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OCT/NOV 1992 ISSUE #27

APKINS SQ. EURFEW PROTES

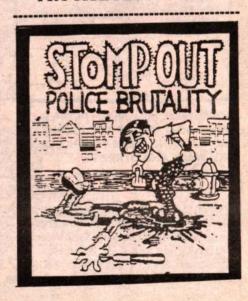


ALSO INSIDE:

BERKELEY ACTIVIST

INCINERATOR BATTLE IN CITY COUNCIL

NEEDLE EXCHANGE PROGRAM LEGALIZED



EDITORIAL

TOMPKINS SQUARE PARK: WHAT IS THE REAL ISSUE?

The political establishment in New York City is mobilizing every available resource to suppress those who dissent from its policies on Tompkins Square Park. A press campaign to turn Lower East residents who oppose the curfew into Willie Horton is complemented by an unprecedented policy of police repression in which activists are being selectively jailed for up to 40 hours on charges which the cops know will never stand up in court. Former Ninth Precinct Executive Officer Dick Hanley did his best to turn peaceful anticurfew gatherings into riots by personally choking and beating protestors. Since 1988, the dissidents of the Lower East Side have torn one hole after another in the fabric of the Real Estate Dealer's Government in New York. The battle of Tompkins Square Park continues, and the issue is now no longer the curfew or real estate values or the right of homeless people to live in public spaces.

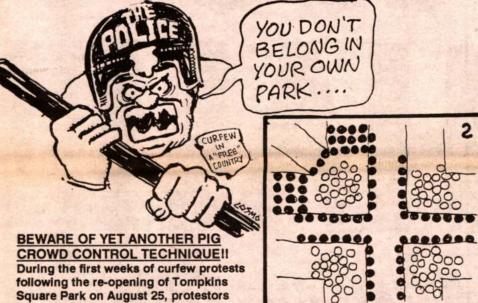
In 1992, the battle of Tompkins Square Park is about the sovereignty of government itself. The new right-wing political clique which controls the City Council is determined to subdue rebellious neighborhoods and wipe out community control. They won the incinerator in Harlem against the massive opposition of the residents uptown. Downtown, they must prove that they can curfew Tompkins Square Park. If Andrew Stein, Peter Vallone, Steven Sanders, and Antonio Pagan cannot bring the Lower East Side to its knees, they will lose the confidence of the real-estate plutocrats whom they work for. They will

spare no expense or brutality in this battle.

Novel methods must be used to fight back against such enemies. This phase of the battle of Tompkins Square Park is being fought over the minds of the people on the Lower East Side. No longer do the mayor and other politicians even try to pretend that people have a say in what goes on their own community. Everything has been decided for them in advance of "public hearings" or protests. The brazen closing and destruction of the park, and subsequent multi-million dollar "renovation" shoved down our throats in spite of a declared "economic crisis" and massive protests by people in the streets and representatives of the local community board proved this well enough.

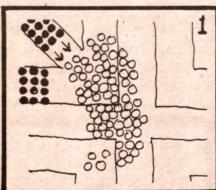
People must now decide whether or not they will allow the city and its gentrification interests to draw yet another line in our neighborhood. The SHADOW encourages

everyone to act accordingly with as many varied strategies as possible.

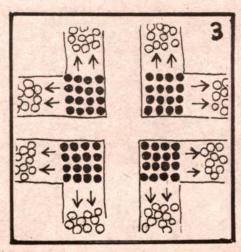


CROWD CONTROL TECHNIQUE!!

During the first weeks of curfew protests following the re-opening of Tompkins Square Park on August 25, protestors and bystanders were subjected to a new pig maneuver designed to divide the numbers of people into eight very small groups. The antidote to this and other pig control formations is unpredictability!! When curfew protestors are pushed out of the park and then off the park sidewalk, they can arrange to re-group on a specific corner or place from where they can maintain their numbers and plan their next move. Do not put yourself in a position to be corralled by the pigs!!



KOPS (Black dots) PUSH PEOPLE (White dots) OUT OF THE PARK (Upper left), CAUSING THEM TO SPILL ONTO SIDEWALK AND STREETS. KOPS WITH REINFORCEMENTS
QUICKLY SURROUND PEOPLE ON
PARK SIDEWALK AND BLOCK OFF
SURROUNDING CORNERS IN
INTERSECTION AFTER PUSHING
PEOPLE ONTO SIDEWALKS.



KOPS THEN PUSH REMAINING PEOPLE DOWN SIDEWALKS IN OPPOSITE DIRECTIONS (Usually half the length of the blocks), BLOCKING OFF STREET AND SIDEWALK FROM PEDESTRIAN TRAFFIC.

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TOMPKINS SQUARE PARK RE-OPENS: MIDNIGHT CURFEW PROTESTS!!

By A. Kronstadt + Chris Flash

As word of the pending re-opening of Tompkins Square Park spread during the last week of August, just over four years after the infamous Tompkins Square Pig Riot of August 6-7, 1988 that began as the result of protests over the park's curfew, concerned residents met in the basement of St. Brigid's church on August 20 to discuss what to do about the latest curfew that was expected once the park was open again.

Suggestions ranged from calling mayor Dinkins' "hotline" (212-788-7588) and demanding no curfew, to making the city pay <u>us</u> \$50 each per hour to keep us out of the park instead of paying cops to keep us out. The results of an informal street poll were read aloud--of 1,011 responses, 225 people said they wanted a curfew, while 637 people reject a curfew in the park. Meanwhile, the exact opening date was being kept secret by the Parks Department and mayor's office.

Five days later, at 9:00 AM, the park was open. An unpublicized opening ceremony was set up, featuring politicians seeking credit for their destruction of the park. Throughout the park were teenagers raking the grass and sweeping walkways. One of them told the SHADOW that they had been sentenced to do "community service" in Tompkins Square

Park to avoid getting jail sentences by different judges.

An ugly portable stage on a trailer was set up where the original bandshell once stood, with a band and speakers blasting loud music. (The night before, a man playing his trumpet on the street was threatened by cops with arrest.) In front of the stage, many youngsters were led to waiting chairs where two clowns with a duck came up to entertain them. One of the children told the SHADOW that they had been brought in from "Camp Carmine," a day camp operating out of the Carmine Street Recreation Center on the other side of Manhattan run by the Parks Department!! He said that they had not been told where they were going until the last minute and that their parents did not know where they were.

By 9:45, city councilman Antonio Pagan arrived at the park. Scores of cops stood by as Pagan was yelled at by demonstrators and angry residents, causing him to leave the area. Cops tried to move demonstrators away from the area of the opening ceremony, but were prevented when activist lawyers Bill Kunstler and Ron Kuby informed Chief Hoehl of their rights.

Dinkins soon arrived with the other architects of the destruction of the original park and bandshell: Parks Commissioner Betsy Gotbaum, Pagan, and Assemblyman Steven Sanders, all of whom planned to speak to the carefully-selected audience of Pagan supporters and children. He was shouted down from the moment he took the stage as he told the youngsters: "Children, this isn't the way to behave." Dinkins then tried to get Pagan's people to drown out the protestors, but they failed, even though he implored them to yell louder. After some photo opportunities in which Dinkins touched childrens' heads and pointed at the demonstrators, Dinkins retreated behind the stage, where he held a private press conference as cops in plainclothes and uniform stood guard.

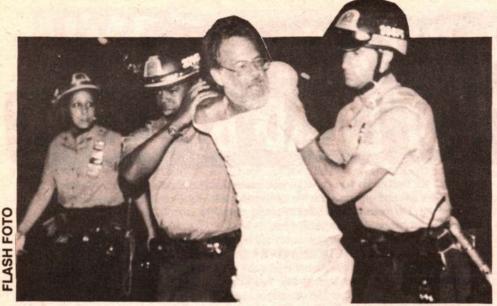
The hired band played muzak-type music, but no one was listening. Later, the kids were "treated" to a puppet show, the clowns twisting balloons, and free hot dogs and soda from a nearby wagon paid for by the city.



DINKINS TELLS KIDS TO IGNORE DEMONSTRATORS

Later that night, a large Speak-Out took place on the hill in the center of the park. A few die-hard activists sat down on the grass and began discussing the curfew. More people joined them, and a meeting of about 150 people was soon in progress. Already they were violating the park regulation prohibiting more than 20 people from gathering in a city park without a permit. There were lots of different opinions in the group. While everyone who spoke was against the curfew, some expressed concern about homeless people living in the park once again. Others supported the right of anyone to sleep in the park, and pointed out that the uncomfortable situation which developed in Tompkins Square Park over time was the fault of the government, which curfewed all other parks in New York City, ran homeless people out of public spaces, failed to clean Tompkins Square Park, closed the bathrooms at night, and removed the trash barrels. The meeting was conducted in a tolerant and civilized fashion, with each speaker choosing the next person to speak. There were debates over civil disobedience vs. working within the system vs. direct action. It was clear that there would be a multi-pronged strategy for fighting the curfew in which different people would persue their own tactics. When the meeting finally broke up, most people remained in the middle of the park and a jam session broke out with several musicians providing entertainment.

Continued On Next Page...



By 10:30, the park was again the center of a media circus, with cameras and lights set up by television crews waiting for the big moment. The signs announcing the midnight curfew had appeared on the fence earlier in the evening. The city administration apparently wanted to keep people guessing until the last few hours to diffuse the outrage. They did not make a statement to the press about the curfew until the 6:00 news that night.

Packs of undercover cops, in the park since the early afternoon, were paired off and roaming through the park. Incredibly, Gotbaum had the nerve to show up--she was promptly chased away to the pigs' headquarters vehicle at the corner of 10th Street + Avenue A. Members of the National Lawyers Guild acted as legal observers, giving out legal advice cards. They were later evicted by Captain Hanley, who threatened them with

As the midnight curfew neared, about 200 people were gathered near the center of the park, singing along with musicians as a few people discreetly chained themselves to trees and park benches. Meanwhile, hundreds of riot cops massed along 9th and 10th Streets with various vehicles and equipment. Parks workers broadcast a warning to leave the park as clusters of cops made their way toward the center. People made hasty plans to resist the curfew, but most were not prepared to risk arrest that night. It was a Tuesday night and many had to go to work the next morning. The cops brought in the kleig lights at 12:00, shining them on the crowd. Chants of "No Curfew, No Police State" went up. On the walkway next to the grass was a collection of the biggest governmental scumbags in New York City - high police officials, right-wing members of Community Board 3, Parks Department bureaucrats. They smirked and smiled at each other, knowing that they had men with guns behind them and we didn't. Finally, the cops moved in under Captains Hanley and Frey. They cut through the center of the crowd and swept people in two different directions. Some of us linked arms and were arrested. Five cops grabbed Arthur, a long-time Lower East Side resident known for his committment to non-violence, twisting his arms violently. The cops still didn't know that three activists had chained themselves in the trees in the center of the park. The cops were seen later, absurdly surveying the trees with their flashlights looking for arboreal dissidents.

After sweeping people out the Avenue A exit to the park, the cops massed again and swept everyone off the sidewalk on the east side of Avenue A. A neighborhood resident who sat down and refused to get off the sidewalk was arrested and handcuffed. Captain Hanley ran over and grabbed him by the throat from the rear after he had been handcuffed and dragged to his feet. Hanley kept hitting him in the back as he hustled him into the paddy wagon. Hanley then pointed at Lori Rizzo, who was standing on the sidewalk on the side of Avenue A opposite to the park. He yelled, "She's going in for disorderly conduct and resisting arrest" - before she had even been arrested. Hanley rushed across the street and grabbed Lori, choking and punching her. Assisted by five pigs, Hanley dragged her into the street. The crowd never gave Hanley the riot which he was trying to provoke. While in jail, Hanley told Lori that he would arrest her and throw her in jail any time that he saw her at a demonstration.

The same numbers of cops were deployed for the next several nights, in anticipation of large demonstrations over the weekend. On Friday night, August 28, a small group of people joined an accoustic music jam at 11:30 led by "Joe Folk" (a popular local musician known by another name), with Jim the Fiddler and others with tambourines, bells, maracas, and even a conch shell. Joe Folk sung his version of "This Park Is Your Park" as people sung and danced along. Within 15 minutes, the group grew to more than 50 people, all singing and dancing to the music. At midnight, the pigs circled the group, the parks pigs told people to leave the park, but the music went on. Increasing numbers of cops in formation approached the group step by step. By 12:10, Joe Folk led the group out of the park toward the Avenue B + 7th Street entrance singing "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot" as cops followed. Suddenly, pigs guarding the entrance closed the gates, locking the group inside the park as plainclothes cops jumped and arrested 21 people at random. (The

KOPS TELL NEIGHBORHOOD TO "EAT SHIT"!!



By A. Kronstadt

The evening of the opening of Tompkins Square Park was a strange night for this SHADOW reporter. Because my girlfriend had been busted with my keys, I was forced to spend the evening at the home of another curfew opponent who lived on Avenue A directly opposite the park. There was no sleeping for either myself or my host on that sticky, tense evening. We were up until dawn, smoking cigarettes and discussing communism, anarchism, religion, and all sorts of other things that Tompkins Square activists discuss when they can't sleep, even when one is an anarchist and the other a staunch but broad-minded Catholic. As the sun rose I heard something coming through the window which was peculiar even for Avenue A. A whiny, metallic voice was pronouncing-"Fuck you" "You're an asshole!" Moments later the same voice--"Fucking Jerk!" I looked out the window and saw the source of this obscenity. A brand new Chevy Caprice cop car was stopped diagonally in the intersection of Avenue A and 7th Street. There were two cops inside it, and the taboo phrases were coming out of its PA system. I surmised that one of the cops had one of those keychain things that say "Fuck You etc. when you press a button, and that he was holding it up to the microphone. This was a fine how do you do, with all of the press up in arms about the "foul-mouthed demonstrators" who had heckled the mayor the previous morning. This went on for a good twenty minutes before the cop car split.

One might think that this would be a hard incident to beat, but the story gets more interesting. My girlfriend and I had been contacted by a representative of Channel 5 to appear on the "Good Day New York" show at 7:00 that morning. The job of appearing on this show had now fallen completely to me. I was told that Parks Commissioner Betsy Gotbaum was going to appear to debate me. I was skeptical of this, since I did not believe that Betsy would appear in Tompkins Square Park except in some sort of ceremonial capacity as she had done the previous morning. At about 6:45, a Channel 5 truck did Indeed appear alongside the park at 9th and A. I asked the pudgy, cigar-smoking guy standing alongside the truck whether he was there for "Good Day New York," and he said yes. I introduced myself. He said that Gotbaum was going to be there shortly, and I said to myself "yeah, sure." At about 7:10, an ordinary green Parks Department vehicle pulled up, and out jumped Betsy Gotbaum herself, dressed in jeans and sneakers. This contrasted with the busy floral dress which she had worn at the dedication ceremony. She came over to shake my hand, perhaps thinking that I would be impressed that the Commissioner herself would deign to shake the hand of a slob such as myself. I spurned her gesture, telling Betsy that I would not shake the hand that signed the order condemning my bandshell. "Oh, so it's going to be one of those" she snipped. Then came the interview, me on one side, Betsy on the other, and the pudgy, cigar-smoking guy in the middle. Betsy gave her rap about children and families, the same clichés that Dinkins had mouthed at the dedication ceremony: the park was full of all those people who you normal people are prejudiced against, and now its safe for the regular folk, blah, blah. He shoved the mike under my nose and I denied that there was consensus for a curfew in the neighborhood as Betsy had said, and furthermore said that the people who used Tompkins Square Park were being made to pay for rotten city housing policy with

See KOPS EAT SHIT On Page 17



CORP WOMEN TO WINDOW

SHADOW EXCLUSIVE: SHADOW CA CREPORT From Berkeley, CA by Bill Weinberg) SHADOW EXCLUSIVE: SHADOW CA CREPORT FROM BERKELEY, CA CREPORT FROM BERKELEY

In the summer of 1991, violent street battles exploded in Berkeley over the University of California's plans to develop a volley ball court in People's Park. First created from an unused UC parking lot by anti-war activists in 1969, the park received a baptism of fire when then-Governor Ronald Reagan called out the California National Guard to halt this insidious attack on the sanctity of private property, resulting in one young student named James Rector being shot to death. Since then, both UC and the city of Berkeley officially accepted the unusual concept of "user development" for the park -- a concept which local activists say was violated by UC's construction of the volley ball court. In March 1992, UC added a basketball court -- over the objections not only of local activisits, but also the city of Berkeley's own Landmarks Commission, who said that they wanted more time to study the proposal. And now, more than 20 years after the death of James Rector, the battle for Berkeley's most famous park has claimed the life of another young person.

ROSEBUD DeNOVO: VICTIM OR EXECUTIONER?

Rosebud Abigail DeNovo, a slight, homeless woman of 19 years and 100 pounds, was shot to death by an Oakland police officer in the home of Chang-Lin Tien, chancellor of Berkeley, where she was allegedly wielding a machete. Local activists admit that Rosebud had a lot of anger. "Tien was living in a state-funded mansion", says activist and KPFA Radio personality Nancy Delaney. "Rosebud was living in People's Park and she was kicked out every night by the UC Police. Her crime was that she had the guts to go into the patriarch's house and question his authority."

Rosebud apparently entered Tien's sprawling campus residence just before 6 A.M. on the morning of August 25, where she unknowingly tripped a silent security system which alerted UC Police. When UC Police spotted her through a basement window, they alerted the Berkeley and Oakland Police, who brought a canine unit to sniff out the young intruder. Police called Tien and told him to lock himself inside his room. At around 7:00, Rosebud was found by Oakland Police Officer Craig Chew as he opened a door from a bathroom to a bedroom. According to Chew, Rosebud lunged at him, machete in hand, knocking him into the bathtub. Chew told the Oakland Tribune that he "didn't even have a chance to say anything" before he fired four shots in self-defense. Hit in the hand and the chest, Rosebud was dead on arrival at Highland Hospital.

