he pointed to the sign-in sheet copy he had and said angrily, "this looks like community members". Soon after, he got fed up and left the meeting, ignoring further questions. The most important unanswered question was: "How did a noise complaint become a curfew, and how did a curfew become a police riot?"

The next speaker was Mary Burke Nicholas, Chairperson of the Civilian Complaint Review Board (CCRB). She and fellow board member Dan Johnson spoke several times during the meeting, answering questions. She explained the procedure the CCRB follows--12 members of the board go to meetings, review cases, and make recommendations. "Police Commissioner Ward is the only one who can make the final decision on discipline of police officers". She got a good round of laughter when she told of the CCRB's latest accomplishment, which was changing the name of the staff to read: "Civilian Complaint Bureau". (Apparently this is more important than investigating all those complaints of police brutality). "I think that will make a difference to the public...", she added. They both admitted there is a lot of stonewalling by police, and Johnson said he wasn't very optimistic about response to their investigations and he also said that there are allegations that the Police Dept. had staff meetings to get people there to support their decision to close the park. "The CCRB didn't pursue those investigations". At one point, Nicholas said: "Some of us on the board are very independent, and if we don't get the co-operation, we'll resign." This was met with shouts of "RESIGN!"

The next speaker was Assistant District Attorney John Fried, from Robert Morgenthau's office. He told us that Grand Juries have returned indictments against 6 cops--4 uniformed and 2 Sgts, based on incidents brought to their attention by the CCRB, the victim's attorneys, and investigations by the DA's office and Internal Affairs. He said that other investigations are ongoing. The charges the cops face are: Assault in the 3rd degree, Official Misconduct, and Criminal Mischief in the 4th degree. He declined answering most questions, citing Grand Jury secrecy laws. He did say that an effort was made to identify cops at the riot using time sheets, but he would not be more specific. He got defensive when his abilities as a prosecutor of police officers was questioned when he was identified as the ADA that tried the Michael Stewart case against the police and lost. One man demanded to know why Fried is on the Tompkins Square Park case after losing the Stewart case and demanded that he resign. Fried said he didn't lose--"it was presented to a jury that decided the cops were not guilty". When someone asked why there were no convictions even with 23 witnesses, Fried said that "maybe 23 witnesses told 23 different stories". When questions were asked about the pre-riot meeting of August 2nd, Fried refused to answer, again citing secrecy laws. At one point, Ms. Lopez asked why cops that won't come forward as witnesses to other officer's criminal behavior can't be tried for obstruction of justice. Fried said that "we must prove they are guilty first". Ms. Lopez countered with: "For us, we're guilty first. For the police, they are guilty--later". Finally, when asked whether this case should be given the same special attention and resources given drug cases, Fried said that it has been given special attention.

Next was Norman Siegel of the New York Civil Liberties Union. He said that 34 "notices of intent" to file lawsuits have been filed against N.Y. He noted that anger was present in the audience because "people feel investigations are not being done seriously, efficiently, and effectively. We saw many police officers engage in illegalities and very few have been held accountable in over six months". He also said that the CCRB has been a "huge disappointment", telling how it was revamped in summer of 1987 and got 6 civilians appointed by the mayor, as well as a new director. He said that changes for the better were expected, but this is not the case. He suggested that we accept ADA Fried's invitation to go to the court and observe the proceedings against the indicted cops. He said he had evidence for a lot more indictments, as he explained to DA Morgenthau, ADA Fried, and other ADAs, but he can't persuade them because they say it is not enough.

Finally, Mr. Siegel made the following recommendations:

1. That Comm. Bd. #3 put out an interim report that is critical of the CCRB investigations.

2. In the report, they should ask questions not yet addressed, such as how the CCRB and DA's office reviewed the video tapes of the riot. (He described modern technology allowing enhancing freeze frames of tapes, and said that the CCRB and DA's equipment is outdated).

3. That the CCRB, DA's office, and Police Dept. work together to create selective immunity for certain officers that testify in investigations.

4. \*\*A complete overhaul of the CCRB, (not just the name change to Civilian Complaint Bureau. "We should have a truly civilian CCRB", he said, with all civilian commissioners and almost all civilian investigators).

5. \*\*A permanent citywide special prosecutor for allegations of police abuse. (There is a built-in conflict of interest between the DA's office and the Police Dept. since they must work together every day with police as witnesses for the DA's cases.)

Ms. Friedlander agreed with Mr. Siegel's recommendations, and later in the meeting Father Kuhn of St. Brigid's Church suggested a mass resignation of the CCRB with a public statement of protest. He said that the good people on the board are being used, and that it didn't matter if good people

# PATROL BOROUGH MANHATTAN SOUTH CONFERENCE (PBMS)--AUGUST 2, 1988:

1. Phillip Wachtel--60 First Ave, 228-2406. (Comm. Bd. 3 member, present in police command post during the riot).
2. Leona Meaher--777-1769. (Avenue A Block Association member).
3. Phillip C. LaLumia--506 East 13th St, 473-4711(home), 778-1826. ("9th precinct Ca. CRC", Comm. Bd. 3 member, Koch political club member, present in command post during the riot).
4. David McCluskey--587-5512. (Representative of State Senator Martin Connor-270 Broadway, #1000, NYC, 10007)
5. Michael Farrin--131 Ave A, 228-6678. (Ave A Block Assoc. member, Tompkins Square Park Task Force member).
6. Jeanette Zelnhoff--131 Ave A, 673-0487. (Ave A Blk Assoc. member).
7. Robert Messner--374-5406. (Assoc. Attorney, NYPD Legal Bureau)
8. Gerald MacNamara--477-7811. (Captain of 9th Pct.).
9. Robert J. Baumert--477-7436. (Inspector, Commanding Officer PBMS 2nd Division, chairman of meeting).
10. Thomas Darcy--477-7436. (Deputy Inspector, Exec. Officer PBMS, ordered distress call that brought hundreds of cops to riot)
11. Anne Hayes--533-5300. (Comm. Bd. 3 staff member).
12. Patrick J. Pomposello--408-0201. (Borough Commissioner of Parks in Manhattan, -16 West 61st St, NYC, 10023, provided electric power to police command post).
13. Martha Danziger--533-5300. (District Manager Comm. Bd. 3-137 Second Ave, NYC, 10003).
14. John J. Dolan--477-7468. (Sgt, PBMS).
15. Miriam Rivera--477-7468. (P.O., PBMS Community Affairs).
16. Suzette Arcelay--669-4400. (Representative of Manhattan Borough President David Dinkins).
17. Sandra Trujillo--669-4693. (Representative of Man. Boro. Pres. Dinkins, TSP Task Force member).
18. Thomas C. Brasuell--85 Columbia St, 777-4480(home), 566-1324. (Representative of City Council member Miriam Friedlander).
19. Tomy Loeb--587-5504/5531. (Representative of State Senator Manfred Ohrenstein-270 Broadway, #612+1812, NYC, 10007).
20. Kryptyna Piorkowska--228-4253(home). (Comm. Bd. 3 member, TSP Task Force member).
21. William Sicklick--228-8055. (Comm. Bd. 3 member, "Aux. Capt. 7th").
22. Betsey Newman--505-1521. (Friends of Tompkins Square).
23. Charles Sturken--137 Ave A, #4E, 312-8130. (Former member of Ave A Block Assoc., member of Master Plumber License Board, Assistant General Council and Records Access Officer of the Dept. of Buildings-60 Hudson St, NYC, 10013, 312-8419).
24. Michael Burns--374-6723. (Sgt, "OCD"-Office of Chief of Dept- Police Chief Johnston).

## SECRET MEETING SIGN-IN SHEET

are there since the structure of the board renders them ineffective.

Before the meeting came to a close, Ms. Lopez asked the Task Force: "When will the Community Board point their finger at those who were involved with the pre-riot meeting?", and she requested that the Comm. Bd. ask those people why they were there. Mr. LaLumia interjected and told her that people of Ave A came to the Board complaining of noise. Then, from the stage, Donna Ellerbee (of the Ave A Block Assoc. as well as the TSP Task Force) said that every year police presence was requested in the park and finally, on July 28, Capt. MacNamara agreed to assign two foot patrol men to the park. "We did not request 450 of them", she said. LaLumia said, "that's not what happened at the meeting--we were approached at the precinct council meeting", and for some reason he revealed that he was present in the police command post van in the park during the riot. Unfortunately, just as he was about to unravel and spill his guts, he was heckled by the audience into silence. Chairman Carman tried to stop this exchange of information during the outburst because proper procedure was not being followed, but he was not successful. Task Force member Joel Meyers tried to question LaLumia further, but at that point the meeting was breaking up, so he announced a demonstration at CCRB Headquarters for March 11 at 295 Lafayette St. at 1:00. So how is it that some of the people who attended the secret meeting with police on August 2nd that led to the massive police assault on our neighborhood on the night of August 6-7 now occupy seats on the Task Force that was set up to investigate the riot and the persons behind it? Granted, some of those people on the sign-in sheet were manipulated by the police brass--(this has been expressed by Donna Ellerbee, Michael Farrin, and Betsey Newman). But many others are guilty of collaborating with the police in setting the stage for what became the worst police riot in recent memory. It seems like a good idea to call the people who attended that meeting and find out what really happened there and why they were there at all.

In the meantime, the TSP Task Force should have its name changed to the TSP task FORCE, since this committee, like all other politically sponsored and convenient exercises in simulated justice is just a way to trick people into believing that something is being done where nothing is being done. They try to corral us into their forums and require us to follow their rules and procedures as we express outrage at what happened last August and demand justice. Well, this set up doesn't fool everyone, and this was made apparent by the demonstration of a healthy lack of respect for Community Board #3 and their TASK FORCE!! It's time to forget about committees and community groups and take action with your friends and neighbors to get things done and MAKE SHIT HAPPEN!



# Angels with Dirty Faces

BY NASHUA

The four Guardian Angels sprinted up the steps of the dimly lit W. 47th St. courtyard between Eighth and Ninth Aves. and pounced on the couple sitting on the ground.

"All we had was some weed!" shouted the man as an Angel held him against a low stone wall, while another Angel emptied the woman's purse on the ground. All it held was a curling iron, comb, hair-spray, keys—but no drugs.

Guardian Angels scuffling with a man on 47th Street last week. They said they suspected him of smoking crack, but he was later released.



## Angels held in Philly

PHILADELPHIA — Four Guardian Angels surrendered to police yesterday on charges they assaulted three teenagers while patrolling a South Philadelphia neighborhood, officials said.

"Nothing will stop us," said Curtis Sliwa, the group's founder, who was summoned to Philadelphia to deal with the situation. "We expect the police to get their feathers ruffled when they see us out there."

A police investigation found the attack was unjustified, Police Commissioner William J. Williams said. The four angels, from 12 to 16 years old, were charged with aggravated assault, simple assault, endangering another person and conspiracy.

Curtis Sliwa was born in 1954 and grew up in the Canarsie section of Brooklyn. A rebel, he was thrown out of an exclusive private high school for challenging school rules. After a stint in a public school, he dropped out and became an assistant manager of a McDonald's restaurant in the South Bronx. He hatched the idea of a citizen crime patrol while riding the subway between his home in Brooklyn and his job in the Bronx.

Sliwa and a co-worker Don Chin would establish what they called a "decoy situation" as they rode the subway. Curtis would play the role of a victim wearing a gold watch and three piece suit. Don Chin would wait in another part of the subwaycar connected to Sliwa by a beeper. If Sliwa signaled that a mugging was about to happen, Chin, who is a large man, would step in and seize the alleged culprit.

Sliwa's foray into organized vigilantism began when he formed the Magnificent 13 in February 1979. The group began as a group of South Bronx youths who formed the Rock Brigade, named after "Rock", the nickname Sliwa earned as a tough brawler after he dropped out of high school in Brooklyn. The group started by cleaning litter off the streets of the South Bronx, but soon graduated to a public campaign of guarding subway riders.

In 1980 the Angels had according to Sliwa grown to 5,000 members in chapters throughout the country, a figure disputed as greatly exaggerated in most reports. The Angels had also gained notoriety for their alleged conflicts with Transit Police although a poll taken of Transit Officers found that 73% supported what the Angels were doing in the subways.

Throughout their existence the Guardian Angels have maintained that police fearing for their jobs have opposed them. However, researchers tend to believe that most of the stories of conflict between Angels and cops are part of the hype Sliwa has built around the group. Many individual Angels will admit a desire to eventually become police officers themselves.

In 1980, Sliwa claimed he was kidnapped by N.Y. Transit Police and told to stop his patrols because he was "taking jobs from transit cops." In August 1981, Sliwa claimed police in Washington, D.C., where Sliwa was setting up a chapter, kidnapped and tortured him for several hours. There were no arrests in either attack. In 1983, a former member of the Guardian Angels told reporters that Sliwa had faked attacks upon himself and the Angels and padded membership rolls by including names from the phone book.

Eventually, Sliwa brought in as number two in running the group his wife Lisa, a black belt in karate and occasional model. The two share a \$245 a month apartment at the corner of Avenue and St. Mark's Place.

They have a reported income of \$44,000 a year which the couple claims comes from Lisa's modeling career and speaking engagements. The group's treasurer and financial co-ordinator is Curtis Sliwa's mother Frances.