A note was found in Rosebud's duffel bag near Tien's residence, demanding removal of the basketball court from People's Park, and signed "People's Will Direct Action Committee"

The press was quick to portray Rosebud as an unstable anarchist, pointing out that she had been placed in a psychiatric institute as an adolescent in Kentucky. At the time of her death, Rosebud was facing charges of possession of explosive devices stemming from a police find of a cache of Molotov cocktails in the Berkeley hills a year earlier, at the height of the 1991 People's Park riots.

But Officer Chew's own history leads many to question if he hadn't been a little fast with his trigger finger. Chew, who was on the Berkeley police force before moving to the Oakland department in 1990, was on three occasions censured by the Berkeley Police Review Commission for false arrest and excessive force complaints stemming from drug raids and police actions on campus. Although the citizen complaints were upheld by the Commission's investigation, Chew faced no disciplinary action from the Berkeley Police Department.

In 1991, Chew was himself shot in a confrontation with a teenage robbery suspect. While officers involved in shootings are usually suspended with pay afterward, Chew remained on active part-time duty. By the time of the Rosebud slaying, he had been restored to full-time duty.

Chew had also been among a team of Berkeley police sent to raid the two residential meeting places of the Ordo Templi Orientis, a mystical order which is recognized as a tax-exempt religious institution by both state and federal authorities. Gaining access to one of the houses disguised as plumbers (with the cooperation of the landlord), a Berkeley police team saw an herbal substance (which proved to be Drum tobacco) and glass vials (filled with ceremonial oil), and got a warrant to raid both houses on this "narcotics evidence." In September 1989, Chew and 14 other heavily-armed officers burst into the houses, guns drawn, and proceeded to roughly search them, sacking their religious altars and videotaping everything. When small amounts of marijuana and LSD were produced, the police induced the residents to submit to urine tests on the spot.

"They told me if I didn't take a piss test, I'd go to jail for 90 days," says OTO member Marlene Smith. "I said, 'what about my rights?' Chew spit in my face and said, 'you have no rights." Twelve OTO members were arrested. But when the piss tests came back clean, Chew maintained that the defendants had been under the influence of LSD, which can elude detection. "Chew lied his teeth off throughout the depositions," says OTO Lodge Master Jerry Edward Cornelius. Eventually, all charges were dropped and OTO filed 46 allegations of impropriety before the Police Review Commission and sued the Berkeley Police Department for \$2.5 million, charging false arrest, harassment and religious persecution. The city of Berkeley recently settled for \$40,000.

Activists also question why police did not attempt to negotiate with Rosebud after surrounding the house, the usual police procedure to avoid injury or death in such situations.

The Oakland, Berkeley, and UC police departments have all closed ranks behind Chew, maintaining that he acted appropriately in the Rosebud incident. Oakland Police Chief George Hart has attacked press probes into Chew's past as a "misdirected focus that in my judgment gives comfort and support to those screwballs who are attempting to rationalize their rioting in the streets of Berkeley."

The night after her death, Berkeley activists held a memorial vigil for Rosebud, which ended in clashes with the police and bonfires in the middle of Telegraph Avenue. There were six arrests, including Rosebud's boyfriend, Andrew Barnum, who was charged with assault on an officer. Barnum had also been arrested along with Rosebud in the Molotov-cocktail bust last year, and faces explosives possession charges.

Rioting also broke out on August 30th. Several windows were smashed on campus, resulting in one arrest. Protesters attempted to march on Chancellor Tien's residence where Rosebud had been shot. When they found it tightly surrounded by a cordon of UC police, the protesters left roses and other flowers at the officers' feet.

David Beauvais, a Berkeley activist attorney who was representing Rosebud on the explosives charge, says "She was very politically aware.... I couldn't detect anything from her behavior to indicate that this was about to come down. She wasn't nervous or upset. These newspaper accounts that she was crazy are ridiculous." Rosebud had been a frequent volunteer worker at Beauvais' Community Defense law office, which does pro

bono work for Berkeley's homeless. Beauvais says that Rosebud's parents in Kentucky are demanding a full investigation into her death, and that litigation is under consideration. "At this point, I'm in an information-collecting mode," he says. "If we have enough information for a case, I'll go with it."

ASHKENAZ: ALTERNATIVE CULTURE UNDER ATTACK

Meanwhile, UC has launched what critics call a "SLAPP suit" (Strategic Lawsuit Against Public Participation) against four People's Park activists for their role as "key leaders" who have incited riots and vandalism in the park. Carol Denney is facing monetary damages for throwing roses ("thorny weapons") into the volleyball courts. Bob Sparks is charged with having actually taken a chain saw to the volleyball courts. Mike Lee is charged with having disrupted the UC Community Affairs office during a demonstration. And Dave Nadel is charged with printing leaflets and making speeches "inciting" riots.

"This is the Free Speech Movement all over again," says Nadel. "They're going after the key speakers and communicators."

The suit was brought in California state court in January, and a jury is yet to determine the sum the four activists will have to pay. Nadel is the owner of Ashkenaz, a West Berkeley dance club which has long been a focal point for alternative culture and politics in the city, and he fears that if he loses the case he could lose the club. "I don't have any dough," says Nadel. "I break even every month and pay the staff."

Launched by Nadel in 1973 for the Bay Area's then popular folk dance and ethnic music scene, Ashkenaz expanded its format in 1980 to include reggae, blues, salsa and worldbeat. It still maintains its original architectural motif, designed along the lines of Eastern European synagoges which were destroyed by the Nazis. Ashkenaz was smoke-free and wheelchair-accessible before the law required it and, by Nadel's own reckoning, some 145 progressive political groups have held benefits at the club: from KPFA Radio, to the United Farm Workers to the Rainforest Action Network to the Big Mountain and Pitt River Indian land rights struggles to Merry Prankster Wavy Gravy's campaign for Berkeley City Council. Ashkenaz also provides Berkeley's cheapest band rehearsal space.

See PEOPLE'S PARK On Page 17

ROSEBUD DeNOVO'S OWN STORY



BY SCOTT SOMMERDORF/THE CHRONICLE

ROSEBUD ABIGAIL DENOVO

(Written by Rosebud shortly before her death for a news-letter published by the Humane Services for the Mentally-crisesed. This was published in the latest SLINGSHOT, Berkeley's equi-valent of the SHADOW, which has more info about Rosebud. Write to: 700 Eshleman Hall, Berkeley, CA 94720)

I was committed to Charter
Ridge Hospital at the age of 14 by my
parents, about four years ago. I spent
nine months there. I was not in there
because of any real illness; I was there
because (basically) I did not get along
with my parents and other authority
figures. Because of my age, I could not
fight this commitment legally.

I was on a unit which housed about 12 young teenagers at any given time. Everyone was between 11 and 15, and the average length of stay was three months. Out of everyone who was on the unit with me while I was there, only

one person was diagnosed with an adult mental illness.

The rules were very strict. We had strict limits on what kind of personal property was allowed and who we could communicate with. No physical contact was allowed, not even a hug. There was a long list of subjects we were not allowed to discuss.

Isolation, which was supposed to be used only when a person was an immediate danger to self or others, was used regularly as a punishment for refusing to follow staff's orders. I was placed in Isolation several times. Restraints and drugs were used similarly, although I was never drugged myself.

Almost everyone on the unit was required to take some kind of medication. I was able to refuse to take anything, but I was an exception.

People who were new to the unit or who had attempted to run, or who were considered suicidal, were monitored constantly by staff. I was required, when I first arrived, to sleep in the hallway and was observed even when taking a shower.

Eventually, I managed to get out by going along with the program and convincing staff I would no longer make trouble. Two years later, I had two other experiences with mental hospitals, which were worse.

Both of these places were similar to Charter Ridge. Misuse of isolation and restraint was even more common. I knew several people who were physically assaulted by staff. One friend of mine who attempted to run away was strapped down for three days without food or water.

Many people who were committed to these institutions became almost like zombies, with their entire personalities changed. Others became suicidal. Those who emerged relatively psychologically normal were usually able to withstand the mental abuse by uniting with other teen-agers there. Fortunately, I was strong enough to remain myself, but these experiences had a lasting, damaging effect on me.

By Stuart Frankel

ACTING OUT A METAPHOR: COPS SHOW WHY THEY'RE CALLED "PIGS"

On September 16, thousands of New York City cops threw a temper tantrum literally on the steps of City Hall-their complaint: they don't get no respect!

The City Council's Public Safety Committee had scheduled its first day of hearings for an Independent Citizens Complaint Review Board (CCRB) on September 17. The day before, two demos were scheduled at City Hall, one by the New York Civil Liberties Union (NYCLU) in support of the new CCRB, and the other against the new CCRB by the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association (PBA), the cops' union.

As was widely reported, the PBA demo turned into a drunken, violent, racist boorfest. Columnist Sydney Schanberg, grasping for a silver lining, wrote with some relief that only a minority of cops attended the demo. Wrong. There are 29,144 cops in the Police Department. One-third are on duty at any given time, so that leaves only 20,000 who COULD attend the demo. Estimates of the number of cops who showed range from 6,000 to 16,000, so maybe around half of all cops who could show up, did. And the crowd was almost all white, but 26% of the Police Department is racial minority. So most of the white cops in the city available for the demo participated in their own degradation.

The PBA chartered buses, complete with beer service, from some precincts (now we know how to get cops to use mass transit!) Numerous reports, including one from the mayor, say that the PBA picked up beer tabs for protesting cops drinking at bars such as P.J. Smyth's and Legends near City Hall. As the cops gathered around City Hall, the smell of beer was heavy and many of the cops were drinking openly. (During the past few weeks, several people have been summonsed, and one arrested, for drinking in Tompkins Square Park.)

At around 10:30, the cops began to encircle City Hall. They had planned to circle it three times, but the unruly mob began to spill onto nearby streets. To no one's surprise, the off-duty cops acted just like they do in uniform. One said to a female Channel 7 reporter, "Let me grab your ass"; they also punched two New York Times reporters.

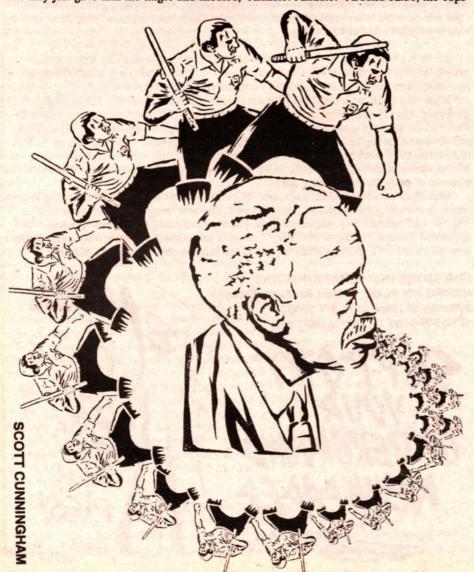
The cops gathered down the block from City Hall to hear PBA President Phil Caruso harangue them and set the "us against them" mood. Some of them held up racist signs (one, referring to the mayor, said DUMP THE WASHROOM ATTENDANT; another had a racial caricature of Dinkins with thick lips, which said DINKINS SUCKS.) Some of them shouted things like, "We've got a nigger for a mayor." Cops jumped up and down on parked cars, trashing many of them.

Unannounced mayoral candidate Rudolph Giuliani led the crowd in chants of "Bullshit, bullshit!" He later denied eyewitness accounts of his speech and told the press that he was trying to calm the crowd. Hundreds of cops massed in front of City Hall, and pushed down the barricades (the on-duty cops just stood by-some actually helped move the barricades aside). They rushed up the steps of City Hall (where no demos are allowed). The guards inside slammed and bolted the doors. The cops pounded on the doors; some climbed on windowsills and banged on the windows.

City councilmember Una Clarke later said that she was trying to enter City Hall through a side door and that a drunken cop refused to recognize the lapel button that councilmembers wear to identify themselves. She fished out her wallet ID, but the cop told a companion, "This nigger says she's on the city council," and wouldn't let her pass. A Giuliani spokesman later said that she hadn't shown proper ID (which was a lie, but did Clarke really need ID to prevent cops from calling her a "nigger"?)

Finally, the cops couldn't contain their drunken rage any longer. At about noon, thousands of them swarmed onto the Brooklyn Bridge, closing the roadway. Some of the cops rocked cars with blacks in them and taunted the terrified passengers trapped inside. The beer began to take its toll, and some of the cops pissed on the bridge.

Police Chief David Scott shouted orders to disperse at the crowd in front of City Hall, but they just gave him the finger and shouted, "Asshole! Asshole!" Around 12:30, the cops



began to leave on their own. No uniformed police had attempted to disperse the mob or prevent illegal activities. No arrests were made.

CIVIL-RIGHTS GROUPS SHOW HOW TO HOLD A PEACEFUL DEMO

In contrast, The Campaign for a Real Civilian Complaint Review Board, a coalition of dozens of groups, held a peaceful demo later that day. The cops tried to discourage people from coming; they blocked off all but one inconvenient entrance to City Hall Park and their horses left shit all over. (They had left one of their signs from that morning in a roped-off area, and prevented this reporter from removing it.)

About a hundred people gathered to hear the details of the Independent CCRB proposals, and various speakers, including NYCLU head Norman Siegel, who said that a fundamental principle of democracy is that the people should have ultimate oversight over public employees. Howard Jordan of the Latino Rights Project said that the issue isn't blacks and latinos, but a police department which has gotten out of control. Michael Myers, executive director of the New York Coalition for Civil Rights, said that the cops have many opportunities to correct racial epithets and brutality and they don't, which shows that they CANNOT police themselves. While Myers was speaking, a heckler in a PBA t-shirt tried to disrupt the demo by shouting, "Norman, you suck shit!" but the crowd, chanting "Shame! Shame!" chased him. Myers pointed out that was an example of cops trying to disrupt a peaceful assembly.

Gay and AIDS activist Chris Hennelly said that, according to the Gay/Lesbian Anti-Violence Project, ONE OUT OF SEVEN anti-gay bias crimes in the city are committed by the police.

CITY COUNCIL CCRB HEARINGS

In response to the outcry against increasing police abuse, the City Council's Public Safety Committee is considering Intro 549, which provides for an Independent Civilian Complaint Review Board where citizens can file complaints against police for abuse of authority, excessive force, or discourtesy. Intro 549 is actually a sort of "Independent CCRB lite," backed by Mayor Dinkins. The mayor wanted to engineer a "compromise" to make the original Independent CCRB proposal more acceptable to its opponents, but the opponents refuse to recognize the compromise, leaving the mayor supporting the weakened version for no reason at all.

Still, Intro 549 is an improvement over the present CCRB which, in the words of Norman Siegel, "functions as a public relations arm of the Police Department."

Half the current CCRB's members are appointed by the mayor, and half by the police commissioner. The current CCRB's lawyers are employees of the Police Department, and they regularly share information with the Department and with the District Attorney's office. Civilians who file complaints against cops are often subject to nuisance arrests (any combination of the "big four": Assault, Obstructing Governmental Administration, Disorderly Conduct, or Resisting Arrest). Whatever material the civilians supply to the current CCRB, including sworn depositions, is automatically provided to the people trying to prosecute them. Worse, as former CCRB member William Kunst has revealed, the CCRB legal teams have mishandled files--they "lost" one file of "an open and shut case"-completely derailing criminal prosecutions of cops.

And ALL of the current CCRB's investigators are employees of the Police Department. Everyone acknowledges that there is a "blue wall of silence." Even after the most egregious and public displays of police misconduct, cops won't fink against other cops, and they don't like investigating other cops, either. The Police Department's own Internal Affairs Unit (IAU) is shoddy and continually sabotoged by the Department itself. Newsday reports that IAU "undercover" cars sent out to catch cops dealing drugs are easily identifiable, that IAU "undercover" cops stick out like a sore thumb, that IAU reports get regularly watered down or trashed.

This summer, five New York City cops were busted for running a coke ring on the job, but IAU didn't bust them, Suffolk County cops did. Another city cop was allegedly involved in a robbery and murder, and he also was busted on Long Island. The situation is so bad that Mayor Dinkins was forced to appoint a panel to investigate police corruption.

There is no reason to think that the current CCRB investigators are any better than the IAU investigators, and evidence is overwhelming that the public has no confidence in the Department's ability to police itself. The rate of "substantiation" is only 3%, much less than in cities where CCRBs are truly independent. As public confidence in the CCRB drops, the number of complaints registered has been slowly tapering off, but at the same time the number of lawsuits against the city for police misconduct is skyrocketing. Over the last three years, the amount that the city has had to pay to settle such suits has nearly doubled.

Intro 549 provides for subpoena power (currently, cops don't have to testify to the CCRB if they don't feel like it) and public reporting. The current CCRB is secretive and closed to public scrutiny. The NYCLU has studied civilian review boards around the country and says that New York City's board is the least cooperative of any of the cities they contacted. "They treated our inquiries as Freedom of Information Act requests," Norman Siegel told the SHADOW, "and then they just denied the requests."

MAYOR DINKINS NOT ANTI-COP, BUT SHOULD BE

Mayor Dinkins was the lead-off witness at the City Council hearings the next day, though he rarely testifies before a Council committee. The problem of police racism and lawlessness isn't new, but apparently it's gotten so bad that even Dinkins has noticed.

Dinkins said he's not anti-cop, and he's right. He has increased the number of cops in the city more than any other mayor in history. He has fully funded the Police Department at a time when decent citizens are starving in the streets. He made an all-out effort in Albany for the "Safe Streets, Safe City" program to put more cops on the street (although that doesn't make THIS citizen feel any safer). And he is pushing Intro 549, the watereddown Independent CCRB proposal, in an effort to "compromise" with the police.

For all this, the cops despise him.

If a mob of cops storming City Hall isn't enough to make the mayor anti-cop what is? Dinkins professed his "undying faith" in the Police Department, which is a touching admission that he has lost touch with reality. "Faith" doesn't have to be constrained by facts. It is said that the prospect of hanging concentrates a man's mind wonderfully, but faced with a lynch mob, Dinkins remains as befuddled as ever.

Part of the present degraded state of the Police Department is the mayor's fault. He chose a commissioner, Lee Brown (recently retired), knowing that he opposed any kind of Independent CCRB. And, as councilmember Tom Ognibene pointed out, the mayor took 15 months to fill two vacancies on the current CCRB.

See PIG ROAST On Page 16



NEW YORK STATE TO DECIDE ON NEW YORK CITY INCINERATORS

By Matthew Karwowski

On October 2, Thomas Jorling, head of the New York State Department of Environmental Conservation (DEC), made a public statement concerning the state's required approval of New York City mayor David Dinkins' administration's plans for building a \$550 million incinerator in the Brooklyn Navy Yard in Williamsburg, Brooklyn. The city has been pressing the DEC for approval before November 15 since more stringent federal pollution regulations will take effect for projects initiated after that date. Jorling said only that some decision will be reached before the cutoff date.

In late August 1992, the New York City Council passed the Solid Waste Management Plan (aka "SWAMP", which calls for the incineration of city garbage at the Brooklyn Navy Yard and the building of additional incinerators) after an intensive personal lobbying campaign by Mayor Dinkins.

Councilmembers from Brooklyn were the majority of the 15 opposing votes, while 36 others voted in favor of Dinkins' plan. Only a month earlier, 34 members had signed a letter to the administration vowing to oppose the plan. But because the new incinerator is not in their boroughs, 19 members gave in to pressure from an administration that hasn't even reached its own low requirements for recycling, as promised in Local Law 19, which dates back to 1989.

Residents of the entire metropolitan area may suffer in the long run from the city council's shortsightedness if the DEC approves the "SWAMP" incinerator plan. There is no guarantee that the Navy Yard incinerator will be the only one required. Deputy Mayor Norman Steisel, the chief proponent of incineration over recycling, has already said that more incinerators will probably be needed in the future. As reported in SHADOW #23, Steisel was the Department of Sanitation Commissioner under former mayor Ed Koch, receiving \$1000,000 for services rendered to the banking firm of Lazard Freres & Company, which is underwriting 5% of the \$2.6 billion cost of the incineration plan. Senior Lazard Freres partner Felix Rohatyn, who also heads the Municipal Assistance Corporation (MAC), selected Steisel as the Deputy Mayor in charge of the Sanitation Department under mayor Dinkins. MAC, a coalition of the city's largest banks, investment firms, and other business and financial interests which obtained control of the city's budget and allocation of funds for schools, hospitals, social services and other city programs in exchange for bailing the City of New York out of its near bankrupt state in 1976.

New York Newsday reports that Waste Management, Inc., the majority owner of the corporation which would build and run the Navy Yard incinerator, has a history of environmental violations at toxic waste sites, criminal price-fixing, and falsified records for an incinerator which exploded in Chicago in 1991. The city claims that Wheelabrator Environmental Systems, the plant operator, was taken over by Waste Management only recently and has a clean track record. Other subsidiaries of Waste Management, however, have failed to avoid the criminal practices of their parent company, and have pleaded guilty in California and Ohio to criminal price-fixing, as well as being implicated in violations at 89 toxic sites.

The City Council has knuckled under to Dinkins administration pressure. A common misconception is that the administration made compromises towards more recycling, but in fact Dinkins is trying to weaken the existing requirements for recycling in court--with a goal of only 41% recycling of non-commercial waste by the century's end. Yet a Brooklyn test zone is already recycling over 60% after only 18 months. Seattle recycled 60% of residential waste targeted for recycling in 1991 and is still expanding the range of recyclable items.

Two incinerators would take care of only 12% of the city's waste. The city council granted Dinkins 82% of the near-term incineration capacity he requested. The plan cancels an ash dumping facility which was planned for Staten Island, enough to swing their three council votes, yet the City has found no other ash-fill site. Unless some other state decides to accept toxic ash from New York, the Staten Island ash dump may be their only option.

New York City has never reached its previous recycling goals. In fact, according to the Village Voice, the new plan merely requires that sanitation <u>pick up</u> separated household garbage, but the city does not necessarily have to recycle it. They can just put the stacks of newspapers and jumbled-together containers from their absurd recycling barrels and use them to top off the Staten Island landfill until it reaches its legal limit of 437 feet high. Then the city will be able to claim the need for incinerators since no more landfill exists.

The "SWAMP" plan has no provisions for food waste composting, which could create useful topsoil. Food waste makes bad fuel for incinerators. Plans to collect batteries (a major source of toxic leachates in landfills—use rechargeables!) and tires for recycling have been pushed back five years. "SWAMP" claims an incinerator in Bridgeport, Connecticut is a "model" facility. But that plant was only tested for lead in 1988, and was since used to

dispose of 7,000 pounds of lead in 1990 alone. Other incinerators in Connecticut have inevitably been improperly used to burn many tons of toxic industrial waste.

New York currently operates three incinerators in Brooklyn and one in Queens. Proponents of "SWAMP" claim it will allow the dismantling of old existing incinerators, which have been operating since after World War II, with fewer "state of the art" facilities. But in fact it only guarantees that one incinerator, the Betts Avenue Incinerator in Maspeth, Queens, will close. Another in Greenpoint, Brooklyn will be kept in reserve for a possible overhaul. The incinerator in Coney Island, Brooklyn, which in recent tests emitted 190 times the "safe" level of dioxin, will continue to spew dioxin, one of the most toxic substances known. Dioxin is rated safe at levels not even measurable in the usual parts per million or parts per billion. There is no such thing as a safe level, period. And with the burning of plastic and bleached paper in the Brooklyn Navy Yard, more dioxin will enter the environment.

Even the Dinkins administration has admitted that incineration is hazardous to public health, opposing an incinerator proposal in Linden, New Jersey, because it "may have a significant adverse impact on the residents and natural resources of New York City ... [it poses] a cancer risk that is not clearly acceptable." According to the New York Public Interest Research Group (NYPIRG), the incinerators proposed by the New York City Department of Sanitation would burn far greater quantities of garbage and would emit 66 times as much head, nickel and cadmium.

The proposed Brooklyn Navy Yard incinerator alone will emit as much nitrogen oxides (which cause acid rain) as as 441,000 small compact cars operating 25 miles a day, every day of the year. New York air quality is already a disgrace and violates Federal standards—which may cause the city to lose big in Federal monies in the future—largely due to the influx of about one million cars daily. And cars don't create nearly the variety of toxins that incinerators do.

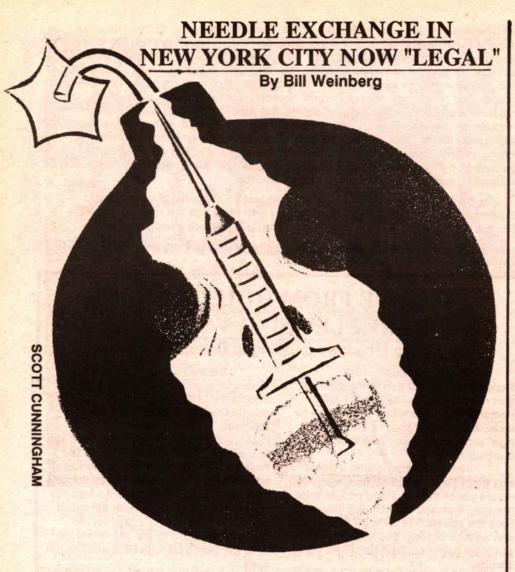
The Department of Sanitation itself admits that recycling, even in its current inefficient form is, at \$141 a ton, about half the cost of incineration, not including getting rid of the toxic ash. So what is the problem? The real obstacle is the monied interests represented by Norman Steisel and Felix Rohatyn.

There is a better way. Why not have small recycling centers on every block, where people deposit their own newspapers, bottles, plastic bottles and containers, steel cans, aluminum cans, batteries, tires, and even compostable organic food waste?

Many small volunteer recycling projects around the city do just this. For example, Recycling Associates of Williamsburg (RAW) meets two Saturdays a month to collect the above materials, plus aluminum foil and containers and plastic bags. If some of the \$550 million slated for the incinerator were used to build enough little recycling centers so that no one has to go further than one block to reach one, and they were always open (like the former center on Avenue B and 6th St.) it would be a unifying force for neighborhoods and a source of pride for the city as a whole.

New York could build mills to process its own waste into many useful materials. It could create hundreds of jobs and save money as well. The best thing you can do right now to stop the half-hearted recycling/incineration phalanx is to contact Governor Cuomo, who appointed Thomas Jorling of the DEC. Cuomo is accountable to voters and needs to know how infuriated New Yorkers really are about the poisons about to be sent our way.





The slow-moving bureaucracy of financially-strapped New York City has just received two grants totalling \$140,000 from the American Foundation for AIDS Research (AmFAR) for city-run needle exchange programs. The programs are designated for those communities hit hardest by the AIDS crisis, including Harlem, the South Bronx and the Lower East Side. AmFAR also funds needle exchange programs in San Francisco, Chicago and Boulder.

David Dinkins, New York's first African American mayor, has recently softened his stance against such programs. He had previously argued that they "condone" drug use. Activists counter that they are necessary to halt the spread of AIDS, especially in a city where treatment programs for addicts have been decimated by budget cuts.

UNORTHODOX POLITICAL ALLIANCES

The needle-exchange issue has not broken down along traditional lines of left and right. It was the administration of Mayor Ed Koch, wedded to the then-booming real estate industry and racked by numerous corruption scandals, which had implemented a trial needle exchange program in January 1988. Koch was prompted into the move after the activist group ADAPT (Association for Drug Abuse Prevention and Treatment) announced, in the midst of the NY Police Department's most stringent drug crackdown in several years, that they were willing to distribute clean needles to addicts in defiance of the law. Koch then sought--and received--a waiver from the state law against needle distribution from Albany. But the plan remained controversial, especially in the African American communities hit hardest by drug and AIDS crises. Harlem City Councilman Hilton Clark called the needle distribution "genocide" and said the program's architect, City Health Commissioner Stephen Joseph, "should be arrested for murder and drug distribution." Harlem US Representative Charles Rangel, a liberal on most issues but an extreme hard-liner where drugs are concerned, said needle-exchange programs "would keep addicts out of sight, out of mind, and sweep them under the rug instead of restoring their dignity and giving them drug-free lives." The Police Department, which is frequently the target of harsh criticism by African American activists in New York over issues of brutality and abuse, was also critical of the plan. So was the New York Times, asking in an editorial, "How can a city ravaged by heroin condone its use?"

But Dr. Beny Primm, director of Harlems's Addiction Research & Treatment Center, countered that "you may call people racist now if they adopt this policy; but if they do not do it, in five years you will accuse them of racist genocide." And ADAPT's Yolanda Serrano said that witholding clean needles was "the real genocide. People can survive addiction, but they can't survive AIDS."

However, needle exchange advocates also had criticism of the program. They charged that the city Health department was exchanging notes with the police and this was discouraging addicts from coming forward to participate. Further, activists charged that the soaring rents and social service cutbacks of the Koch era had actually worsened the AIDS crisis, driving large segments of the city's low-income population into homelessness---on streets which are infested with drugs and where access to medical care is inadequate at best. This sentiment helped bring the comparatively liberal administration of David Dinkins to power in 1990.

Upon taking office, Dinkins immediately suspended the needle-exchange program. Activists were not slow to respond, initiating their own programs on the streets of the Lower East Side in defiance of the law. Jon Parker of the National AIDS Brigade was, arrested for possession of clean needles at a December 1990 ACT UP demo outside the New York State courthouse, calling for clean needles and support for the herbal Ibogaine detox program. Parker suffered crushed ligaments in his wrist when he was handcuffed, and currently has a brutality suit pending against the NYPD. In 1991, ten activists from ACT UP and the National AIDS Brigade were acquitted in New York City by Judge Laura Drager, who accepted their "defense of necessity" argument that they were morally obligated to break the law in order to prevent a greater evil from taking place--HIV infection. Also in 1991, charges were dismissed against Italian Radical party members of parliament Emma Bonino and Marco Taradash after they attempted to deliver clean needles to Mayor Dinkins on the steps of City Hall.

THE TURNING POINT

The real turning point for Dinkins came in the fall of 1991 when his Health
Department, in a period of administrative flux since his Health Commissioner Woodrow
Myers had left office under a barrage of criticism from AIDS activists for his advocacy of a

forcible quarantine of HIV-positive people, forwarded to the mayor a report on a Yale University study of the needle-exchange program in New Haven, Connecticut. The New Haven program had been initiated in 1990 by that city's first African American mayor, John C. Daniels. The program succeeded in cutting the rate of HIV infection among New Haven's 4,000 addicts by over 30%. New York City had an estimated 200,000 addicts, and in both cities, AIDS is spreading faster among addicts thant any other "risk groups".

In May 1992, Dinkins and his new acting Health Commissioner Margaret Hamburg, accepted the AmFAR grant, and endorsed the group's successful bid to seek a waiver from the state needle control laws. The \$140,000 grant is to be divided equally between two nonprofit groups, the Lower East Side Needle Exchange Program and the Minority Task Force on AIDS, which will run the Bronx-Harlem Needle Exchange Program.

While many African American leaders have reconsidered their earlier positions and have come out in favor of needle exchange, the plan remains controversial. Father Lawerence Lucas, the activist-oriented priest of Harlem's Resurrection Catholic Church, says he is "very leary" of needle exchange programs. "It's like saying, 'Hey, folks, shoot it up, do whatever you want, and we'll help.' When you give addicts clean needles, you aren't educating them about the evil of what they're doing." Father Lucas sees alternatives as treatment centers, education and "an admission on the part of government that a lot of this has been intentionally introduced into our community as experimentation."

Reverend Calvin Butts of Harlem's highly influential Abyssinian Baptist Church is cited as telling National Public Radio's Weekend Edition that he has come to favor needle exchange in an article entitled, "Society, Drug Injectors, and AIDS" to be published in the upcoming edition of Meharry medical school's <u>Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved</u>. However, Rev. Butts refused to comment on the new needle exchange program after repeated telephone calls by The SHADOW.

Samuel Friedman of New York's Narcotic & Drug Research Inc., an author of the upcoming Meharry article, denies that needle exchange need be a means of skirting resposibility for providing treatment programs. "Treatment and needle exchange issues should be seen as complimentary rather than contradictory. Clearly it is critical to increase drug treatment slots. Unfortunately, the supporters of that necessary measure have not been able to get the power to implement it. Meanwhile, people keep getting infected, including some users who would not enter treatment even if it were available. Needle exchange is also effective as a method of recruiting people for treatment. For example, in Tacoma, Washington, the needle exchange program is the largest referral source to treatment in the county."

THE LOWER EAST SIDE PROGRAM

The Lower East Side Needle Exchange Program, at 39 Avenue C, has been open to exchange clean needles for used ones from 11 AM to 2 PM on Wednesdays and Saturdays since June, and hopes to add Friday hours in the near future. The Program is run by a committee of the Lower East Side AIDS Strategy Group, a grassroots coalition including the Lower East Side Family Union, Women's Health Education Project, the Women's Prison Association and the city Health Department's Community Outreach & Education office. The storefront is staffed by two paid employees and some 40 volunteers, including local residents, former drug users, and ACT UP activists.

Allan Clear, an ex-addict who started doing needle exchange on the Lower East Side before it was legal and now works with the Program, says the storefront sees 500 addicts a week, distributing up to 5,000 clean needles. The old needles go to Beth Israel Hospital, where they are incinerated.

Says Clear: "Drug users aren't stupid. They know how HIV spreads. But we do an educational rap for each person who comes through the door. We give each person five bottles of bleach. They don't take it to clean their clothes, they take it to clean their works. People are conscious of what this epidemic is doing, no matter what their personal drug use." He says the Program also does street outreach to steer addicts towards treament.

Clear says there is virtually no opposition to the Program from the local community.

"The community <u>runs</u> this project. Most people in this community realize that the current law is genocidal. If you don't allow people to protect themselves from a deadly disease, what are you going to call it other than genocide?"

"This is a backwards country," says Clear, a native of the UK who has lived in New York for several years. "England has been doing needle exchange for seven years. Now things are going forward here. But if we have to go back on the street and break the law again, we'll do it. You don't need computers and an office to give out needles."

Father Errol Harvey of the Lower East Side's predominantly African American St. Augustine Episcopal Church is strongly supportive of the Program. "I have gone out with the Lower East Side Needle Exchange to witness the program back when it was still illegal. I am very enthusiastically in favor of the program. It is the sensible and compassionate thing to do for addicts who are trying to protect themselves and their families from the plague of AIDS. I witnessed all kinds of people benefitting from the program--people who are trying to stay clean and trying to be good parents, but unfortunately, they've got a monkey on their backs, and unfortunately treatment is not available."

Father Harvey also says the illegal program helped "homeless people in vacant lots behind Tompkins Square Park, who were trying to stay healthy in spite of dreadful conditions, living outdoors without access to clean water."

Father Harvey says he disagrees with critics of needle exchange. "It does not encourage drug use. They give people cards telling them where to get help. But in the meantime, we have to stop the spread of AIDS."

Jon Parker of the National AIDS Brigade says he is glad that activist efforts are finally paying off. "I got arrested six times for needle exchange in New York City. It's so logically correct to prevent the spread of AIDS. 90% of AIDS worldwide is heterosexual, and that's what's going to happen in this country unless we recognize that IV drug users are the gateway to the heterosexual population."