Lisa counters those critics of the Angels who call the group "modern day vigilantes" by insisting that "we're not taking any authority unto ourselves that any average citizen doesn't have." The authority the Angels do take "unto themselves" includes the formation of elite groups of Angels in several cities.

An investigative reporter in Philadelphia discovered one group of Guardian Angels who operated undercover, calling themselves the "Suicide Squad". Dressed as homeless people hanging out in alleys behind gay bars (invited by the bar owners), they would wait until a crime occurred, preferably with an Angel as the intended victim.

Reporters in Chicago wrote about another group of Angels chosen to challenge a feared street gang called the Disciples. The Angels were told during training that in confrontations with street gangs they should "be a barbarian". In New York City, the elite Angel force wore red baseball caps and called themselves the SWAT team.

Last Spring, the Angels changed their focus from the City's subways to Restaurant Row on West 46th Street between 8th and 9th Avenues in Manhattan.

The Angels had been invited by restaurant owners who complained that police were failing to stem crack dealing that the owners claimed was keeping away potential customers. With a big media splash, the Angels soon were confronting alleged crack dealers in the mostly poor and Latino streets surrounding West 46th Street.

During one patrol, a 16 year old Angel from New Jersey was stabbed by a man that a group of Angels were shaking down for allegedly dealing crack. As in most of these incidents, no drugs were found. Reports of neighborhood people being stopped by Angels without a cause began to mount and eventually groups of Angels were getting into street fights with neighborhood youths.

Fights with residents weren't all the Angel's problems. Plainclothes police, casually dressed and hanging out in a playground were the Angel's next target. Eleven Angels were arrested and accused by police of harassing homeless people, but charges were quickly dropped by Manhattan District Attorney Robert Morgenthau.

On East 14th Street, another anti-crime group called EVAC (East Villagers Against Crack), began meeting late last Spring with the Angels to form anti-crack patrols. EVAC was begun by a yuppie newcomer to the neighborhood who complained that he couldn't get Chinese food delivered to his home because of rampant crack dealing on his block.

EVAC members proved themselves more inexperienced at public relations than the 46th Street restaurant owners. The group organized a demonstration where a hanged effigy

CONTINUED ON PAGE 15



# LIBERTY UNDER SIEGE

The Reagan Administration's taste for autocracy

By Walter Karp

**T**he Reagan Administration came to power firm in its resolve to liberate corporate enterprise from government regulation, to free the economy from the incubus of the welfare system, and to reduce the government's role in the life of the country. It never said that these far-reaching goals could not be achieved by the ordinary methods of democratic persuasion and the established procedures of congressional lawmaking. The Administration never contended in public, and perhaps not even in private, that the exercise of liberty gave its enemies an unfair advantage, or that the traditional sources of public information kept the electorate too well informed, or that popular government in general was a hindrance to its aims. Only once did any ranking member of the Administration publicly admit that the "Reagan Revolution" included—indeed necessitated—a program of drastic political change. This occurred in late 1981, when David Stockman, the White House budget director, said that the new Administration's success "boils down to a political question, not of budget policy, or economic policy, but whether we can change the habits of the political system." After Stockman's outburst of perilous candor, the curtain came abruptly down. It has not risen again on the political intentions of the Reagan Administration, for the habits the Administration has striven to change have been, by and large, the habits of freedom.

"What we are witnessing," said the American Civil Liberties Union in November 1981, "is a systematic assault on the concept of government accountability and deterrence of illegal government conduct." Alas, "we," the people, were not witnessing a thing, and have not been witnessing a thing for almost five years. In politics, what is seen is what is talked about, and the "systematic assault" has not been talked about—not by the Administration, not by Congress, not by the opposition party, not by the press.

Nothing is more important, however, than what public men prefer not to discuss. For nearly five years now the Reagan Administration has been engaged in an unflagging campaign to exalt the power of the presidency and to undermine the power of the law, the courts, the Congress, and the people. That is what our politicians have not discussed with us, and what lies hidden behind the screen of political rhetoric and the smile of a popular President.

What follows is a chronicle of that campaign, told simply by means of recounting the deeds that comprise it. This chronicle is not the secret history of an alleged secret plot. Most of the events have been duly reported in the daily newspapers. The chronicle is simply a matter of paying attention to public deeds that have been largely ignored or made light of outside the confines of congressional hearings. The chronicle is remorseless because the campaign is remorseless, and it is shocking because the campaign is shocking. When a concerted assault on the habits of freedom ceases to shock us, there will be no further need to assault them, for they will have been uprooted once and for all.

**T**he newly elected Reagan Administration promised to "hit the ground running" and it does—like a company of commandos fanning out in a hostile country that just happens to be its own.

What it besieges at once is the old, unsung bulwark against overweening presidential power: the open, garrulous, decentralized executive branch itself. Bureaucrats practiced in rudeness and evasion are put in place of helpful press officers. Telephone requests for information are suddenly given short shrift. Press briefings become so grudging, notes one veteran reporter, that a State Department spokesman says "no comment" and "I can't say" more than thirty times in the course of one forty-five-minute session. Pentagon officials are warned that the polygraph test—which accuses the guilty and the innocent alike—will be used to identify those who "leak" classified information to the press.

In late April the President declares a moratorium on the preparation and dissemination of government publications, and the huge, habitual outflow of official reports, bulletins, and pamphlets is quickly brought under control. The Administration's stated goal is the "elimination of wasteful spending on government periodicals." Dropped in the moratorium is a government booklet on bedbugs, which Edwin Meese III, counselor to the President, brandishes for reporters with a hearty chuckle, as well as Central Intelligence Agency reports on "U.S.-Soviet Military Dollar-Cost Comparisons," which disappear unbranded. Meanwhile, the White House musters every specious argument it can find to justify the biggest arms build-up in history. Something considerably more important than thrift lies behind this moratorium.

Whatever can be hidden the Administration hides. "The White House is structuring key advisory panels," reports the *New York Times* in July, "so that they do not fall under the public meeting rules of the Advisory Committee Act." Under the direction of the White House the agencies of the executive branch evade the public accountability provisions of the Administrative Procedure Act. New regulations are issued as "guidelines" so that the public need not be notified. Existing regulations are altered by internal memorandums.



*The White House seeks the power to withhold from the American people whatever the President thinks it best for the people not to know*



*The Administration is apparently bent on turning the White House into the unopposable voice of Authority*

Illustrations by Philip Burke

On June 6 the *Washington Post* runs a story under the headline "Administration Attempting to Stem Information Flow to Trickle." This is only the beginning, however, for the President is determined to redress the balance between, in his words, "the media's right to know and the government's right to confidentiality."

This latter "right" is a figment of the official imagination: in America the governed have rights, not the government. But one reason the Administration is determined to uphold it becomes clear on July 8 when a legal analysis of the gravest importance begins circulating in the House Committee on Energy and Commerce. Prepared for the committee by the American Law Division of the Library of Congress, it describes a far-reaching seizure of power carried out by the President on February 17 when he signed Executive Order 12291. That order, says the report, "sets up a framework for [presidential] management of the rule-making process that is undeniably unprecedented in scope and substance," one that "does not appear to draw its authority from any specific congressional enactment." It "provides no explicit safeguards to protect the integrity of the process or the interest of the public against secret, undisclosed, and unreviewable contacts . . . the Order, on its face, deprives participants of essential elements of fair treatment required by due process." Most important, the order threatens to make "cost-benefit principles," imposed and manipulated by the White House, supreme over the statutory mission given by Congress to the executive agencies of the government—in violation of the doctrine of separation of powers. The warning falls into the public arena as noiselessly as a feather.

The Administration's most ambitious efforts to censor and suppress lie in the future, but even in mid-1981 it begins to choke off various sources of objectionable opinions.

Cuba is one such source. On July 10 the secretary of the Treasury notifies 30,000 subscribers of the Communist Party weekly *Granma*, which was impounded by Treasury agents in May, that "it will be necessary for you to obtain a specific import license from this office" in order to "import" Cuban periodicals in the future. The maximum penalty for subscribing without a license is ten years in prison and a \$10,000 fine under the Trading With the Enemy Act of 1917; this act has never before been applied to periodicals, owing to the longstanding national "habit" of distinguishing printed matter from merchandise. By treating Cuban periodicals like Cuban cigars the Administration claims control over a hitherto free activity—until it is stopped by a First Amendment lawsuit brought by the ACLU. This is not the last time, however, that the Administration will try to use commercial regulations to suppress non-commercial activity.

Political refugees from friendly tyrannies are another source of objectionable opinions: they know too much about the regimes they fled. After seeing its February white paper on El Salvador, which presented "evidence" that the Salvadoran guerrillas were being heavily armed by Cuba and the Soviet Union, exposed as a pack of lies, the Administration begins to deport Salvadorans en masse. In August, the tortured corpse of one deportee turns up by a Salvadoran roadside.

To the Administration, however, the most dangerous source of objectionable opinions are its own documents. On October 15 the White House submits legislation to Congress that would keep these documents out of the public's hands by "reforming" the Freedom of Information Act into oblivion. Politically, this is the Administration's first truly perilous moment, for the act is no ordinary piece of legislation. It has behind it the entire weight and authority of the democratic tradition in America: the sovereignty of the people, the accountability of government, the old republican distrust of official secrecy and bureaucratic caprice. "The Freedom of Information Act is a blessing for those who value a check on Government snooping," William Safire, the conservative columnist for the *Times*, wrote in May when the White House, testing the waters, first indicated its hostility to the law. "Individuals can now find out what the FBI file says about them. Even better, individuals can force the Federal bureaucracy to disgorge rulings made without public scrutiny, and documents more politically embarrassing than secret."

Yet one "improvement" in the Administration's Freedom of Information Improvement Act of 1981 would put out of the public's reach precisely those documents that give the governed their "check on government snooping." Another "improvement" would make it difficult to discover how the agencies of the executive branch are enforcing the health, safety, and environmental laws that the White House is bent on subjecting to cost-benefit analysis. A third improvement would make it dauntingly expensive for the act to be used by those who inform the public—scholars, writers, newspaper reporters, public-interest organizations—the very users that, under the unimproved act, pay little or nothing.

"Freedom of information is not cost-free. It is not an absolute good," Jonathan C. Rose, an assistant attorney general in charge of abridging the freedom of information, would say a year later. But the Administration's cant about thrift rings false. "If the Freedom of Information Act is rescinded or crippled," says Kurt Vonnegut at a symposium on the FOIA, "the American people will have been treated as spies for a foreign enemy." An Administration which prates about getting the government off the backs of the people has revealed its real ambition: to get the people off the back of the government.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10



# the shadow

# INTERVIEW:

## POLITICAL PRISONERS IN AMERICA: INTERVIEW WITH MARILYN BUCK

The existence of political prisoners and prisoners of war in this country is a well kept secret. There are roughly one hundred overtly political prisoners but you won't hear Amnesty International mentioning their names at their "consciousness raising" rock concert tours.

The government portrays them as criminals,, the media vilifies them, the Bureau of Prisons places a disproportionate number of them in sensory deprivation "control units" for their political beliefs and associations—a policy that the Bureau of Prisons was barred from doing this past July by Federal Judge Barrington Parker who called it a "dangerous mission" of political imprisonment.

The case of Marilyn Buck and Mutulu Shakur brings out for examination the government's approach, judicially and penalogically, in dealing with a political armed resistance movement that they deny exists. Considering the stiff sentences received last July of fifty years for Marilyn Buck and sixty years for Nutulu Shakur, and the judge's recommendation of no parole until thirty years are served (longer than life sentence parole eligibility), it appears that they were specifically handed extremely harsh sentences for what the defendants call expropriations, liberations, building a socialist anti-

imperialist movement and a Black-dominated New African Nation in five southern states. The government calls these "purely criminal acts."

Charged under the RICO statute (racketeering influenced corrupt organization) with participating in the jail escape of Black Panther Party and Black Liberation Army member Assata Shakur (Joanne Chesimard, who had been given political asylum in Cuba), and various armored car holdups, the defendants, although denying participation, consider these expropriations of ruling class wealth a way of funding an emerging revolution. They are the last to be tried for the much publicized 1981 Brinks armored truck holdup and shootout in Nyack, N.Y. that resulted in six other convictions of members of radical groups conceived in the sixties during the anti-war movement and black power uprisings. RICO is a favorite way for the government to increase the severity of what might be considered lesser crimes, but when put into the context of conspiracy they become Federal offenses with much stronger penalties.

The six month length of the trial, harsh sentencing and use of the RICO statute belies the notion that the government considers these ordinary criminals or purely criminal acts. The personal histories and associations of the defendants

with groups such as the Black Panther Party, Black Liberation Army, SDS, Weatherman Underground, and the New Afrika People's Organization suggest that these are not people motivated by crime or material self advantage, but of a longstanding commitment to wrest control of human destiny from the hands of a government they see as unwilling to address economic inequality, class conflicts, or eliminate racism and imperialist colonialism.

Allowing evidence of the political nature of this case before the jury, something often denied other political prisoners, Judge Charles Haight gave hope that the jury would be able to decide this case on political consciousness issues and the right of self determination of black people, not criminal wrongdoing. But his denial of key motions, especially not granting them prisoner of war or political prisoner status kept the essence of their actions and motivations from being accurately judged by the jury. His denial of the defense request for a mistrial based on evidence of a previous acquaintance between a juror and a defense witness, which she told other jurors about, tainted any impartiality that may have existed. Ultimately, he reaffirmed the government's denial that there are people so dissatisfied with the economics and politicians of this country that they are ready to fight a protracted war against the United States Government.

Marilyn Buck is awaiting trial with five other defendants in what is known as the Resistance Conspiracy Case. They are charged with political protest bombings at the U.S. Capitol, the South African consulate and five other military, police and FBI buildings in Washington and New York City. Marilyn Buck can receive mail at the "D.C. Jail" at: 1901 D St. S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003—Prisoner #233-396. Mutulu Shakur is currently serving his sentence at the U.S. Penitentiary at Lompoc, California, 93436, where he can receive mail. They were both interviewed separately at the Metropolitan Correctional Center (MCC) last summer in NYC—Mutulu's interview will appear in our next issue.

PL: How long have you been here at MCC?

MB: I have been here for more than three years.

PL: This jail is basically a holdover facility while awaiting trial, it has no work or education programs, can you comment on that?

MB: There are very few educational programs and they are sporadic. More and more

throughout the prison system they don't do programs because the penological view is that prisons are to punish not to rehabilitate, so it's mainly pure punishment. We have GED on occasion, but more than half the women on the floor are Latin and do not speak English. There are no programs for Spanish speaking women.

PL: Can you give me some background information about yourself, what were some of your first politicizing events in your life?

MB: My father is an Episcopal priest and he became involved in the civil rights struggle. My family moved to Austin Texas from Fort Hood Texas and he became the priest in the Episcopal church in the black community. From there he was involved in all kinds of religious as well as social and civil rights issues such as picketing to integrate theaters and the normal activities of the civil rights movement. When I grew up in Texas I never knew any black or Latin children. I went to segregated schools and I had no consciousness period. I remember the first week we got to Austin one of the women in the church coerced her daughter into inviting me to go swimming with them. My mother coerced me into going. We were both miserable. It was the first time in my life I had ever been in a situation where I was the sole white person at a black social event. I was thrust into a situation not knowing anything about it, not having any social awareness about what was going on...she had more than I did I'm sure, but I had never had to deal with that because these issues had never been raised.

PL: Did things change when you got to college?

MB: Certainly, it changed when I was in high school. Because my father continued on with his civil rights work, I did not become involved. I went to school then to college.

PL: Where did you go?

MB: I went to Berkeley, University of California. I became more aware of social issues, it was also more that I had the freedom to make my own decisions and not to be pushed in a certain direction by my family.

PL: Were there groups on campus you became involved with?

MB: I worked very peripherally with the Student Non Violent Coordinating Committee.

PL: SDS?

MB: No, I didn't get involved with SDS until I went back to Texas the following summer.

PL: That would be what year?

MB: That would be the summer of 66. I began meeting political people at the University of

CONTINUED ON PAGE 7

## marilyn buck

Marilyn Buck was born in Texas, a segregated state, in 1947. She is the daughter of a nurse and an Episcopal priest who was active in the Civil Rights struggle in the 1960s. Her political and social awareness was heightened by her frustration at the limitations placed on her as a woman. It was this sense of inequality which enabled her to understand that racism and domination was an integral part of U.S. society that could not be changed through voting. She became active in protests against the war and racism. In 1967 she left Texas to attend a Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) Teacher-Organizer training course in Chicago. She remained to act as a co-editor of New Left Notes, the SDS national newspaper. She also participated with other women in SDS in insuring that the issue of women's liberation become part of the SDS national program.





PAGE 17

From "The East Village Other"-Aug. 1967

## THE TOMPKINS SQUARE SMOKE-IN

Several hundred people gathered in Tompkins Square Park July 16 to demonstrate their support for the legalization of marijuana.

The Sunday morning rain disappeared just before 1:00 PM, leaving the area in front of the bandshell dry and sunny for smokers to taste the joys of banana hash (or whatever else anonymous benefactors might have contributed for the occasion). Negroes, hippies, Puerto Ricans, and undercover police spent the afternoon smoking and making music, first on the concrete then on the grass. Participants sang a familiar mantra, substituting "Marijuana" for "Hare Krishna".

Sponsored by New York Provo, a group of psychedelic revolutionaries, the event was intended to bring together and to turn on people from all groups in an atmosphere of peaceful defiance.

In spite of the fact that the promised rock band couldn't make it, the smoke-in was a success for the people in the park. One girl said, "I thought this kind of thing could only happen in Haight-Ashbury." Sunday afternoon made it clear to everyone on the grass that they could come together in celebration and overcome New York paranoia. If they were together they could smoke in the park without fear of harassment. That is what the smoke-in demonstrated.

In the absence of the rock band, eight conga drummers kept the afternoon alive with music. Many were reluctant to try banana hash, but sometime after 4:00 PM the real stuff magically began to appear in the crowd, and everybody—Negro, hippie, Puerto Rican

and maybe even a backsliding police spy—turned on together.

Memories of Memorial Day terror disappeared in puffs of smoke and the sounds of drums and flutes. The police had no choice but to leave people alone. Tanks were in the streets of Newark about that time.

Provo is planning larger, more elaborate smoke-ins for the future. They could become a weekly event if people get together.



THOSE WERE THE DAYS, MY FRIEND.....!



**A MICA BUNKER**  
Improvisation and other truly underground music  
Every Sunday 8 P.M. 324 East 9th Street  
between 1st and 2nd Avenues (basement)

## Shadow Research

### INFORMATION SOUGHT:

Ownership of buildings and lots in Manhattan.

### INFORMATION SOURCE:

Office of the City Register  
31 Chambers St. (Corner of Center St.)  
New York, N.Y. 10007  
Phone: 566-3735  
Hours: 9:00AM-4:00PM

If you want information on the current owner of the building or lot you are interested in, go to Room 202. Look up the address in the front pages of the large "Sanborn Manhattan Land Book" on the counter top. It's about 1 foot by 2 feet long. Get the plate number and look further in the book for the plate you are seeking. A "plate" is a map drawing of the area where the property is located. Looking up the address on the map, you will find a "Block" number and a "Lot" number. Write these numbers down and save them—they may come in handy later. On the page next to the map page, you should find all the properties on that map listed according to their Block and Lot numbers. There you will find the current owner's name, address, telephone number, assessed value, sale price, and the date they took possession of the property. Now you can contact the owner if you want to, for any reason!

If you want to go further and get the most up to date records concerning the property and transactions on it, go to Room 205. Armed with the Block and Lot numbers, you can get a microfiche copy of the property records that go as far back as you want to go or as recently as a few months before your request. A microfiche is like a piece of microfilm on a clear plastic card. If you are requesting records of transactions that took place before 1968, the records may be on old microfilm reels. In order to get the microfiche/microfilm records to review, you must fill out a request form and you may need to submit some form of identification before the clerk will give them to you.

Once you get them, go to the projectors in the next room where you can view the records and even make xeroxes directly from the screen by inserting a quarter and pressing a button. You may be surprised at what you may find, so bring lots of quarters.

One last thing—with some help from the clerks there, you may be able to get a computerized printout of the past few years of activity on the property off the computer terminals in Room 205. There is no identification required for a printout, but remember—a little politeness will go a long way!

(Any questions or requests for further info? Send a note to: Shadow Research, P.O. Box 20298, New York, N.Y. 10009)

## the Shadow INTERVIEW

## ABC NO RIO

### MARCH

3 HOUSE MUSIC

4 STEPHEN INEZ OPENING 6:00-9:00

11 BAD NEIGHBORS (THEATRE) EASTER SLICE

17 TOM BECKER SCREENING: MANSON FILM, SHIRLEY TEMPLE

18 " " : WITCHES FROM ENCHANTMENTS—ANIMAL RIGHTS

24 KEN SWEZY • GRAND GUIGOL EVENT READINGS, PERFORMANCE

26 OPEN PERFORMANCE 6:30

27 FOUR POETS FROM D.C.

31 REHAB VIDEO COLLECTIVE WITH PERFORMANCE

MOST EVENTS START AT 8:00 P.M., UNDER \$5.00

ALSO WORKSHOPS, LIBRARY

FOR MORE INFO. + PROPOSAL SUBMISSION CALL 254-3697

156 RIVINGTON ST. (BET. CLINTON + SUFFOLK)

Texas. Berkeley was overwhelming, there was a complete political milieu, there were thousands of marches. I joined the Free Student Movement which was an outgrowth of the demonstrations that occurred the year before I went to college. So I became a little more socially aware, then when I returned to the University of Texas and Austin I became more political. I realized there was not enough depth in only social rebellion, in what they called the hippie movement. For me I had to have a more political relationship to it. I became aware of the war.

PL: At some point did you see that there was a lot of frustration in joining the civil rights movement, that people were not getting anywhere demonstrating?

MB: That was part of it. Just

being able to go to the theater or Woolworth's restaurant didn't change people's attitudes, and I am talking about white people's attitudes, and it didn't substantially change the quality of life of the people around me. I cannot really say that it did not change at all, because a lot of people have made gains through civil rights.

I became more political particularly because of the Vietnam war, once I understood, once I grasped that it was not just a civil war but a war of the Vietnamese people trying to throw off the oppression of the U.S. government. The U.S. had no right to tell the Vietnamese how to run their affairs. Until that time I don't think I had a clear understanding of what you mean

CONTINUED ON PAGE 9



# ANARCHIST SWITCHBOARD:

From birth until death, we are made to believe we are powerless to change things. This is perhaps the worst farce we've been fed by the governments and institutions which control our lives.

If you are fed up living life as a mere puppet and are tired of the acceptable channels to change (which only lead us back to the same governments and institutions), then come and add to our network.

We are a loose correspondence of anti-authoritarian and anarchist youth (a youth is anyone committed to change) who advocate direct action towards substantial change, and the defeat of a corrupt and crumbling system with a world of free association and liberation.

Direct action methods are vast and varied, but we hold the consensus that change starts with us, and through each individual using the best of her/his/its abilities for change in a cooperative fashion we can create a truly free world safe from the injustice and fear we are presently forced under. Only through our labour can we smash the barriers of racism, sexism, ageism, specicism, and homophobia through the disintegration of the states and systems which hold us apart.

If you are interested in real change, then come to the meetings of the:

New York Direct Action Correspondance (NYDAC)  
c/o The Anarchist's Switchboard  
324 East 9th St. (Basement)  
New York, N.Y. 11210  
(212) 475-8312

Meetings are held FRIDAYS between 4-6PM.  
(we are still at an embryonic stage and need your input to build a movement of spontaneity and action)

Or write the above address for more information!

(note\*- The Switchboard itself is a free space not devoted to any particular ideology, but promotes free thinking and awareness. Any group or persons may use the premises. To schedule meetings call the above phone\*)

## Strike Back

## The Community Garden on Avenue B

Two cops in a squad car pull up next to a guy in a rumpled, off-white linen suit who's walking down Avenue B past our newly fenced-in community garden. I can see from my window the guy leaning back on the fence as the young cops walk over easy, slipping their nightsticks into their belts. They smile, calling him by name, and he doesn't look too happy. He's in his forties, carrying a brown paper bag. The other one pats him down quickly, genial, asking a continuous stream of questions as the first one lifts out his wallet. The other cop pulls up an arm, turning it over, checking the veins. Then he pulls up the guy's shirt, inspecting his stomach. The guy starts to complain, but not too loudly. He's been through all this before, I suppose. Then the two cops take one last look in the paper bag, this time carefully turning it inside out.

By now, everyone in the garden is following this drama, glancing sideways as they bend over their crowded plots. When we first moved in, the neighborhood was full of junk. By 9 PM, the streets were abandoned. From our bedroom window, we watched people shooting up in the alley behind our building, squatting in the trash as they melted a cap in a spoon with a candle, then dipped in their needle and neatly drew up the warm, clear fluid. Well-dressed people, too, with Lord & Taylor shopping bags, nice shoes. And I stood there, telling myself, this is for real, it's not tv, unable to stop

looking. Then they would hunch over meticulous as a watchmaker, and squeeze off a shot, sometimes grinding the needle back and forth, trying to find a decent vein as they dug into the black, sweet spot on their arm, glancing nervously around them as if they were taking a piss.

The two cops hitch up their pants and begin again as the guy in the suit looks wistfully down the street. The first one pats his legs, feeling his crotch, then looks inside each shoe and checks the toes. The guy begins to yawn, but doesn't look bored. The first cop finally checks down the front of the guy's pants, unzipping his fly right there on the street as the other cop pats him on the back. The guy barks, elbows sticking out, his arms shaking bad as the first cop reaches inside his pants and pulls out a small, white bag of powder.

At this point, the first cop produces handcuffs, and they fold him into the back seat of the car and pull off, leaving a blank spot on the sidewalk, as if they were never there. The gardeners resume with their weeding and watering--these things happen all the time; they have work to do. In '83, the cops showed up and the junk moved away, or at least out of sight. The neighborhood was left with an empty lot choked with rubble and rusty needles. That was five years ago, and now the corner is lush with spinach, roses, sweet baby carrots, a green wall of morning glories and even a private meadow of grass, six feet long, where the owner stretches out on warm afternoons, watching the clouds sail over. But now that the block has changed, the city is pushing hard to sell off the lot for another high-rent apartment building, developed, the story goes, by friends of the mayor. So the gardeners hold civic meetings at night, ragged and angry, feeling betrayed by the new realities. No one moves into this neighborhood without somebody moving out. Last year, they blocked construction only at the very last minute, and today I sit at my desk, trying to remember the man in the linen suit, how he sat so calmly at the end, looking straight ahead as they drove him away. I imagine how his life has suddenly changed, perhaps some friend wondering where the hell he is by now, or perhaps he lived alone, a milk carton left on the kitchen table, the sounds of traffic in the empty room.