Plans to have free condoms distributed on request in New York City high schools have been mired in controversy, with conservative elements in the city's Board of Education arguing that such a program would "condone" teenage sex. They are demanding that material advocating abstinence be distributed to students as a precondition for the condom distribution.





LIVE REPORT FROM INSIDE THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

By Sara Valentine

The easiest way to the Astrodome in Houston (site of the 1992 Republican National Convention from August 17-20) is I-45 to the route 610 loop (a 10-minute drive from South Houston). Delegates traveling to the Dome in shuttle buses, however, were not driven that way. Convention planners chose to send the buses down I-45 to I-59, bypassing the rundown malls and road construction for a longer trip offering a heady view of Downtown Houston.

The parking lot of the Astrodome was empty save for satellite dishes and official limos. Stepping off the bus, I had the feeling of being in a humid, space-age odyssey. The Astrodome is a huge structure resembling a giant breast ready for take off. Rather than providing nutriment, the inside of the breast resembled an Orwellian nightmare. Two large television screens stood on either side of the podium, enlarging the tiny speaker to mammoth proportions. Another screen at the rear of the stadium was used for closed caption service: prints of the script popped up on the screen seconds after the words were spoken, serving as a re-enforcement of Republican dogma for those inside the Dome.

The entire stadium was decorated in red, white and blue, with lots of balloons hanging from the ceiling in long thin columns, ready for the big moment on Thursday evening. One New York delegate, in response to a question about his party's position, referred to the balloons as giant phallic symbols.

It seems that many members of the party disagree with the right-wing reactionary stance the Republican platform has taken, especially on the abortion issue, mostly due to the influence of Pat Buchanan and the Christian Coalition. One young Republican volunteer said that Massachusetts Governor Weld's pro-choice speech on Tuesday night placated those who were threatening to leave the party over abortion but, "it's not really an issue, anyway."

Vice-President Quayle was a touchy subject. While most people I spoke with considered him to be an idiot, ("Who else are we going to get?"), nothing was done to scratch his name off the ballot. This attitude only allowed Dan to continue his role as poster boy for the conservative faction in the party, and his wife to criticize the very culture that made it possible for her to be a lawyer as well as a mother.

The "Family Values" theme arising from the Murphy Brown controversy seems to have given Dan Quayle a poorly-founded sense of self-esteem. One whole day of the convention was devoted to "Family and Individual Values." Dan is now apparently "good" with the party, probably because he has found something to do. (What is amazing to me, however, is that this poor man's Pat Sajak look-alike, who condemns Hollywood's portrayal of single mothers, fails to realize that the man whose legacy he is trying to protect (Ronald Reagan) got his start in Hollywood as an actor.)

Hypocrisy is present not just in the Quayle and Bush households, but in those of most people present at the convention, especially the young Republicans. For the first two days of the convention, I was chased around by a "former hippie with long hair," named Matt who claimed he was a founding member of the band Soundgarden. Now a member of the Christian Coalition, his behavior was nowhere near the family and moral values his party preaches. Many times I was complimented for my appearance and offered cigerettes, alcohol and action. He even offered me his convention pass, which he then repossessed after I asked him an innocent question about ACT-UP, who had apparently "ruined" the Christian Coalition rally the first day of the convention.

In fact, the convention served as a major pick-up joint for all of the virile young Republicans in attendance. One young man I spoke with who worked with the head of the Republican National Committee paid for my drinks without a second thought and then asked me out. When I mentioned the marijuana rights protestors outside the convention, he gave me a thumbs-up and said, "Well, that's alright with me." Obviously, this boy hasn't been reading his platform book very throughly.

A cluster of young Republicans, wearing passes that read "Rally!" was rushed on before convention speakers to cheer in front of the TV cameras and were then rushed off. Mostly white, mostly male, those I spoke with did not seem too thrilled with their role. Their presence at the convention was one of necessity: entry-level jobs in government awaited them if their performance on the floor was above average.

Although the party is made up mostly of gray-haired caucasion males, some minorities were present. A gala reception was held by the Arab-American Institute, an organization founded in 1985 that promotes Arab-American participation in political parties and electoral government. I saw only four Arab-Americans walking around the convention. They were subjected to snide comments by their fellow delegates from Kansas about their style of dress. The Kashmiri-American Council passed out pamphlets on how the Republican party can lead toward peace in South Asia. Asian-American Assemblyman Jay Kim of California, as he introduced another speaker, had his own thoughts on the subject of government and the jaded American dream. "I believe," he said, "the most powerful words in the English language are 'We The People.' This November, we can reclaim the American dream. It's time to start running the government like a sound business. That's why I'm running for Congress."

The most prominent minority group at the Convention were the African-American delegates who totalled just over 100, more than double the number in 1988. Inside the Republican Platform book, numerous pictures and quotes of Abraham Lincoln abound, and they restated the anti-slavery position from the Republican Platform of 1860. I asked two African-American delegates why they were members of a party that has alienated their people. One New Jersey delegate became resentful, replying that the media "underestimates our intelligence in feeling that we are blindly led by George Bush." Another African-American delegate, from New York City, had no problem "reconciling" his difference with the GOP. A successful real-estate owner in Lower Manhattan and the Bronx, his presence at the convention was purely financial -- he was there to find backers for his next business venture. It is admirable that these two delegates are color-blind. It is a shame that most of their party, and the media, aren't.

The media has become the favored whipping post for the party, along with the Democratic Congress. "Stop the Liberal/Media Lynch Mob: Tell the Truth About the Reagan Legacy!" read one poster by the Washington D.C.-based group, Accuracy in

See REPUBLICAN CONVENTION On Page 18

LIVE FROM HOUSTON/ BERKELEY/SIMI VALLEY

By Amelia Morales (travelling in Occupied Mexico)

In Houston during the Republican Convention there were all sort of actions, from large ACT-UP demonstrations attacked by the pigs to small actions designed to annoy the right wing wackos and rich scum hanging out there.

The day I arrived after a 3-day bus trip, I went to a Unity demonstration where police kept pushing people onto the side walk and threatening those who took the streets. We went through the rich section of town and some people put toilet paper on their trees and fancy shrubs.

On Monday night, August 17, ACT-UP had a large demonstration that passed the medical and financial districts. As we got closer to the convention site at the Astrodome, the police started to block us. That's when people burned two Bush effigies, one was piñata style. Cops on horses started pushing us around, so people took police barricades for the fire and people added their Clinton/Gore signs to the burning flags other people brought. I loved it!! While the flames fed by the campaign signs and flags grew, people yelled "Ice-Tea was right!!" as the Houston porkers attacked them. People got in their face and told them in words and actions to step off. About 12 were arrested and beaten. Of course, the cops charged them with assault. We all got dispersed by the pigs in no time as helicopters flew low with their spotlights in our faces. At the same time, a grey Ku Klux Klan bus was seen circling the Astrodome, taunting people with their homophobic crap.

Small groups of people went out with elephant shit and deposited the lovely elephant reminders complete with peanuts and hay on to rich cars with offensive pro-war and "pro-life" and prowhite USA, right on to the window shields and air conditioning ducts. (Can you imagine coming out to your car in 101+ humidity factor type of heat and your air conditioning is filled with this--YUCK!!) The Galleria mall, which includes overpriced Nieman Marcus, was hit with elephant reminders and notices that read: "GOP Shit (genuine elephant manure)" that accompanied these gifts to the rich shopping addicts.

Operation Rescue failed miserably to stop the clinics. These people are the typical upside down and backward american types who claim they want to save the "unborn", yet they fully support US global aggression. These racist scum support the US murder of babies world over in their pursuit of white supremacy and capitalist class rule. (These assholes are part of the system whether they block a clinic or bomb one.)

On Wednesday some people went out with a sign that said: "HONK IF YOU HATE YOUR JOB! GENERAL STRIKE!" They went to intersections and handed out flyers to people who were in traffic and on the street. Most people honked and took flyers.

Before I left Houston on
Thursday night, August 20, the cops
attacked a Latino man at a
demonstration to support Guatemalan
refugees. This was just after a white
republiklan delegate walked by and said
to the man "Don"t you fucking fruits
have a job?" The delegate hit the Latino,
pushing him into a trash can as the pigs
rode their horses like cowboys into the
crowd and arrested the man sprawled
out in the garbage. The pigs let the
delegate go on in to the convention to
hear the Scrub Man give his nomination
speech.

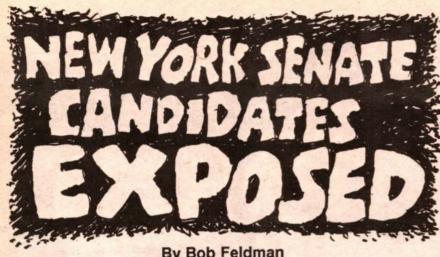
Groups of people were blatantly followed and pointed out by the Police and Secret Service as they both watched individuals and talked over their car phones and walkie talkies. They followed people making phone calls, and even followed people for 2 hours on highways.

BERKELEY UPRISING

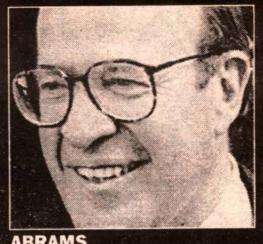
Rosebud DeNovo was killed by the police. It was a combo pig murder involving University of California and Oakland police. That night there was a rally in People's Park. As the UC chancellor wandered by with his snooty attitude, people yelled and went out into the street heading for Telegraph Ave, then up to the university police headquarters. A 9 pm meeting later became a demo where folks got wild with trash fires, hitting gentrifiers to beat the high prices. Some people got caught and were let out the next day.

SIMI VALLEY FASCISTS

The next day, I went to Simi valley (where the pigs were acquitted in the Rodney King beating case in late April) with my Long Beach, LA friends to an anti-fascist demonstration, where this slimy Barrett guy was specking his anti-Immigrant shit. Five Simi Valley locals were arrested, including a women bit by a police dog. The police attacked us right after half the crowd returned to the park (meeting place of the out-oftowners) as requested by the organizers. This left the rest of us vulnerable to the pigs without benefit of more people around. Then a blond guy passing me read my sticker that said 'Nazi skinheads fuck off!!" He said in a low tone "Well, fuck off to you too." We asked him if he was a white supremacist and he pointed to his skin and his hair and did thumbs up in response, so I yelled out to people and told them what he said. Some local kids got in his face and as this was going on, a legal observer with a desert-storm type floppy hat yelled at me for trying to get people killed by pointing out the nazi scuzball. I told him to step off with that bullshit accusation and lie. I said it was a public service announcement and as he was being his arrogant self, two Black men came up and asked why he wasn't trying to get their friends out of jail instead of bothering me.







By Bob Feldman

SENATOR AL D'AMATO'S RECORD OF ACHIEVEMENT

For many years the interests of people in New York were supposed to be represented in the U.S. Senate by Nassau County Republican Alphonse D'Amato. U.S. Senator D'Amato, however, has often seemed to be more interested in collecting large campaign contributions from Wall Street firms and Wall Street executives than in helping people in New York City escape from poverty and/or 9 to 5 enslavement. As The Best Congress Money Can Buy by Philip Stern revealed in 1988:

... From 1981 to 1986, while the Republicans controlled the Senate, D'Amato occupied a strategic position as chairman of the Senate Banking Subcommittee on Securities. As such, he was the key player shaping legislation of vital concern to the stocks-and-bonds industry. During his first 51/2 years in office, at his encouragement, Political Action Committees (PACs) and executives of 17 Wall Street firms contributed \$500,000 to his re-election campaign. The Wall Street Journal reported that Senator D'Amato was not 'bashful about asking for donations.' According to the Journal, the forcefulness of the D'Amato fundraising tactics in the securities industry produced grumbling on Wall Street. 'Nothing is enough,' said one top Wall Street lobbyist. 'It's a continuous pressure. If you don't contribute, they don't return your calls."

The same book also revealed how New York Senator D'Amato protected the special interests of the Wall Street investment banking firm of Drexel Burnham Lambert -- which specialized in selling U.S. economy-wrecking "junk bonds" during the 1980's before it began losing money in the 1990's -- in exchange for receiving campaign contributions from Drexel Burnham for his 1986 re-election campaign:

"In May 1985, at Chasen's restaurant in Beverly Hills, California, New York Senator Alfonse D'Amato was beneficiary of a \$1,000-a-plate fundraising dinner for his re-election campaign. The dinner was arranged by the investment banking firm of Drexel Burnham Lambert, Inc. Drexel was the nation's leading (and pioneering) underwriter of so-called 'junk bonds'...

"Senator D'Amato was chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Securities, and during the week following the Chasen's dinner, the subcommittee was scheduled to hold a hearing on legislation to regulate the sale of junk bonds. D'Amato's subcommittee had two proposals before it: one, to curb the use of junk bonds in corporate takeovers, and the other to limit the purchase of those bonds by federallyinsured savings banks. Either proposal would have put a major crimp in Drexel Burnham's business.

"Of the \$33,000 raised at the dinner, \$23,000 came from the Drexel Burnham executives who each contributed \$1,000 to Senator D'Amato's campaign"

"According to a story by Brooks Jackson in the Wall Street Journal, when D'Amato finally introduced his bill regulating corporate takeovers later that year, 'the provision [regulating junk bonds] so dreaded by Drexel was missing.'

"Five days after the D'Amato shoe dropped, Jackson reported, Drexel's chief executive and 35 other Drexel executives from New York donated \$500 each to Senator D'Amato's campaign. D'Amato called the timing 'absolutely coincidental."

FORMER SENATOR JACOB JAVITS' REAL ESTATE INTEREST CONNECTIONS

Prior to D'Amato's 1980 election to the U.S. Senate, New York was represented in the Senate by a liberal Republican lawyer named Jacob Javits -- who passed away in 1986. At the same time Javits was supposed to be representing the interests of the people of New York, his law firm was also representing the special interests of U.S. real estate companies. As Jack Anderson and Drew Pearson's book, The Case Against Congress, noted in 1968:

"Few legislator-lawyers will admit that they draw more than token incomes from their law firms. One of the more candid is Senator Jacob Javits, R-NY, who ... has confessed that he lives on the income from his law practice ... He has been less open about his law clients, who are discreetly omitted from the Martindale-Hubble legal directory. Nevertheless, his blue-chip firm -- Javits, Trubin, Sillcocks, Edelman and Purcell -- is known to represent some of the nation's greatest real estate trusts, including the First National Real Estate Trust of New York and the Crown Zellerbach Corporation. This does not seem to have inhibited Javots from voting on real-estate

NEW YORK DEMOCRATIC SENATORIAL CANDIDATE ROBERT ABRAMS' TRUMP CONNECTION

Like New York's former U.S. Senator Javits, New York State Attorney General Robert Abrams has associated closely with special real estate interests. To finance his 1982 reelection campaign for New York State Attorney General, for instance, Abrams asked "about 100 friends and former Abrams contributors to donate \$7,500 apiece, payable in \$2,500 installments," according to the January 1, 1980 issue of The New York Times. By January 1, 1980, ten of these Abrams supporters had made out their initial \$2,500 checks to his "People For Bob Abrams" fund-raising committee. Five of these pre-January 1, 1980 Abrams campaign sponsors were real estate developers. The other real estate developers who had dished out \$2,500 to sponsor Abrams' 1982 campaign by January 1, 1980 -- in addition to Donald Trump -- were Bernard Rodin, Larry Silverstein, Sylvan Lawrence and Bernard Mendik.

NEW YORK DEMOCRATIC SENATOR ROBERT ABRAMS' COLLECTION OF PRO-NUCLEAR ISRAEL SUPPORT GROUP AWARDS

Although Abrams is campaigning to represent the people of New York in the U.S. Senate, in the past he has accepted a number of awards from groups which specialize in lobbying for the special interests of the government of Nuclear Israel or specialize in shifting funds from the U.S. to the government of Nuclear Israel. By the late 1980's, for instance, Abrams had accepted the following awards: B'Nai B'rith's Brotherhood Award; Bronx Hadassah's Man of the Year Award; The Zionist Organization of America's Louis D. Brandeis Award; the State of Israel Bonds Award; and the United Jewish Appeal's Scroll of Honor. Given his acceptance of such awards, it's not too likely that Abrams would ever vote to ban all shipments of U.S. weapons to all governments in the Middle East, including the government of Nuclear Israel.

NEW YORK DEMOCRATIC SENATORIAL CANDIDATE ELIZABETH HOLTZMAN'S HADASSAH, HARVARD AND COP CONNECTIONS

Like Abrams, former Brooklyn District Attorney, Elizabeth Holtzman, also isn't too likely to vote to ban U.S. weapaons shipments to all governments in the Middle East including the government of Nuclear Israel -- since Holtzman is a lifetime member of Hadassah. Although Holtzman was supposed to be representing the interests of people in Brooklyn between 1976 and 1981 in the U.S. House of Representatives, during these same years she worked for the special interests of Harvard University by serving on its board of overseers in Massachusetts -- at the same time Harvard was competing for federal funds with New York universities like CUNY and SUNY. As the Brooklyn D.A. in the 1980's, Holtzman also has worked closely with the New York City cops to lock up many economically impoverished people in Brooklyn -- including a disproportionate number of African-American men.

NEW YORK DEMOCRATIC SENATORIAL CANDIDATE GERALDINE FERRARO-ZACCARO'S RECORD OF ACHIEVEMENT

Like former Brooklyn D.A. Holtzman, former Queens County Assistant D.A. Ferraro-Zaccaro has also specialied in working with New York City cops to lock up poor folks. As Ms. Ferraro-Zaccaro wrote in her 1985 biography, Ferraro: My Story:

"As a prosecutor in the DA's office in Queens, I had put my share of criminals in jail."