## THE NEW BULLY ON THE BLOCK, OR ..WHAT EVER HAPPENED TO THE 98 LB. WEAKLING..?



LATER

I'LL SHOW THAT BIG BULLY! I'LL SEND AWAY FOR THIS FAMOUS BODY-BUILDING COURSE!



A people living under the perpetual menace of war and invasion is very easy to govern. It demands no social reforms. It does not haggle over expenditures on armaments and military equipment. It pays without discussion, it ruins itself, and that is an excellent thing for the syndicates of financiers and manufacturers for whom patriotic terrors are an abundant source of gain.

--Anatole France

TO BE CONTINUED...



# the Shadow

## INTERVIEW



when you talk of freedom and liberation, only what I had read in history books, European and religious history. I went to a private religious school.

PL: At some point in your life you have decided you were going to sacrifice possibly your freedom and your life to change conditions, to make the world a more equal and just place to live. How and when did you go from a student to someone who is willing to make such an enormous sacrifice?

MB: I think I am a moral person. I believe that one cannot be a hypocrite to put it in the bluntest terms. I grew up in the church and I saw a lot of hypocrites in the church and I stopped going to church because I was a hypocrite. I was going through a ritual every Sunday and it had nothing to do with my relationship to the principles of Christianity. When I became more political and I encountered Che Guevara through his deeds and his words, the Vietnamese people and Black people who were willing to face dogs, firehoses, bats, Ku Klux Klan to regain that which was due them, their civil rights and ultimately their human rights, I felt how can I do less. I am somebody who has all the benefits of this society. I am white, I am educated, I am middle class, now can I sit by and say this is right, I applaud you, I support you and not be doing the same thing?

PL: You are not accused directly of any deaths but some people you associated with were involved in an armoured truck expropriation in which some people were killed. What would you say to the people in the families of those who died?

MB: Actually I am convicted of felony murder.

PL: But you never held a gun to somebody and shot them.

MB: The government does not have to contend that, they contend I conspired. I regret when anyone dies. When people die it is not just that one spirit leaves the earth. Their families suffer, society suffers. I think that we live in a society of death and destruction. I regret that people have to die but people are dying. It's hard because I am not in Central America and South Africa. The thing that moved me the most when I was young was seeing black people in this country beaten down for wanting to go to college, for wanting to sit in a restaurant for wanting to ride a bus. Being brutally beaten, being killed, being attacked by the police and white racists. There is an anger that is acceptable in this white racist society but it is not acceptable to fight back at that. So, I was profoundly moved when I saw young black people say we are going to fight back. It's an international law that an oppressed people have the right to fight for it's liberation. That means fighting

and waging a war because a war is being waged against blacks, the Puerto Rican nation and Native Americans, millions of people have died.

You cannot talk about violence randomly. I think there is violence that is used in the furtherance of goals of a rebellion or uprising. Without social and political direction, violence in and of itself is not a good thing. Violence is not neutral, it has been used in many ways, for good and bad reasons. You cannot stop racist or imperialist violence with nonviolence. The state understands that the way you control people is through repression...to maintain social, political and economic control of the people. In some points in many struggles violence by the oppressed and exploited is the only way to fight the violence of the oppressor.

Explanations like that don't help peoples feelings. People feel anger "somebody killed my family member", but in America it is more acceptable for the police to kill someone black in the street. Men beat their wives, kill their wives, kill their children and they walk free. White gang members can drive Michael Griffith into the street so he is hit and killed, provoke his murder, beat him and they will be out in a few years. That is because we live in a white supremacist society. Violence is acceptable when it is performed by certain groups of people against other groups of people. State violence is acceptable, it is acceptable for the U.S. to shoot down an Iranian plane and not have to feel remorse or regret.

PL: What are some of the methods of the war you mentioned being waged against blacks, Latinos and Native Americans?

MB: Part of the war is economic. They have the worst jobs in this society. It has been an incredible fight to get wage parity with whites based purely on skin color... it is a social and cultural war to deny people their identity, their culture, to erase everything into this white American culture. In some cases black artists are not recognized by whites until their music gets taken over by white artists, that is what Elvis did. When you talk about psychological war there is a terrorism, a way of trying to rob people of their identity. So third world people are made to feel less than white people. This is the practice of white supremacy. The devastation of not having work is socially and physically damaging. You can't

eat properly or have medical care or good housing. It's psychologically damaging because humans seek to be productive. First black people were worked to death now they are underemployed. This is devastating, you don't

have any sense of purpose or fulfillment and that creates the milieu in which the government introduces chemical warfare. Drugs are then introduced purposely into the black and Latin communities in order to entrap the people who cannot work. It dulls the senses so people do not have the wherewithal to fight back. It's all interrelated and it's genocidal, culturally, physically and morally.

PL: Why didn't you ask for prisoner of war status?

MB: My co-defendant did, I did not. I asked for status as a political prisoner. The situation of New Afrikan blacks is different than whites. We are not in the midst of a war of national liberation...I am in prison for my political beliefs, my political associations and my political activities. The U.S. government wants to say that there are not political prisoners in this country, that people are in jail for crimes. Political activity in this country is a crime if it manifests itself in certain ways. I am an anti-imperialist, I have been one since 1969 or 1970. I believe we need drastic social change in this country. I believe that for oppressed people to be free, for white working class people to not be exploited anymore, to create economic and social forces that allow people to be productive and creative in this world, that we have to end the system of imperialism and the United States is the primary promoter of that although economically they are having their problems.

PL: You are charged with conspiracy and racketeering, do you see those as being the activities of the U.S. government in certain areas of the world?

MB: I would say that the U.S. government is the most organized criminal enterprise in the world. They have systematically raped and plundered other nations in the world. They continue to do it not only as in Puerto Rico which is a direct colony, but through neo-colonialism in which they use the International Monetary Fund, international loans to the so called underdeveloped countries in order to continue sacking them (with debts). They support the bourgeoisie and ripping off the natural wealth and productive wealth of countries in Central and Latin America, Asia and Africa...

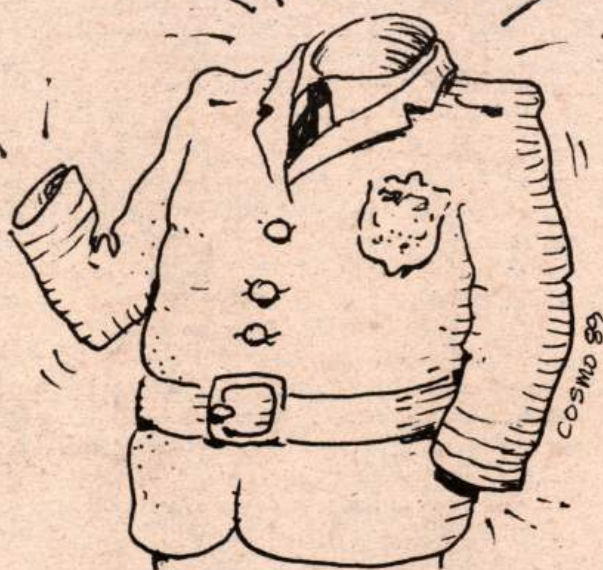
...We are living in a situation in which there are two world views. There is the view of the U.S. government and U.S. imperialism that they have the right and the might to define what is democratic, what is just and what is right anywhere in the world. They have the right to define if the elections in Nicaragua are democratic or not or if elections in Haiti are democratic or not. So they can condone the elections in Haiti where people are shot down in the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 11

The police boss had previously told Hispanic leaders to alert "your relatives" that narcotics cops would be sweeping East Harlem.

"As far as the Latino community is concerned at this time, Benjamin Ward is a non-entity and does not exist."

POOF



WHAT A STROKE OF GENIUS!  
AS A NON-ENTITY, WE NOW  
SEE BEN WARD THE WAY WE  
SHOULD HAVE SEEN HIM  
ALL ALONG... A COP!!  
WHATEVER THE COLOR, THE  
BRAIN IS THE SAME.



# LIBERTY UNDER SIEGE

On October 14 that ambition could scarcely be plainer, as the President invokes "executive privilege" to withhold from Congress thirty-one documents, many of them unsigned memorandums, prepared by junior officials in the Department of Interior. In the most sweeping assertion of executive secrecy in our history, the President declares that all information that is "part of the executive branch deliberative process" lies beyond the oversight of Congress. President Reagan, who invents his own constitution as he goes along, has expanded the confidentiality of the Oval Office to cloak the entire executive branch. In the space of twenty-four hours he has proposed to cut off the government not only from the people, but from their elected representatives as well.

By October 15 Congress has every reason to ask—and loudly—on what merit doth this our Caesar feed. But Congress asks nothing. The opposition leaders are silent; "liberals" are as mute as "conservatives." The elected representatives of the people apparently prefer to deal privately with the White House rather than awaken the sleeping electorate. Quietly, Congress will preserve the Freedom of Information Act, and quietly it will challenge "executive privilege"; but the Administration's assault on accountability it will not make known to the people.

On December 4 the President signs an executive order authorizing the CIA for the first time to collect "foreign intelligence" in the United States by surreptitiously questioning the citizenry. It also authorizes the CIA to employ the entire local police force of the country in this undercover questioning, which can take place in a barroom, a barbershop, or the aisle of a K-Mart—as if the U.S. government needed to monitor the unguarded conversations of private citizens to keep itself informed about foreign countries. Getting the government off the backs of the people is the very last thing this Administration wants.

## II. 1982

**O**n January 7, at the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in Washington, the Administration opens an assault on the old, slack habits of scientific freedom. The "hemorrhage of the country's technology" overseas is so severe, says Admiral Bobby Inman, deputy director of central intelligence, that the government must step in to "control" the public dissemination of private research. If the nation's scientists do not submit voluntarily to such censorship, Admiral Inman warns the assembled audience, a "tidal wave" of public outrage "could well cause the federal government to overreact" against the liberties of science. Anger and indignation sweep the meeting. What the government wants "is clearly more compatible with a dictatorship than a democ-

*\*The Administration's FOIA bill never came to a vote. Other legislation incorporating many of the Administration's proposals passed in the Senate, but stalled in the House. In late 1981, the House Committee on Energy and Commerce cited Interior Secretary James Watt for contempt; the documents at issue were subsequently turned over.*

cracy," says Peter Denning, a computer scientist from Purdue University, in a sharp rebuttal to Inman. The Administration mistakes the very source of the "hemorrhage," reports the March issue of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*. Commerce is what transfers technology abroad, according to a 1979 study made by the Pentagon itself, and commerce is what the 1979 Export Administration Act was designed to control.

To all arguments against censorship, however, the Administration is deaf. As Lawrence J. Brady, an assistant secretary of commerce, tells the press in March, the government is determined to combat "a strong belief in the academic community that they have an inherent right . . . to conduct research . . . free of government review and oversight." Accordingly, the Commerce Department informs universities across the country that any faculty member who lectures on advanced technology to even a single foreign student may be considered a "U.S. exporter" under the 1979 law and fined \$100,000 for exporting technical data without a government license. At a scientific conference in August, 100 optical engineers are forced to withdraw their research papers at the last minute when government agents warn them that they may violate export control regulations. Once again, an Administration which regards the lawful regulation of commerce as unwarranted oppression uses commercial regulations to suppress non-commercial activity. Yet about the transfer of technology overseas the Administration evidently cares little. Due to its slack enforcement of the real export control laws, California's Silicon Valley, in the words of an FBI official, is "as leaky as a sieve."

The pretexts are shifted around like the three shells in the shell game—efficiency, thrift, and national security—but the aim is always the same: to give the White House the power to withhold from the American people whatever the President thinks it best for the people not to know.

On February 4 the President shows Congress the final draft of an executive order on "classified information." The order betrays an appetite for secrecy so wanton that the White House declines to send a representative to defend it at a congressional hearing. Under the order, a bureaucracy which already withholds from the public about 16 million documents each year is instructed to resolve all doubts about secrecy in favor of public ignorance. The order creates a new category of technical data ("vulnerabilities or capabilities of systems, installations, projects, or plans relating to the national security") so vast and so vague that it enables the government for the first time to classify private technical research—thereby giving the White House another way to clamp down on the campus and the laboratory and the Freedom of Information Act. The new category has the additional advantage of greatly thickening the wall of secrecy surrounding the Administration's wasteful, fraud-ridden military buildup.

The new secrecy order treats history itself as a menace to national security. The systematic declassification of documents, begun by President Eisenhower in 1953, is brought to a virtual halt, and its unprecedented antithesis—reclassification—is introduced in its place. Under the new order government officials can reach into the public domain and re-conceal what is already public. After high-ranking officials use classified informa-

*When a concerted assault on the habits of freedom ceases to shock us, there will be no further need to assault them*



*The White House would prevent the American people from judging for themselves the costs and benefits of its policies*

tion to present their version of events, the government can now deny that information to others. "We are encouraging the distortion of history," says Anna K. Nelson, representing the American Historical Association at the March 10 hearings. "The knowledge that documents and records are equally available to all has kept many a participant an honest observer. This provision has no place in a representative democracy."