Although Ms. Ferraro-Zaccaro has attempted to market herself as a representative of U.S. feminists since the 1980's, she got her job as Queens prosecutor in 1973 as a result of her family relationship to a prominent Democratic Party male politician. As My Name Is Geraldine Ferraro: An Unauthorized Biography by Lee Michael Katz noted in 1984:



... The perfect opportunity presented itself in November, 1973. Geraldine's cousin, Nicholas Ferraro, had just been elected Queens District Attorney on the Democratic ticket. This meant he had almost 100 vacancies to fill for assistant prosecutors ... Gerry Zaccaro wanted to have a part of that action ... Nick's election proved to be a fortunate stroke. Nicholas' father and her father had always been close, and Gerry was sure she could convince her cousin to appoint her to one of the positions.

"There were two major problems: Gerry had no criminal experience as an attorney and Nicholas was concerned that the appointment might be viewed as nepotism ...

"She asked her cousin Nick for a job ... The search committee was headed by Mario Cuomo. Gerry passed the screening committee's scrutiny ... She got the job."



EVENTSMANNOUNCEMENTS

OCT.1-JAN.19--GLOBAL WARMING EXHIBITION--Comprehensive large scale exhibit on climate change. At Museum of Natural History, Central Park West + 80th St. (212)769-5800.

OCT.9-JOHN LENNON BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION-Strawberry Fields in Central Park, enter 72nd St + Central Park West. Music jam all day and night.

OCT.10--ANTI-COLUMBUS MARCH--At Battery Park, 2:00PM. By Autonmous Anarchist Action. (212) 925-7966.

OCT.11--6TH ANNUAL RAINBOW
FAMILY PICNIC--Bring something to share for this potluck picnic--plenty of free food, music jams, good vibes and fun. Noon-dusk. In Prospect Park, Nethermead Meadow, Brooklyn. (Take F train to 15th St. + follow tree markers). NY Rainbow, P.O. Box 1554, NYC 10009

OCT.11-31--LAST DAY OF FREEDOM EXHIBITION--Art, photos, prints, video, mixed media show on indigenous peoples' resistance. At Charas, 605 East 9th Street

OCT.11-BENEFIT FOR EAST TIMOR--By East Timor Action Network, seeking end of US-backed Indonesian occupation of East Timor. WBAI's Amy Goodman with an eye witness report on last November's massacre of peaceful pro-independence demonstrators by Indonesian troops. At the Cafe Bar, 115 Ocean Ave, Long Beach, NJ. \$7 advance, \$9 door. Call (908)747-4597.

OCT.11--HISTORICAL WALKING TOUR
OF CHELSEA--The evolution from one
man's estate to a haven for artists and
intellectuals exp'ored by veteran tour guide
Joyce Gold. Me at at noon at General
Theological Ser nary, 9th Ave + 21st St.
\$12.00. Call (212)242-5752.

OCT.12-INDIGENOUS PEOPLES DAY-League of Indigenous Sovereign Nations meets at Columbus Circle at noon for march to United Nations to demand freedom for all political prisoners. Sponsored by 500 Years of Indigenous, Black and Popular Resistance, P.O.Box 684, Bronx, NY 10454

OCT.13--TOMPKINS SQUARE VIDEOS--By Paul Garrin, Paper Tiger TV, WWIII Illustrated, Terminal Video, Clayton Patterson. \$5.00 donation, 8:00PM at Charas, 605 East 9th St. Call (212)982-0627

OCT.14-BATTLE FOR ALTERNATIVE HEALTH CARE-Fighting FDA crackdown on herbal remedies + alternative treatments. With Monica Miller of People's Consortium for Medical Freedom and others. \$7.00 sliding scale donation. Call Learning Alliance: (212) 226-7171.

OCT.16--VIDEOTECA DEL SUR--Film + video from Puerto Rico, Costa Rica, US Latino community, with topics from AIDS to the Spanish conquest. At Downtown Community Television Center, 87 Lafayette St. Call (212)941-1298.

OCT.20--"FREE TRADE" AND THE ENVIRONMENT--SHADOW journalist Bill Weinberg and others explore ecological threats posed by Bush's "Free Trade" treaties and the General Agreements on Tariffs + Trade (GATT). At Wetlands, Hudson + Laight St. Call (212)966-5244.

OCT.21--DHORUBA BIN WAHAD IN COURT--Newly appointed Judge Bruce Allen now decides Dhoruba's fate--jail or freedom after 19 years imprisonment for frame-up shooting of two pigs in 1970 (See SHADOW #21,22+26 for more details) PACK THE COURT TO SHOW YOUR SUPPORT!! At 111 Centre St., 9:30AM. For info, call (718)624-0800.

OCT.23--AFGHANISTAN: THE STRUGGLE WITHIN--Video, live music and discussion with videomaker Rafi Ameer on the struggle in Afghanistan. At Downtown Community Television Center, 87 Lafayette St., only \$3.00. (212)941-1298.

OCT.25--RADICAL LOWER EAST SIDE WALKING TOUR--Bruce Kayton guides you to the homes of Trotsky, Abbie Hoffman + Madonna, and gives Tompkins Square Park history lesson, including the Young Lords and Black Panthers, along with his guidebook, for only \$6.00. Meet 1:00PM at St. Marx Church at 10th St + 2nd Ave. Call (718) 492-0069.

OCT.25-ERIC DROOKER BOOK PARTY-Celebrating publication of "FLOOD! A Novel In Pictures". The artist will give brief talk on his work. At mosaicBooks, 167 Ave B. (212)475-8623.

OCT.26--FIGHTING BIAS IN MEDIA-Fairness + Accuracy In Media (FAIR) forum on confronting racism, prejudice in news orgs, advertisers, TV networks. \$5.00. Call Learning Alliance: (212)226-7171.

OCT.31--HALLOWEEN SMOKE-IN--Join the traditional fall celebration of the stoned Jack O'Lantern. Lots of free pot, but bring some to share anyway!! Washington Sq. Park, 6:00PM. Procession at 7:30PM. By Green Panthers + NYC Yippie!

NOV.3--ELECTION DAY PROTEST vs NEWS ELECTION SERVICE--Corporation owned by CBS, ABC, NBC, CNN + AP wire service collects vote totals from precincts throughout US and withholds election data on pro-drug legalization candidates, among others. Civil disobedience + noise all and evening at 225 West 34th St. by the GREEN PANTHERS: Call (202)363-0068. MAKE MONEY SELLING THE SHADOW!! You keep 25 cents for each copy you sell. Homeless persons keep full cover price. Write the SHADOW or call (212)971-9611.

DUMP D'AMATO CAMPAIGN--A coalition of pro-choice groups working to defeat Republican incumbant scum-bag Al D'Amato in the upcoming Senatorial race. Dump D'Amato in '92! 298 Fifth Ave., Suite 285, NY, NY 10001-4592. (212) 719-1992.

ILLEGAL DUMPING AWARD HOTLINE Get a cash reward for turning in polluters! Call NYC Environmental Control Board at 212-788-4045.

FREE MEDICAL LIBRARIES: Center For Medical Consumers, 237 Thompson St, Mon-Fri 9AM-5PM, Wed 9AM-7PM, (212) 674-7105. NY Academy of Medicine, 2 East 103rd St, Mon-Fri 9AM-5PM,(212)876-8200.

FOR PEOPLE WITHOUT PLUMBING: For \$25/year, you can swim (and, of course, shower!) at any New York City pool. The Carmine Street Pool at Varick + Carmine Sts accepts new adult members Mon-Thurs, 5:30-8:00PM. Bring a lock for the locker, a photo, and a \$25 money order (no cash or checks taken). For info, call (212)397-3107.

ASSASSINATION RESEARCHERS: The SHADOW is interested in collecting and exchanging data, research, materials, investigating clues and interviewing witnesses relating to assassinations from Post WWII on, especially JFK, MLK, RFK, John Lennon. If you have info, or can trade materials, please contact the SHADOW. For a list of available assassination-related items in our archives, please send a self-addressed stamped envelope.

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

RECYCLABLES NOW BEING

COLLECTED--At the new recycling center in the lot at 211 East 7th Street, between Ave B + C. Please separate plastics and metal.

HOUSING NOW! HOTLINE--For up to date news on housing events, legislation, and actions. Call (212)316-7544.



J. T. S. W. Livi

Judith Malina, artistic director presents
Bob Fass as Joe Homeless in
"MY LIFE ON THE STREET"

based on the book by Joe Homeless

adaption, songs, direction by Moogy performances are weds.-sat. Oct.28-31, Nov.4-7, & Nov. 11-14, at 8 pm, Sundays at 2 pm, Nov. 1st & Nov. 15th \$10/General & \$7/Students, Seniors & Poor, Wednesdays & Thursdays - pay what you can Living Theater 272 e. 3rd st. NYC, 212-979-0604 NO PARK CURFEW! NO POLICE STATE! HANDS OFF THE HOUSELESS! DEFEND TENT CITIES!

HALLOWEEN

A NYC Holiday

A NYC Fuck The Drug warn

Free Pot! Bring a Joint to Sharell

Dear SHADOW,

I read the article written by Manny Goldstein in the SHADOW (See "Globe-Spanning Mind-Control Cult Seeks Foothold On Lower East Side" in SHADOW #25--Ed.) which labeled East Village Avenues (newspaper at 75-C East 7th Street-Ed.) as a front for an "international mind control cult" (the Movement). I am sure it is not your intention to add to the disinformation in the media; therefore, I want to take this opportunity to clarify the matter. It would be a disservice to open public debate and damaging to responsible journalism (which I hope The SHADOW would like to further) for these unsubstantiated and improbable claims to go unanswered.

The Movement is a current of thought formed by people who share basic ideas concerning the human being and also about the actions to be developed to provide a direction of positive change, for individuals and for society. It is not an institution, not a religion, and not a cult. Rather, it might be

described as a sensitivity, a way of looking at life, and a form of organizing for social change.

As an alternative to these impoverished values (the remnants of an ideology that has died), the Movement proposes a new scale of values, which gives primary importance to the human being, and a new tactical disposition in front of life, emphasizing the importance of personal coherence (between thought, feeling and action) and solidarity (treating others as we would like to be treated).

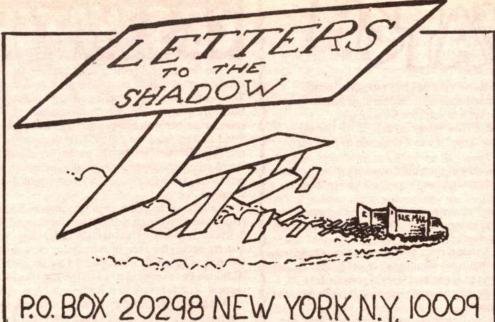
It would be inconsistent with these proposals if those who align themselves with the Movement did not initiate projects which translate these proposals into action and also participate in existing organizations which contribute to the same direction. East Village Avenues is one of these projects, initiated by members of the Movement and furthered by the participation of volunteers (who may or may not consider themselves part of the Movement). Its purpose is to facilitate communication in the neighborhood, to foster teamwork and a spirit of solidarity, and to provide a forum for the expression of different

Regarding the specific accusations and innuendo contained in Mr. Goldstein's article, we invite him to back them up with facts and direct sources, not just previously printed but unsubstantiated reports, hearsay, and assumptions based on prior suspicions. In the future, we hope he will give us the professional courtesy of presenting himself and his charges to us directly, before the article is published, allowing us the opportunity to give our point of view. In any case, what is most important is to continue to discuss openly the themes set forth above. I would certainly invite the publishers of The SHADOW to provide an explanation as to what their intentions are and what actions they propose for the well being of people, since it appears that this subject is of concern to them.

Chris Wells, Spokesperson of The Movement

MANNY GOLDSTEIN REPLIES:

It is a classic cult tactic to accuse those who would expose their mind-control operations of "innuendo", "hearsay", "assumptions" and "unsubstantiated reports". My article was based on none of those things, but on hard, cold reality. You want facts, Mr. Wells? It is a fact that the Northern California Greens, as well as Green organizations in Japan, Brazil and nearly every Western European country, have accused the Siloist Movement (aka "The Movement"--Ed.) of attempting to steal their logos, Images, slogans and political turf. It is a fact, Mr. Wells, that in 1989 the West German Green Party issued a press release calling The Movement an "internationally operating psycho-sect" which "is misusing" the name of the Greens, and accused The Movement of "shameless deception of the electorate" in its efforts to deprive the legitimate Spanish Greens of a Europarliament seat by confusing the voters and splitting the Green vote. It is a fact, Mr. Wells, that Nicole Myers of the so-called "Brooklyn Greens" was secretly a Movement "team



Subject: Incarceration of VIAs (Victims of Institutions and Agencies) in political prisons or

I'd like to see more in the SHADOW on drug assaults, legal murder, and denial of rights for VIAs. "Competency" is no longer defined by doctors but by law courts: publication could be as easy as sending a reporter to Bellevue or Manhattan State, etc.

The bigger lie is not truth: IQ testing puts working people on the low end of the totem pole! Literature on biased university textbooks heaping quasi-racist lies on VIAs is available through NCLG (National Caucus of Labor Groups).

Yours in Struggle, E. Vicrey, D.A., B.Sc.

A. Kronstadt's coverage of the confrontation between the JDO and the Klan in Queens (SHADOW #26--Ed.) had me convulsed with

Has anybody alluded to the fact that this may be post-nuclear war? That the 40-50 odd years of underground testing might be equivalent to an 'aftermath'?

As the society winds down, the least tolerable places on the globe (including Hobe Sound and Palm Beach) may turn out to be extremely interesting. As long ago as 7 years past, cops from 7 counties were chasing 3 Honduran gorillas from Mrs. Dorothy Bush's backyard!! (1st or 2nd mother-in-law)!! If only A. Kronstadt

As the society deteriorates further, the "outs" will

C.S., Brooklyn, NY

Dear SHADOW,

What is the esoteric meaning and hidden agenda of CURFEW in the real estate battle for Tompkins Square Park?

C ontrol **U** nderdog

R estrict

F reedom

E xtend

W arehousing

Property is the highest form of life. There is nothing higher. First god created the world. Then came humanity. PROPERTY CAME FIRST.

Mere humanity was only an Afterthought in

Discovery, Sidney Simon, NYC

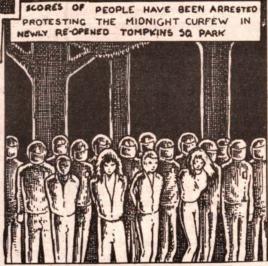
Dear SHADOW. POWER TO THE TOMPKINS SQUARE TREE CLIMBERS. Chaining yourself to trees (to protest the midnight curfewin the park—Ed.) is the most righteous thing I've ever seen. By the way, how did the pigs get them down? Matt, NJAF (North Jersey Anarchist Federation)

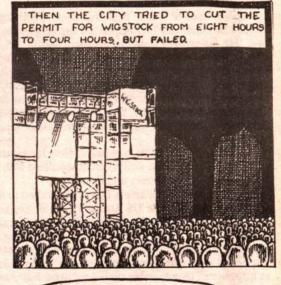
delegate", and that she has been spotted at closed-door meetings at the "East Village Center for Direct Communication* (storefront office for East Village Avenues--Ed.) It is a fact, Mr. Wells, that Myers was a Humanist Party candidate for the Board of Supervisors in San Francisco before relocating to New York, and that the Humanist Party was denounced as a front for the Siloist mind-control organization by the American Humanist Association. It is a fact, Mr. Wells, that former Siloists from San Francisco to Brooklyn have come forward to the press and fellow activists to complain of psycho-manipulation at the hands of the "team delegates' and other Siloist cult-masters. All of this suggests that The Movement is something rather more sinister than the mere "current of thought" you describe. would suggest, for your own good, Mr. Wells, as well as for the good of those who might be naive enough to be taken in by your transparent propaganda, that you start thinking for yourself and begin to question the malevolent power that the nefarious Siloist conspiracy apparently wields over your mind.

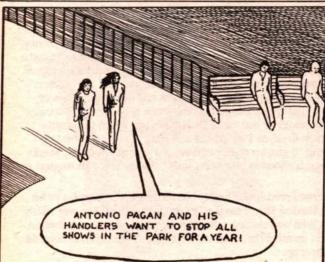
SHADOW EDITOR RESPONDS:

Our intention is to expose phony front groups with hidden agendas and leadership like yours that lure new naive members, solicit funds and fuck up people's lives. You are part of a mind-control cult which managed to slip onto the Lower East Side unnoticed until you got exposed in the SHADOW!! And guess what? We're not through with The Movement yet!!

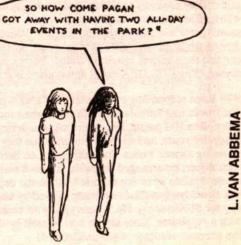












AUG 25 AND SEPT. 13

GOP MAGG

HERE'S THE LATEST KOP-WATCH NEWS FROM THE MAINSTREAM PRESS:

 P.O.Michael Mallory, a 3 year kop, was suspended after his arrest on Fire Island for possession of coke on Sept. 6. He was given a ticket and released without bail.

•P.O.James Wimple, a 7 year kop, was arrested in New Jersey on Sept. 6 for harrassment and trespassing, while he was drunk. Said a Jersey kop: "It was a domestic dispute that escalated into some property damage."

•Mark Ruggiero, a police recruit undergoing training at the police academy, was arrested in Nassau County on August 25 for selling coke to undercover kops "at a known drug location." He was released without bail.

•Retired kop Kevin Butler, and Chung Yee Choi, an auxiliary kop, were both arrested for extorting \$88,000 from the family of an \$8 million lottery winner. They were nailed as they tried to extort another \$180,000 from the lottery winner.

•Guardian Angels/Nazis leader Curtis Sliwa, in a recent issue of CrimeBeat magazine, says that one thing stood out in his mind as he lay in the street bleeding after being shot by two men in a cab on June 19. One of the two cops on the scene said "Hey, I wonder how Superman feels, now that he had to eat some bullets?" the other kop said "Maybe he learned his lesson now-trying to be a one-man army."

•A group of Guardian Angels, including co-founder Lisa Sliwa, got their wings clipped in the early morning hours of Sept. 6 when they tried to break up a fight between two men on West 25th St. The men then joined forces and beat and cut the Angels. One 16 year old Angel was hospitalized for facial cuts. Lisa was not injured.

Detective Jacob Jenkins, found guilty in a departmental trial for standing nude with an



erection in front of female detective Laura Tumminello, was granted a reprieve by outgoing Police Commissioner Lee Brown. Of Brown's action, police spokeswoman Suzanne Trazoff said, "He felt the guy deserved another chance."

•Brooklyn sergeant Peter Viola was indicted on August 11 on felony assault charges for attacking a 57 year old Black woman and her son after she objected the police use of force against her two sons who were fighting. The woman, head of the local school board and member of the police precinct community council, had called the kops in the first place. The head of the Sergeants' Benevolent Association said the indictment was "politically motivated." Viola, who was photographed in the act, faces up to 2-7 years in prison if convicted.

•P.O.Albert D'Angelo III, a Newark, New Jersey kop, shot and wounded a suspected car thief on August 26. The victim was hospitalized with a bullet in his leg. D'Angelo was treated for cuts and bruises and released.

•Brooklyn prosecutor Pamela Hayes was forced to resign after her boyfriend, the target of a narcotics probe by the US Attorney's office, told kops she had made calls and inquiries to the US Attorney's office about an informer in the case against him. The informer was later killed.

•Detective Humberto Arroyo, a 12 year kop, and sergeant Michael Rodriguez, were both suspended after detective John Young turned in \$17,000 he says the two forced him to take as his share of money found on a dead drug dealer on Sept. 25. A police spokeswoman said: "They basically said if he didn't take the money, they would say that he did anyway."

•Drug Enforcement Administration agent Robert Barber was charged with third degree assault, reckless endangerment, reckless driving, leaving the scene of an accident and driving while intoxicated! After running over the foot of a traffic agent and taking off in his car and then getting caught in traffic, Barber jumped out of his car and flashed his badge saying: "I'm a US DEA agent and nothing is going to happen to me."

•70 Kops responding to complaints of a loud party in Hollis, Queens on August 22 brought fire trucks and ambulances with them when they beat the host with nightsticks in front of more than 100 guests. Neighbors said residents have sought police help with "quality-of-life" issues for years, and this was the first time they responded.

•During former Police Commissioner Lee Brown's last days before his Sept. 1 resignation took effect, he arranged for raises for his 8 man security detail totalling nearly \$50,000. Six of the 8 raises were not reported within the department through normal channels.

•A Brooklyn van driver critically injured by kops arresting him on August 11 is suing the city for \$100 million. He is paralyzed with broken vertabrae in his neck and is breathing with a respirator. Kops say he hurt himself by slamming his head into a plexiglass door in the precinct vestibule while handcuffed.

CB 3 WATCH BY STUART

The September meeting of Community Board 3 was the most raucous and unpleasant that several long-time board members and observers (including this one) have ever seen. The people doing the shouting weren't anarchists; they were the NIMBY ("Not In My Backyard") crowd. The meeting was presided over by Luis Soler, an ally of local councilmember Antonio Pagan. Soler had been elected chair at the June meeting. (He's listed as "chairman" on official CB3 documents, in violation of the City Charter.) CB3 has rules against holding up large banners or shouting from the audience to "intimidate" the board members. These rules used to be strictly enforced, often by police, against left-wing protesters. Soler let the NIMBY crowd stretch out banners, wave signs, and shout down speakers.

Half the members of each Community Board are appointed by the Borough President (Ruth Messinger) and half by the City Council reps. Since our local Community Board, CB 3, has its area split between councilmembers Pagan and Kathryn Freed, they get one quarter each. However, in June, Soler eked out a third-ballot win over incumbent Rick Carmen as board chair, and the Paganites rapidly moved to consolidate their power.

Although Pagan squeaked by in the city-council election -- he beat a supine opponent by 1 percent -- he is poised to control the Community Board.

When the full board met for the first time since summer, all the important committee chairs were in the hands of Pagan allies. For example, Herman Hewitt, a right-winger but an independent-minded one, was forced out as Housing Committee chair; his place is taken by landlord Krystyna Piorkowska. The Parks Committee had been chaired by Sandi Andersen. Andersen, a founder of the Green Guerillas, probably knows more about parks than anyone in the neighborhood, but she wasn't reappointed to the board. The new Committee chair is long-time Pagan ally Susan Vaughn (who has no idea how to chair a meeting, since she's new on the board). Rick Carmen is no longer chair of the Gay and Lesbian Issues Task Force; Pagan's appointee, the inexperienced Albert Fabozzi, takes his place.

The most disgraceful new appointee isn't Pagan's, but Ruth Messinger's. This is Margaret Staubach, a former nurse who fits perfectly the stereotype of the Nurse From Hell: opinionated, closed-minded, and nightmarishly stupid. At the June meeting, she kept asking other right-wingers to tell her how to vote. At the September meeting she left right after the first committee report had started, so she didn't have to vote. Members can be kicked off the board if they miss too many meetings; it will be interesting to see if Staubach continues to show up for the roll call and then leave right away.

NIMBY PANDER

There were two NIMBY issues, both involving the same block on East 13th Street, between 3rd and 4th Avenues. One is a former SRO at 222 East 13th which has become a hangout for drug dealers and prostitutes. The former owner walked away from it and the building was taken over by the city's Department of Housing Preservation and Development (HPD). Repeated efforts by the local residents to get the cops, HPD, or anyone else to do something about the building were fruitless until Jack Newfield wrote a front-page story for the New York Post. (A Post editorial the next day patted its reporter on the back for being such a good investigator. Actually, there was no investigation needed; the residents had been screaming for over a year to try to get someone's attention.)

Pagan made a brief appearance at the meeting, bringing Jack Newfield as a sort of visual reinforcement (Newfield had nothing to say), and like a true demagogue, brought the audience to its feet, cheering, when he proclaimed, "That building must be shut NOW!"

Pagan's motives are clear enough: not just public support for "championing" their "cause," but also the delivery of a building to the contractors and developers who provided most of his campaign funds in last year's election.

What none of the NIMBY crowd had the decency to recognize, and what makes them NIMBY, is that the people most bothered by the disgusting conditions of 222 aren't the residents of the block, but the residents of 222 itself. There are still legal tenants in the building, low-income people who have nowhere else to go if the building is shut. The NIMBY crowd doesn't care about these people; it just wants the building sealed.

(A classic way for landlords to empty a building is to let conditions deteriorate, and let drug dealers and prostitutes in to scare off legitimate tenants. Are the conditions at 222 planned?)

At the NIMBY crowd's demand, CB3 passed a legally nonsensical resolution directing the District Attorney to investigate 222 as a "bawdy house." The DA's office will probably throw this request in the wastebasket. It's unfortunate that the board led itself be bamboozled by a mob rather than take constructive steps to solve a serious problem.

The other NIMBY issue is a project H.E.L.P. building to house low-income and homeless people, including families, planned for the parking lot which stretches from 13th to 14th Street in the middle of the same block. The NIMBY crowd had the usual complaints -- the project is too large, it would overcrowd the schools, it wasn't "mixed" enough (it's probably true that homeless and low-income families tend statistically to have lower incomes than the rest of the population, so the project isn't mixed).

CB3 had passed a resolution supporting the project several years ago, and Piorkowska's Housing Committee had voted to "reconsider" that support. At the board meeting, there was heated discussion whether the Committee vote was legal: under Board rules, a motion to rescind support can be made only by someone who had voted for the original support. Piorkowska tried lying and said she had voted to support the project originally, but parliamentarian Marion Fox said, "No you didn't," and Piorkowska flushed deep red. Fox decided that "reconsider" and "rescind" were two different things and that the vote could proceed. Chair Luis Soler didn't allow any discussion on the merits of the project. Three members of the board (and supporters of the H.E.L.P. project) protested, but the project once again passed board muster.

PIORKOWSKA + WALTER SUPPORT HEROIN DEALERS

St. Brigid's Church school is in financial trouble, and had applied for permission to hold a fair on East 7th Street between Avenues B and C in October to try to raise some money. For whatever reason --the pastor, Father George Kuhn, is a well-known local activist -- the Economic Development Committee tried to scuttle the fair. Among the reasons they gave were that blocking off the street would inconvenience residents and be "bad for business". Actually, a huge number of local residents, groups, and business had signed petitions or sent letters of support for the fair. The major business on the block is heroin, with cocaine in second place; the fair probably would be bad for THEIR business. When the matter came up before the full board, only Krystyna Piorkowska and Kate "I wished I lived on Columbus Avenue but I don't want to give up my rent-controlled apartment on St. Marks Place so I'll try to change the neighborhood to reflect my taste" Walter voted to support the drug dealers.

Finally, councilmember Kathryn Freed spoke briefly but forthrightly in support of an Independent Civilian Complaint Review Board for the Police Department. She was wildly cheered. Councilmember Pagan, who was elected with the support of (and a contribution from) the cop's PBA union, didn't mention the issue and slunk out of the room as soon as members of the audience brought it up.



On July 3, 1992, a Quebec jury acquitted 34 Native warriors of charges stemming from their defense of the Mohawk sovereign territories of Kanesatake and Kanawake. At a previous trial that was concluded last January, Ronald Cross, known by the nom de guerre Lasagna, was convicted of assault and weapons possession and Gordon Lazore, known as Noriega, was convicted of assault. Ronald Lazore, called 2020, was acquitted on all charges. Lasagna was sentenced to nearly five years and Noriega was given a two year sentence.

During the spring and summer of 1990, Native men and women had stood up to the force of nearly 5,000 Canadian troops using armored personnel carriers, light tanks, helicopters and aggressive commando patrols. The Native blockade lasted for 77 days before a negotiated settlement brought down the barricades.

The confrontation was the culmination of months of political conflict in both Canada and the United States. Canadians were wrangling over the settlement of decades of conflict between English speaking Ontario and western Canada and French speaking Quebec. In New York State, the Mohawk Nation territory of Akwesasne, which straddles the U.S., Quebec and Ontario borders, had been long embroiled in a conflict over gambling and cigarette smuggling that had led to the short but bloody Mohawk civil war. The gambling interests, supported by the armed Warrior Society, argued that government officials had no jurisdiction on Mohawk land.

Gambling opponents, known as antis, had clashed with the Warriors and their supporters in several gunfights which left at least two men dead in the months before the Mohawk's became entangled with the Canadian military. The antis began their offensive against the casinos in Akwesasne by approaching New York Governor Mario Cuomo and demanding the State close down the gaming operations.

On July 19, 1989, more than 400 FBI agents and state troopers entered Akwesasne on the invitation of anti-gambling leaders. They were there to seize the six casinos at the center of the conflict and arrest prominent Warrior leader Kakwirakeron, who had led an armed resistance to the FBI take over of Akwesasne. This conflict led to bitter recriminations between factions of Mohawks.

Warrior Loran Thompson, who in the 1970's was a close associate of prominent anti Doug George, now charges that by calling in U.S. government authorities to close down the casinos the antis have become "government informants, and traitors to their own people." George, who was acquitted of charges that he shot and killed a Warrior supporter during the 1989 civil war, accuses the Warriors of wanting to "control the people of Akwesasne" and of keeping a hit list of prominent antis.

Although the casinos that operated in Akwesasne remain closed, the dispute between the two factions continues. The Warrior's don't even consider the movement of tax free cigarettes through the territory to be smuggling because they consider Akwesasne to be an independent nation with its own laws and government. They accuse the antis of giving up Mohawk sovereignity by plotting to replace the income generated by the cross-border trade with funds provided by U.S. and New York State government-controlled welfare programs.

Traditional leaders in Akwesasne consider the gambling and movement of cigarettes as a force undermining Mohawk traditional values. Adding to the conflict is the confusion of a multiplicity of jurisdictions that are competing for control over the various Mohawk traditional Longhouse governments as well as the Canadian, Quebec, Ontario, New York State and U.S. federal authorities. Despite these differences, many Mohawks believe that the roots of the problems are decades of environmental destruction of the St. Lawrence river valley caused by government and corporate greed and abuse.

SHOWDOWN

Kanesatake and Kanawake are Mohawk Nation lands near the town of Oka about 20 miles from Montreal. Warriors joined by hundreds of supporters from Indian nations throughout Canada and the United States were fighting a plan by Oka speculators to try and enlarge a local golf course onto a pine forest and Indian burial ground. The Warriors had set up roadblocks to prevent bulldozers from demolishing the pines and on July 11, 1990, Quebec police unsuccessfully tried to storm the Warrior barricades. In the ensuing firefight, a police corporal was shot and killed. The source of the fatal bullet has not been determined and the corporal may have been killed by his own men when a blinding cloud of tear drifted back over police lines.

Support actions on behalf of the Mohawks were taken up throughout Canada and worldwide. The European Community spoke out in support of the Natives and hundreds took up residence at a tent city near the Native barricades. Meanwhile racist mobs burned images of Indians in effigy protesting the shutdown of a major bridge spanning both the Mohawk territory of Kanawake and the St. Lawrence river.

Immediately following the end of the blockade, the government of Quebec indicted dozens of Mohawks and other Indians on various riot and weapons possession charges. More than 30 were tried together in Montreal and several others, including non-Mohawk activist attorney Stanley Cohen, still face trial.

A Mohawk who had been arrested by a military patrol that infiltrated the grounds of the rehabilitation center that served as HQ for the Kanesatake defenders was acquitted earlier this summer. Spudwrench, the handle he used at the time, had been seized and viciously beaten by Canadian army commandos who were attempting to sabotage negotiations and tighten the military's noose around the Mohawk positions.

Joe Deom is a Mohawk and Warrior supporter from Kanawake, the Mohawk territory outside of Montreal, where he operates an engineering firm. He says the main trial of 34 Mohawks lasted about six weeks. The prosecution fielded about a dozen witnesses -- mostly Canadian army officials and police. The prosecution spent a lot of their time describing the logistics behind the massive show of force at Kanesatake.

Two of the defendants testified during the trial. According to Deom, the defense plan was to name those Mohawks who were actually at the barricades and carrying arms from among the defendants — many of whom were never armed. The first defense witness who provided this part of the story was defendant Brenda Gabriel, who was subjected to a withering cross examination by the prosecutor. The second defendant to testify was Jenny Jack, a non-Mohawk Native who came from British Columbia to support the Warrior stand at Kanesatake. Jack's testimony was meant to show that the defenders at Kanesatake had wide support among Canada's indigenous nations.

The defendants entrusted two Native spokespeople who acted as mediators during the confrontation to explain the Mohawk position. Bruce Elijah and Bob Antoine are both of the Oneida Nation. Antoine acted as negotiator at the barricades in early September 1990 as the army tightened its grip on the rehabilitation center. Elijah had been entrusted with taking care of the spiritual needs of the people behind the lines.

According to Deom, the message that was successfully conveyed to the jury was that it is "part of our ceremonies and beliefs that men and women have duties and responsibilities to protect and defend this land -- to which we have a special attachment -- by whatever means necessary." Deom adds that the defendants were also able to show that although they possessed weapons, the defenders "never used them aggressively or in a threatening manner. The weapons were there for defense if it ever came to a firefight."

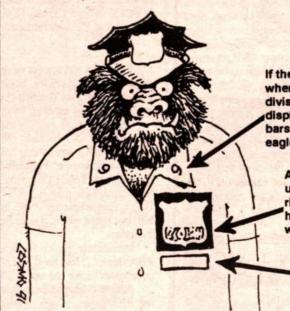
Deom says that despite the acquittals, confrontations between Mohawks and Canadian and U.S. authorities have been continuing. He says that several recent confrontations near Kanesatake resulted in negative publicity for the Quebec Provincial Police who have pulled back for now. However, in Kanawake, Deom says the police are threatening to move in and enforce arrest warrants against some of the nearly 200 people that the Quebec government says were involved in the blockade of the Mercier bridge which passes over Mohawk territory. He adds that one Mohawk man was recently arrested for events stemming from police raids after the bridge occupation and is currently being held without bail.

Deom says "it's not over here," he adds, "we're still being interfered with in our internal affairs and the Quebec government especially is very adamant about enforcing their law within our territories. We are constantly under attack."



Know Your Enemy...

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



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

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

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

PIG ROAST

PBA HEAD CARUSO MESSES HIMSELF, WANTS PUBLIC TO EAT IT

The cops don't want an Independent CCRB, but the PBA demo showed with startling clarity that the cops don't always act in their own best interest. It was left to PBA president Phil Caruso to try and put the union's case on firmer ground, and he was laughably unfit for the task. Even one of his supporters said that he's "not politically very astute." Caruso's got a cushy \$90,000-a-year job, perks such as a chauffeur-driven limousine and a hefty expense account. He is totally isolated from the real world, and he made a fool of himself in his testimony.

Caruso said that police misconduct doesn't exist except for a few media-hyped cases that mislead the public. Two sentences later he contradicted himself and said that the public and the police have an "intense interface." (It's obvious that the public gets its low opinion of cops from this "interface," and not from watching TV.)

Caruso said that cops would find an Independent CCRB "humiliating." But an Independent CCRB would have no power over cops except to provide information. Caruso admits that cops fear having their actions made public. What is he trying to hide?

Caruso argued, as usual, against a residency requirement for cops. (New York is the only large city in the country without such a requirement; we used to have a residency requirement for all uniformed employees, but it was repealed for the police in the 1960s.) He said that "numbers don't lie" and that 2/3 of New York City cops live in the city.