The one-day hearing makes no public stir. But the White House is still anxious to preserve its "conservative" reputation. At a meeting of the National Newspaper Association on March 14, Ed Meese blames the draft order on "overzealous bureaucrats"; but the President signs it just the same. On April 1, armed with their new authority to suppress private research, Pentagon officials telephone the technical journal *Spectrum* and order an editor to start shredding a manuscript about high-tech Army weapons systems "immediately."

The White House in 1982 is steadily consolidating its new legislative powers. Under Executive Order 12291, which elevates cost-benefit principles over acts of Congress, a new mode of lawmaking is being set up before our unseeing eyes. Under this new system, Congress continues to enact legislation after years of study and deliberation. And it continues to delegate to the appropriate agency the authority to issue regulations carrying out the aims of each law. But after that, a few dozen clerks in the White House budget office virtually dictate the promulgation of any new regulations, thereby nullifying acts of Congress that the President considers too costly. "The result is a return, to some extent, to autocratic government," says Kenneth Culp Davis, one of the country's leading experts on administrative law, writing in the April issue of the *Tulane Law Review*.

And what is the purpose of inserting autocracy into the American republic? To "reduce the burdens of existing and future regulations," says the White House, but that is all it dares say in public. Like the arms buildup, like domestic snooping, this "good," too, thrives best out of sight of the electorate. Under the direction of the budget office the Nuclear Regulatory Commission in June suspends some of its most important safety regulations without the knowledge of the millions of people who live near nuclear power plants. Under the control of the White House the Environmental Protection Agency turns into a massive conspiracy against the environmental protection laws. The *Times*, reporting on the 1983 congressional testimony of John E. Daniel, the second-ranking official at the EPA, notes that the budget office "tried to dictate regulations to the agency, threatened reprisals, urged that cost factors be built into health rules when the law prohibited them and showed proposed rules changes to officials of the industries being regulated before the changes were available to the public." With the White House acting as influence-peddler—exactly what the American Law Division's report on Executive Order 12291 had warned of a year earlier—a field report on dioxin contamination is altered to delete a sentence reading: "Dow's discharge represents the major source, if not the only source, of TCDD contamination" in Saginaw Bay, Michigan. EPA field officials are ordered not to submit a new report until Dow "endorses" it.

These are public benefactions so desperately in need of public inattention that when a congressional subcommittee subpoenas EPA documents on October 21, the President is compelled once again to invoke his personal constitution. On November 30 he declares that "the Constitutional doctrine of separation of powers" obliges him to withhold from Congress the documentary evidence of the agency's efforts to give America "cost-effective" toxic waste dumps. The "dissemination of such documents outside the Executive Branch," says the President, "would impair my solemn responsibility to enforce the law."

Under White House control the Department of Labor nullifies the occupational safety laws by cutting down on inspections, reducing fines, weakening the old rules, and delaying the enactment of needed new ones. The department also quietly undermines a law ensuring fair employment opportunities for Vietnam veterans by suspending key regulations without public notice or comment. According to the department it is "unnecessary and contrary to the public interest" to let the American people know how their President treats the veterans of a war he is trying to glorify.

In June the Department of Health and Human Services proposes that all changes in rules affecting the aged, the poor, the young, and the disabled henceforth be promulgated without public notice or comment. A cost-benefit analysis has persuaded the department that the "delay" caused by public participation in the rule-making process "outweigh[s] the benefits of receiving public comment." Alas for democracy, it cannot make the poor run on time.

A few weeks before making its secrecy proposal the department had direct experience of the utter incompatibility of democracy and cost-benefit analysis. In May it tried unsuccessfully to save nearly \$1 billion by gutting a program that provides preventive medical checkups to 2 million poor children. When this came to public notice, the shysters of "cost-effectiveness" had a hard time explaining why an ounce of prevention was no longer worth a pound of cure, this being the well-known result of a cost-benefit analysis made by humanity at large and not readily rescinded except in the dark. What an enemy of the "good" is common humanity!

As long as a free people can bring the executive to court, however, presidential power is under constraint, for the courts do not yet recognize the new legislative system. In July, Federal District Judge Harold Greene stops the Department of Labor from nullifying two laws it considers too costly to enforce. "It is not for the Secretary of Labor or his subordinates to make that judgment," wrote Judge Greene. "Under our constitutional system, policy decisions are not made by Government administrators; they are made by the Congress." What an enemy of the "good" is the old Constitution!

To free arbitrary power from the constraints of the courts, the Administration tries to cut off the courts from the people. To prevent the citizenry from enforcing the civil rights laws themselves, the Administration will try in 1983 (in vain) to amend those provisions that allow people to sue the government in order to compel it to enforce those laws. To make it finan-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 12



# the Shadow

## INTERVIEW

street and there is a reign of terror so people don't vote and they kill candidates. But in Nicaragua they are not democratic because people came out and voted an overwhelming percentage for the Sandinistas and elected Daniel Ortega. This government feels like it had the right to say who can do what and when.

They won't indict Noriega for drug activities, when Noriega, if he was involved with drugs, was involved through the auspices of the CIA. They were mad at Mr. Noriega because he was not doing what he was supposed to be doing, which was giving the U.S. back title to the Panama Canal. The CIA brings more drugs into this country on one plane load than probably all the women on my entire floor have brought in. The U.S. government believes it has the right to decide what is right and wrong, what is democratic and what is terrorist, what is good violence and what is bad violence. The U.S. trains torture squads to kill people in El Salvador, so riverbeds and the countryside are strewn with bodies. In El Salvador, Argentina and Chile, and in this country black people are shot down, murdered in the streets by police, but no one has the right to fight back. That is democratic?

PL: One anti-government riot this summer repressed by the Sandinista police is being used as a reason to request more military aid. How do you view that?

MB: I have lived through so many demonstrations and so called riots in this country where the police and National Guard come in with horses, with guns to suppress activities which are against the government. During the sixties, particularly around the issues of civil rights, black liberation, fighting the Vietnam War, people were dragged, knocked down, tore up, thrown in jail, persecuted for conspiracy cases because they were anti-U.S. government policy. One demonstration in Nicaragua, and it shows there is no democracy. As I said, it is two different world views. Their bourgeois democracy is a democracy for the ruling class. Whatever freedoms it gives different sectors of the population, they are given on the necessities of maintaining power and control. That is not to say anywhere else in the world there are not social problems and there are not excesses or things that could not be better. This country abuses human rights disgracefully and they believe they have the right to throw stones at anybody else. They don't care about Palestinians dying, they don't care about black people in South

Africa dying, they don't care about people being locked up and tortured, being kept in villages with their water cut off, their houses being blown up by the Israeli Army, they don't care about that, that is fine—that is the democratic process.

PL: I have read numerous times you were the "sole" white member of the Black Liberation Army. Did you consider yourself a member of the BLA?

MB: No, I was a supporter. The only list I believe probably exists is made by the police departments, the FBI, the counterintelligence programs. They create the lists and they put people on it. In this country it is incredibly easy to be a conspirator. The conspiracy laws allow the government to persecute and prosecute anybody they want for criminal charges, although we are talking about political acts and political movements. Whether it is so-called "neutralization" which is blatant murder, or by locking people up as common criminals.

PL: How was the COINTELPRO program used against you, if it was used against you?

MB: I definitely believe so. I have never been able to get any of my freedom of information act files because they say it is always under investigation. I have been trying since 1976 and I have not gotten one piece of paper.

PL: One of COINTELPRO's tactics was to send anonymous letters to create dissension among political groups to create hatred, violence or doubt in someone's leadership abilities. Did you ever receive those type of letters?

MB: No, I never personally received them. I would imagine that because I was a target of COINTELPRO, more likely there would have been innuendo or gossip of that kind spread around me. I don't want to pretend that I am an important target, I am a common ordinary person. They have a program to portray me as vicious criminal type person and cast me out of the community of humanity.

PL: In your trial the government relied almost solely on the testimony of a federal witness protection program "paid" informant Tyrone Rison. How much was he paid and how much time was taken off his sentence? What were some of the inconsistencies of his testimony?

MB: He and his family have gotten over \$120,000.00 in a five year period. He made a deal with the government and he was sentenced originally to twelve years pleading guilty to RICO charges and he admitted he

killed a Brinks guard. He shot him, he killed him after there was absolutely no reason to shoot the man. He received twelve years because he was hired by the government. He became the vehicle for the government to be able to prosecute myself, Mutulu, Judy Clark, David Gilbert, Sekou Odinga, Sylvia Baraldini, Kuwassii Balagoon, and others acquitted. He has been their agent.

He contradicted himself on how he killed a Brinks guard. First he said that he just shot him, then he says he tripped and it was an accident, then he says he didn't shoot him. He contradicted himself first saying he skinned alive a Vietnamese woman. Then he said he did not mean that he did it because "we" meant the U.S. Army, "I just sat and smoked reefer and watched it". That is a big inconsistency in talking about his life.

According to him, his memory got better as the years passed. I guess it did get better because he was better coached by the FBI after five or six years. He did not know dates, times, places, he did not know what year, what state he was in when he robbed particular armored trucks. The FBI would suggest "wasn't that in Connecticut?", or "wasn't that in Greenburgh?" There was one incident when he said he and other people robbed a Korvette's or something in Greenburgh, New York. Someone else has pleaded guilty to that and is serving a sentence on it. He says he has never heard of this man. He didn't know where the place was. He didn't even know if it was New York, but he gets up and testifies that is where he was and that Mutulu and I were there.

PL: Is it true another defendant in the earlier trial, Chui Ferguson, was charged with a

CONTINUED ON PAGE 13



DRUG FREE  
URINE!  
Guaranteed  
100%  
Drug Free  
Two Samples  
\$21.95  
20 Pg  
Booklet On

Urinalysis Testing  
And How To Beat It!  
\$7.00  
PO Box 20233-U  
New York, N.Y. 10009

Armageddon is coming... They can sign all the peace treaties they want. They won't do any good. There are dark days coming. My Lord! I'm happy about it! There are dark days coming again! I don't care who it troubles. It thrills my soul!  
—Jimmy Swaggart



North and Bundy: The state doesn't oppose murder; it just punishes free-lancers.



# LIBERTY UNDER SIEGE

cially difficult for the public-spirited to uphold the law against lawless bureaucracy the Administration will also try in 1983, again in vain, to curtail government payment of fees to lawyers who vindicate the law. To weaken the "habit" of judicial review the Administration rails at the federal courts for what Attorney General William French Smith calls "constitutionally dubious and unwise intrusions into the legislative domain"—the domain which the White House itself has lawlessly invaded. To put the old, the young, the poor, and the disabled beyond the protection of the courts the Department of Health and Human Services announces in June that in the future the internal rules it issues to administer its programs will not create any rights or benefits that are "enforceable" in court.\*

To deprive the poor of their legal rights, the White House asks Congress in November to abolish the Legal Services Corporation, which provides the poor with counsel to help them protect their rights in court. When Congress refuses, the White House installs its own agents at the corporation. In late November they unfurl their handiwork: pettifogging rules (later dropped) that make it almost impossible for Legal Services lawyers to sue on behalf of large groups of people, the single most efficient weapon in vindicating the legal rights of the poor. And what is the "cost-effectiveness" of compelling the victims of official injustice to sue for their rights one at a time? The inestimable "benefit" of liberating lawless power from the constraints of the law.

**O**n January 24 the budget office proposes a change in its Circular A-122—"Cost Principles for Nonprofit Organizations." What is proposed are new accounting rules for the thousands of private organizations that receive federal grants to carry out government functions in lieu of an extended bureaucracy. The new rules say, in effect, that all such organizations—from the Girl Scouts and the Izaak Walton League to the Association for Retarded Citizens—must forfeit federal funds if they speak out on public affairs.

\*Although a final regulation was never published, this proposal, as well as the one stipulating that the department's rules be promulgated in secret, remains on the agenda.

The new rules "would inhibit the free flow of information between these parties and all levels of government," says an angry Chamber of Commerce. "Operated in tandem, the scope and inherent vagueness of the terms 'political advocacy' and 'unallowable costs' can easily become a giant pincers for the stifling of the free and unfettered exercise of First Amendment rights," says the National Association of Manufacturers, which finds itself puzzled at the spectacle of the White House discouraging "citizen involvement in the political process." Representatives of both organizations testify on March 1 before the one forum left in Washington for a republican opposition to arbitrary power: the House Government Operations Committee, under the chairmanship of Jack Brooks of Texas.

Frank Horton of New York, the senior Republican on the committee, cannot hide his anger or his shame. "We are talking about what a citizen can do with his own money on time not paid for by the Government. . . . [The revision] says that if he receives any money through an award based on cost, he cannot express an opinion on public matters and still be compensated. Mr. Chairman, this is positively outrageous. I cannot believe that this could possibly be the intent of the Administration, and yet the language is painfully clear."

Two weeks after issuing its proposed revision of A-122 (which will be only slightly modified before being adopted in April 1984), the President signs an executive order banning "any organization that seeks to influence . . . the determination of public policy" from participating in the federal government's lucrative on-the-job charity drives. A month later, the White House calls for the elimination of postal subsidies for the blind, libraries, schools, and other nonprofit organizations.