Numbers don't lie, but Caruso did. Actually only 58% of city cops live here; Caruso had misplaced 240 of his own officers. Caruso added that we should consider the problem from the viewpoint of the police: they show their commitment to the city by coming here to work and they pay taxes here (as do all commuters!) and, he added, "THEY CAN'T EVEN VOTE." He said that he wished HE could find a place to live in the city (he lives in Suffolk County). He backed off real fast when several councilmembers offered to find him a place.

Caruso said cops are misunderstood; he talked about a "crisis of morale." What's the union doing about the problem? The PBA launches vicious, personal attacks on anyone who deviates from its line. The PBA has a policy of not talking to Newsday because that paper refuses to brownnose. When the SHADOW called the PBA, they refused to talk. (I had asked if they had any more demos planned, but they hung up. I called back and said, "We seem to have gotten cut off," but they hung up again.)

Every time a councilmember asked him to consider the viewpoint of the community, Caruso whined, "What about the police who risk their lives every day?" He complained "what other profession is judged by people from outside the profession?" One answer is that every other city employee, including City Councilmembers, are judged by an independent agency.

In fact, as Norman Siegel pointed out to the SHADOW, citizens judge cops all the timein juries sitting on both civil and criminal cases. When expertise is needed, it's provided by
expert witnesses. An Independent CCRB with subpoena power could compel these experts
to testify and share their expertise. Furthermore, as councilmember Fields pointed out, the
cops don't operate in a vacuum; they have very specific rules to follow for the use of force.
Civilians could use these rules, too, in judging whether force was excessive. And under Intro
549, as the mayor and others have pointed out, experts such as former police officers could
serve on the board.

Committee Chair Sheldon Leffler, who is officially undecided on the bill and had questioned Dinkins closely, tied Caruso up in knots on this point. Caruso said he "tolerated" the current CCRB (which is half from outside the Police Department). Leffler kept asking Caruso why the civilian members on the current CCRB had enough expertise to earn the PBA's tolerance but civilians on the proposed Independent CCRB didn't. Caruso didn't answer

Caruso has a limited attention span, which sometimes got him in trouble. When councilmember Una Clarke started the story of how a drunken cop referred to her as "this nigger" during the City Hall demo the day before, Caruso said, "Police officers always rise to the occasion." When councilmember Fields asked him a direct question, he just kept

WHEN WRONG IS RIGHT ... AND RIGHT IS WRONG!



REMEMBER ME? I'M
BERNIE GOETZ...I WAS
IN A SUBWAY CAR WHEN I
STOOD UP AND SHOT FOUR
GUYS BECAUSE I THOUGHT
THEY WERE GOING TO
HURT ME...AND I GOT
LET GO ON SELF-DETENSE.



MY NAME IS JUNAS MOHAMED ... I WAS PHYSICALLY ATTACKED BY FOUR GUYS IN A SUB-WAY CAR ... I FOUGHT BACK AND CUT THE RING-LEADER WITH A BLADE, THEY OVERPOWERED ME, BENT ME, SPIT ON ME, CALLED ME RACIAL NAMES AND BROKE MY JAW. I WAS ARRESTED FUR "ATTEMPTED MURDER" NOTHING HAPPENED TO THE ONES TWIT DID THIS TO ME TURNS OUT THEY WERE OFF-DUTY COPS !

looking around the room in a day-dreaming stupor, oblivious to the fact that he was supposed to answer. Later he told councilmember Kathryn Freed, "You haven't listened to anything I've said." Freed started to respond, "I didn't know I was that dense," but Caruso's attention had wandered again.

Councilmembers repeatedly asked Caruso to take some responsibility--and apologize-for the previous day's demo. He repeatedly refused. He said, "What you saw was a natural
human reaction.... Cops aren't robots." He mechanically repeated, "Cops aren't robots" at
least half a dozen times. Finally, an exasperated councilmember Linares asked Caruso
whose responsibility the demo was, and Caruso exploded with anger. "It's yours!" he
shouted. "Yours and the mayor's!" The lively audience fell into shocked silence--but at least
Caruso had laid it on the line.

"PUBLIC" HEARINGS WITHOUT THE PUBLIC

Several dozen members of African-American churches, led by the Reverend Timothy Mitchell, kept an all-night vigil at City Hall in preparation for an opportunity to testify during the second day of public hearings on October 2. The next morning, their numbers had swelled to several hundred. Over a hundred uniformed cops were assigned to "control" the peaceful, church-going crowd, which was about a hundred more than necessary.

Council Committee Chair Sheldon Leffler announced his intention to hear testimony from government officials (which also included one former and one current member of the CCRB) before the rest of the public. By 3:15, members of the public who had been waiting for a total of 14 hours (over two days) to testify were beginning to get testy. The last public official due up was State Senator David Patterson. He had previously yielded his time to Comptroller Liz Holtzman (who said the current CCRB is extremely costly because it doesn't work, forcing citizens to seek expensive remedies in the courts) because she had to catch a plane. As Patterson got up to testify, councilmember Tom Ognibene said that he wanted a panel of four cops to testify; the cops told Patterson and the audience that they had to go on duty at 4:00. Patterson yielded.

The cops' testimony was nondescript (one cop simply repeated, "I'm the beat cop" over and over; no one could figure out what his point was). Two of the cops were black PBA delegates; rumors that there are only two black PBA delegates could not be confirmed.

After they had droned on for half an hour, Patterson approached them and asked if they didn't have to get to work. They said that, "This issue is so important to us that we're not going to work today." The chamber erupted with cries of "Liars! You lied to the Senator!" They had not only lied, they were too stupid to keep their story straight! They slunk out of the room.

Patterson got up and immediately denounced the lying cops, saying that it typified an attitude that many cops have. A group of eight cops, who had been chewing gum in the balcony all day, started shouting rabidly; it took a large group of Council security guards to quiet them down.

RACIST COPS FLUB DAMAGE CONTROL

The mayor's "faith" that the vast majority of (white) cops are decent is shared by everyone from Independent CCRB supporters on the council to the slavishly pro-PBA Chief (the civil-service union weekly newspaper which referred to "the excess of a few").

If only a small minority of cops acted up, then there should be tens of thousands of cops denouncing the racists on the force. Instead, many white cops have told the media, including the SHADOW, that they were "proud" of the demonstration. "It showed them we're gonna stick up for our rights," one white 9th-precinct cop told the SHADOW.

If anything, the cops' image has gotten worse since their demo. Media reports say that white cops have increased their racist and sexist harassment of minorities and women on the force. The SHADOW spoke to several minority cops assigned to the 9th Precinct (who did not want to be identified). They said that the mood in the precinct was "mean" and that the white male cops were more and more openly making "disgusting remarks." The New York Post printed a fax message that had been sent to all the precincts by a cop based either in Brooklyn (according to the Post) or in Staten Island (according to acting commissioner Raymond Kelly) calling for a "slowdown" and "blue flu" (all the cops are going to hold their breaths until they turn blue?).

Their elected leader, Caruso, called a news conference a week after the demo to deny that he was racist. (In 1990, he had said that he didn't understand why it was that Hispanic culture permitted its young people to turn into criminals at a very early age.) He couldn't very well present the PBA executive board to the press because they're all white males. But he found about 30 black and Hispanic officers to use as stage props. These officers had nothing to say at the news conference, but afterwards they told their fraternal organizations and the press that Caruso had tricked them into attending. They said that Caruso had told them there was going to be a meeting TO DISCUSS THE NEED FOR MINORITY REPRESENTATION IN THE UNION! They had showed up because of their grievances with the PBA! Ironically the very presence of the minority officers at the PBA news conference confirms that the PBA is racist (and that Caruso is a liar).

Meanwhile, Dinkins and Giuliani have turned the matter into a political football to bash each other in preparation for the 1993 election. Each accuses the other of acting divisive (Dinkins says that Giuliani egged on a racist goon squad, Giuliani says that Dinkins is trying to shore up his support among blacks). The New York Coalition for Civil Rights and the NYCLU invited Caruso, Dinkins, and Giuliani to sit down and try to work things out; Caruso and Dinkins refused.

THE FUTURE

The PBA has always been politically well connected, but Caruso has squandered much of his traditional power. Even long-time supporters had become fed up with his petulance. For example, City Council President Andrew Stein, a wealthy conservative who has waffled on this issue for months, finally announced that he supports an Independent CCRB.

The cops have already lost the vast majority of the City Council on a residency requirement for new hires (which will have to be passed in Albany, however).

Council Speaker Peter Vallone (who was a sponsor of the existing CCRB) is working out a "compromise" bill with the mayor. They agree that Independent CCRB investigators shouldn't be Police Department employees, and they agree that civilians should dominate the board. One plan is 5-5-3 (5 members named by the mayor, 5 by the Council, 3 by the Police Commissioner). The Police Commissioner's nominees may not make it into the final bill, but there will certainly be a mandate for law-enforcement experience for some of the

Meanwhile, police brass are supposedly trying to identify cops who acted badly at the PBA demo. (How hard can it be to identify ON-duty cops who illegally stood by while their colleagues broke the law?) They say they are bringing charges against 42 cops present.

Acting Commissioner Kelly is in a tight spot. He wants to be police commissioner, but the PBA supports him (a strike against him) and Dinkins won't appoint him if he doesn't punish some cops. The DA's office is looking into criminal charges. With all the public pressure, Kelly and the DA may actually find a few "bad cops" and blame all the trouble on them. It's a safe bet that they're not interesting in dealing with the larger issues of racism and abuse of authority that seem to be an integral part of cop culture. Scandalously, the Police Department does not automatically track legal complaints against cops, so that a cop convicted in civil or even criminal court does not always face departmental discipline.

OSMO 92

PEOPLES PARK

Continued From Page 4

On September 9, the Berkeley Landmarks Commission unanimously voted to declare Ashkenaz a city landmark. While Nadel and his supporters see this as an important political victory, the decision is not binding on UC because the UC system has statewide exemption from all municipal laws and regulations. The University will still be able to do as they wish to Nadel's property if he loses the case.

"They built a nuclear reactor in a residential neighborhood in 1964," adds Nadel's codefendant Bob Sparks. The UC research reactor was closed due to popular protest in 1985, but political battles are now raging in the city over plans to develop biotech laboratories, both by UC and private interests.

The Berkeley City Council has closed ranks with Nadel and Ashkenaz, voting unanimously on April 28 to approve a resolution asking UC to drop the suit.

The suit claims Nadel incited property damage in the park by:

•distributing leaflets

•making a speech in December 1991 in which he said "I'm not advocating criminal acts, but I predict that those fucking courts will be destroyed by the people"

 waving around a cardboard cut-out replica of a chain saw at a September, 1991 demonstration.

Nadel and his attorneys maintain that all of this activity is protected by the First Amendment. Nadel has brought a countersuit, maintaining that the UC Regents have launched the SLAPP suit in an effort to curtail his right to free speech. "Corporate America uses SLAPP suits to shut people up," says Nadel. "They are frivolous, but they are costly."

UC denies that the case is a SLAPP suit. "We do stand up for the First Amendment, but when people cross over the line, we must act," UC attorney Christine Helwich told the San Francisco Weekly. "There has been a deliberate, violent campaign to hinder the university's ability to transition this property into a park. If this was trivial, we wouldn't sue."

However, an August 28 Oakland Tribune editorial supporting a bill pending in Sacramento which would place strict limits on SLAPP suits, noted that, in addition to multi-million dollar cases brought against Southern California activists opposing waterfront development by big real estate interests, "closer to home, the University of California has SLAPPed David Nadel, owner of Ashkenaz music club in Berkeley, for his outspoken opposition to development of People's Park."

The anti-SLAPP bill was signed into law on September 22. It requires corporate litingants to provide evidence that their cases are not "frivolous" before they are heard in the courts. The People's Park defendants consider this another political victory -- but UC is exempt from the law as a non-profit agency, and the law is not retroactive.

CHALK ONE UP FOR FREE SPEECH!

People's Park defendant Carol Denney recently served three days in the Alameda County Jail at Santa Rita for violating an injunction brought by UC barring her from "defacing property" in People's Park. She is charged with chalking the slogan "\$HAME" on the low wooden wall of the vollyball court.

Denney argued that since chalk is not permanent, it cannot be considered "defacing."

"I try to avoid being accused of being a vandal by using music, theater, and chalk to make my points," says Denney. While the judge didn't buy this argument, Denney says she was happy to find that "by the time I came back to People's Park, people had covered the volleyball court with chalk!"

Attorney David Beauvais recently won a \$25,000 settlement for two activists, David Kamola and Christopher MacKinney, who had been arrested chalking the slogan "VOLLEYBALL: THERE IS A CURE!" on the sidewalk outside the park. Kamola and MacKinney sued for false arrest and violation of their First Amendment rights and, in August, the UC Regents offered a \$25,000 settlement — on condition that the affair remain confidential. The activist defendants not only turned the deal down, but threatened to sue for an additional \$5,000, considering the confidentiality clause yet a second attack on their rights! UC caved in, paid the \$25,000 and the affair hit the local headlines.

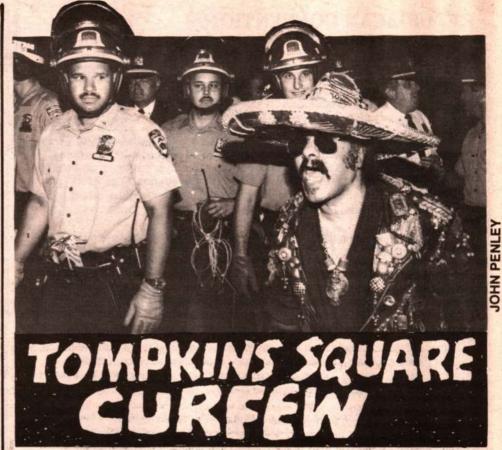
Nadel, Denney and others are also facing charges stemming from their nonviolent occupation of the basketball court construction site in March. Beauvais filed a motion calling for dismissal of the charges on grounds that the construction itself was illegal since it had not been approved by the city Landmarks Commission, and his clients were exercising their First Amendment rights by protesting it. The motion was denied and the case is still pending.

The latest conflict in the park concerns plans by both the city and the University to cut branches off six plum trees on the western side of the park, known as the Council Trees, where activists say Rosebud lived during the day as a Berkeley homeless person. Authorities say they need to trim the trees because they are an obstacle to police antidrug surveillance in the park. Activists charge that the police themselves drove the drug trade into the park.

David Nadel claims that the University's new thrust to reclaim control over the park is really part of a land warehousing scheme. "In the People's Park insurrection in 1969, the people took back the land from the University, which had only taken it in the first place because the housing which had been there before had been a hotbed of hippies and radicals. They haven't been able to get control over the land for 20 years. Now they're saying, 'We're taking it back and your revolution is over.""

With slogans like "LET A THOUSAND ROSEBUDS BLOOM" appearing on walls along Berkeley's Telegraph Avenue, the battle over the posthumous image of the fallen activist being waged both on the streets and in the press takes on a powerful political dimension. Says People's Park defendant Carol Denney: "What the University wants is to marginalize Rosebud's politics and delegitimize her by calling her crazy. UC does not want another James Rector."





Continued From Page 3

Subsequent demonstrations against the curfew over the next 2-3 weeks have resulted in repeats of the opening night pig deployments and arrests. To date, scores of people have been arrested for minor charges (mostly false) stemming from the curfew enforcement.

The cops are using extraordinary and extralegal means to impose the Tompkins Square Park curfew without the consent of the community. They are pledging to send all "recidivists" "through the system" for 24 hours whenever they are arrested, no matter how petty the charges. They define "recidivist" as anyone who is arrested more than once, regardless of whether they are convicted or not, which is a gross misuse of this legal term.

Since the initial curfew protests, there has been very little open opposition to the curfew. But there are other ways to demonstrate. It seems that somehow the locks on the gates to the park entrances have been getting Krazy-Glued and toothpicked. As a result, cops have been using boltcutters to open them, replacing the more expensive brass locks with cheaper ones.

Legality has nothing to do with the Tompkins Square Park curfew - it was imposed illegally and it is being enforced illegally. Only by mobilizing the entire community and making everyone realize that their freedom is being taken away from them can we confront this massive display of police thuggery and the real-estate mafia which commands it.

KOPS EAT SHIT CONTINUED FROM P.3

their freedom. The moderator then interrupted me and asked me "but what about the bums in the park." I was kind of dumbfounded, because naively I had thought that "bum" was one of the seven dirty words, or else was at least up there with nigger or spic or guinea. I told him that I objected to his use of the word bum, and that I thought it was a prejudicial term. He started foaming at the mouth - "they're bums, they're bums, admit it." He took the mike away and turned it on Betsy, promising to get back to me, but ended up giving Betsy the last word. The camera shut off. Revenge unexpectedly arrived in the form of a normal looking citizen taking his dog out for an early morning walk. He saw the camera, looked Betsy straight in the eye, and said "You're Betsy Gotbaum you !@#\$%- you tore down our bandshell. Get out of our neighborhood, you and all the cocaine grafting cops at the Ninth Precinct." A plainclothes cop came out of nowhere and told Betsy "C'mon, Commissioner, let's get out of here."

Afterwards, I grabbed a coffee at Ray's Candy Store. Ray confirmed the story about the cussing cop car. In the park, a respectable gent who lived in the building where I had stayed that night related another amazing tale. He said that he had obliged a couple of cops who demanded access to his strategically important roof by opening the door and letting them up there. Somebody who was not so obliging locked the roof door from the inside, leaving them trapped in the stratosphere. They started banging, and he opened the door for them, but this time they came out with their guns drawn, shook him down for ID and demanded to know whether he lived in the building. When he complained they lambasted him for being

people in this neighborhood." The Ninth Precinct is really

one of you



REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

Continued From Page 8

Academia. "Talking Points" cards on Ronald Reagan and Dan Quayle were being handed out for free at their table:

TALKING POINTS ON DAN QUAYLE ECONOMY 101

As chairman of the President's Council on Competiveness, the Vice President has seen to it that businessmen have an advocate in the White House. Through this council, the Vice President has, for instance, compelled the Environmental Protection Agency to redefine "wetlands." The EPA cut in half the amount of land that could be "protected," expanding the property rights of citizens from Alaska to Mississippi, thanks to Vice President Dan Quayle.

A Talk Show Directory published by the same organization was also available at the table, along with Media Watch: a daily analysis of Television Network Convention Coverage. Published by the Media Research Center, the paper's main focus was to document "liberal political bias in network television coverage of the Democratic and Republican National Conventions." The young Republican Ralliers, at the urging of one of their peers, walked around the media hall chanting, "the media alters the truth" over and over again, as well as "four more years." I found myself wondering if this was a Hitler Youth brigade and not just a bunch of rich white kids in chinos parading around the Dome.

Another publication available at the convention was the Register of Public Opinion, a product of Public Advocate, that devoted an entire issue to the activities of "radical homosexual groups" who are "openly promoting their society wrecking lifestyle -- using tax dollars -- recruiting innocent children as never before...." More echoes of Nazi Germany....

"The American Spirit" was the theme of the Astrohall's trade show, food court, and convention entertainment. Greeted by a botanic fiesta of horticultural elephants, visitors entered into a showcase of "American Ingenuity". The most extensive display was by Kodak. Upon entering the hall, images of pigs, farmland and the elderly met the eye. In their attempt to represent the American spirit, Kodak succeeded only in misrepresentation. United Parcel Service and Southwestern Bell were two major sponsors of the convention, along with the US Postal Service and NASA, who displayed their technology for medicine in space. UPS had special prices arranged for participants who wanted to send red, white, and blue elephant candles home. Southwestern Bell installed thousands of feet of telephone wire and phones inside the hall to promote their "Interactive Technologies." Video companies also made out well: television screens were located in every corner so that no matter where one was, one could always see George Bush.

Cops at the convention got a break from the norm during those four days. One cop I met outside the Hyatt Regency in Downtown Houston normally patrolled the Fifth Ward, one of the most dangerous areas in Houston. His job was to stand outside the hotel by the shuttle buses and hang out. When asked if he liked his job, his reply was, "It's nice to be around people who speak English for a change." This cop also informed me that riots don't happen in Houston: "Common sense and quick thinking take care of all situations." He then described an incident in which a bystander was "taken care of" for shouting "police brutality" during the arrest of a neighbor.

Police in Houston also share a certain fetish for doughnuts and coffee. A "UD" tent (Urban Development?) set up on the dome parking lot -- the only people with access were cops -- contributed money made from the sale of doughnuts, coffee and newspapers to charities here in New York City.

The official demonstration site for the convention was a six-acre vacant lot across the street from the Astrodome. A myriad of protestors stood alongside the highway, holding up signs. The most interesting of these was a man from California whose was there was by accident. On November 4, 1991, driving for a limo service in Southern California, he drove two men, a senior Bush aide and another person, to the opening of the Reagan Library in Simi Valley, California. While driving, he overheard them say that a man was recently sent to prison in Laos and had found thirty American POWs still alive there. Demonstrating for the National Vietnam Vets Foundation POW/MIA Strike Force, though he himself was not a vet, he said he was acting out of a moral duty to the men still alive. (An article by Sydney Schanberg in the July 14, 1992 issue of Newsday addresses this subject.)

Other protestors included three pot legalizers who ranged in age from 15 to 35.

Disillusioned at the way Houston was being represented on the local news, one woman told me "Houston's not this nice." Two AIDS activists stood alongside them, two men who disapproved of ACT-UP's tactics at the convention. They felt that ACT-UP is alienating the very people whose support they need because of their "radicalism." Mexican Civil Rights activists, concerned with the pending free-trade agreement between Mexico, the United States and Canada, were there as well, next to Muslims who chanted "Help Help Bosnia."

The Women's Action Coalition (WAC) held a very moving and effective demonstration on three consecutive nights during the convention, attracting Hollywood studs who ended up getting more media attention than the women did. A drum corps of about 35 women met in the center of a park downtown, where they played for 20 minutes or so while spectators listened. One spectator commented that forty years ago this could never have happened. Afterwards, a slide show was projected onto the side of a building informing viewers of statistics on abortion, AIDS, breast cancer, national health care programs, economic and job development for women, bias crime legislation, equal rights, protection of gay and lesbian rights, child care and education. NARAL (National Abortion Rights Action League) and NOW (National Organization for Women) also held demonstrations at the site on the last two nights of the convention. Organizers were concerned about the presence of police on horseback, fearing possible interruptions by anti-choice factions.

Some of the events taking place during the convention were more ridiculous than sublime. Good Morning America hosted their show from the lobby of the Hyatt Regency, where a massive white-chocolate elephant stood in the center as an homage to the GOP. (This elephant was later thrown out.) New York Senator Alfonse D'Amato failed to attend a benefit held in his honor. A karate demonstration featuring Chuck Norris was attended by the both the President and the Vice-President, to encourage kids in self-defense. Perhaps the scariest of all activities was the prayer breakfast held in honor of the Bushes and Quayles. Broadcast live on CNN, the event started off with a bang, with one person in attendence being carried off by cops because of her loud protests over the war in Yugoslavia. George Bush then got up and told the audience how he and Barbara prayed before every meal and at bedtime.

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CANDIDATES CONTINUED FROM P.9

Coincidentally, in its August 25, 1992 issue, the Village Voice noted that "Though he was Queens' ranking law enforcement official, [Nicholas] Ferraro himself was the subject in the mid-70's of an intense investigation run by the office of the state special prosecutor for criminal justice, according to four ex-probers interviewed by the Voice."

Although Ms. Ferraro-Zaccaro specialized in prosecuting economically-impoverished lawbreakers before first running for Congress in 1978, ironically, during her 1978 Congressional campaign, she and her husband, John Zaccaro, themselves, broke the law. As My Name Is Geraldine Ferraro noted in 1984:

"... By far, the bulk of Ferraro's early money, \$134,000 in all, came from her husband and children. The money was in the form of loans to the Ferraro campaign ... The loans were unsecured by collateral ... The funds gave Geraldine Ferraro her only chance to win the primary, where she outspent her opponents. The money allowed Ferraro to purchase radio time, print leaflets, and send out mass mailings to voters.

"The money was also clearly and explicitly illegal under the rules of the Federal Election Commission. The violation was committed on a grand scale. Under the law, no one, except for the candidates themselves, were allowed to contribute or loan to the campaign more than \$1,000. Husband John provided the majority of the loans, \$95,000 in all by primary day, and the Zaccaro children made sizeable loans from their future college funds. John Zaccaro ... made his first loan of \$25,000 in May, 1978. In June, he added another \$20,000 unsecured loan. That month, Donna, John, Jr. and Laura each loaned their mother's campaign \$5,000, according to Federal Election Commission records.

"John added another \$50,000 in illegal loans before early September, 1978.

Laura chipped in another \$13,000, Donna another \$8,000, and John, Jr., \$3,000. Since only \$1,000 per person was allowable, Federal records show John's illegal contributions added up to \$94,000 in the primary reporting period and the children's amounted to \$36,000 for a total of \$130,000."

MS. FERRARO-ZACCARO'S FAMILY WORTH

Although former Queens Assistant D.A. Ferraro-Zaccaro likes to portray herself as a spokesperson for working people, in the early 1980s she and her husband owned \$3.38 million worth of assets, including Manhattan and Queens real estate, a Tudor-style home in Forest Hills, a beach house on Fire Island and a winter home in St. Croix.



"CITIZEN COHN": HOLLYWOOD'S BAND-AID ORACLE

By Marina Oritz

"Citizen Cohn," a cable television film on Home Box Office (HBO) on the life and times of right-wing power broker Roy Marcus Cohn, has been much applauded by the creme de la creme of East Coast sophisticates, many of whom turned up at a gala East Hampton premiere on August 15th. But some of that bubbly crowd's effervescence would have certainly fizzled had the film not merely skimmed the surface of the walk-in closet case's opprobrious life.

While the film is candid in its portrayal of Cohn as a self-hating Jewish homosexual and avowed anti-progressive lawyer, and does reveal many of his illicit activities and ties to political, business, religious, media and criminal figures, its simplistic "I did it for the headlines" explanation and homophobic analogy--whereby Cohn and his cohorts are seen as gay sharks in a sea full of mostly straight (and, therefore, innocent?) guppies--does not an in-depth exposé make.

"Citizen Cohn," adapted from Nicholas von Hoffman's 1988 biography of the same name, was directed by Frank Pierson and written by David Franzoni. The movie stars James Woods as Cohn, Lee Grant (who was blacklisted through the efforts of Cohn and therefore took particular pleasure in her role as Cohn's mother, Dora), Josef Sommer as Cohn's father Al, Joe Don Baker as an alcoholic Senator Joseph McCarthy, Pat Hingle as homosexual J. Edgar Hoover, and Joseph Bologna as radio commentator Walter Winchell.

Pierson uses gimmicky flashbacks and tactless dream sequences in an attempt to explain how Cohn, who grew up in the midst of New York City's ligeral Democratic Party machinery and who later retired to the city's "queer" community, could have so vehemently despised and attacked "his own."

We see "Little Roy," apprentice to an overbearing, power-hungry mother (talk about "family values" Frank); "Young Roy," an ambitious mercenary who simply followed the popular path to right-wing fame and glory (oh, were fascistic tendencies only that simple); and "Old Roy," a decripit, AIDS-stricken "faggot" who got what he deserved (let's do Demme!).

We also see "Big, Bad Roy," who first gained notoriety as a special assistant (and informant) to the U.S. Attorney's Office, where he was instrumental in obtaining the death penalty against convicted "Soviet Spies" Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.

We see how Cohn won the position of chief counsel to Senator McCarthy over Robert Kennedy by exploiting his Jewishness to help deflect charges of anti-Semitism against McCarthy's infamous anti-communist hearings that caused thousands of artists, activists and unionists to be blacklisted or even forced to flee the country; the extension of that witch-hunt to the American Embassy at the United Nations and the Voice of America; and the subsequent suicides of two of those agencies' officials.

We see Cohn and his alleged lover, G. David Schine, a wealthy simpleton bearing a striking resemblance to Dan Quayle, launch an unsuccessful book-banning campaign against the U.S. Information Agency's European libraries; Cohn's clumsy use of doctored photos as a defense strategy during the Army-McCarthy hearings over Cohn's attempt to secure special military privileges for Schine; and Cohn's flamboyant court-room antics during failed disbarment proceedings brought against him by then U.S. Attorney Robert Morgenthau.

We'see Cohn and his "gay cabal," Francis Cardinal Spellman, J. Edgar Hoover, and Clyde Tolson, Hoover's deputy director and alleged lover, nonchalantly discussing retaliatory blackmail, bribery, and defamation strategies against Attorney General Robert Kennedy, New Jersey Congressman Neil Gallagher, and others. The film concludes with a cursory examination of Cohn's creditor and tax evasion scams, his fraudulent legal practices, his disbarment in 1986 for "professional misconduct," and his death in the same year of AIDS.

Despite these revelations, Pierson's obfuscation of Cohn's modus operandi as a simple thirst for power ("I need to fight somebody to stay strong," Cohn declares), and his perversity as having more to do with homosexual loyalty than with plain-old, right-wing, pack-rat corruption, belies the filmmaker's claim that the film "pulled no punches."

Although the film does shed light on Cohn's (and the government's) twisted logic with regard to progressive Jews ("A Commie Jew is as disgusting as a Nazi Jew...like pattern on a wallpaper...[they] march [as] soldier slaves of Cain incarnate," Cohn and his pals inform us), Pierson's beacon is more directly focused on Cohn's sexual, rather than criminal, character.

And, for all of Pierson's references to Cohn's homosexuality, there is no mention of, and therefore no explanation for, the walking mass of contradiction's complicity in the government's investigation and purging of thousands of alleged homosexual employees.



James Woods, who plays the title role in "Citizen Cohn," at Saturday's premiere.

While the film does show how gays and progressives were pitted against each other, it neglects to mention that, in fact, they were mostly united and were, therefore, classified as two sides of the same "dissident" coin (or, as the late Senator Kenneth Wherry so brazenly put it, "You can't...separate homosexuals from subversives. [A] man of low morality is a menace in the government, whatever he is, and they are all tied up together").

Although we do get to meet Cohn's gay buddies, and do hear mention of gal-pal Barbara Walters (Cohn's "ex-fiance" who, by the way, served as a character witness during his 1986 disbarment hearings, and who attended the East Hampton screening), there is no mention of his relationship to former Presidents Richard M. Nixon, and Lyndon B. Johnson, former Bronx Democratic Party leaders Mario Biaggi and Stanley Friedman, the late Queens Democratic Party leader Donald Manes, former Tammany Hall leader Carmine De Sapio, Senators Jesse Helms (NC) and Alfonse D'Amato (NY), Patrick Buchanan, William F. Buckley, Jr., former Mayor Abraham Beame, reputed mobsters Frank Costello, Vito Benovese, Moe Dalitz, and Tony (Fats) Salerno, Yankees owner George Steinbrenner, publishers Rupert Murdoch and S.I. Newhouse (a childhood friend of Cohn's), and magnates Donald Trump, E.F. Hutton, Lee Iacocca, and Bill Fugazy, to name a few.

While we do see the misdeeds of others, including Robert Kennedy's surveillance of the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the film doesn't show the Kennedy family's own ties to McCarthy, who, according to von Hoffman, helped John Kennedy's career, and how the grateful Kennedys remained silent during McCarthy's campaign against their fellow liberals.

And, while we do get to see how some of Cohn's associates became adversaries only after Cohn had double-crossed them, we aren't shown the extent to which they, and hundreds of other politicos, ignored Cohn's criminal behavior.

hundreds of other politicos, ignored Cohn's criminal behavior.

Neither do we see Cohn's "foes" complicity with regard to Cohn's battles against enemies such as fellow right-winger Lyndon LaRouche--a feud most appropriately described by Dennis King, author of "Lyndon LaRouche and the New American Fascism," as "a classic case of Freudian reaction formation." That much of Cohn's life remains secret is obvious. But, perhaps, by examining this particular imbroglio, we shall understand why.

According to King, Cohn had been put on retainer by LaRouche's National Caucus of Labor Committee (NCLC) in the early 1980's, with the expectation that he would introduce LaRouche to important political figures and would use his influence with the press to improve LaRouche's public image, most especially with OUR TOWN, the newspaper which Cohn had represented.

And when Cohn failed to deliver, the NCLC initiated an extensive smear campaign which eventually converged with that of Richard Dupont, a former lover and business partner of Cohn's who had also been swindled. Dupont and the NCLC published exposés on Cohn, of which thousands of copies were distributed to Cohn's clients and colleagues.

According to King, Cohn then sought help from the Manhatten District Attorney's Office, run by his former nemesis, Robert Morgenthau, and Dupont was promptly indicted on charges which, according to King, "under ordinary circumstances, a district attorney wouldn't waste his time on."

As an added twist, Assistant D.A. Harold Wilson refused to name LaRouch as an accesory and Dupont's lawyer, John Klotz, did not press it because, as King asserts, LaRouche's anti-Semitic reputation would not have sat well with the jury. Cohn, in turn used his influence with the media to keep that connection silent to avoid a scandal. Needless to say, the expendable Dupont was sentenced to 18 months in jail.

Cohn then agreed to protect LaRouche against further reprisals if he would agree to cease his harassment campaign (LaRouche had, by then, published a "Profile" on Cohn which had been inserted as a "supplement" to THE NEW YORK TIMES). Morgenthau's office, meanwhile, had overlooked many of Cohn's and LaRouche's improprieties.

"Citizen Cohn," which premiered on August 22, will run this fall and, if current cable programming is any indication, perhaps throughout eternity. My advice? Read the aforementioned books, see the movie, and write the "sequel" yourself!





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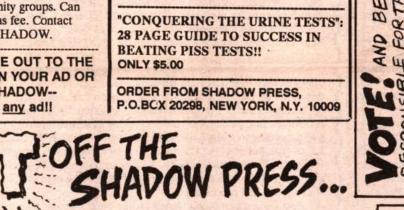
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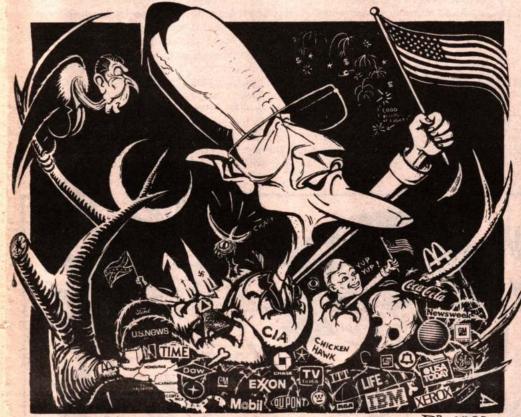
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ST. MARK'S BOOKS--13 St. Marx Place, between 2nd + 3rd Aves
THE HEMP TABLE I--Cooper Square + Peltier Place
THE HEMP TABLE II--6th Avene + Washington Place
EAST VILLAGE DELI--28 Avenue A, between 2nd + 3rd Streets
AVE B FARMS--Avenue B + 10th Street
HARRIS BOOKS--Second Ave, between 4th + 5th Streets
REVOLUTION BOOKS--13 East 16th Street
RAY'S NEWSSTAND--Avenue A, between 7th Street + St. Marx
R.E. RECORDS--216 East 6th Street
TOWER BOOKS--383 LaFayette Street, between Bond + 4th Street
AYURVEDA--129 First Ave, between 7th Street + St. Marx
STOOP NEWSSTAND--MacDougal Street + West 3rd Street
INDIAN DELI--Corner First Avenue + 6th Street
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