Why does the White House wish to silence so many thousands of public-spirited people who have firsthand knowledge of the effects of its policies? The question answers itself: so that the American people cannot judge for themselves the costs and benefits of those policies, and so cannot hold the Administration accountable. That is why the Administration stops funding the publication of the *Survey of Income and Program Participation*, which assesses the effects of its welfare policies; stops publishing the *Annual Survey of Child Nutrition* and the *Annual Housing Survey*; stops publishing several bulletins on occupational health hazards; stops issuing warnings about newly discovered toxics; withholds health care data from local officials; and eliminates or reduces "at least 50 major statistical programs," the Government Operations Committee reports, on such matters as nursing homes, medical care expenditures, monthly department store sales, and labor turnover.

According to Administration spokesmen, the "free market" will attend to these things, so the government need not inform the electorate about them. But how can the American people judge the merits of the "free market" if they are kept in ignorance of its effects? This question, too, answers itself. The market is not for the American people to judge. Although it is the highest good of all, the market, too, apparently thrives best in darkness.

On a radio program devoted to "Defunding Anti-Family Organizations," Michael Horowitz, general counsel of the budget office and mastermind of the A-122 revision, describes the kind of Americans the White House favors: "Americans who live in real-world communities, have real-world jobs, real-world concerns, who are not political in character."

Under Justice Department guidelines issued on March 7, Americans who are "political in character" are put within easy reach of police surveillance. In addition to permitting FBI agents to infiltrate political organizations in the cause of "domestic security," the new guidelines allow the Bureau to collect "publicly available information" on any American it chooses to monitor for any reason whatever. Thanks to an Administration

*To free arbitrary power from the constraints of the courts, the Administration tries to cut off the courts from the people*



*If the American people want to know about something, then, for that very reason, it must be kept from their knowledge*



*The flaunting of censorship during the Grenada invasion reveals a determination to habituate a free people to official news*

which pretends to oppose official oppression, any citizen who emerges from "real-world" obscurity now falls within the purview of, and possibly into the files of, the federal police power.

On March 11 the White House attempts to do for national security affairs what A-122 was meant to do for domestic affairs: stop up the mouths of those who know too much. Under the President's National Security Decision Directive 84, all government employees with access to "sensitive compartmentalized information" must sign contracts which subject them to an extraordinary system of official censorship. If they wish to publish a book, an article, or even submit a letter to the editor containing "any information" related to "intelligence"—a category vast enough to take in most of the domain of national security—they must first show it to the government for review, and, if need be, alteration, not only while in office but for the rest of their lives.\*

The White House does not give a clear-cut justification for this system of lifetime censorship, possibly because there is none. The Administration's statement accompanying the directive describes it as both a harmless effort to give government policy "a greater consistency" and an urgent effort to prevent the unauthorized disclosure of important state secrets. The press briefing at the Justice Department borders on the theater of the absurd.

"How many employees are you talking about here?" a reporter asks an official.

"SCI access is given out only to a handful of employees."

"Hundreds, thousands?"

"It would probably be classified."

"Can you provide one or two examples of concrete damage to national security" from unauthorized disclosures?

No, he cannot: "When we officially confirm information that has been disclosed in this manner, it compounds the damage."

The truth comes out later and the truth is devastating. The "handful" is 128,000 officials. And, according to the State Department, the total number of damaging "leaks" conveyed through the writings of government officials during the preceding five years is none, not one.

"Well, I just can't believe it," says Lucas A. Powe Jr., a professor of law at the University of Texas, in testimony before a Government Operations subcommittee. "It is as if in coming up with the proposal the Administration weighed censorship in the balance as a positive good instead of a presumptively unconstitutional evil."

That their highest officials might be the enemies of their freedom Americans find hard to believe, but such is the case. On a pretext so false its falsity cries out to heaven, the White House is determined to censor the writings of the only class of citizens who can effectively challenge a president in affairs of state—all those retired State and Defense Department officials whose character and patriotism cannot be impugned and whose judgments command attention even when they run counter to a president's. The Administration is apparently bent on turning the White House into the unopposable voice of Authority.

On February 24 a prizewinning Canadian film about the horrors of nuclear war is labeled "political propaganda" by the Justice Department and placed under the restrictions of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938. The name of every organization and individual to whom the film is distributed must be filed with the government. On March 3 the State Department denies a visa to Salvador Allende's widow, who had been invited to address church groups in San Francisco. It is "prejudicial to United States interests," says the department, to let a few Americans hear, perhaps, that the present Chilean regime is a tyranny.

On April 1 the Department of Energy introduces a new kind of official secret. According to the department's proposed regulations, which were later modified, a vast mass of published books, articles, and reports must henceforth be concealed from the public if they could possibly contribute to "nuclear terrorism." Any library that lets such "unclassified controlled

On February 17, 1984, the President orders the censorship provisions of NSDD-84 "held in abeyance," but does not revoke them.

nuclear information" fall into unauthorized hands could be fined up to \$100,000 for failing to help the government achieve what Stanford University, in a stinging rejoinder, calls "the futile and repugnant object of making known and unclassified information secret."

On May 25 the President fires three members of the six-person Civil Rights Commission—something no other president has ever done—for daring to monitor the Administration's non-enforcement of the civil rights laws. At a single stroke the commission's statutory independence is destroyed, but the White House has little patience for contrary voices. Americans have a right to speak out about their "concerns," says the President at a press conference in mid-June, "but let us always remember, with that privilege goes a responsibility to be right."

On September 12 the White House takes another step toward centralizing control of government information. The budget office proposes that all government agencies must consider that "information is not a free good but a resource of substantial economic value and should be treated as such." In light of this, they must submit to the White House clear proof that any information they make public passes the supreme test of "cost-benefit analysis." Half in shock, half in anguish, the American Library Association asks how such an analysis can properly be made. "What is the dollar benefit of an informed citizenry?"

"You can't let your people know" what the government is doing, the President explains at an October 19 press conference, "without letting the wrong people know—those who are in opposition to what you're doing." (On October 20 the Senate votes 56 to 34 against lifetime censorship for government officials.) Reporters are so injured to the President's artless press conference remarks that nobody asks him why the people's right to know chiefly benefits "the wrong people."

The meaning of the President's remarks becomes clear on October 25, when U.S. forces invade the island of Grenada and the American press is barred from the scene at gunpoint, forced to huddle on a nearby island, and compelled to transmit to the public only official lies and evasions. This wanton act of government censorship reveals "a certain mind-set" among the nation's leaders, *Time* angrily observes: "the notion that events can be

CONTINUED ON PAGE 14



# the shadow

# INTERVIEW

crime committed when he was actually in jail?

MB: Yes he was.

PL: Did Rison have to come up with a certain quantity of crimes to convict you of the more serious conspiracy charges?

MB: No, in RICO you only have to be convicted of two acts to be convicted of the overall conspiracy. He had to fill in the FBI scenario. The FBI has a list of unsolved robberies all the time and they can just pick out some. One detective testified that there had been a number of armored car robberies in the New York metropolitan area and there were similarities in their patterns. They took those and said they were all robberies we were involved in.

PL: What is the significance of Assata Shakur; how has she affected the Black struggle?

MB: She has affected the Black and anti-imperialist struggle, it doesn't matter what color you are. The government charged her with being a leader of the Black Liberation Army and they pursued her relentlessly, they pursued her as a black woman, and they made her a symbol of the armed struggle of black people. They charged her with numerous bank robberies. She was not convicted of any of these robberies. Then they took her to New Jersey and convicted her of felony murder, killing a New Jersey state trooper while she was shot with her hands up in the air (doctor's testimony at trial). They murdered Zayd Shakur, and

Sundiata Acoli was captured.

The government was vicious and vindictive, they wanted this woman. It was irrational, they had no idea of what or who she was except that she was a black militant woman. People love her and care about her. She stood fast against the incredible brutality and wave of terror that was waged against her. I am glad she is free and I think that she has a lot more to contribute to the world. She may not be in the U.S., but she will contribute to black, oppressed and all freedom loving people wherever she lives.

PL: Mexico recently released William Morales (FALN member and Puerto Rican independence) to Cuba. Do you see that as a hopeful international message to the U.S. Government?

MB: Yes, it shows a level of respect and recognition that the Puerto Rican independence struggle has, that Puerto Rico is an independent nation and that the people who fight for that liberation are justified and are recognized by the world community as fighting colonialism. I think Mexico not bowing before the U.S. was extremely positive. It shows the strength of the world community that believes Puerto Rico must be free.

PL: The Kerner Commission was established in the sixties to investigate and report upon the division of blacks and whites in this country. Do you think there has been any change since the Kerner Commission, has it helped?

MB: There is always change but

if you talk about qualitative change I think the position of black people in America as a whole is worse than it was. The level of racism and white supremacy has risen. Black people's economic role in society with the exception of a small sector has declined. The quality of education, the quality of life has declined in relationship to other sectors, particularly the white population, the white nation.

PL: Federal Judge Barrington Parker's decision that condemned the political prisoners in the U.S., particularly the Lexington control unit for women, was an important decision. Do you think it will affect prison programs?

MB: I think it was a victory for the left, for political prisoners, for there to be recognition that people are persecuted for political reasons. The government will not stop repressing people because a judge says you cannot do it this way. I think they will come back and find another way to do it.

PL: His decision reaffirms what has been known for a long time, that there are special prisons and mistreatment of political prisoners, but do you think that will change the daily life of someone who is in jail for political reasons?

MB: I don't think for the most part that lives will be changed one iota by this decision. It will change the ability of the government to create this kind of psychological torture unit so blatantly. Immediately, I hope it changes the lives of my dear comrades Alejandrina Torres, Sylvia Baraldini, and Susan Rosenberg. They have been subjected to devastating torture. The government tries to set political prisoners outside the community of mankind. They want to call us anti-social elements. I don't think anybody deserves any kind of torture, I don't care if you work for the government or if you work for the freedom of mankind, I think that torture is a crime against humanity. I would hope that they close the unit down and that all the women are removed.

PL: Have you been singled out for special treatment because of the political nature of your charges?

MB: Yes, Mutulu and I at MCC are treated differently. We cannot meet in the legal room. During our trial I was in population. When we were convicted we were thrown into the hole, into isolation and segregation.

PL: So it is not for security reasons?

MB: They won't write that down, but that is what they say. I don't know why we are less secure than we were for the last three years. It is propaganda to make a

record that we have to be kept in isolation.

In the D.C. Jail, prisoners are told not to speak to us with the threat of being thrown into

the hole. In fact, some prisoners were told we were in jail for threatening Jesse Jackson's life while we all have long histories of fighting racism tooth and nail... The guards are predominantly black and this alienates and antagonizes people to the point that they don't care what happens to us. Any lack of human treatment is explained by "they deserve it". They try to isolate people beyond the realm of the human community so they can be treated worse than animals. People don't treat animals like this. We are shackled and chained, we are not allowed out of the cells without handcuffs and chains.

PL: Do you eat in your cells?

MB: Yes, you do everything in your cells because we are locked up 23 1/2 hours a day with very poor lighting conditions. We cannot meet with our attorneys without handcuffs on, so it is impossible to write and prepare for trial. People's health has deteriorated rapidly. I am afraid that I really have a potential to be seriously injured if I go to the Washington D.C. Jail soon. I have a balance problem and I cannot walk, except with crutches. I nearly fell down a two story flight of escalators while I was there. I think it is very easy to end up dying in that jail. The government wants to terrorize us and wants to try to physically and psychologically assault us to deteriorate our ability to fight the charges politically in this case.

PL: Has the FBI conducted an overzealous investigation to convict you? Did they spend an exorbitant amount of money pursuing this case?

MB: They spent millions of dollars. They have done everything in their power to convict me, they are sorry they didn't convict more people. This is their way of eliminating the opposition.

PL: Do you have any idea how many millions?

MB: No. It is money that could be used to feed people and create social programs that allow people to live and work with dignity. I

just spent a week in the hospital and I am sure the total bill for guards is over \$25,000. They had five marshalls or more watching me 24 hours a day. Here I am, a woman in bed with a broken leg. They are victims of their own propaganda. You have to look at a society that spends all its money on war and defense and so-called security. There is something drastically wrong and it really shows the nature of the system.

## FACE REALITY! There are political prisoners in the USA

Video at Roulette 7:30 PM/\$6

A project of Freedom Now! curated by Maggie Smith

7:30 PM Mondays

- 13 Mar Female High Security Unit  
Nina Rosenblum/Daedalus Films. 35 mins. 1988  
Geronimo Pratt  
PCTV, Lisa Rudman, and the Committee to Free Geronimo Pratt. 27 mins. 1988  
The Press Conference 12/12/88  
National Campaign for Amnesty and Human Rights for Political Prisoners. 30 mins. 1989
- 20 Mar Have You Seen La Nueva Mujer Revolucionaria Puertorriquena?  
A video visit with the prisoners of war. PCTV, Lisa Rudman, & The National Committee to Free the POW's. 58 mins. 1987  
CBS Tries the New York 3: Racist Lies on Prime-Time TV  
Paper Tiger Television and the New York 3 Defense Committee. 35 mins. 1988
- 27 Mar Fair Doctrine  
The New York 8, the Irish struggle, and the KKK.  
Andrea Kirsch. 70 mins. 1987  
Ohio 7: On Trial For Their Lives  
Amy Loomis and The Sedition Committee. A work in progress.
- 3 Apr Shut Down The Control Units!  
Committee to End the Marion Lockdown. 30 mins. 1988  
Straight Ahead!  
The trial and victory of the New York 8.  
Straight Ahead Collective. 50 mins. 1987

Reservations & Information: 212-219-8242

## ROULETTE

228 West Broadway at White Street

SUBWAYS

#1 train to Franklin Street

A, K, or E trains to Canal Street



# LIBERTY UNDER SIEGE

shaped by their presentation, that truth should be a controlled substance." Indeed so, but this flaunting of censorship reveals something more than a "mind-set": it reveals a determination to habituate a free people to official news and to regarding a free press as the national enemy. "It seems as though the reporters are always against us. They're always seeking to report something that's going to screw things up," says Secretary of State George Shultz, "pandering," writes Safire on December 18, "to the most dangerous I-Am-the-State instincts of his boss."

And who is "us," Secretary Shultz is asked. "Our side militarily—in other words, all of America."

## IV. January–October 1984

In early January the Administration makes its first crude attempt to revive seditious libel—the ancient crime of speaking ill of the government. On January 3 Justice Department officials obtain a court order barring a publisher from printing a legal opinion of a Colorado judge because the department thinks it is "slandrous" to three of its lawyers. Three weeks later the sear of notoriety forces the U.S. Court of Appeals in Denver to recollect what country it is in, but America has had its first inkling of

*\*The final regulations, passed in April 1985, allow the DOE to restrict access to such information only if it is contained in material acquired by a library after that date.*

*\*\*Although formal guidelines were never issued, this has become the Administration's de facto policy.*

a future in which the executive may punish with prior restraint the sin of slandering the state.

In January, too, the Administration experiments with new ways to deter government officials from disclosing classified information to the public. "Leaks are consensual crimes," says Acting Assistant Attorney General Richard Willard. Willard shows Senate aides the draft of unprecedented legislation that would authorize the federal government to punish with crushing financial penalties any person with access to classified information—more than 4 million people—who divulges the most trivial fact concealed within the bloated empire of national security.\*

The Administration takes a parallel step against leaks in late January, when two Air Force investigators approach Professor Jeffrey Richelson of American University an hour before he is to deliver a technical paper on arms control verification to an academic audience in Los Angeles. They warn Richelson that if he delivers his paper, he could be prosecuted under the 1917 Espionage Act.\*\* On February 3 the *Washington Post* reports that FBI agents have warned two former National Security Agency officials that their research into the downing of the Korean Air Lines jet "technically violated" the Espionage Act.

The word "technically" betrays the Administration's intention. It seeks to turn a law aimed at the transfer of vital secrets to a foreign power with the intent to harm the country into an instrument for prosecuting those who transfer information to the public with the intent to help the country. The great advantage of this law over other methods of stopping leaks, notes a confidential White House memorandum circulated in 1982, is that it "could also be used to prosecute a journalist who knowingly receives and publishes classified documents or information."

Behind the President's "leakomania," as Safire calls it, lies the force of a very practical necessity. Ordinary means of concealment can no longer hide the scandalous truth about the Administration's trillion-dollar military buildup; it is a colossal squandering of the public wealth. The established secrecy rules are good enough to silence time-servers, but they cannot prevent men of honor from supplying Congress, the press, and the public with the sordid evidence of wanton waste—the evidence that "the vast majority of money we put into major weapons systems is pure waste and inefficiency," according to Senator Charles E. Grassley, a conservative Iowa Republican; the evidence that "we are not buying airplanes, we are buying the contractors' costs," according to A. Ernest Fitzgerald, the Air Force official who gave "whistle-blowing" a good name; the evidence that the entire weapons buildup "had nothing to do with a strategy, nothing to do with a program of what we needed for defense," according to Richard A. Stubbing, who served in the budget office as deputy chief of national security during the first years of the buildup.

To help it conceal this hideous engine of waste from the American people, Congress has quietly handed the Department of Defense extensive new secrecy powers. Slipped into the voluminous folds of the Omnibus Defense Authorization Act of 1984 is a provision that gives the Pentagon statutory authority "to withhold from public disclosure any technical data with military or space application" that could not be released to a foreigner without obtaining an export license. After all, why should Americans have a right to know any more than foreigners? We are a thousand times more dangerous than foreigners. This congressional assault on accountable government gives the executive the authority to conceal the entire domain of national defense from the American people. But the Pentagon waits until

*\*The White House never formally proposed this legislation, in large part because the details of Willard's draft were reported in the press, generating widespread public opposition.*

*\*\*Richelson delivered his paper anyway. He later provided the Justice Department with evidence that it was based on published information, and a decision was made not to prosecute.*

after the election to exercise its new powers.

Secrecy rules are one thing; enforcing them is another. Hence the importance the Administration places on expanding the Espionage Act.

On October 1 the Administration takes the next step toward the act's expansion when it arrests a civilian Navy official for selling three classified

*By treating Cuban periodicals like Cuban cigars the Administration claims control over a hitherto free activity*



*Why should Americans have a right to know any more than foreigners? We are a thousand times more dangerous than foreigners*

satellite photographs of a Soviet aircraft carrier under construction to a venerable British military magazine. There is no question of disclosing information damaging to our national security. The Defense Department releases satellite photographs whenever it suits the Administration's purposes. Nor is there anything surreptitious about the sale: the arrested official, Samuel Loring Morison, is an editor of *Jane's Fighting Ships*, and the photographs were duly published in August. The only question is whether the Administration can find a judge willing to rule that the Espionage Act is in fact an official secrets act under which no one has been convicted in sixty-seven years.

**T**he President's great popular victory in November does not reconcile the Administration to the habits of freedom and popular government. It merely gives the President and his faction greater power to besiege and subvert them.

On November 20 the Defense Department exercises its new statutory power to conceal itself from the country. It issues a directive stating that every Pentagon official must henceforth withhold from the public all "technical data," including any pertaining to "contractor performance evaluation"—fraud—and "results of test and evaluation of... military hardware"—waste—if such data "are likely to be disseminated outside the Department of Defense." In other words, if the American people want to know about something, then, for that very reason, it must be kept from their knowledge. That is the plain English of the regulations. The maximum penalty for enlightening the country is ten years' imprisonment and a \$100,000 fine for violating the export control laws, now distorted beyond recognition.

The great Administration engine for squandering the public wealth, the machine which generates crushing budget deficits, which in turn serve as a permanent force for reducing "social spending," has at last become what it so desperately needs to be: a single, all-embracing secret of state. Wanton waste, under heavy concealment, will enforce needless sacrifice, and the sovereignty of a free people will be crushed under a fabricated necessity. Social programs will be abolished, public benefits reduced, social services left to decay; and a blinded electorate will no more understand why their country has grown so impoverished than a savage can understand why the sun rolls around in the heavens.

Also in the aftermath of the election the Administration reveals what the President means by "the responsibility to be right." It will try to make falsehood a federal crime. A writer named Antoni Gronowicz has published a book about Pope John Paul II, *God's Broker*, containing extensive interviews with the pontiff which the Vatican says are fictitious. This is gross falsehood—the pope says so—and this the White House is determined to punish. An Administration which thinks it is oppressive to prevent corporations from poisoning the air thinks it is the government's duty to prevent an author from misleading a few readers. The Justice Department seeks a grand jury investigation in Philadelphia, hoping to have Gronowicz indicted, not precisely for publishing a book containing falsehoods but for violating the mail fraud statutes.\*

In late November the Administration finds a still more potent way to

*\*A grand jury was convened, and ordered Gronowicz to turn over his notes. He refused, and has asked the Supreme Court to overturn lower court rulings ordering that he do so.*

curtail the freedom of the press in America. The CIA files a complaint with the Federal Communications Commission against the American Broadcasting Company that could result in the loss of its broadcast licenses for airing a false charge, later retracted, against the agency. Since the CIA's unprecedented suit has the backing of the White House, the FCC proves obliging. Even though it eventually rules against the CIA, the FCC declares that any agency of the government henceforth has the right to file such a complaint against a broadcaster (under the Fairness Doctrine) if it feels it has been unfairly abused on the airwaves. Thus has the FCC reinvented seditious libel. By bureaucratic fiat, it is now an offense punishable by the threat of extinction for any broadcaster to treat the executive branch unfairly—in the judgment of the executive branch.

As long as Americans still cherish a free press, however, the Administration cannot successfully subjugate the news media. Accordingly, the Administration renews its effort to turn the people against their own newspapers. Another flaunted drama of censorship provides the instrument. On December 17 the Defense Department calls in the press to announce that the scheduled January 23 flight of the space shuttle *Discovery* will be treated as a military secret of the gravest kind. The public learns that Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger has personally asked the Associated Press, NBC News, and *Aviation Week & Space Technology* to suppress their stories about the shuttle mission in the interests of "national security"—and that the three organizations have dutifully complied. The public learns, too, that even "speculation" about the purpose of the flight is forbidden and will be punished by a full-out investigation of the offender—a truly extraordinary threat.

This sudden, officious announcement stuns the Washington press corps. There is simply no warrant for such elaborate secrecy. The military purpose of the shuttle flight has been publicly available information for months. To kill a news story merely because the government orders it would set a "dangerous precedent," warns John Chancellor on the *NBC Nightly News*. True enough, but the Administration evidently wants something more than that servile precedent. Its insolent warning against "speculation" is a goad to defiance, "an enticement for people to go after what the mission was about and then to publish what they found out," as former Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger tells the press.

Taking up the gauntlet, the *Washington Post* refuses to keep secret what is not a secret and publishes a story about the shuttle flight based on information from available sources. Secretary Weinberger denounces the paper for daring to "violate requests" from the Pentagon. Disobedience to a gov-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 15





IS A CRIMINAL AN ELECTED OFFICIAL WHO GRANTS FAVORS, AT THE PEOPLE'S EXPENSE, IN RETURN FOR A SIZABLE CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTION? NO HE IS NOT A CRIMINAL, HE IS A PUBLIC SERVANT.



IS A CRIMINAL A SOLDIER WHO TORTURES AND BUTCHERS CIVILIANS IN WAR? NO, HE IS NOT A CRIMINAL, HE IS A WAR HERO.



IS A CRIMINAL AN INDUSTRIALIST WHO POURS TONS OF DECEASE BREEDING FILTH INTO THE ATMOSPHERE POLLUTING THE LUNGS OF EVERYONE FOR THE SHORT SIGHTED SAKE OF HIS MISERLY PROFIT? NO HE IS NOT A CRIMINAL, HE'S A PILLAR OF SOCIETY.



NO IF YOU ARE ANY OF THESE THINGS YOU ARE NOT A CRIMINAL, IF, HOWEVER, YOU CHOOSE TO "POLLUTE" YOUR OWN LUNGS WITH A HARMLESS WEED, THEN YOU ARE A CRIMINAL.

## Angels

of what residents called a drug dealer was displayed. Residents on one block of 13th Street felt compelled to publicly apologize for the incident.

EVAC provided the Guardian Angels with an East 14th Street storefront from where the Angels participated in shortlived patrols on 14th Street between First and Third Avenues. The patrols led to confrontations by the mostly white middle class residents, accompanied by the Angels, with suspected crack dealers and users who were invariably black and poor.

The Guardian Angels headquarters provided by EVAC was the second for the group in the East Village. During the summer of 1987, East Village slumlord Emil Braun provided the Angels with an East 11th Street storefront. Embarrassed by accusations that Braun recruits drug abusers to terrorize tenants in his buildings, the Angels beat a hasty retreat.

In recent months, Curtis and Lisa Sliwa have been trying to build a Guardian Angels chapter in London. Curtis claims to have received more than 20 stitches from a knife attack by an unknown assailant. British authorities reportedly held the couple for several hours of questioning at Heathrow Airport before allowing them to enter the country.

In the U.S., the Angels continue to patrol some streets but their visibility is lower than in past months with the Sliwas out of the country. At a recent forum sponsored by the American Civil Liberties Union, an Angel spokesperson admitted the group had "made mistakes", but said that the Angels plan to continue their ystreet patrols.



## LIBERTY UNDER SIEGE

ernment decree, he says, "can only give aid and comfort to the enemy." This is more than mere calumny; it is the precise wording of the constitutional definition of treason, and it suggests a motive for the shuttle affair. What the Administration has done is stage a little morality play before the eyes of the country, a corrupting drama in which the servility of the press appears in the bright garb of patriotism and the freedom of the press in the black hues of treason.

Some weeks later the Administration stages a second act of the vicious play when the *Times* publishes a secondhand story by Leslie Gelb against the wishes of the State Department. The department's Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs orders Gelb ostracized and ostentatiously denounces him for "willingly, willfully, and knowingly" publishing information "harmful and damaging to the country." That the information has been previously published is irrelevant, the department explains. "The Secretary of Defense and Secretary of State and National Security Adviser were against printing it," and this alone makes it treasonable conduct in the new tyrannized republic. As Floyd Abrams, the famed constitutional lawyer, observes, the Administration is "attacking the legitimacy of the press, not its performance."

Under the Administration's powerful assault the press grows timid. The Morison case passes through various preliminary stages but the public hears almost nothing about it. Tyranny is not "news." That is the new rule of American journalism. The truth is, the press is too frightened to write about what frightens it. It cowers in dread of being called "too powerful." For the myth of media power, which the media never contested in their salad days, is now being used by the enemies of liberty to incite the people against a free press.

On January 4, without the slightest public notice, the White House issues an executive order that concentrates still greater legislative power in the hands of its budget office. Under Executive Order 12498 the White House gives itself the formal power not only to impose cost-benefit analysis but to review, control, approve, or suppress any agency activity "that may influence, anticipate, or could lead to the commencement of rule-making proceedings at a later date." Regardless of the laws they are supposed to implement, the executive agencies of government can now do virtually nothing the White House disapproves of. For the first time in American history a president has the formal power to turn acts of Congress into mere husks for secret White House legislation. Under the new executive order the president also has the unprecedented power to bar any executive agency from even studying anything the White House prefers to leave unstudied. No official information that might allow the American people to question the wisdom of a president may be collected without that president's permission—which will be given or withheld in secret. Under this new dispensation the old, decentralized executive branch stands on the verge of extinction. The traditional bulwark against presidential despotism has been reduced to silence and servility.

On March 12 a federal judge in Baltimore, deciding a motion in the Morison case, rules that the Espionage Act applies to unauthorized disclosures of classified information to the press. According to Judge Joseph H. Young, "the danger to the United States is just as great when this information is released to the press as when it is released to an agent of a foreign government." For decades it was plain to Congress and the courts that the vital secrets of 1917 bear little resemblance to the half-billion "classified" documents concealed by the modern security establishment. For decades it was evident to everybody that informing the American people is different from informing a foreign government, that the wish to enlighten the country is different from the intent to harm it. But this Administration believes that an enlightened citizenry is a menace to the state. Thanks to Judge Young's ruling, patriotic officials may no longer menace the great engine of Pentagon waste. Morison himself faces up to forty years in prison for putting three harmless photographs into a well-known magazine.

Imagine a faction that would throw honorable men into prison so that it could impoverish the public treasury with impunity and bend a sovereign people to its will, not just this year and the next, but long after it has fallen from power. Imagine a venerable republic, the hope of the world, where the habits of freedom are besieged, where self-government is assailed, where the vigilant are blinded, the well informed gagged, the press hounded, the courts weakened, the government exalted, the electorate degraded, the Constitution mocked, and laws reduced to a sham so that, in the fullness of time, corporate enterprise may regain the paltry commercial freedom to endanger the well-being of the populace. Imagine a base-hearted political establishment, "liberal" as well as "conservative," Democratic as well as Republican, watching with silent, protective approval this lunatic assault on popular government. Imagine a soft-spoken demagogue, faithful to nothing except his own faction, being given a free hand to turn Americans into the enemies of their own ancient liberties. Imagine this and it becomes apparent at last how a once-great republic can be despoiled in broad daylight before the unseeing eyes of its friends.

Walter Karp is a contributing editor of *Harper's* and the author of *The Politics of War*. He is at work on a book about the Korean War, *The Empire and the Mob*.

In our dreams we have limitless resources and the people yield themselves with perfect docility to our molding hands.  
—John D. Rockefeller



# WHERE TO GO FOR FOOD AND HELP

## 1. Grace & Hope Mission

114 Third Avenue & 13th Street

**Brown Bag**—Tuesday to Sunday. Doors open at 7:00 P.M. Gospel service at 7:30, then brown bag of food is given out. Doors close at 8:00 P.M.

**Pantry**—Tuesday to Friday at 5:00 P.M. They prefer families. You must phone first to use this pantry.

**Help**—Counselling is available from the missionaries on staff.

## 2. The Village Temple

33 East 12th Street

**Lunch**—Saturday from 1:00-2:00. Hot lunch given out on a first-come, first-serve basis. No tickets, just line up.

**Help**—Saturday 1:00-2:00. Lawyers and professionals from the Temple take turns to help with entitlements, disability, food stamps, welfare problems and housing.

You may request pastoral counselling.

## 3. The Catholic Center at N.Y.U.

Washington Square South & Thompson Street

**Lunch**—Monday from 12:00-2:00. Tickets at 10:00. Entrance is around corner on Thompson Street.

## 4. Hebrew Union College

1 West 4th Street at Broadway

**Supper**—Monday at 5:30. Tickets given out at 4:30. Served in basement of building.

## 5. Stuyvesant Polyclinic

137 Second Avenue & 9th Street

There are many medical and mental health services here, including a clinic for infectious diseases. If you are homeless and have been hospitalized for an infectious disease and then discharged to the street, you can come here for on-going care.

There is a very good alcoholism program, including acupuncture detox for withdrawal and relapse. They offer therapy and counselling, and help with referrals and entitlements. There is an AIDS clinic, which will help any person with AIDS. Medicaid or Medicare or sliding scale. They will help you get Medicaid.

Clinics: Monday to Friday 9:00-8:00. Infectious Disease Clinic: Monday and Thursday.

## 6. Trinity Lutheran Church

602 East 9th Street

**Lunch**—Tuesday to Friday at 11:00 A.M. No tickets, just line up. The Friday lunch is sandwiches only.

**Help**—Pastoral counselling and referrals are available during the soup kitchen if the Pastor is on hand.

## 7. St. Brigid's Church

Avenue B & 7th Street

Rev. Linn's God's Love Ministry at St. Brigid's

**Lunch**—On the last Saturday of each month at 1:30. Tickets given out as you enter. Clothes available for those eating at the soup kitchen.

**Pantry**—On the next to last Saturday of each month at 11:00. Given out on a first-come, first-serve basis.

## 8. Graffiti Baptist Ministry

184 East 7th Street

**Lunch**—12:00 on Saturday in Tompkins Square Park near the corner of 7th Street and Avenue B. Soup, sandwiches and fruit are given out. Just line up.

**Supper**—Wednesday at 6:00 at the Baptist Ministry. A hot, sit-down meal is served. Tickets at 5:30. First come-first serve.

**Clothes**—Monday, Wednesday and Thursday from 1:00-3:00 and Wednesday from 8:00-8:30 P.M.

**Help**—Pastoral counselling is available and referrals for other services. Make appointment for this when at the meals.

## 9. SPROUT

Tompkins Square Park

**Clothes**—On the last Saturday of each month at 12:00, this group gives out clothes in the park in front of the amphitheater.

## 10. Middle Collegiate Church

50 East 7th Street

**Clothes**—Monday and Wednesday from 9:00-1:00.

**Pantry**—Monday and Wednesday from 9:00-1:00.

**Help**—Pastoral counselling, entitlements and referrals Monday and Wednesday from 9:00-1:00 and Thursday from 1:00-5:00.

**Celebrate Life meal** for those with AIDS.

**Meal**—Monday at 6:00. Must have AIDS, ARC or HIV Positive identification card. No tickets, just line up.

## 11. The Catholic Worker/Mary House

55 East 3rd Street

**Lunch**—Every day from 12:00-1:00 except Monday. No tickets, just line up.

**Shelter**—There is a residence here for women. Beds are usually given, when available, to women known to the Catholic Worker Community.

## 12. Holy Name Center

18 Bleecker Street

This place is for Men only.

**Drop-In**—Men can come here to shower and shave Monday through Friday from 8:00 A.M. to 12:00.

**Mail Room**—You can register between 1:00-3:00 Monday to Friday to have your mail sent here, except for welfare checks. Bring an I.D.

**Help**—There is staff on hand during the week to help you with your entitlements and give referrals for other services and for detox.

On Thursday, from 9:00-11:30 A.M. the **Manhattan Bowery Project Medical Team** has a clinic here to give help with medical problems.

Free GED and Adult Literacy classes Monday to Thursday. Also English As A Second Language. Ask at desk.

**Shelter**—19 beds available. Given out on a first-come, first-serve basis.

## 13. University Community Soup Kitchen/Nativity

44 Second Avenue

**Lunch**—Saturday at 1:30. No tickets. Served in the Social Hall. Enter through the courtyard gates on Second Avenue and Second Street.

**Clothes**—During the soup kitchen when available.

## 14. The Catholic Worker/Joseph House

36 East 1st Street

**Breakfast**—Wednesday, Thursday and Friday from 9:30-11:30. No tickets, just line up.

**Clothes**—Sunday through Thursday at 2:00 when available.

## 15. The Bowery Mission

227 Bowery

**Breakfast**—Monday to Friday at 7:00 A.M. Sunday at 8:30 A.M. Not on Saturday.

**Lunch**—Monday to Friday at 12:00. Saturday and Sunday at 2:00 P.M.

**Supper**—Monday to Friday at 7:00 P.M. Saturday and Sunday at 6:00 P.M.

There are no tickets for any of these meals, just line up. There is a service first.

**Drop-In**—Men can drop in for showers and shaves Tuesday and Friday at 12:00.

**Pantry**—Monday to Friday from 2:30-3:30 when available.

**Clothes**—Monday and Friday at 12:00 when available.

**Shelter**—Each day after supper, there is a lottery for the 15 beds they have available. Tickets for the lottery are given out at supper to those who have attended the service before the meal.

## 16. University Settlement House

184 Eldridge Street

There are mental health services here, both single and in group. You may walk in from 9:00-5:00 Monday to Friday to make an appointment. They take Medicaid,

Medicare, or sliding scale. In some cases it is free.

In the Social Services Department you can get help with entitlements and referrals. They have crisis help and will see homeless people. Monday to Friday from 9:00-5:00. Evening help by appointment.

## 17. Our Lady of Sorrows

213 Stanton Street

**Pantry**—If you live below East 4th Street between Essex St. and the East River, you can go to this church Monday to Friday during the day and ask for help. Volunteers from the **St. Vincent de Paul Society** can also visit you at your home to bring pantry food and assess your needs. Go to the Rectory of the church. Bring proof of need.

## 18. MFY Legal Services

223 Grand Street

If you live south of Houston Street and east of 5th Avenue, you can walk in here for free legal services for housing, immigration, benefits and general legal problems.

2:00-5:00 on Tuesday.

## 19. East Side SRO Legal Services Project

223 Grand Street

If you live on the east side of Manhattan, in an SRO or rooming house, and you are being hassled where you live, you can get free help at this office. There are lawyers and tenant organizers to help you.

1:30-4:30 on Thursday.

## 20. Betances Health Unit

281 East Broadway and 34 Gouverneur Street

This Health Unit has two clinics. They each have general medical services, and help with social services. They can refer you to a dental clinic. There is a nutrition program, podiatry, on-going care for TB, and acupuncture detox. They refer for mental health services. Payments by Medicaid, Medicare or sliding-scale. They have special rates for medicines.

Monday to Friday from 9:00-5:00; Wednesday until 7:00 P.M.

## 21. St. James Church

23 Oliver Street

**Pantry**—If you live between the Brooklyn and Manhattan Bridges from East Broadway to the East River, you can use this pantry. They prefer families. Bring proof of residence. Open Monday-Friday from 9:00-5:00.

## 22. McCauley Water Street Mission

90 Lafayette Street

**Breakfast**—5:30-6:00 A.M. every day.

**Supper**—7:15 P.M. every day. There is a service first.

Both meals are for men and women.

**Clothes**—Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Friday from 1:00-1:30.

Clothes for men only.

**Shelter**—Bed tickets are handed out each day at 2:30. Come back for intake at 5:30 P.M.

**Help**—On Monday and Wednesday from 9:00-4:00 the **Betances Health Unit** has a social work team set up here to help you. On Wednesday from 9:00-4:00 the **Healthcare for the Homeless** team has a clinic for medical and mental health services. You must sign up for this clinic on Tuesday.

## 23. Coalition for the Homeless

Broadway and Park Place at the City Hall Encampment

**Brown Bag**—Every night at 8:00 a brown bag of food is given out at City Hall where homeless people are camping out.

## 24. St Paul's Chapel of Trinity Church

Broadway and Fulton Street

**Brown Bag**—A brown bag lunch is given out Monday to Friday at 11:00 A.M. First-come, first-serve.

## USEFUL PHONE NUMBERS.

### • S.H.A.R.E.

Call: 583-8500

If you have a place to cook, you can buy food cheaply through S.H.A.R.E. For \$12.00 and two hours of community service each month, you get a food package—meat, fruit, vegetables and grains worth \$30.00-35.00. Call them for information on how to join.

## U.S.: Fight Abortion

The Justice Department called on the Supreme Court yesterday to overturn its landmark 1973 decision legalizing abortion when the high court rules on a Missouri law regulating abortions.

"The fundamental right to abortion can draw no support from the text of the Constitution or from history," the brief says.

The department called on the court "to abandon its efforts to impose a comprehensive solution to the abortion question" and leave it up to lawmaking bodies.

## WOMEN'S EQUALITY WOMEN'S LIVES

Join hundreds of thousands of women and men from across the country on April 9th

Call

National Organization for Women

Buses leave from Union Square

Departure Time: 6 AM

Round trip fare: \$25

Expected return time: 10 PM

Low income fare: \$15

for more information.

NYC at (212) 929-2334 or 807-0721

ORGANIZE FOR

# abortion rights!

PREPARE FOR APRIL 9, 1989  
MARCH IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

FOR MORE INFORMATION:

REFUSE & RESIST 305 Madison Avenue,

Suite 1166 NYC 10165

(212) 713-5657 (24-hour answering machine)

OR: The New York Pro-Choice Coalition

(718) 897-2693